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**Post-Conflict Tourism Development in Bosnia and
Herzegovina: the Concept of Phoenix Tourism**

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ABSTRACT

Political conflicts, and their influence on tourism, get vast academic attention. In tourism research these have typically been dominated by a positivist philosophy, with a pre-conceptualised hypothesis and a researcher who is trying to be neutral. Constant conceptualisation of the research in this manner has resulted in theory saturated with technical extradisciplinary knowledge, which is difficult to employ both academically and pragmatically. This field study was conducted in Northern Ireland (long-term conflict) and Bosnia and Herzegovina (major conflict), employing unstructured and semi-structured interviews as a main research method, and overt participant observation as an auxiliary research method. The researcher carried out a thematic analysis of the data, adopting a critical theory perspective.

The aim of this research was to explore the processes, and to identify the significant issues, affecting tourism following a long-term, major political conflict. Further, the methodological aim of this research was to create an emancipatory knowledge in such a way as to make a contribution to existing theoretical concepts. In order to create this emancipatory knowledge, the researcher employs a critical theory approach, whose main postulates are interdisciplinarity, reflexivity and audiencing, dialecticism and criticality of the orthodox theories. In the context of this research, tourism is marginalised in a generic social science discourse. Furthermore, the research addresses the marginalisation of the peripheries, i.e. Bosnia is marginalised both in tourism discourses and in a generic context. A psychology of periphery has been developed throughout the centuries; e.g. Bosnia was peripheral to the Ottomans, Habsburgs, Fascists, Communists and nowadays the EU. Furthermore, in the context of Northern Ireland, this research considers the perspective of communities which historically have been socially and politically excluded.

This research addresses aspects of tourism in a generic post-conflict society, resulting in the development of the phoenix tourism concept, through which the research data has been analysed. The phoenix tourism concept helps to explain that the process of post-conflict tourism development goes far beyond economic enhancement and technical knowledge, putting it in the context of rising, re-building and reconciliation. Therefore, this part of the research quest resulted in the deconstruction of “dark tourism” theories, by conceptualising war inherited sites, taking them out of the imaginary tourism context and putting them back into their real contexts and, thus, giving them their real meanings. The main characteristic of phoenix tourism is that it is not a permanent label, but one stage in the process by which a conflict becomes a genuine tourism heritage.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AVNOJ	Antifašističko V(ij)eće Narodnog Oslobođenja Jugoslavije), standing for "Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia"
B&H	Bosnia and Herzegovina
BVCB	Belfast Visitor and Convention Bureau
CARE	Christian Action Research and Education
EUFOR	European Union Forces
FIPA	Foreign Investment Promotion Agency
FTV	The Federation public TV channel
GTZ	Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
NI	Northern Ireland
NITB	Northern Ireland Tourism Board
OHR	Office of High Representative
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
ROI	Republic of Ireland
RS	Republic of Srpska
RSTV	Republic Srpska public TV channel
SFOR	Stabilisation Forces
SFRY	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
TALC	Tourism Area Life Cycle
The Federation	The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
TI	Tourism Ireland
TO	Tour operator
UNPROFOR	United nations Protection Force
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VFR	Visiting friends and relatives
WBTB	West Belfast Tourism Board
WTM	World Travel Market
WTO	World Tourism Organisation (Now UNWTO)
WTTC	World Travel and Tourism Council
WWII	World War II

GLOSSARY OF CONTEXTUAL TERMS AND EVENTS

Catharsis	A phenomenon emerged from Greek tragedy, discussed ostensibly in Aristotle's <i>The Poethics</i> and <i>The Rhetorics</i> . Six things are, according to Aristotle, necessary for a tragedy: plot, character, direction, thought, spectacle and melody. Aristotle wanted to teach that watching tragedy help us to put our own sorrows and worries into perspective. Pity and fear, emotions to be purified, are most easily aroused, he says, if the tragedy exhibits people as the victims of hatred and murder where they could most expect to be loved and cherished. The characters of tragic heroes are neither supremely good or bad, a character is a person who is basically good, but comes to grief through some great error (<i>humantia</i>) (Kenny 1979:77)
Culturocide	While genocide is aimed at killing people, culturocide is aimed at destroying identity and culture (see genocide)
Dark tourism	Used interchangeably with thanatourism, the visitation of the places associated with, death and depravity
Ethnic cleansing	At one end it is virtually indistinguishable from forced emigration and population exchange while at the other it merges with deportation and genocide. At the most general level, however, ethnic cleansing can be understood as the expulsion of a population from a given territory
Genocide	Deliberate and systematic destruction of a group of people because of their ethnicity, nationality, religion, or race. The term, derived from the Greek <i>genos</i> ("race," "tribe," or "nation"), and the Latin <i>cide</i> ("killing"), was coined by Raphael Lemkin, a Polish-born jurist who served as an adviser to the U.S. Department of War during World War II.
1 KM	1 Konvertible mark, B&H currency pegged to EURO KM 1 = circa EUR 0.5
Mostar Bridge	Former UNESCO world heritage site, a symbol of the city of Mostar, destroyed in 1993, rebuilt again in 2005
Reconciliation	The concept is quite widespread today and used extensively when conflict transformations are discussed (Bar-Tal 2000). Its introduction is usually based on the assumption that after a political sentiment has been reached top-down, another bottom-up process should take place, in which unresolved issues of the conflict will be handled as well. It is assumed that without such a bottom-up complementary process there is a real danger that the top –down conflict sentiment will not last and a new violent outbreak might follow (Bar-On 2007:67)
Site sacralisation	According to MacCannell (1999) some sites are so particular in themselves that no institutional support is required to mark them off as attractions. However, in a modern world, a massive institutional support is needed for site sacralisation. First stage in the site sacralisation is when the site is marked off from the similar sites as worthy of preservation.
Srebrenica	The Srebrenica Massacre, also known as Srebrenica Genocide, was the July 1995 killing of an estimated 8,000 Bosniak boys and men, in the region of Srebrenica in Bosnia and Herzegovina by units of the

Army of Republika Srpska (VRS) under the command of General Ratko Mladić during the Bosnian War. In addition to the Army of Republika Srpska, a paramilitary unit from Serbia known as the "Scorpions" participated in the massacre. Prior to the genocide the United Nations had declared Srebrenica a UN protected "safe area", but they did not prevent the massacre, even though 400 armed Dutch peacekeepers were present at the time. The massacre included instances where preteen children, women, and elderly civilians were also killed. The list of people missing or killed in Srebrenica compiled by the Federal Commission of Missing Persons so far includes 8,373 names.

Touristification A process which explains the process of coming into being a tourist place (Stock 2007). In many instances, touristification and commercialisation have been used interchangeably (see site sacralisation)

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 RESEARCH BACKGROUND

This research explores the tourism development process of Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H). The process is especially challenging due to B&H's background of bloodshed and conflict initiated after the country's independence and sovereignty were recognised in April 1992. Thereafter conflict has coloured the entire socio-cultural, economical and political context under which tourism in B&H operates. This research explores the total societal post-conflict context from a tourism perspective. By exploring the specifications for forming and delivering the tourism product, the totality of the conditions under which tourism operates is revealed. Further, the tourist experience is captured by mapping the delivery, presentation and interpretation of politically sensitive events and sites. The research addresses the main challenges facing tourism development in B&H taking into account the particular geopolitical and socio-cultural context of the country itself.

Research investigating post-conflict tourism development has suffered from a failure to address the issues specific to the actual social context. Furthermore, it has largely been preoccupied with the commercial nature of tourism. Though numerous plans and strategies have been developed, these have not been successfully implemented. Basic socio-cultural pre-conditions need to be fulfilled before such strategies can be implemented. This research therefore seeks to explore these pre-conditions and specific cultural settings, previously relatively omitted in the research. To reach these goals and to make a contribution to knowledge, the researcher employs a research philosophy and methodological concept which differs significantly from those employed in previous studies. The rationale for this approach to the thesis construction will be explained in the methodology chapter (Chapter 2).

Tourism and hospitality studies are showing intellectual evolution. Orthodoxies and conventional rhetoric have started to be questioned (for instance Morgan, Pritchard and Ateljevic 2007, Lashley, Lynch and Morrison 2007). Tourism has begun to be engaged in a generic social science debate, adopting more of a critical approach to orthodox knowledge. This research, therefore, focuses on themes which were marginalised in previous studies, but which make an important contribution to a better understanding of the entire process of tourism consolidation under specific post-conflict settings. A short methodological overview is presented in the next section.

1.2 METHODOLOGICAL OVERVIEW AND CONCEPTS

The researcher, as the data collection instrument, plays a significant role in data analysis and interpretation. This research took a qualitative approach employing semi structured and unstructured interviews as the main method and overt participant observation as the auxiliary method and aims to explore the process of tourism development in the post-conflict setting of Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H). Prior to exploring B&H, the researcher undertook preliminary research in Northern Ireland (NI). The NI study was supposed to be a pilot and preliminary study. However, it has evolved into a part of the main study as it took the researcher away from a positivist research philosophy. Therefore it was very influential to the whole research process. Indeed, it set the direction of the whole study (chapter 5).

Against this background, previous concepts aimed at researching the processes and mechanisms in the context of post-crisis tourism development, were evaluated (Chapter 3, literature review). These prepared the researcher for carrying out the fieldwork and influenced the field data analysis. After reviewing the literature, the researcher identified several “trends”. First, whether written in the eighties, nineties or more contemporary, studies have ended with a similar conclusion, namely, that political instability really does cause tourism to deteriorate. Many articles leave the reader with a *so what* sentiment after. Something needed to be challenged for there to be any contribution to current knowledge or development of the existing theory. The post-conflict tourism theoretical framework developed conceptually (Sonmez 1998, Biernman 2001 Cavlek, 2002, etc) and only in a very few instances was tested empirically (for example Issa and Altinay 2006). Research conducted under a positivist research philosophy could not reflect the complexity of this process. Therefore this researcher decided to take another approach, to change the research philosophy and to focus on a methodological approach to the research.

This research argues that in social science research, a subjective ontology needs to be acknowledged as it is a part of the methodological context. The researcher’s personal reflection (Chapter 2), gives meaning to the results of the data analysis, and the methodological research approach by itself emerges as one of the main contributions to knowledge. One of the aims of this research is to create emancipatory knowledge (Habermas 1978). It can be observed that “dark tourism” is a concept which emerged from a developed western society perspective and associated academic discourse. Though there

is nothing wrong with such a perspective, it needs to be acknowledged in order to add to Guba and Lincoln's (1984) trustworthiness of the concept (Chapter 2).

Previous research, although qualitative, involved connecting the primary research into empirically designed theoretical concepts and truths. The underlying logic was that if the data could not "fit into the model", it would not be considered as relevant. During the field data analysis, it is the researcher who collected the data and who chooses a framework for organising and putting into order the messy qualitative data. This puts the researcher into a context. For instance, in this research, the researcher conceptualised the theme of reconciliation as part of the framework. Reconciliation is an under-explored theme in the context of post-conflict tourism development. The researcher highlighted this theme mostly because of her social background. She was a part of the research context. Therefore, this research argues that the researcher needs to be acknowledged in order to increase the trustworthiness (Guba and Lincoln 1984) of the research. This is explained further in methodology chapter.

This research is written in the third person. However, the methodology chapter is written in the first person. The researcher feels that it would be dishonest and misleading if the methodology were written using a neutral, third person. The study applies a relativist ontology, and the researcher is acknowledged to be a part of the context. While considering writing the methodology chapter in the first person to be more honest and trustworthy, the researcher's dilemma was whether to write the entire thesis in that way. After much reflection, it was decided that this would be a force fit and therefore unsuitable. The research started as positivist, was transformed into interpretivist during the fieldwork, and then adopted a critical theory perspective during the analysis stage. Therefore writing the methodology in the first person and the rest of the thesis in the third person offered a compromise and illustrated exactly the actual flow of the research process.

The study adopts a phenomenological approach to analyse the data. According to Hayllar and Griffin (2005), in order to achieve a certain degree of order to the task the first step in a phenomenological approach, is to conduct thematic analysis. The researcher undertook thematic analysis, using the procedures described in Boyatzis (1998). This resulted in the development of a data-generated conceptual framework (chapter 7), which by itself, further contributes to existing knowledge.

Although very standard and ordinary methods are used in this study, meaning to it is given through the actual approaches used using a critical theory approach. Franklin

(2007) criticised the tourism centric approach, i. e. the narrow thinking which assumes tourism to be the centre of the discourse. This research approaches post-conflict tourism development by taking a more holistic view, i. e. by addressing tourism as a part of the complete socio-cultural and geopolitical context of an area.

The research concludes that in the post-conflict context, significant attention needs to be given to the pre-conflict tourism development. After all, tourism does not start from a zero base. The pre-conflict inheritance and the stage which tourism was at before it exited the tourism area life cycle (Butler 1980, Baum 1998) need to be considered. Furthermore, this broad conclusion addresses elements such as reconciliation, guilt, forgiveness and catharsis, all of which need to be taken into account when planning for tourism. This research shows that the development of the economy is put on hold until these issues are addressed. Thus the broad aim of this thesis is to explore the process of tourism development under specific post-conflict settings, by addressing the following five objectives;

- Objective I: to explore the influence of conflict inheritance on Butler's (1980) tourism area life cycle (TALC)
- Objective II: to explore the influence of the wider political context on tourism development
- Objective III: to understand the meaning of tourism in the process of reconciliation
- Objective IV: to explore the process of the sacralisation (MacCannell 1999) of sites with a direct conflict inheritance, by addressing the issue of management, presentation and interpretation of these sites to tourists
- Objective V: to explore the process of destination re-imaging in post-conflict settings

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The first objective explores the influence of conflict inheritance on the tourism area life cycle (TALC). In order to reach this particular objective, Butler's (1980) TALC model is employed. The model is conceptualised on the decline of areas entirely devoted to tourism, mapping out the stages a Mediterranean resort has gone through. Although the model has been strongly criticised (for example Choy 1992 and Agarwal 1994), for its validity, applications and inability to map out which stage the destination is at, the value of Butler's (1980) work is that of its philosophy and the meaning of the model, as well as the thinking behind it. The researcher conceptualises the model as a way of thinking. It is relatively easy to transfer this thinking into another context or situation. In this research, a post-conflict destination was explored using the TALC model. A second objective is to explore the influence of the wider political context on tourism development. Politics, politicking and lobbying are a context of every tourism setting. However, in the post-conflict context, politicking plays an extremely important part. It is not just politics observed from the discourse of power and decision-making, but also political sensitivity and correctness, and political complexity, which are fully embedded in every context of life. Through the discourse of politics, vast social relationships are explored. This leads on to the third objective, the meaning of tourism in the process of reconciliation. As such, reconciliation is understood as one of the most prominent discourses in conceptualising tourism in this wider socio-political context. The fourth objective explores the issue of management, presentation, and interpretation of sites with a direct conflict inheritance. This objective is the key to exploring the process of post-conflict development. On one side, there is tourism and presentation of war memorabilia sites for tourism purposes. On the other side, is the post-conflict context. This objective is captured through MacCannell's (1976, 1999) model of the sacralisation of sites. The model was previously utilised by Seaton (1999) in mapping the Battle of Waterloo and by Winter (2008) in conceptualising World War I sites and symbols in Somme, France. This is a very powerful discourse in explaining the process of post-conflict tourism development.

The last objective, explores tourism development through the context of tourism promotion, i. e. how is tourism in a post-conflict country promoted? The focus here is on the media. During periods of a conflict, those particular areas were constantly featured on

the media. However, thereafter the media rarely features any stories on post-conflict development. Consequently, the relationships between media and tourism are explored.

These five objectives address the process of tourism development in a post-conflict context. Addressing each objective leads to reaching the research aim.

1.4 OUTLINE OF THE MAIN CONCEPTS

This section explains the relevance which post-conflict context (Sonmez 1998, Cavlek 2002, Biernman 2002) and the concept of dark tourism (Lennon and Foley 1996, Seaton 1996) have to this study. These two discourses are currently very prominent in tourism research.

1.4.1 Post-conflict context

The research addresses Bosnia and Northern Ireland in the context, of the destination substitution, based on Sonmez's (1998) post-political crisis development. If the place has gone through a rather short-term period of turmoil, the tour operators will still have an interest in assisting during the recovery strategies. They will help the destination not to lose its appeal. On the other hand, destinations, through a long-term conflict are substituted. Tour operators make contracts with similar destinations and abandon the destination which is going through a political crisis. These are the areas featured in this research. To illustrate how long-term political conflict, is significant in the tourism destination substitution process, both Northern Ireland and Bosnia and Herzegovina are featured in this research.

1.4.2 "Dark tourism"

"Dark tourism" (Lennon and Foley 1996), and "thanatourism" (Seaton 1996) are fundamentally the same concepts concerned with the visitation of places associated with death and depravity. The discourse is overwhelmingly focused on the management and business side of the phenomenon. The terms dark tourism and thanatourism are used interchangeably.

Dark tourism is a prominent discourse in tourism research, but is unnecessarily comprehensive and theoretically weak (Dunkley 2007). This research is critical of the dark tourism concept and did not identify with dark tourism as conceptualised by Lennon, Foley and Seaton as a theme of post conflict tourism development. Further, this research argues that conflict memorabilia sites, as suggested by Lennon, Foley and Seaton, are not the way forward, having only limited relevance to post-conflict tourism regeneration.

However, since these sites are part of the context, they should not be forgotten. Instead, they need an alternative conceptualisation. The researcher addresses this issue in the research findings (Chapter 7) and discussion (Chapter 8). Another interesting point regarding war memorabilia sites is the tendency of authors (for instance Henderson 2000, V. Smith 1996) to use the term *attraction*. Henderson (2000) for example, employs the term *war attraction* in order to explain the commercialisation of the war sites in Vietnam. Although referring to war memorabilia as a tourist attraction appears to be accepted in tourism academia, the researcher finds it inappropriate and politically insensitive, and instead uses the term *war memorabilia sites*.

Although there is a spate of research concerning both post-conflict and dark tourism discourses, the link between these has rarely been addressed. How does the discourse of “dark tourism” fit into a post-conflict tourism development discourse? Throughout the work, this research argues for the need to deconstruct this dark tourism concept. One category of dark tourism relates to post-conflict. There it is taken away from the dark tourism context and put into its own socio-cultural and geopolitical context.

In order to elaborate the above-mentioned concepts in the relation to Bosnia and Herzegovina, the researcher employs Maurice Bloch’s (1982) double burial concept, Butler’s (1980) tourism area life cycle model (TALC), and MacCannell’s (1976, 1999) stages of the sacralisation and tourismification of the sites. These are briefly presented in the following section.

1.4.3 Maurice Bloch (1982) – A Double Burial Concept

The way this researcher perceives the component of time is presented through the anthropological study of Maurice Bloch (1982), the double burial concept. The model conceptualises the process of post-conflict tourism development by introducing a time component into the discourse. His study focused on the symbols of rebirth in funeral rituals. Bloch developed this double burial concept by carefully researching the meaning of death within indigenous Merina tribe communities in Madagascar, where they practice a double burial concept. This community is not unique in practising this ritual, it is seen also within Bolivian Laymies (Harris 1982) and various Cantonese communities (Watson 1982). The first burial takes place immediately after the person dies. It is a moment of sorrow, weeping and sadness. The corpse is buried as an individual, in the normal manner, and remains buried for a certain period, until the body becomes dry. The next stage is exhumation of the body and moving them to their ancestral land. This ritual is joyful. The

dead were initially individuals with a name and family name. However, the ritual of being reburied on ancestral land makes them an eternal ancestor. The name does not exist anymore. The first burial process was sad and full of sorrow, but the second ritual is full of joy. People celebrate that their beloved ones are now their ancestors, or when translated into tourism terms, that they have become part of their heritage. There are three stages to this ritual: the first one is sorrow, the second one is rebirth and rising, through the long journey from the graveyard to the sacralised and eternal place, and the third one is heritage. Once this journey is completed, the individuals became a heritage. The same can be said of the sites, which witnessed conflicts associated with war stories, both tragic and victorious. When the place “dries”, it is then ready for sacralisation.

Some issues from the post-conflict tourism discourse and some from so-called dark tourism are merged together and through data analysis a new concept is constructed, based on Maurice Bloch’s (1982) double burial paradigm applied in this context.

1.4.4 Butler (1980) - Tourism Area Life Cycle

Although Butler’s TALC model emerged as a result of the stagnation of Mediterranean tourism resorts in the late seventies and early eighties’ and the decline of cold-water resorts in the UK and the US, this research argues for its implementation in post-conflict discourse through transferability in the ways of thinking and conceptualising. The model conceptualised the following stages: exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation and the critical stage which leads either to decline, or rejuvenation (Figure 1.1). In this case, there is a post-conflict destination, which is explored through the lens of the TALC model. Further, Baum (1998) extended the TALC model by introducing the stage of exit from tourism. Corak (2006) argues that Croatian tourist resort of Opatija exited TALC four times. All exits were caused by wars, i.e. external factors, not by mismanagement i.e. internal factors. In the case of B&H the exit was caused by violent conflict and happened in the development stage. The TALC model is a way of thinking about and perceiving the world of tourism, recognising the dynamism of the tourism environment (Baum 1998), and identifying the triggers which introduce changes. Throughout the model the totality of relationships and triggers causing the change, may be mapped out.

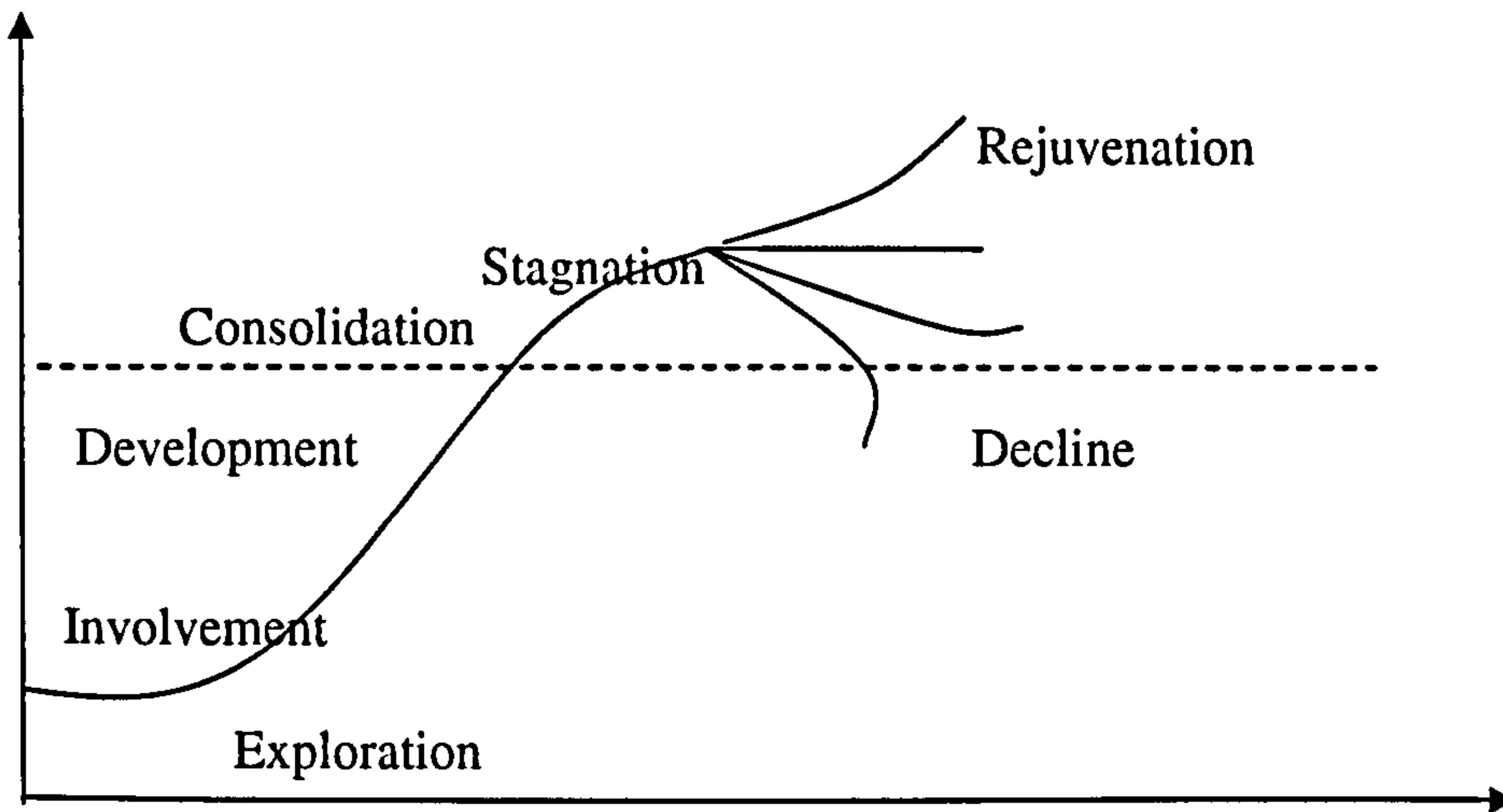


Figure 1.1: Tourism Area Life Cycle Model, Hypotetical evolution of a tourist area (Butler 1980: 8)

1.4.5 MacCannell (1976, 1999) – Site Sacralisation

MacCannell argues that there are many sites of cultural and historical importance, but only a certain number of them became touristified. MacCannell provides an understanding of the process of turning a site with cultural and historical significance into a site which also has tourism significance as well, using the five processes presented in table 1.1;

Table 1.1 The site sacralisation process

The process of the sacralisation and tourismification of the sites	
Naming	What exactly is about to be named?
Framing & elevation	Putting an object on display—placement on a pedestal or opened up for visitation. Framing is the placing of an official boundary around an object (MacCannell, 1999:44)
Enshrinement	The point at which the framing material that is used has itself entered the first stage of sacralisation (MacCannell, 1999)
Mechanical reproduction	Mechanical reproduction of cultural phenomena, including tourism destinations and attractions, intensifies and elevates, rather than diminishes them, and is an essential condition of their sacralisation
Social reproduction	Cultural objects in everyday practice away from the places where they originated (Waterloo Street)
Social circumstances	Site sacralisation creates the disposition to visit a place but does not guarantee it will be visited. Dispositions become action when the social circumstances of motivated travellers, including their financial means and access, are favourable (steam engines enabled visitation to the Waterloo site in the 1820s)

Source: (MacCannell 1976, 1999), re-worked

1.5 RESEARCH STRUCTURE: OVERVIEW

It is usual for the literature review chapter to follow the introduction. However, this research presents the methodology as the second chapter due to its influence on the entire PhD process. Explaining the methodology first, helps the reader to understand construction of the arguments. Furthermore, the methodology has itself influenced the literature review in terms of how the researcher approaches the literature. The literature review is, therefore, presented after the methodology and highlights the main concepts of “dark tourism” and post-conflict tourism. It explains the reasoning behind the deconstruction of the dark tourism concept. These two discourses will first be presented separately (chapter 3 and 4). At the end, the links between these two discourses will be acknowledged.

Northern Ireland, as previously mentioned, also became a part of this analysis. Due to the length of the thesis, the researcher produced a distilled version of the original draft, focusing on how the research conducted in Northern Ireland influenced the research flow in B&H, i. e. its focus on issues relevant to the situation in B&H. The Northern Ireland findings are condensed into four main themes, 1) Tourism and Politics, 2) Networks and Partnerships, 3) Cross Border Cooperation, and 4) Interpretation of the conflict inherited

sites, focusing on the role of these activities in post-conflict tourism regeneration (Chapter 5).

Before presenting the Bosnian findings, the researcher outlines B&H's social context (Chapter 6). Afterwards, the findings from Bosnian fieldwork are analysed (Chapter 7). Three different perspectives on analysing the data were used. The first one looks at tourism from a wider socio-cultural and geopolitical context, observed through moments of transition. These are the transition processes from war into peace, from being a federal unit to becoming an independent sovereign country, from being a communist country to becoming a neo-liberal one and the transformation of nationalism and sectarianism to reconciliation, repatriation and forgiveness.

The second perspective is that of "typical" tourism themes in the post conflict settings, i. e. the themes of tourism image, marketing, promotion, markets and product. Following on from this, the third tier looks at war memorabilia sites. This part of the framework is central to the research. The emotions of rising from the ashes are felt throughout the entire destination, but are concentrated on the war memorabilia sites in particular. This is the geopolitical and socio-cultural context, but also tourism per se (Chapter 7).

First, the findings from the respondents employed within the private sector were analysed, followed by the public sector findings. This particular approach gave a better perception of the issues. As B&H is a country in political transition, the researcher wanted to establish if there was a significant distinction between the public and private sector in their position on tourism development. Furthermore, this particular approach to data analysis gave a degree of order when dealing with "messy" qualitative data.

The focus is a discussion chapter (Chapter 8), structured according to the research objectives. Maurice Bloch's (1982) double burial concept has assisted in the deconstruction of dark tourism and construction of the phoenix tourism concept, which is the final outcome of the research and the main contribution to knowledge.

1.6 THE CONTEXT OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA: A SHORT OUTLINE

...just to remind, present Constitution HAS BEEN MADE by internationals, not citizens or their leaders from BiH, they just signed what they had to, to stop the war. Such Constitution represent real barrier on the further way this country has to follow. As You forced our leaders in 1995 to sign Constitution (by the way, excellent for that moment) You can do it again (forced them to make a deal about

bright future of B&H, where will all of us be equal, no matter of religion, name, etc.), it's just a matter of Your (all internationals) will and interests

An anonymous comment posted on the blog of His Excellency Mr Mathew Rycroft, UK ambassador in B&H, (<http://matthewrycroft.blogspot.ba>)

The country's full name is Bosnia and Herzegovina. The researcher uses the abbreviation B&H, which stands for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Occasionally, the researcher uses the abbreviation Bosnia. In the former Yugoslav republics, Bosnia actually means Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is a natural abbreviation, specific to the former Yugoslav area..

Bosnia is a very complex country. Its internal political borders are the result of the Dayton Agreement, a peace agreement signed in November 1995 in Dayton Ohio and ratified in December 1995 in Paris. Bosnia appears today as a melting-pot of government and administrative structures, whose functioning and interconnections are difficult to understand for those who are not particularly interested in it for professional, study or cultural research reasons. The following outlines a picture of the State of B&H, through its administrative, institutional and political aspects, to allow the reader to understand the essential problems that face this country.

B&H now has three tiers of authority, as well as the Office of the High Representative (OHR), whose role is the consolidation and the implementation of the Dayton Agreement. The central government is very weak, and unaccountable, more powerful is the second tier of government. In political jargon, their official label is "the entities" (Figure 1.2). These are Republic Srpska (49% of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina) and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (51%) (www.ohr.int). The entity of Republic Srpska (RS) is the political region, mainly inhabited by Bosnian Serbs. Unfortunately the territory has been ethnically cleansed of Croats and Bosniacs who used to inhabit this territory before the 1992-1995 conflict (Lambrichs & Thieren 2005, Ridino 2005). The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a politically defined territory, is now inhabited mainly by Croats and Bosniacs (Figure 1.3). The researcher will use the acronym The Federation instead of The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Besides those two "entities" there is also the City of Brcko and its surroundings, roughly 1% of Bosnian territory, where power is shared between Bosniacs, Croats and Serbs (www.ohr.int). Although the researcher argues that the term "entity" is not completely clear, the researcher will use this term because it is used in everyday speech and in everyday context. It is an official political label used according to the Dayton Agreement implementation.

The third level of government applies to the cantons. They exist only in the Federation, not in RS. The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Federation of Croats and Bosniacs, is divided again into ten cantons on an ethnic basis. This is the context of Bosnia under which this research operates. The context is very complex and difficult to understand. There is one Federation, one Republic and one District, which all have to make an agreement (Appendix I). There is still an issue that the laws, necessary to regulate tourism, do not exist. Nevertheless, it is against the backdrop of these complex issues, under which Bosnia needs to operate.

The Dayton Agreement was supposed to be a temporary solution, in order to stop the conflict. However, it did not implement any reforms. B&H today is a result of that peace agreement, finally signed in Dayton and ratified in Paris in December 1995. The entities themselves have a high level of autonomy. They have their own president, parliament, government and jurisdiction. Since 1996, there has been a constant attempt to give more power to the central government. Entities possess too much power; they appear almost as states within a state. This causes many problems, since the laws within each of the entities are different and it is very difficult to establish cooperation or healthy business relations. This is well illustrated by the example of tourism. In tourism trade fairs, the country is presented on the state level as Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, tourism decisions are made at the level of the entities and tourism laws in RS and the Federation are completely different. This brings many challenges to the tourism sector in B&H (Chapter 6 and 7). Every interviewee argued that this is a problem. Although the B&H constitution (Dayton Agreement, Annex IV) argues for balance and territorial integrity of the country, many issues actually prove that injustice is still present and that territorial integrity is endangered by the autonomy of the entities. For instance, B&H is a country which chooses three presidents, Serb, Croat and Bosniak. The Croat and Bosniak have to be from the Federation. The Serbian president has to come from RS.

Reflecting on the process of writing up this PhD, this particularly complex political situation is the reality under which Bosnia exists. This reality makes the PhD complex and rather difficult to conceptualise under the norms defining a standard PhD. For example there was the issue of length of PhD, and it is the complex geopolitical and socio-cultural context of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is to be blamed for this lengthy and rather wordy PhD thesis. The introduction chapter establishes this context; however, it is written several times into this PhD, as certain issues from this context needed to be explained further.

1.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has outlined the research structure through introducing the research aim and objectives. It has illustrated Bloch's (1982) double burial concept, which will be utilised throughout the research to explore previously under-represented dimensions of a post-conflict tourism development. Now, the researcher will take the reader through this PhD.

Understanding the issue is the aim of the interpretivist research philosophy. The aim of this research is to understand the process of a post-conflict tourism development. Therefore, the next chapter is the methodology. It brings the research into the context of the philosophy under which it is created.



Figure 1.2: Bosnia and Herzegovina: Entities division

Source: Ridino (2001: 182)

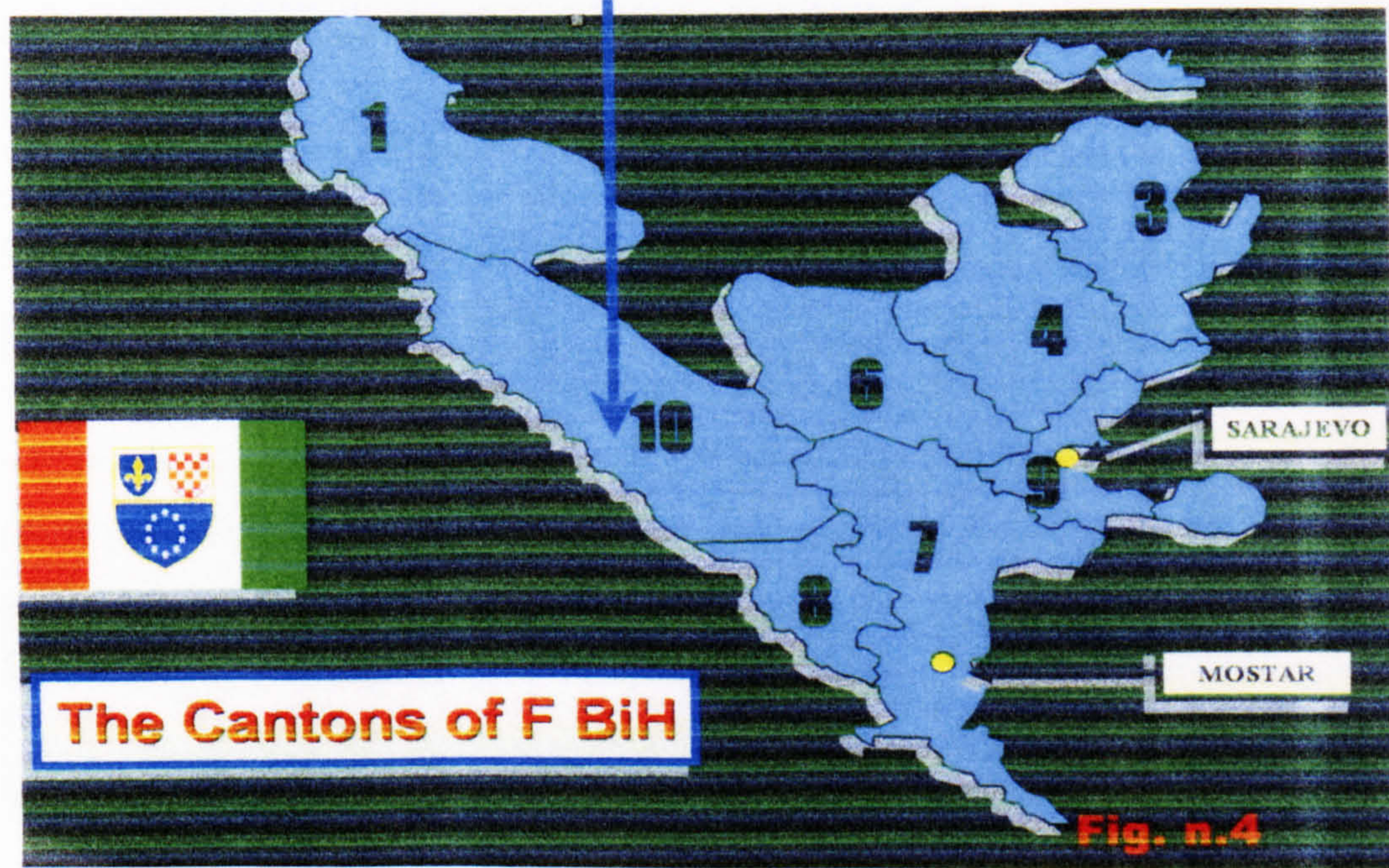


Figure 1.3: The cantons in the Federation

Source: Ridino (2001:183)

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter articulates the research philosophy and instruments employed in order to achieve the aims and objectives and make a real contribution to existing knowledge.

As the final research aim is to make a contribution to knowledge, this targeted knowledge needs to be addressed first. It makes it then easier to assess the impact of any contribution. Further, this chapter addresses the research philosophy under which this study is undertaken. The epistemological approaches taken by this research can be defined as being interpretive, relative and subjective. The approach to the research is phenomenological, the purpose exploratory. The research adopted critical theory reasoning to analyse the data. After establishing philosophical grounding, the researcher describes the fieldwork process.

Meanwhile, meaning to the study is given by explaining the role of the researcher, through personal reflection. Interpretive research places both the researcher and the subject at the centre of the research process. According to Mayernoff and Ruby (1982), reflexivity is the process by which the researcher understands how her social background influences and shapes her beliefs and how this self awareness pertains to what and how she observes, attributes meanings, and interprets the action dialogue with the informants.

The reader needs to understand my social background as it is intrinsic to the analysis. It influenced my understanding of “reality”.

2.2 PERSONAL CONTEXT: REFLECTION

Personal reflection has two main points. First it gives an insight into the way how the researcher constructed the life world in order to write about it. Second it reveals the social background of the researcher, which helps to explain how the researcher perceives and constructs the social settings contained in the study. Since the researcher as a part of the study influences the entire philosophical grounding of the research, this chapter begins with their personal reflection. Accordingly, the personal reflection increases the trustworthiness of the qualitative research.

As the interview is a social interaction (Gubrium, Holstein 2002, Denzin, Lincoln, 2002), it is important to recognise and to highlight how we as researchers influence the interview process. Indeed, according to Hollingshead (2004), the researcher is morally obliged to acknowledge his or her position. Reflection is a concept, 'comprising the issues

and complexities when speaking about our research to different audiences and in different voices. The strategy of recognising the politics of reflexive moment in the process of knowledge creation is defined as audiencing (Ateljevic 2007).

The way the themes have been constructed is a reflection of my social background and is presented in the following section.

2.3 SENIJA'S SOCIAL BACKGROUND

I was born in a blurred country called Yugoslavia, which is now just a memory floating in the air. Yugoslavia was neither under the Iron Curtain; nor was it a part of any Western alliance. It was not a capitalist country, and it was not a communist country but something in between, a worker's self-management. It was non-aligned during the Cold War. We were happy. However, in 1986, Presidents Reagan (US) and Gorbachev, (former USSR) ended the Cold War and being non-aligned did not make sense anymore. In 1991-1992, Yugoslavia split up and divided into six states. At the time of writing, a seventh state is fighting diplomatically for its independence. Both B&H and Croatia are independent countries now. I was born in Banja Luka. I am Bosnian. I moved to Croatia. I am Croatian. This attempt to find my identity has been both difficult and confusing.

I hate ethnic divisions and being ethnically labelled. Yet it is the way all these former Yugoslav countries function. If you do not label yourself ethnically, you do not exist. I label myself if I really have to as Bosnian. Then people do not know whether I am Bosniak, Serb or Croat. However, I do not feel like I am any of these. Being Bosnian has no ethnicity attached to it. In fact, Being Bosnian does not exist in the Bosnian Constitution. It seemed absurd to live in country called Bosnia yet be unable to use the term Bosnian. Being Bosnian therefore does not attach an ethnic burden to it. This is just a technical question. It is easier to regulate the country if you label yourself as Bosniak, Croatian and Serbian, but not Bosnian. My Bosnian identity developed through writing this PhD. Yet I started this PhD considering myself to be Croatian. I felt that ethnic burden in this ethnically divided society. I do not want to be associated with any ethnic squabbling happening in those countries. There are many people like me (Appendix II). This is, therefore my standpoint, I do not like wars.

My identity is always a challenging issue. I began this research as a hard and fast positivist. However, if I did not change my viewpoint, I would not have been able to include myself as a part of this study. I would simply have concluded that political

violence deteriorates tourism development and that a crisis management plan is needed to rectify this. I could not do that. On the other hand, if I did not bracket my social background, it would jeopardise the trustworthiness of my findings as would, for instance presenting the theme of reconciliation, without mentioning that I as a researcher have an idealistic view of the world, and also need to heal my own wounds, it would have endangered the trustworthiness. The theme of reconciliation became almost cathartic.

This was the only right way to do this kind of research. If I had conducted this research as a positivist, the research would lack the value of my perception, the explanation of how the themes emerged. If I employed qualitative research, but did not reflect on myself, the research would lack trustworthiness.

Thus, I began my PhD journey as a real positivist, believing in facts and respecting everything I found in the literature. I believed that I would find a real framework in my literature review, and do some interviews, quizzing the interviewees on what I had found in the literature review. I would then be able to focus on my questionnaires and carry out regression analysis. I then read Altinay and Issa (2006) concluding that political instability is bad for tourism development and that all those politically instable countries need to have a real crisis management plan, which will resurrect tourism after political instability. It appears that paying a certain amount of money to a consultant to design such a plan will result in a revival of tourism. The theory is just recycling itself and is management and business saturated. It is less likely that crisis management plans alone would be able to solve the problems emerged due to the long-term political conflicts.

Accordingly, I found myself in crisis. I was unable to remain neutral, looking from the distance, distributing questionnaires and drawing conclusions. Something was missing. I was upset. I could not find what was going on. I started my fieldwork pretending to be neutral positivist, but I could not continue this way. I could not ignore my feelings. They became a part of the research context. They do not fit into the theoretical framework. However, this is not the reason to ignore them. I conducted interviews in Northern Ireland (NI) first and sent an email to Belfast Visitors and Convention Bureau (BVCB). On receiving a positive email back on April 24th 2006 I began preparing for this preliminary study.

The email from BVCB suggested that I should conduct interviews with those involved in managing community tourism (Appendix III). I decided to include them in my itinerary, since this is just a preliminary study and I would be in Belfast almost a month. I entered the communities. I changed my objectives. Hard and fast structured interviews

and my preconceptions and my literature review framework, did not make much sense. I decided to structure the themes for the discussion loosely so that the respondents could form the interview by themselves. Silverman (1997) argues that unstructured interviews are just the hope of a novice researcher and rarely does the research benefit from them. However, my first interviews were so much different than the literature review and I was happy because of that. I was allowing interviewees to say what they wanted and I was allowing the emotion to be felt.

How can you talk about post-conflict tourism and not allow emotions to be felt? Without the emotions the discussion is faked and the trustworthiness is lost. I do not want my research to recycle previous knowledge. I agree we need positivist research, but I also agree that knowledge is saturated with the positivist research outcomes. I am sure that if my research was done in a positivist way, it would be easily worthy of a PhD by all its parameters, but it would not be able to acknowledge the most important aspects of tourism after the conflict. These are my feelings. Tourism is always linked to business in order to be “proper” in business academia. Is the only thing to do, to be emotionless? Are those emotions felt because of my background? Was I exposed to them because of my background? If this was the reason it should then be acknowledged.

2.4 SENIJA IN THE EYES OF THE INTERVIEWEES

The most important feature of positivist epistemology is its ability to separate the researcher or subject, from the object of the research. According to Burrell and Morgan, (1979) object and subject are independent from each other and external to each other. If I conceptualised my study in a positivist way, the study would lose dimension in terms of the researcher. The subject, the researched ones, had their own perception of me as a researcher (Fontana 2002, Hertz 1997) and they framed their answers accordingly. On several occasions, my interviewees told me that they were more open and able to talk to me honestly about their situation because they perceived of me as somebody coming from a war torn area.

Oh, you are from a war torn area as well. We feel comfortable talking to you about the troubles. You understand. We would talk to you differently then if you were from Germany, England or France. (I1, before the interview)

These were the people who make the decisions about tourism development and who found the issues of the troubles important in the process of tourism development.

They wanted to share this with me because they perceived that I would understand them. My interviewees felt comfortable and not intimidated by their past because they viewed me as someone who could understand them well. Moreover, they were not ashamed in front of me. They told me that they would have concealed their true feelings if I were from Germany, France or England because they would perceive me as someone who could not understand.

Three months later I was in Bosnia. My interviewees there wanted to talk to me because they perceived me to have, what they called “real” work experience. Other point was that I am from Bosnia. I stayed in Bosnia until the end of 1993, as my interviewees said...*Went through all that...* In their eyes, I was able to understand. Prior to doing my PhD I worked for one of the biggest hotel companies in Croatia, working on product development in shoulder season. In 1984, that same company helped the Bosnians organise the Olympics. The Bosnians perceived me as someone with some practical knowledge and who could understand the issues they are still struggling to solve. They perceived me as someone who understands both the conflict and their work.

This research is conducted by someone from Bosnia and Croatia, who experienced the troubles and violent political conflicts, and at the same time, someone with some practical knowledge and a need to heal personal wounds from the conflict. That was me in the eyes of my interviewees. I was not a student who perceives the war as something seen in a Hollywood movie. That was one of the reasons my respondents were willing to talk. This is the reason why I need to stamp my identity on this PhD. If that was omitted, the value of my PhD is undermined and I have an average dissertation.

Being a researcher, according to Reinharz (1997) is only one aspect of the researcher’s self in the field. I felt emotional when I was in Bosnia. It coloured my research. Yet only later I realised this. The recognition of self is a characteristic, which more than any other influenced the process of knowledge creation. There is a link between the reflective process and that of knowledge creation.

2.5 KNOWLEDGE CREATION

The purpose of a PhD is for it to make a contribution to existing knowledge. Therefore, the creation of that knowledge needs to be explained in the context of my PhD.

When I started my PhD journey, I thought naively that this is not an empirical question, but one requiring some philosophical and logical arguments and debates in

which the very presuppositions of knowledge, as a general issue, are of concern (Hughes 1990:5-6). I thought that the research question, which decides the philosophies and methods (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe, and Lowe 2002). Usually it is far more than the research question which decides such matters. How do we define the research question? Is there only one kind of knowledge? As Habermas (1978) argues, there are three research quests; technical (positivism), understanding (interpretivist), and emancipation (critical theory). In tourism, we usually define the research question in order to search for technical knowledge. Tourism knowledge is created (Tribe 2004) following positivism. However, the field is now saturated with technical knowledge. My research aim, to explore the process of tourism development in a post-conflict society, requires tourism not to be seen as central to (Franklin 2007), but as a part of a wider geo-political and socio-cultural context. Such a perception gives an emancipatory voice (Tribe 2004) to tourism research.

On the other hand, numbers do not represent the science; reasoning does (DeCrop 1999). Tourism theory is unnecessarily comprehensive and preoccupied with generalisations. One example of an unnecessarily comprehensive theory is that of dark tourism (Dunkley 2007). I put aside this dark tourism theory and conceptualised tourism after violent political conflict, not as a part of dark tourism theorising, but as a part of its own context. Tourism is still into creating meta-theories. I agree with Franklin (2007) who says that if we are not confident in structural theorising and modern tourism itself, we might need separate theorising. As Chambers (2007) concludes, both critical theory and constructivist approaches question grand narratives. ..."*critique is not an end in itself*" (2007:109), but using critique as a means of transforming and, indeed, emancipating underserved knowledges. As Plato wrote, it is not a matter of pouring sight into blind eyes. The process is more important than the outcome (Ateljevic 2007). It is not the outcome which creates the knowledge, but the process of self-reflection which creates knowledge.

While reviewing the literature, it appeared that knowledge had reached the point from which it could go no further, i.e. the saturation point has been reached and the knowledge is just recycling itself, no contribution to it has been made. I looked at this as a barrier which needs to be overcome in order for the contribution to knowledge to be created, but how could this be done? Habermas (1978) argues that knowledge is not interest free. Why do positivist philosophies dominate tourism's search for knowledge?

This is a critical theory. It is a break away from standard tourism theorising. Foucault (1974) argues that power and knowledge are interconnected. In tourism it is manifested in such a way so that business has the power. The knowledge is created in a

form that serves business research. Tribe (2004) argues that the tourism researcher creates tourism. Business holds the power in creating tourism knowledge (applying Foucault's discourse of knowledge and power). However, business is only a tiny part of tourism. Other disciplines involved in tourism also seek power and emancipation. I approached tourism through a critical theory perspective, because through positivism and business research, I would end with confirming the knowledge we already have. Tourism belongs to sociology, geography, politics, social and cultural anthropology as much as it belongs to business. Although previous research was conducted on native people, their point of view is not heard well. The researchers usually form a research question and decide what to research, based on the positivist research philosophy and reasoning. I would like to deconstruct the knowledge and emancipate those other disciplines which also have something to say.

Whether poor and marginalised, people play along with the laws and institutions, which oppress and marginalise them even more. Habermas (1978), influenced by Marx, argues that it is because these groups lost the sense of what is in their interest. They, in fact, marginalise themselves. Those who have the power construct the knowledge.

It resulted in a critical theory paradigm, which started development in the 1930's, throughout the work of Max Horkheimer (Finlayson 2005). Four pillars of critical theory are interdisciplinarity, reflection, dialectics and criticism. A critical theory reflected on the social context and included that reflection into the theory. Furthermore, critical theory believes that interdisciplinary work brings the insights which would have been completely unobtainable if worked within narrow academic domains. Critical theory rejected the premises that the facts are fixed and independent of theory, as it was seen in a positivist paradigm. The facts and the theories are part of the ongoing dynamic historical process in which we view the world (p. 3). In other words, critical theory is a relativist ontology paradigm. At the end, Horkheimer argues that what makes critical theory *critical* is that its aim is not only to bring a specific understanding, but also to create social and political conditions closer to humans and through that transform the society into a better one. For reaching that aim, emancipatory knowledge is needed.

Each society has its regime of truth. Tribe (2004) applies Foucault when creating tourism knowledge. Discourse in the context of creating tourism theory suppresses certain groups and gives power to others. Business and management are perceived to be key discourses in creating tourism theory and knowledge with all other views being suppressed. This is the reason why tourism research is done in a positivist way. "New

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knowledge” will endanger the ruling one even though understanding and emancipation are two other characteristics of knowledge. Management research has the power. Therefore it does not question the truth. It is an absolute truth, i. e. orthodoxy. Tourism’s regime of truth (Foucault 1980) is exercised by management perception. In order to remain dominant and keep its position, management accepts only research which does not question the truth. Tourism is locked. Research philosophy acts as a mechanism to assist a researcher to scope the field of study (Easterby-Smith et al 2002). It appears here that research philosophies are the gatekeepers.

With regard to tourism journals, I need to question my chances of being published because I am challenging the absolute truths and reasoning. Furthermore, Franklin (2007) argues that the theory has tourism as its centre, irrespective of social, cultural, political or geographical settings. From my point of view, this is the reason for tourism not being taken seriously by other social scientists. The theories are weak because of tourism centrism. Tourism theory fails to observe tourism in its wider social settings, but looks at tourism as a business. I agree it should be looked at from this perspective, but this is not enough to understand the phenomenon. The consequence is a lack of foundation. The theory is weak because of the way it was constructed. Positivist research is neutral and based on facts, but omits everything else which is not directly quantifiable or which does not “fit” into the model. It needs those not easily quantifiable moments in order to strengthen tourism theory, regardless of how bad it would appear in the eyes of business and management.

Conducting tourism research based on a positivist research philosophy has relatively short-term gains. As previously mentioned, management has the power in tourism research and wants to keep it that way. However, this position is detrimental to tourism theory. Tourism research is not well ranked in the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE). *Annals of Tourism Research* have an impact factor of 0.543 and *Tourism Management* has 0.856. These are the highest ranked tourism journals (www.elsevier.com). Why is tourism theory ranked so low? Is it some conspiracy theory towards tourism? Or it may be that the reason is that tourism theory is weak and needs an interpretist and critical theory perspective in order to be complete? At the very least, technical knowledge (Habermas 1978) may not be enough.

According to Dann and Cohen (1991) the sociology of tourism should not be treated in isolation but applied to wider domains. The authors argue that this is problematic to understand what are these domains. Tourism does not operate in single, but multiple

contexts, ranging from geography, sociology, anthropology, politics and culture. Tribe (2004) argues that tourism knowledge is created interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary or extradisciplinary. Intradisciplinary knowledge is created from a common epistemology. Multidisciplinary knowledge is created from a combination of the disciplinary knowledge; however, the epistemologies remain separated. Tourism knowledge, according to Tribe (2004) is based on solving business problems, created out of the disciplinary knowledge, in a so-called extradisciplinary domain. The result is a distinctively Habermasian (1970) critique of science and technology as ideology: by reducing practical questions about the good life to technical problems for experts and by observing theory and facts separated from each other. Ignoring disciplinary knowledge has a consequence; tourism is not ranked as important as theoretically based research. This is not the way to build up tourism theories and create new knowledge. Understanding and emancipation have not been included in building the theory. In order to achieve balance, if certain voices are heard more often, the other voices have to be silenced. Basing tourism research on realist ontology and an absolute truth is not valid. I am not researching chemistry and use the fact that water changes its aggregate condition on 100 degrees Celsius. I am researching tourism. Absolute truth does not exist in this context. As Hussey and Hussey (1997) argue, social and natural sciences should not be based on the same presuppositions. Natural sciences research external phenomena, while social sciences base its conclusions on behaviours and actions generated from the human mind. In this study, I elicited the data through talking to people. In a context of 100 degrees, water changes its aggregate condition. I should not reason my research in the same way as natural science. Tourism depends on people, not on absolute truths. For example, I can state that cross border cooperation is good for tourism. In B&H I cannot have healthy cross border cooperation in some areas. In southeast Bosnia for example, from the city of Trebinje, Serbian artillery shelled Dubrovnik and first they need to reconcile themselves for cross-border cooperation to occur. However, cross border cooperation would work between Croatia and northwest Bosnia, because they were political allies during the conflict. This is based on the context and automatically puts me into the interpretivist paradigm and critical theory. Facts should not be independent from the context and theory. I am trying to understand, yet emancipate at the same time and I think that I can do both within my PhD. Therefore I conducted my research utilising the interpretive paradigm and critical theory. I want tourism to broaden its horizons and I want to make a contribution to knowledge.

2.6 RESEARCH ONTOLOGY AND EPISTEMOLOGY

The ontology is relativist. The researcher's ontological standpoint determines the epistemology, and the research methods. In this research, the accent is on the methodology and research philosophy which drives this research forward. I would like to locate my methodology under a broad interpretive paradigm umbrella. As already said, interpretivist research leads to understanding; critical theory to emancipation. Within the interpretive paradigm, it is located under the light shade of critical theory.

Later in this section I explain how those ontological stances influence the way the fieldwork is conducted. In the first section of this chapter, I have introduced my own social background, which has influenced my interpretation of research findings. As Van Manen (1990) argues, the researcher is one of the key tools in the fieldwork and this was a presupposition in my own fieldwork. Therefore, the result is a subjective and relativist ontology. Truth is a relative phenomenon. This is the difference between the critical realist and interpretive paradigm. According to Chambers (2007) being critical is not just about identifying what is wrong with society and being critical about one's subjectivity within the context, but is also about identifying what is inconsistent with the entirety of one's paradigmatic assumptions. Critical theory and critical realism are not the same paradigm. Critical theory is relative by its ontology. Critical realism, as a paradigm is based on realist ontology, the Frankfurt school and Marxist ideology. Critical theory and critical realism have these emancipation realms in common, but the context and ontology is different. Critical theory argues a postmodernist concept. However, post-modernism is not a unified system of beliefs. On one side, it is a move away from modernism; on the other side it is its continuation (Alvesson 2002).

2.7 POSTMODERNISM

I dislike labelling and do not feel confident labelling my research as post-modern. Indeed, the postmodernism theorists are simply not sure themselves what postmodernism means (Alvesson 2002).

I understand postmodernism in social research to be qualitative research, which uses similar methods as modern qualitative research, but has fewer regulations in employing them and puts an emphasis on the methodology, not on methods themselves. As the knowledge is further created and expands, the methods change. Also as the contexts change, so too do the methods. The research methods employed in this study are very

standard; i. e. qualitative interviews and overt participant observation. What differs is the personal reflection, which gave meaning to the research. The progression of the study was an epistemological evolution towards an interpretive position. It is a crisis of representation and the revival of representation (Alvesson 2002). This is completely illustrated through my research process. I conducted interviews of a loose structure and carried out overt participant observation. It was a phenomenological approach to the study. Which moment of Denzin and Lincoln's (2002) 'historical moments of qualitative research scale' am I in?, I am not sure. My methods are modern. The approach to the research, reasoning, critical theory, Foucault's power and knowledge discourse, multiple realities and acknowledging of myself, can this be labelled as postmodernism? I am not sure.

There are so many different ways to label my research. I would like to make it simpler. On one side is positivism. On the other side is interpretivism/constructivism. The difference between them is the researcher. The researcher is acknowledged in interpretivism/constructivism. There are different shades of reflexivity. There are different intensities of representation under this big interpretivist umbrella. Is postmodernism a paradigm or a trend or just an evolution of thoughts and perception of the world? Postmodernism is understood whether as a continuation of modernism or a total break from it (Alvesson 2002), however, it is not that important in this stage. Knowledge is overwhelmingly created through a single perspective, however, this needs to expand, not just in quantity, but in our understanding of existing issues through emancipation of the perspectives. In order to reach such a goal, researchers should tailor their approaches to the research. That tailoring can be represented as postmodernism. However, I would like to leave it until some further research quests have been carried out.

My research aim, to explore the process of tourism development in a post-conflict society, requires that tourism is not seen as central to, but as a part of a wider geo-political and socio-cultural context. To sum up, my research is subjective/relative by its ontology, and interpretivist/constructivist by its epistemology. The following chapter presents the fieldwork and details the research methods employed.

2.8 FIELD WORK: INTRODUCTION

The research consists of two parts, firstly Northern Ireland (NI), and secondly B&H. These particular localities are chosen as they both operate post-conflict tourism. There are a few reasons for conducting the research in this chronological order. NI is easily accessible from Scotland where I was based. Also, it is situated on the periphery of Europe and the data is relatively accessible. Although it was a province burdened with ethnic troubles, it is still a European province. Although the troubles were a part of everyday life in NI for a significant length of time, (circa 1967 – 1998), a certain degree of order is now apparent and clearly visible. Many research articles which focused on the troubles in Northern Ireland and their influence on tourism were published, for instance Rolston (1995), Leslie (1993), 1996 Lisle (2000) Smith (1999), etc. Besides geographical differences, studying Bosnia is more complex. NI only needed to envisage one transition, the one from conflict into peace. Bosnia, however, needed to envisage at least three transitions (Stojanov 2004); 1) from war into peace, 2) from so called worker's self management (a certain form of communism), to a free trade economy, and 3) from being just one of the political units in the former Yugoslavia towards being an independent state. NI was an initial part of the research. It was supposed to be a preliminary work, but it became part of the study because it had a strong impact on the approach to the research. NI and Bosnia were not compared in a classic positivist way. Fieldwork in Northern Ireland helped sharpen the focus and direction of the research. It became a part of the framework in as much as it influenced the reasoning.

Before doing fieldwork in Northern Ireland, I met people working in tourism from Israel, Lebanon and Rwanda. Israel employs tourism as part of a strategy to build Jewish identity within the Jewish Diaspora, all interesting and important moments in tourism development.

Semi-structured interviews were planned, but while doing the fieldwork, the structure loosened and the interviews became less structured than expected. The research in Northern Ireland recognised the importance of conflict memorabilia sites in conceptualising tourism after the conflict. Interviews with tour guides explored this theme further and identified further gaps and research interests, those better addressed by employing an overt participant observation approach, presented further in this chapter. Tour guides invited me to join the tours, thus I gained access relatively easily.

I was allowed to take notes, to record the guide, sometimes even to record the tourists. They did not mind because they felt that they were doing some good by allowing me to do so. Participant observation allowed access to raw data and involved a socially constructed process. It enabled me to place the research into a naturalistic context, the context where it really belongs. On the one hand, NI was a learning point. On the other hand, it inscribed itself into the process and became a part of the research.

As an instrument for data elicitation, the interview is a very flexible method. Conducting an interview is a characteristic of both a positivist and an interpretivist paradigm. If very structured, it can be linked to quantitative analysis. Loose interview construction results in different perceptions of the researched world. The ontology becomes relativist. Positivist interviews are more structured, lasting around an hour, conducted under a rigid interview schedule. Anything said outwith the structure of the interview schedule, would be given less consideration. The critical turn in tourism studies shifts the way academia perceive interviews. There is no such thing as a “post modern” interview; “post modern” epistemology, (Fontana 2002). It is the creation of emancipatory knowledge which demands interviews to be perceived more distinctively than before. The interviewee is no longer objectified, but becomes a co-member of a communicative relationship. The ethnographer finally acknowledges that s/he cannot pretend to present fully their informants from their own point of view (Reinharz 1997). Interview is being brought in line with ethnography (Fontana and Frey 2002). An interview is a social encounter (Dingwall 1997: 56) and needs to be analysed as such. There has been a shift in our perceptions of both the interviewer and the interviewee. Interviewers are no longer regarded as mythical, neutral tools envisioned by survey research (Fontana, Frey 2002). Seidman (1991) argues that by acknowledging that the interviewee is not an objectified sample anymore, and that the relationship is more personalised, humane, and naturalistic in that sense. Boundaries between the interviewed and interviewee are blurred.

In order for knowledge to expand into emancipatory and understanding directions, new research methods have emerged, for instance social impressionism (Lynch 2005), or data analysis using poetic structure of language in order to engage with the emotional nature of the tourism experience (Dunkley 2007). Besides developing new research methods, the existing ones changed accordingly, as presented throughout this research. Some information could not be found out via the interviews and some issues needed validation in order to become trustworthy. These were enriched through the participant observations and the different approach to the interviews.

The following section describes the process of data elicitation in NI and B&H.

2.8.1 Interviews

The first set of primary data for this study was collected using unstructured and minimally structured personal interviews during May 2006 in Belfast and August - October 2006 in B&H. Most of the interviews in B&H took place in Sarajevo. Other interview locations included Bihac, Banja Luka, Jajce and Mostar (table 2.2). Interviews conducted with the British tour operators took place in the UK. Two British tour operators I met on their familiarisation trip in Bosnia and interviewed them in the UK after the trip. They already had experience of the destination, as they have been featuring B&H since 2005 and 2006 respectively. Familiarisation trip included new itineraries. It was an opportunity to get an insight into the development of a destination from the people whose decisions directly shape that development. I borrowed from Glaser and Straus' (1967) grounded theory, the factor of the saturation. I was conducting the interviews until no new information was found to be forthcoming. While doing the analysis, the missing point was identified to be the perception of foreign niche tour operators about their business in Bosnia. Therefore I conducted two more interviews with British tour operators to fill that gap and deepen the knowledge base. Since I had already met them during their familiarisation trip, I sent an email to them and the interviews were conducted on January 28th and January 31st 2007.

2.8.1.1 Interview sample

Qualitative research methods conducted under positivist philosophy are devalued in tourism research not because they are qualitative methods, but because they are conducted under the positivist settings, which should not be an intellectual base for qualitative research methods. Boyatzis (1998) and DeCrop (1999) argue that the social science lacks translation between quantitative and qualitative methods. In this case, however, I would argue that it is more to do with the interpretive and positivist paradigm, not just the methods. Methodological jargons, the variety of disciplines and the extradisciplinary under which tourism operates, do not need a lingua franca, rather the dialogue.

I do not like using the term interview sample, as the term is more useful when justifying a quantitative research, where the sample needs to be responsive both by its characteristics and quantities. Research sample represents a part of the larger population and aims to ensure that the conclusions are generalisable to the entire population. Why do

we have to use the terminology of positivist research philosophy in interpretivist research settings? In the case of researching post-conflict tourism, generalisations are almost impossible due to those different socio-political, cultural and economical settings (literature review). Generalisations are a characteristic of quantitative research (Decrop 2004). Strategies to recover from a tourism crisis caused by political conflict are triggered by political problems in the country and need to be addressed in particular social settings perspective, leading to qualitative research. An important characteristic, which makes qualitative research scientific, is transferability of the settings not generalisability of the results (Decrop 2004).

The study aim was achieved by understanding how people involved in tourism development in the post-conflict area perceive the whole process. In that sense, theoretical sampling is important to the validity of the study.

The Bosnian “sample” is analysed according to their affiliation with the public or private sector. A tour guide is either independent or works for a private ground agent and therefore affiliated to the private sector. The discussion themes were different depending on whether the interviewees were local decision makers, tour guides and people on the ground, or private tour operators. Ideally, the interviewees have experience in managing tourism in those extraordinary circumstances and the power of decision-making. While the interviews with the public sector were more concerned with the politics and planning, the interviews with the private sector mainly focused on what was really going on at the ground level. Tour guides discussed the war memorabilia sites in their own words. The research was based on a purposive sample of ten interviewees in Belfast and fifty-two in Bosnia. Interviews in Belfast were all affiliated to public sector and local community partnerships.

The process of data elicitation in B&H was more complex. Although the country is ethnically divided, I could not follow the ethnic division. First, it was not sensible to follow ethnical divisions in the PhD. Besides that, I was raised at a time when nationalities were irrelevant, I felt incapable of categorising my interviewees by their nationalities.

When deciding who to interview, if it were a survey (a positivist research), then it would be a straight-forward answer. I would need to elicit a representative sample of a large population and give them all a structured interview. I have conducted in depth qualitative interviews and therefore had other criteria for sampling. The sampling used in grounded theory is a theoretical sampling (Charmaz 2002). Although my research is not conducted under grounded theory principles, it is a qualitative research study and shared

some commonalities with grounded theory. Warren (2002) argues that theoretical sampling is the basis for qualitative research, without embodying it inclusively to grounded theory. Theoretical sampling is concerned with building theory (Charmaz 2002), thereby giving analytical power to the study. I conducted theoretical sampling via snowballing (Charmaz 2002). In Belfast, my initial contact with the Belfast Visitor and Convention Bureau helped me to contact others with the experience and knowledge required for my theoretical sampling. Employing theoretical sampling allowed me to gain rich data and fill in gaps in the theoretical knowledge. It also helped in establish the links between the themes. Sampling criteria were as follows:

- Represent a wide range of decision-makers within the tourism industry in NI and B&H
- NI during the troubles
- Experienced the conflict in B&H, whether as refugees abroad or remained in B&H during the conflict
- Recognised as key players within the industry. Their position in the organisation allows them to represent the opinion of their employers
- Experience of managing tourism in the post conflict society
- Tour guides have experience managing politically sensitive tours

An overview of the participants is outlined in Tables 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3. As an auxiliary method, the researcher employed participant observation. The researcher observed three political tours in Northern Ireland, one general city tour of Belfast, eleven general city tours through Bosnia, eight conflict themed tours, two tours themed with WWII and the cult of Tito, one tour themed with Jewish inheritance in Sarajevo, a Pilgrimage Tour in Sarajevo (four religions), and a tour themed with the recent archaeological site known as the Bosnian Pyramid. The observations provided the study with sufficient details to enable an understanding of the phenomenon as a whole and which linked the issues together.

2.8.1.2 Data Access

Although named as a common problem in qualitative research (Easterby-Smith et al 2002), I experienced no major problems in getting access to interviewees. My research taught me that there were no rules to obtaining interview access.

The initial contacts were made via emails (Appendix IV) making sure to include an acknowledgement on how I found out about their work. Snowballing worked well, and interviewees themselves provided me with access to the people they felt I should talk to. By acknowledging that in my emails, access was guaranteed. In a few cases they provided me with mobile phone numbers and advised I should dial their colleagues directly and mention the person who had given me their number. While in Bosnia, I interviewed four Ministers, one Ministry advisor, Mayor of Sarajevo, and many other presidents and directors. I initially thought that I would have problems in gaining access, but on the contrary, I had open access. All the respondents I contacted confirmed their willingness to be interviewed. Only one elite tour operator from the UK refused an interview. The reason for not conducting an interview is that the person working on the B&H product had only just been employed and had never visited Bosnia. Although I could argue that certain interviewees were elite, I would rather not use that label because I did not have to go through any protocols. One of the characteristics of elite interviews is that it is difficult to gain access (Odendahl, Shaw 2002). I did not encounter this problem. There were a few reasons for that. First, NI and B&H are peripheral destinations. Those societies are marginalised when it comes to tourism. They are perceived as being of no particular interest in terms of tourism research and they do not receive many enquiries from students. Post-conflict areas are of more interest to sociology, social anthropology, politics and peace studies. They, however, feel they have a tourism story to tell and were happy to provide me with access. On the other side, while asking for the permission to conduct an interview, I was humble and confident, not just for the sake of interviewing, but I really felt that way. Me, little Senija was writing to the big Tourism Minister. My humbleness was honest. As I have already acknowledged, I was employing snowballing technique. It almost guaranteed access.

I was careful to acknowledge my gratitude to the participating interviewees both verbally and in writing (via emails). Most of them expressed a willingness to provide further assistance, should the need arise.

Although my interview sampling was not formal, it worked well. I gained access using an alternative way, thus my goal was accomplished.

The following table presents a summary of the demographic characteristics of the participating interviewees.

Table 2 .1: Interviewee sample: Belfast

Interviewee	Area of expertise	Position
Interviewee 1	City of Belfast	Senior manager
Interviewee 2	Local community	Project Manager
Interviewee 3	City of Belfast	Senior manager
Interviewee 4	City of Belfast	Senior manager
Interviewee 5	Northern Ireland	Project manager
Interviewee 6	Local community	Senior manager and local councillor
Interviewee 7	Local community	Project Manager
Interviewee 8	Northern Ireland	Senior manager
Interviewee 9	City of Belfast	Senior manager
Interviewee 10	Local community	Project Manager

In order for the reader to have a better understanding of the findings the researcher would like to present all of the institutions and organisations by geo-political scope indicating the role of the each interviewee within their respective institutions. Bosnia has three tiers of government, established under ethnic divisions, as prescribed by the Dayton agreement and three presidents, one Bosniak, one Croat and one Serb. Tourism Association (state level) also has three presidents, all of whom were interviewed. These tourism officials also hold the positions within one of these three tiers of Bosnian government. The Ministry of Trade and Tourism in the Republic Srpska Entity is a Bosnian Serb president in Tourism Association realms. The director of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina Entity Tourism Office (Bosniak-Croat Federation) and his deputy (interchangeably Bosnian and Croat) are the Bosniak and Croat presidents of the Tourism Association (state level). All three tiers of the government have a significant political power. Therefore the interviews were made on all three levels.

I am aware that this is not completely clear. However, this lack of clarity is here on purpose, and emphasises the complexity of the settings in which Bosnian tourism has to operate. The decision makers are interviewed. They represent the thoughts and ideas of the wider population at least formally through their official positions. I could not go further in exploring who really makes the decision in all the cases. However, snowballing led me to the real decision makers. The tables below present the interview sample in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Table 2.2: Interviewee sample: B&H private sector and tour guides

Institution	Interviewee	City
Tour Operator UK based	Manager for Eastern European product	Bristol
Tour Operator	Marketing Director	Bristol
Tour Operator	Bosnia – marketing and development	London
Tour Operator and Ground Agent, incoming based in B&H	Co-founder and product manager, coordinator for eco-tourism projects	Sarajevo
	Co-founder, marketing, and community development	Sarajevo
	Tour Guide	Sarajevo
Tour Operator and Ground Agent, incoming based in B&H	Director	Mostar
	Tour Guide	Mostar
	Tour Guide	Mostar
Tour Operator and Ground Agent, incoming based in B&H	Director	Banja Luka
Rafting, the owner of the tourist complex (rafting, accommodation and outdoors)	Owner and manager	Bihac
Tour Guide – independent		Sarajevo
Tour Guide – independent		Sarajevo
Ground Agent – organising tours and trips in Sarajevo and around Bosnia	Director	Sarajevo
	Tour Guide	Sarajevo
Tour Operator and Ground Agent, incoming based in B&H	Managing director and owner	Sarajevo
Travel agency and accommodation capacities	Managing Director and business owner	Sarajevo
	Tour guide	Sarajevo
Tour guide	Independent	Jajce
Tour Operator and Ground Agent, incoming based in B&H	Director	Mostar
Travel Agency	Marketing Director	Sarajevo
Ground Agent	Product manager	Visoko
	Tour Guide	Visoko
Project	Leader	Visoko
Sarajevo Secret Tunnel museum	Museum curator and the owner of the property	Sarajevo
	Museum curator and owner of the property	Sarajevo
Travel agency	Director	Medjugorje
Sarajevo Jewish Heritage Museum	Museum curator	Sarajevo

Table 2.3: Interviewee sample: B&H public and NGO sector

Institution	Interviewee	Geo-political scope
Tourism Association	Presidents	The state of B&H, nominal function
Tourism Organisation	Advisor	Entity RS- Entity
Tourism Office	Vice-president	Federation- Entity
Tourism Office – Regional	Vice-presidents	Herzegovina region
City of Sarajevo	Advisor for tourism and the investment	City of Sarajevo
Ministry of Trade and Tourism	Deputy Ministry for tourism	Republic Srpska- Entity
Ministry of Tourism and the Environment	Minister	Federation- Entity
The Ministry of Foreign Trade	Advisor for Tourism	State level
The Ministry of Transport and Communications	Ministry	Federation – Entity
Chamber of Commerce	Tourism Department Manager	State level
Chamber of Commerce	Director	State level
Chamber of Commerce	Director	Regional
Foreign Investment Promotion Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FIPA)	Tourism Project Manager	State level
	Vice-president	State level
Tourism Association	President before the conflict	The state level
Centre for management and communication		Regional – Herzegovina
Chamber of Commerce	President	Canton
City of Bihac	Advisor for tourism and investment	City of Bihac, Canton
University	Dean, tourism consultant	Canton
B&H constitution	Tourism expert	The state Level
USAID	Tourism expert	Communication expert,
USAID	Tourism expert	Herzegovina Region Cluster
USAID	Tourism expert	State level
CARE programme	Former tourism expert	
City of Sarajevo	Mayor	City of Sarajevo, Canton

Table 2.4 below presents the topics explored in Northern Ireland, and which were followed up during the discussions. This was the final “interview guide” developed during the research. Most of the topics were discussed, depending on the background of the interviewee. Topic guide evolved throughout the interview.

Table 2.4: Topic guide

Interviewee background
The development of tourism in NI, differences during the “troubles”, just after the “troubles” and now
Interviewee remits now
Relationship with private sector
Relationship with other public bodies within the industry
The role of NITB and Tourism Ireland
Media and Tourism image development
Tourism products
Dark tourism
Project Funding
Social issues of tourism (possibility for cooperation and reconciliation)
The role of tourism in city regeneration process: job provision, the development of infrastructure
Competitor
Advice for B&H
Way forward for NI

2.8.1.3 Data elicitation: fieldwork process

Data collection includes qualitative analysis, which aims to understand (Gordon and Langmaid 1988; de Vaus 2001) and emancipate the phenomena. This section justifies conducting so-called phenomenological post-modernist interviews (Fontana 2002) in order to reach the aim of the research.

Charmaz (2002) argues that qualitative interviewing should offer in-depth and open-ended exploration of a particular aspect of life about which the interviewee has had a solid experience. For King (2004), qualitative interview is exploratory and in depth. Kvale (1983:176) defines qualitative interviews as *“an interview, whose purpose is to gather descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee with respect to the interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena”*. Influenced by Chamaz (2002), King (2004) and Kvale (1996), I identified qualitative interviews to be the most appropriate method to enable data elicitation and address the research aim of this study and these were based on an interview guide (table 2.1, Belfast interview guide), rather than preset questions.

According to Schaeffer and Maynard (2002) (after Cicourel 1964), without the interviewer and interview participants’ ability to share common and overlapping social worlds, and their related communicative understandings, the interview will not be possible. Kvale (1996) suggests that relationship is a part of an interview. It draws on the issues

common to the interviewer and interviewee. The interviews I conducted in Bosnia and Northern Ireland drew on common or overlapping social worlds; in this case, a world of personal encounter with the political violence and an interest in tourism. Drawing on common social words facilitated the interview. Fontana (2002) names this type of interviewing, a phenomenologically informed interview.

In the beginning, I thought about conducting semi-structured interviews with the preconceptions elicited from the literature. I had my framework and pre-conceptualised questions. However, if it remained as such, I would not be able to highlight the interviewees' perception of myself which impacted on the interview process.

It is very important to the validity of the whole research that qualitative interviews are attributed with a low degree of structure. My interviews were unstructured, lengthy, subjective, and involve both interviewee and interviewer as part of the process. The shortest interviews lasted one hour, the longest five hours. Interviews went in many different directions. The loose interview structure allowed the researcher to assess the importance interviewees were giving to certain topics. Respondents were not exclusively asked the themes in the same order. According to Charmaz (2002), the questions need to be sufficiently general, as they need to explore both the interview topics and the participant's experience. In fact, interviewees were not asked the questions; rather it was a conversation. For example, I would first of all mention tourism promotion and the interviewees would talk about what it meant to them. In Northern Ireland for example, cultural tourism was themed with urban regeneration and questioning why only certain parts of Belfast are supposed to be included in a cultural tourism strategy. Cultural tourism was supposed to have tourism as a focal point, but focused on social classes instead. Qualitative interview is the most advisable way to elicit meanings which the interviewees may be giving to certain issues. In this way it was possible to find out the meaning of each particular component of the issues retaining to destination development after a long-term political turmoil, as well as the way possible components influence the existence of the whole process. This means, developing an understanding of how individuals 'perceive', 'see' and make sense of certain situations. Then, questions of 'why' certain situations occur, or 'what does it mean?', help the understanding and explanations of processes, which in this case, are related to 'how' and in 'which ways' it is possible to operate and cooperate in those given circumstances.

At the end of each interview, the interviewees were asked if there is anything else they consider to be of great importance. Sometimes this resulted in lengthy extension of

the interview, and those issues being included in the next interview. In such a way, the interviewee actively shapes the interview. In the process of finding the right data, the research relies on the interviewees. This is one of the most important features of the whole research process. The actual process of interviewing is also an initial part of the analysis. Therefore, open questions were predominant in order for the interviewee to focus on specific situations and action sequences in the world of the interviewee. Interviews are a very flexible method. A qualitative interview guide does not end with the beginning of the first interview. In fact, it evolves during the interview and is usually modified during the interview process as when new topics may be added. I do not want to label my research as an ethnographic one, but this characteristic does bring a spark of ethnography into the research. Participant observation as an auxiliary method highlights ethnographic issues even more.

2.8.2 Participant observation

The interviews resulted in rich data, but they were not enough. An important research objective was to explore and understand the issue of conflict memorabilia sites, so called dark tourism. I conducted the interviews with the tour guides. However, I needed to gain rich data in order to make my study valid. I needed to feel, see and observe how the tour guide appoints, interprets and delivers the theme of the conflict. As previously mentioned, in Israel, Jewish history and the atrocities from the past, have a political role now. Their role is to highlight Jewish identity. The diaspora coming to Israel is reminded of their identity and how that identity remained despite the massive atrocities (E. H. Cohen, Iferganb and E Cohen 2002). The tours in Israel are delivered in such way so as to highlight the braveness of Jews to survive despite these atrocities (preliminary interview). I wanted to observe what is highlighted in the tours in Northern Ireland and Bosnia. I was triangulating the interviews with the participant observations. After the interview, I asked a tour guide if I could join the tour. Observations were overt. I could not hide the note taking. I digitally recorded some of the conversations I had with tourists after the interviews, with the permission of a tour guide and the tourists themselves. One tour guide introduced me as an apprentice; others introduced me as a researcher. I could not observe any differences between the perception of me as a researcher or me as an apprentice. It was up to the tour guide whether to introduce me to the group as a researcher or as an apprentice. The groups did not have any objections. A few individuals said that they were

happy to finally see some research being done on tourism in Bosnia, and they did not have any objections to being a part of it. One of the tourists said;

Oh I am so happy there is a research about tourism; it is a good sign for this country. (From researcher's notes)

The tour groups did not pay much attention to me. In the beginning some asked me about my study, or about Glasgow, etc, but after this brief conversation, they forget about me.

War memorabilia sites are not inclusive to the conflict-themed tour, but are a part of a general city tour as well. The way the tour is delivered, how the tour guide presents the site and the tourists' experience on the site, the data could not be obtained unless conducting participant observation in its naturalistic setting. The generic city tour included conflict memorabilia sites, which led me to deconstruct the dark tourism concept.

Participant observation enriched the study with real life experiences. Some of the issues identified during the interviews needed to be experienced in person in order to be understood and have meaning. There was also an issue concerning border crossing. Tour guides acknowledged that they had difficulties whenever crossing the border. I experienced this first hand and find a meaning this has in the process of tourism development.

Table 2.5 presents the tours I observed. Interviews were conducted during weekdays. Participant observations were done during the weekends.

Table 2.5: Participant Observation

Participant observation Belfast		
Type of tour	Tour Guide	Delivery Characteristics
Political tour 1		Local community tourist guide
Political tour 2		Partnership between west Belfast tourism board and Shankill tourism
Political tour 3		Local community tour guide
City tour 1		Reference given to the communities, organised by Sightseeing Bus
City tour 2		Reference given to the communities, organised by Belfast Visitors and Convention Bureau
Themed Tour (other than politics)		
Participant observation Sarajevo		
A type of tour	Tour guide	Delivery Characteristics
General city tours: Sarajevo	Vlaja	Tour guide from Sarajevo, a student, works for the ground agent, reference given to the conflict
General city tours: Sarajevo	Zijo	Tour guide from Sarajevo, very experienced, enjoys a great popularity and respect, gives the references to the war, however, more in depth than the first one, explains through the history, people are touched, stories from the past times; tours of three, five seven, fifteen and two times the whole mini-bus, i.e circa 25 people
General city tours: Sarajevo	Panjeta	Tour guide from Sarajevo, works for local ground agent, gives reference to the conflict, it was almost half of the tour
General city tours: Mostar	3 tours, Tanja, Tijana, Petar	Avoidance, they say that they were young during the atrocities, however, they talk only about the bridge, on the question who destroyed the bridge, first it was said enemies of the city, later they gave official information
War themed tours: Sarajevo	Adnan	Anti-war sentiment felt throughout the tour, very powerful, people are touched
War themed tours: Sarajevo	Zijad	Very powerful, cathartic experience, cry
War themed tours: Sarajevo	Sead	History
War themed tours: Srebrenica	Zijad	It was not a tour. It was a trip organised for the journalists from the EU. Silence.
Themed tour: Jewish heritage	Adnan and Mario	Jewish heritage tour in Sarajevo, accent is on multi ethnic environment
Themed tour: spiritual tour	Adnan	Accent is on multiculturalism, tolerance and respect present for centuries
Themed tour: Lukomir, the oldest traditional rural settlement in Europe	Panjeta	Accent is on people and nature
Mostar and Blagaj	/	Architecture and history
Jajce		
Themed tours (other)	Vlaja	World War II heritage tour

2.8.3 Thematic analysis: an issue of software and interview transcription

All interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed manually. Although transcription is often considered to be a “boring and long” process, I would argue that it was in fact a significant analysis stage. Although a time consuming process, it was time well spent. During interview transcription, the first conceptions of the themes appeared, and the first links emerged. While the transcription process was taking place, I was reflecting, recalling my feelings and revisiting research notes and diary entries. Allowing a professional to carry out the transcription is expensive and furthermore, could have resulted in the information being used out of context and possibly even endanger the research. Furthermore, it would have been difficult to reflect on the fieldwork process (see Appendix V for the example of the transcribed interview)

Consideration was given to using N-Vivo software for the purposes of this analysis, but it appeared that manual coding would be more appropriate for this research due to the limited experience using the aforementioned software and a preference for a maximally flexible analysis strategy. Moreover, manual coding would be a continuation of the transcription process and carried out by the researcher alone, establishing a connection between the data and the researcher which deepened during the process. A connection between the data and me was established. That connection deepened during the process of coding. The researcher did in fact try N-vivo, but ended up doing manual coding before putting these codes into a computer. Conceptualising the codes electronically created a mental block. That process was unnecessary. N-vivo appeared to be an electronic file. Additionally, the interviewees did not use a standardised vocabulary to explain their experiences, which resulted in text, which would have been impossible to code using software.

Some codes were common to several themes and overall, it was easier for the researcher to conceptualise these manually. For example, the issue of the development of cultural tourism was important across three categories: the role of tourism in a city’s regeneration process, the provision of partnerships and community rehabilitation through tourism development within the area.

Furthermore, the data was messy and unstructured, but I felt best able to organise this, without using any of the software usually employed for this task. King (2004) suggests maintaining close links with the data during the analysis process. Using the software would have produced an unnecessary mental barrier between the data and the

researcher (myself). King (2004) suggests putting the researcher's own assumptions on paper and consulting them during the process in addition to keeping a research diary as a way to enhance reflexivity. It is possible to include the assumption as notes in N-Vivo electronic file. However, this was not necessary. Structure would only make it harder to construct links and endanger the reflexivity, which is one of the most important processes within the analysis.

Furthermore, it would have endangered the whole philosophy behind the research. In designing the study, I was included as a part of the process. Software would create a distance and unnecessary problems because it clashes with the whole philosophy behind the process. Charmaz (2002) argues that using software in qualitative enquiry is only possible if the researcher's ontology is objective and realist and if the data is structured. This was not the case of my research.

Thus, it was felt that using N-vivo or other software in order to analyse the data, would make the research more problematic and structuring the messiness of the data more challenging.

2.8.4. An issue of native language

The interviews were conducted in the official language of each country, namely English in Northern Ireland and Bosniak, Croatian, Serbian¹ in Bosnia. In B&H, four of the interviewees were not from Bosnia originally, and only one of them speaks both English and Bosnian. These four preferred to use English during the interviews. The interviews with the British tour operators were conducted in English.

The Bosnian interviews were analysed and themed in Bosnian and the themes were translated into English. Another opinion would have been to translate the interviews in English first, but it was felt that authenticity could be lost during the translation. Additionally, transcribing the interviews in Bosnian helped to locate, link and reflect. For example, in some interviews it was noted that the term "cross-border cooperation" was being used frequently in either an emancipatory, high politics or reconciliatory sense. This may not have been so obvious if an English translation had been used. In other words, using English to translate the interviews would remove the data from its natural settings.

¹ It is the same language. The only difference is that Serbs in Bosnia use Cyrillic alphabet

2.9 THEMATIC ANALYSIS: INTRODUCTION

The process of thematic analysis is flexible. It can be said that, as long as it adds value to answering a research question and understanding the reality of the interviewee, it should be included in the process of the interview. It was important to assess the significance the interviewees gave to each of the topics and to include the observations in the process of the analysis. It is not only what is said, but also how it is said and in which context. Reflexivity also plays an important part in this research, i. e. *investigating the experience as lived* (Van Manen 1990).

Hollingshead (2004) noted four pillars, which form a messy, creative art of qualitative research. These are: matters of text; matters of reflexivity; matters of voice; and matters of audiencing. This section outlines the role of the researchers' social background, and her personal reflection in the process of data analysis. Personal reflection is one of the key factors in social constructionism of the phenomenon and contextualisation of the life world. Personal reflection inscribes meaning to the study and is the first stage when attempting to order messy data. The issue of trustworthiness (interpretivist jargon) or validity (positivist jargon) is addressed through personal reflection. This process is called bracketing and is at the heart of phenomenological approach.

2.9.1 Phenomenological approach

In-depth interviews are considered to be the most appropriate for yielding data suitable for phenomenological analysis (Hayllar and Griffin 2005). Phenomenology is a study of various types of experience, involving as Husserl (1962) calls it "intentionality". Our experience is represented through particular concepts, ideas, and thoughts. These give meaning to a given experience and are distinct from the meaning of the things they represent. Van Manen (1990) also refers to this arguing that the parts need to be interpreted both alone and holistically. According to Crotty (1998), phenomenology is about understanding human experience within a particular living context. Bryman (2004:542) defines phenomenology as a philosophy that is concerned with the question of how individuals make sense of the world around them and how in particular the philosopher should bracket out preconceptions concerning his or her grasp of that world. It is a concept, which does not work if the researcher does not reflect. It is about contextualisation.

Bracketing is an essential part of phenomenology, done by employing thematic analysis. The researcher brackets his/hers preconceptions of the world through personal reflection (Crotty 1996, 1998). Moreover, attention is directed towards the structure and social construction of intersubjective reality (Dann and Cohen 1991).

2.9.2 Constructing the themes and bracketing

According to Boyatzis (1997), it is possible to develop themes using theory driven, prior data driven and data driven approaches. These are a continuum from absolute theory driven to the absolute data driven. Thematic analysis finds a pattern in information which appears to be random. That pattern is called a theme and is data driven.

According to Chanmaz (2002) coding is concerned with distilling events and meanings from an original text without the essential properties. The first stage in the coding process is about recognising and analysing those meanings. This is followed by the coding which focuses on synthesising and conceptualisation of the data. The result of this process is the creation of sub-themes, formatted in such a way so as to enable understanding of the meanings and experiences. Each theme is defined using initial and focused coding, and the data employed accordingly. In this manner, thematic analysis is suggested as a way of data interpretation. Denzin (1998) argues that through thematic analysis, experience is recreated. Assembling of the lived-data with similar connotations under one theme or sub-theme gives meaning to the lived facts, i. e. it is a social construction.

The phenomenological reflection is achieved by conducting a thematic analysis which gives a degree of order and control to the task. Ultimately, the interpretive purpose of the 'theme' is to determine the structures that constitute the experience. A theme is constructed of the subject of the study (interviewees and informants), the researcher who interprets the meanings given to the study and the process of *phenomenological reflection*, which links the researcher, to the meanings given to the phenomena (Van Manen 1990). According to King (2004) reflexivity as a term recognises the involvement of the researcher as an active part of the research and researcher's active participation shapes the way and the knowledge produced through the analysis.

According to Hayllar and Griffin (2005), thematic analysis involved data reduction. The thematic concept was strained and constructed from the raw data presented through interview transcription. Data explication of the interview transcripts was based on meaning consideration which involves "*a reduction of lengthy interview text into briefer, more*

succinct formulations and relies on the researchers' interpretation and creative insight" (Kvale 1999:192).

Thematic analysis is a version of coding. Reflection and interpretation are a means to that end. They are going through the circle iteratively until the phenomenological "aha" is reached. Crotty (1998) perceives that final "Aha!" moment as a stage when a sense that the description fits is reached. To a large extent, the ideas of phenomenological reflection expressed so far, and the writing task itself, are false dichotomies. In fact, writing (interpretation) and reflection are symbiotic tasks (Van Manen 1990). Through thematic reflection, the messy and unsorted data is put in order through an iterative process. Ultimately, the interpretive purpose of 'theme' is to determine the experiential structures that constitute the understanding. It is the essence of phenomenological research. At the end of the analysis, there should be a sense that the work is right. At the end of the iterations, the data should lead themselves into the themes.

Van Manen (1990) also notes that during the analysis the researcher needs to consider both the parts and the whole and to be consistent within the interpretation. In this research, I have achieved this through thematic analysis, whereby all the themes are presented separately and synthesised in a conceptual framework. Consideration of the parts and the whole is also achieved by consistently focusing on the research objectives and question.

A theme is defined, as having five elements (Boyatzis 1997)²:

- A label (theme, concept): geo-political partnership
- Definition: Based upon reconciliation. As is the case with any new concept, there is no standard definition that all scholars and practitioners rely on. However, almost everyone acknowledges that it includes at least four critical components identified by John Paul Lederach (2001) - truth, justice, mercy, and peace.
- Sub-themes (subconcepts), how is the theme constructed
- Issues (descriptions of the theme and eliminations of the confusions): politically partitioned entities agreed upon tourism

BRACKETING

Denzin (1989: 58-59) suggests that bracketing facilitates the process of 'construction' which "*classifies, orders, and reassembles the phenomenon back into a*

² Descriptions of the identification and eliminations of confusions are put under the same category, therefore only four elements here

coherent whole". Its goal is "to re-create lived experience in terms of its constituent analytic elements". This is a moment of social construction.

Aptekar (1991) questions the validity of his own ethnographic study on Colombian street children, regretting that he did not take into consideration his own childhood traumas and experiences as how these influenced the view he has of the children on the Colombian streets. Bracketing adds weight to a study's trustworthiness (Guba & Lincoln, 1982). In the context of this study, and when crafting themes which would lead to the conclusion, my personal experience of conflict and my own healing of the wounds were bracketed as well as the personal experience of working in tourism.

The importance of bracketing can be illustrated through the following example. The interviewees based in the Belfast communities of Shankill and West Belfast argued that they have a problem working with the official tourist bodies, because of prejudices they face. The perception is that officials do not trust that they can deliver a quality product and therefore the officials would only reluctantly put these communities into an official strategy. Tourist bodies do not trust that they can deliver a tourism product of a good standard because of the specific area of a working class community which has never before been valorised in the terms of tourism. Bosnia faces a similar situation. Croatians are reluctant to cooperate with Bosnia, as they do not trust that Bosnians could manage their part of the task well. Bosnia was always regarded as a country dominated by heavy industries and Bosnians as not reliable in service industries. This is highlighted in the research because of my autobiographical experience. Born in Bosnia, with a Bosnian accent and a Bosnian family name, my first job was in Croatia, where I had an office job creating special interest tourism products, lower middle management. However, because I was Bosnian, hotel directors laughed at me saying that they cannot imagine a Bosnian knowing anything about tourism. Bosnians should be chambermaids or commis chefs! This was the perception. Thus, I was very sensitive to community prejudices in Belfast and Bosnia. Realising my own moment, I was able to bracket it.

A phenomenological approach involves an unpacking of the phenomena, peeling away the layers until the phenomenon in itself remains, first broad-brushed selectivity, and then fine-tuning (Alvesson 2002). Reflection and interpretation are the means to the end. Assembling meanings under one common theme is a process of social construction. Themes were grouped into three wider perspectives (figure 8.3). The first looks at tourism's influence on wider socio-political settings, the second is about socio-political influences on tourism, and the third is about material conflict inheritance, war memorabilia

sites, and their direct impact on tourism development. The external and internal dichotomies meet in the war memorabilia sites, which depict both. Reflecting on themes and working the text is a dialectical process between the text, the researcher and the writing endeavour (figure 2.1).

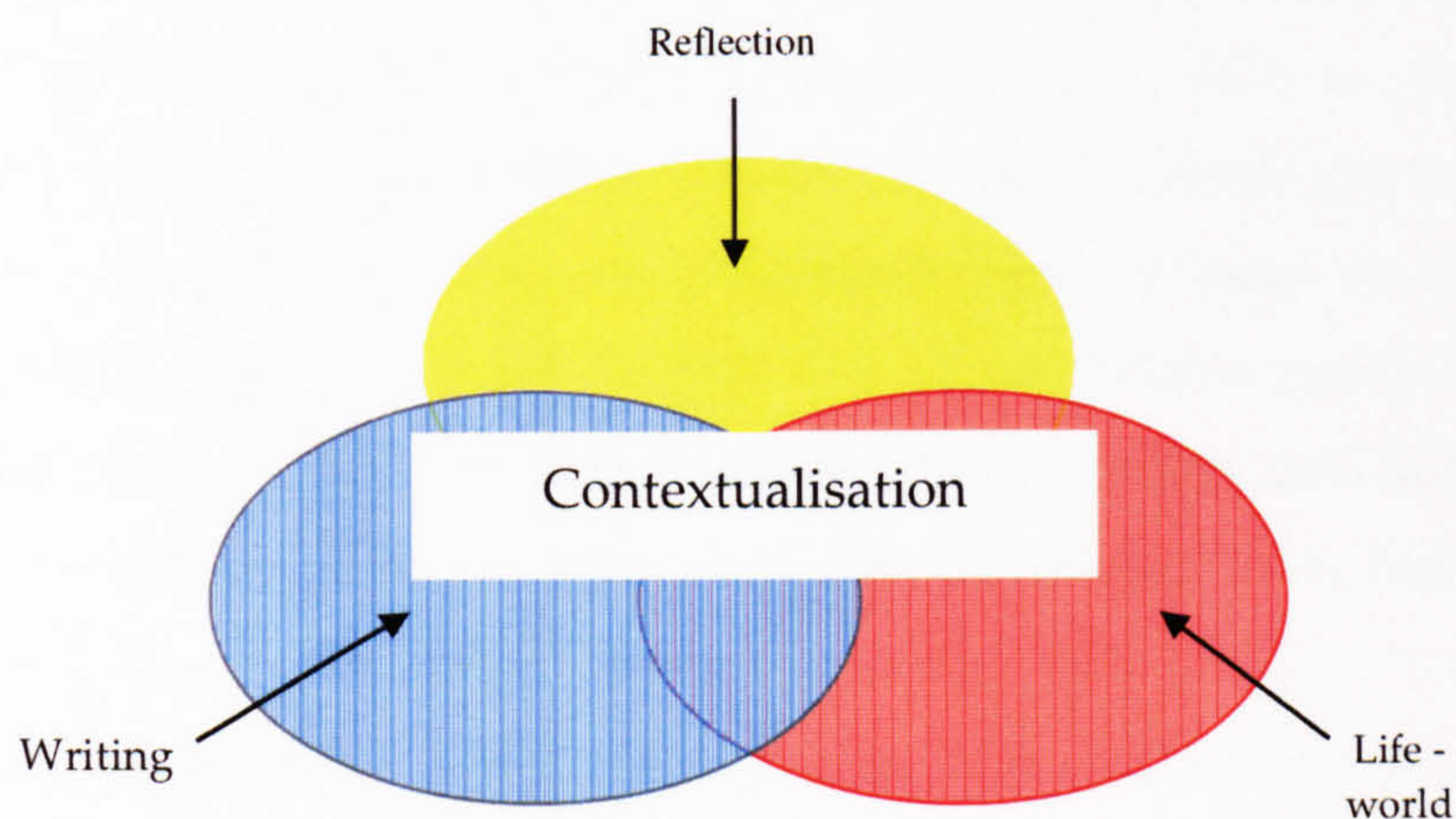


Figure 2.1: Developing and understanding thoughts and flows

2.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter has explained the main research issues. Interviews are a very flexible method, but it was not an issue of methods here, but of the methodology. If I conducted interviews without acknowledging myself as a researcher, it would endanger the trustworthiness of the research. Qualitative research is about social interaction. It should not be analysed according to the principals of positivism, i. e. the same way as questionnaires are analysed. That is why qualitative research is not well accepted. It forgets the researcher, who is a part of the context. If similar research were conducted by, for instance, a PhD student from the US, I would expect him or her to acknowledge his or her social background. That was the point of this research. For example, this researcher has chosen to highlight certain themes and put aside others. It is the way the interviewees perceive the researcher. Lincoln and Guba (1985) propose that credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability enhance trustworthiness in qualitative research. This research would like to add personal reflection to this list.

The previous chapter outlined the methodological approach to the study, which had an impact on the perception of the literature review outlined in the following chapter.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW: TOURISM IN THE POST- CONFLICT SETTINGS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The research discusses the issues which influence the process of tourism development under the specific circumstances of a post-conflict setting. This section starts by defining political conflict, arguing that the outcomes depend not only on the characteristics of the conflict, but also on socio-cultural and geopolitical contexts. The research argues that the war memorabilia sites are part of the post-conflict context, although rarely researched as such. War memorabilia is usually researched as a part of a “dark tourism” concept. The following section, therefore, presents the issues significant to post-conflict tourism development, as they are reflected in the literature. It is followed by a review of a “dark tourism” concept.

Researchers note that the knowledge is created through the case studies. They argue that a global perspective to the problem is missing. Also, comparative analyses are very rare (Sonmez 1998, Neumayer 2004).

Neumayer’s (2004) study gave more insights into global coverage of the problem. He argues that since the quantitative research is missing, it was not possible to have a global picture and generalise. However, such generalisations are rare because it is almost impossible to generalise certain elements of this issue due to the different socio-political and cultural settings. Mansfeld (1996) explains that although there it is necessary to understand the causal relations between political instability and inbound tourist flows, that particular causality makes it difficult to generalise about the characteristics of the events. It is only possible to, instead of generalisation, try to transfer certain issues from one social setting to another. Unfortunately, the majority of the studies are conducted so as to imply generalisations. Those generalisations are force-fit and rather questionable.

Another gap noted is that of research interest. According to Biernman (2002) and Neumayer (2004), tourism development after a single, short-term incident (eg. a terrorist attack) is better researched than one occurring after a after long-term crisis (eg. wars and longer periods of political instability). One question posed is whether terrorist attacks receive attention because the targets are usually civilians and tourists, or is the nature of the destination where terrorism is happening more important? The unfortunate event of 9/11 changed the research flow. Before 9/11 the research was more like a case study on a country. Aziz (1995), and Biernman (2002) explore Egypt in the nineties and the influence

of terrorism. After 9/11, terrorism is understood more as a global phenomenon and is researched as such (Hitchcock and Putra 2005 for instance).

Another point is that the unfortunate event in New York 9/11 had a significant impact on global travel and tourism patterns (WTO report 2002) and therefore caused more research related to tourism recovery after a single, short-term incident (Goodrich 2002). Terrorism is happening in prime locations. Both media and researchers are interested in these destinations and far less research has been conducted on political violence, which lasts for a longer period of time. Destinations which are easily substituted, and those less popular areas (due to long-term turbulence or political conflict), lag behind in the world of tourism. Specifically, due to the longevity of the instabilities, they lose their tourism appeal and, consequently, the research interest fades away. The following section presents a short review of the literature which has influenced this research.

3.2 DEFINING THE CONCEPT

When it comes to defining the relationship between war and tourism, the immediate reaction is that it is negative relationship. These studies dominated in the nineties (for example Hall 1994, Mihalic 1996, Mansfeld 1996, Wall 1996, etc). Since then, further studies recycle already published work, focusing mainly on tourism policy and planning (for example, Neumayer 2004, Issa and Altinay 2006). It is an unquestionable truth that political instability deteriorates tourism although studies still question that (Neumayer 2004). The research has somehow remained locked into already acknowledged truths, whether through fear, lack of creativity or challenge. The main problem is that most of the studies follow the same research pattern, i. e. what does not fit into the model, will not be researched. They look from the same perspective at the problem. Neumayer's (2004) findings on the global coverage of the problem did not take the broader socio-political settings of countries into account and therefore the results are very questionable. The broad conclusion, published in the *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, is:

The good message, on the other hand, is that if the violence stops and the country manages to reverse its negative image in the international media, then tourism can bounce back (Neumayer 2004:278)

Seaton (1999) and Weaver (2002) in their studies pointed out that there are also positive outcomes derived from the crises. Once a ceasefire is in place, the scene of the battle has the potential to become a tourist destination for the first time, through a good tourism policy. It is especially relevant for those destinations which were in the early stages of their tourism life cycle (TALC) (Butler 1980) before political crisis. The idea of newly created visitor attractions motivated by the war memorabilia, can accelerate the TALC. Weaver (2002), however, does not take into account the nature of any conflict or consider the media and the whole set of media (Seaton 1999), political, cultural and social settings (Sonmez 1998) into account. Weaver's model is conceptualised on a historic battlefield sites, and has a long-term orientation. Furthermore it is a conceptual, not an empirical study. The practical value is questionable. "Modern" conflicts are different. Due to the deliberate targeting of civilians as a part of military strategy (Crisp 2003, Musabegovic 2007), such "modern" conflicts necessitate the need to consider completely different issues (findings chapter). The consequences on the local population need to be taken into account. However, Weaver (2002), however, acknowledged that war, although having devastating effects on tourism can, with a good promotional strategy and positive social circumstances (Seaton 1999) bring about some positive outcomes in the long run.

Tourism research is extremely industry driven (Chapter 2, section 2.5 Knowledge Creation). However, tourist areas after political conflict should not be treated like business organisation whose production has decreased, which a business consultant will try to find a solution for. A great majority of those studies lack a holistic approach. Leslie (1999) noted that more qualitative research is needed in this particular issue, as current studies are usually based only on numbers and statistics. He argues that adding a qualitative approach would help understanding the phenomena better. As Ateljevic, Pritchard and Morgan (2007) argue, societal settings are very complex and require a multi-dimensional approach. The studies need to consult more than one discipline. Tourism after the conflict is based on problem-based learning and business research.

In studying post-conflict tourism, the research usually does not address broader social or political dimensions. The issue of tourism development after a long-term political conflict is always researched the same way. This approach has its limits and it is difficult to produce a valid contribution to the knowledge if continues taking the same approach. It needs to approach the issue from another angle. Richter (1983), and Teye (1986) argued the problematic of the post-conflict tourism. In 1996, Pizam and Mansfeld edited the volume on safety and security issues. It was a very similar approach. Many studies were

done after 2000 (Biernman 2002, Henderson 2000, Neumayer 2004, Altinay and Issa 2006) and many others did not make a substantial theoretical contribution. The consequence is a poor RAE rank (C. M. Hall 2004, Morgan et al 2007) and less funds available for tourism research.

Regardless of the conflict genesis and socio-political settings, conflict memorabilia does exist. This link has rarely been acknowledged simply because the research tends to be locked into already set hypothesis and theories. V. Smith (1998) has acknowledged the link between the conflict and war memorabilia travel, Henderson (2000) acknowledged “war attractions” in tourism planning in Vietnam, Richter (1999) acknowledged an existence of so called freedom tours when talking about tourism development after Marcos Martial Law in the Philippines. Those examples did not refer to ‘dark tourism’. This particular observation is slowly attracting the academia. Fyall, Prideaux and Timothy (2006), in the introduction to a special issue of the International Journal of Tourism Research devoted to war and tourism noted that they did not want to publish work, which deals with volumes and trends, because these analyses are available in other publications.

This literature review is a hybrid between the hard and the soft approaches to tourism research. The hard component is presented through the issues surrounding tourism development, i. e. the plans, strategies, laws and regulations. The soft part of the research is concerned with emotion, especially in relation to the sites of war inheritance. At the end of this chapter, the researcher acknowledges the links between what is seen and what is felt, between the hard and the soft, and the feminine and the masculine parts of research. The links between such concepts are core to this research, and at the centre of addressing the problem of tourism development after a long-term political conflict.

3.3 THE ISSUES OF POST-CONFLICT TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

The first section of this chapter follows the issues that emerged from the literature review regarding post-conflict tourism development.

These issues were identified through the work of Richter (1980), (1982), Hall (1994), edited volume Hall and O’Sullivan (1996), Vukonic (1997), Sonmez (1998), Kelly (1998), Sonmez, Apostolopoulos and Tarlow (1999), an edited special edition of the Journal of Travel Research, Cavlek (2002), Baral, Baral and Morgan (2004), Neumayer (2004), Grosspietch (2005), Altinay and Issa (2006), Fyall, Prideaux, and Timothy (2006), to name a few. This section gives instances of both successful and unsuccessful efforts of the

governments involved in tourism after political conflict focusing on the specific situations in the Philippines, Fiji, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tibet, China, Mexico, Northern Ireland, Vietnam and former Yugoslavia. The reviewed literature argued the following issues;

- Issues in destination image reconstruction after political conflict (media, PR, events, promotion) (Hall 1994, Hall and O'Sullivan 1996, Baral et al 2004, Altinay and Issa 2006, etc)
- Industries' response to the political crisis and terrorism (Cavlek 2002, Sonmez 1998 Sonmez, et al 1999))
- Consumer demand analysis, tourism markets, new tourists and their characteristics (Pitts 1996, Mihalic 1996)
- The effect of substitution (Somnez 1998, Cavlek 2000, 2002)
- Tourism as a political tool for peace, reconciliation and better international relations (D'Amore 1988, Hall 1994, Kelly 1998, Causevic and Kokkranikal 2005)
- Complex governmental structure as a conflict consequence (Altinay and Bowen 2005)
- Travel advisories and their role in tourism development (Sharpley, Sharpley 1994)
- New "attractions" identified after political conflict (Henderson 2000)

The aforementioned issues will be reviewed in relation to the nature of the conflict, primarily related to the duration of the conflict. The researcher would like to advise the reader that the explanation of the political conflict presented below, has the required sophistication and depth for tourism purposes, not for political sciences.

3.4 CRISIS and DISASTERS

It is important to highlight the conceptual definitions of crise and disasters in order to clarify the recovery strategies and to define the scope of this research.

Crises are in the Penguin Thesaurus (2001) defined as a turning point for better or worse. Despite that, the authors usually define crisis as a negative phenomenon. As much as crises bring a negative outcome, it is possible that they represent a turning point to improvement. This is seen in Butler's (1980) tourism area life cycle. After the stagnation stage, the destination may either rejuvenate or decline.

Faulkner (2000), Faulkner and Russell (2000) differentiate a crisis from a disaster. Faulkner defines a crisis as a "man-made", self-inflicted cause of failure. Disasters are

situations when destinations are confronted with unpredictable, sometimes catastrophic changes over which it has none or very little control. Political conflict is, according to this definition, a crisis (man-made), although it has an element of a disaster, especially terrorist incidents.

Bierman (2002:4) defines a destination crisis as a situation requiring radical management action in response to events beyond the internal control of the organisation, necessitating urgent adaptation of marketing and operational practices to restore the confidence of employees, associated enterprises and consumers with regard to the viability of the destination. Somnez, Backman and Alan (1994:2.1) define a crisis to be any event, which creates negative publicity and to be the period until full recovery is achieved, and pre-conditions resume. The authors differentiate it from the term “disaster”, which they simply define as an event that abruptly causes loss of life, human suffering, public and private property damage, and economic and social disruption. They do not differentiate between man-made or natural disasters, but by their definition, crises are less serious than disasters. This is probably due to the standing point of the researchers, “Americanised” point of view. This researcher’s assumption is that, in the US before 9/11, the “disasters” happening in the US were usually caused by natural calamities like tornados hurricanes and similar, which inflict human suffering. Crises are caused by mismanagement, but usually nobody is physically hurt or injured. They define tourism crises more specifically as any occurrence which can threaten the normal operation and conduct of tourism related businesses, damage a tourist destination’s overall reputation for safety, attractiveness, and comfort by negatively affecting visitors’ perceptions of that destination. In turn, this may cause a downturn, and interrupt the continuity of business operations for the local travel and tourism industry, by the reduction in tourist arrivals and expenditures. It can be said that the disasters are, in fact crisis which the destination is unable to influence and control.

Severe conflict is a disaster by itself. After the conflict, it leaves the destination to deal with the crisis, but conceptually differs from a crises caused by mismanagement (Sonmez, et al 1994). Viewed in this way, it involves the repercussions of human sufferings and loss of lives. Furthermore it can be argued that humans cause many natural disasters as well, i. e. global warming and climate change. They are also caused by humans. Both natural disasters and severe political conflict are disasters. After the havoc passes they became crisis situations, as defined by figure 3.1.

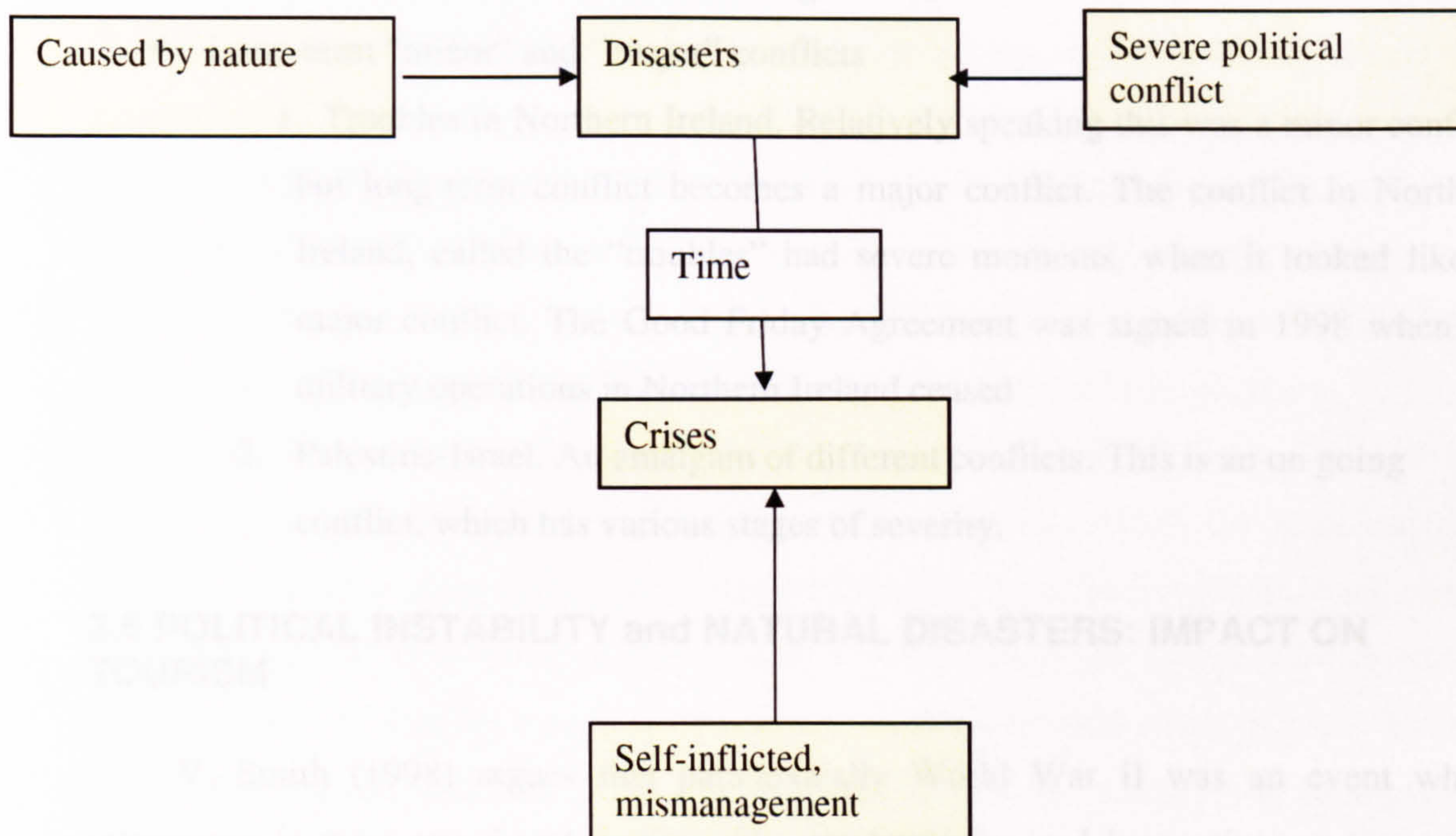


Figure 3.1. Disasters and Crisis

3.5 POLITICAL CONFLICT

War is usually caused by a political disagreement which has escalated into a violent conflict (Von Clausewitz 1873). The section below gives an outline of the political conflicts as understood by tourism research, not political science, based on the conflict severity and duration. These are as follows:

- Short-term minor conflict
 1. Minor terrorist incident
 2. Coup d'etat with easily defined beginning and end
- Short-term major conflict
 1. Major and high impact terrorist attack with innocent civilians as victims
- Mid-term major conflict
 1. World wars (“official” battles, but also genocides concentration camps and civilians targeted-definite beginning and end)
 2. Civil wars (Spanish civil war)

3. War³ in former Yugoslavia - (main victims are civilians, ethnical cleansing, genocide)
 4. War in Rwanda (similar to Yugoslavia)
- Long-term “minor” and “major” conflicts
 1. Troubles in Northern Ireland. Relatively speaking this was a minor conflict, but long-term conflict becomes a major conflict. The conflict in Northern Ireland, called the “troubles” had severe moments, when it looked like a major conflict. The Good Friday Agreement was signed in 1998 when the military operations in Northern Ireland ceased
 2. Palestine-Israel. An amalgam of different conflicts. This is an on going conflict, which has various stages of severity.

3.6 POLITICAL INSTABILITY and NATURAL DISASTERS: IMPACT ON TOURISM

V. Smith (1998) argues that paradoxically World War II was an event whose inheritance is mass travel and tourism. New technologies and innovations were used in World War II. It hastened the building of faster, cheaper and less oil consuming aircrafts, which opened up package holidays. In other words, tourism as it is now known, had its genesis in World War II. No less important is that during the WWII women’s employment became significant. This continued after the war and created a discretionary income (V. Smith 1989).

According to Hall (1994) travel in the past was usually associated with hardship, trade and pilgrimage. People travelled fearing for their belongings and their lives (Seaton 1996). From a historical perspective, pleasure became associated with travelling relatively recently. According to Mansfeld (1999), the first international conference on tourism, safety and security was held in Oestersund in Sweden in 1995. This theme was initiated after significant terrorist activities during the eighties (short term) and conflict in former Yugoslavia during the early nineties, which raised safety as an issue of tourism planning.

The outbreak of any type of political conflict, or even political instability can cause a crisis in tourism (Bierman 2002, Neumayer 2004). This research will employ Hall and O’Sullivan’s (1996) political instability definition, as conditions under which political

³ The conflict in Yugoslavia was actually classified as an international war (Den Hague Tribunal). Beloff, Nora. Yugoslavia: An Avoidable War. New European Publications, 1999, Dr. R. Craig Nation. "War in the Balkans 1991-2002." Strategic Studies Institute, 2002, the verdict of gen Krstic 727.

legitimacy, social order and governance are challenged. A political system needs to adapt to those challenges in order for it to become stable again. When forces for change are not satisfied within a political system, the use of non-legitimate activities like non-legitimate protests, violence, or even a (civil) war, to initiate a change. The political system then becomes unstable.

Bierman (2002) argues that natural disasters impact tourism heavily, illustrating it on the example that the outbreak of foot & mouth disease in the UK brought more losses to tourism than to agriculture. Mason, Grabowski and Du (2005) estimated that the SARS outbreak in South East Asia and Toronto had serious consequences on tourism.

According to Kokkranikal (2002), in these countries are usually economic crises the pre-cursors for political instability. An economic crisis was one of the main causes of political instability in the former Yugoslavia (Causevic, Kokkranikal 2005). According to Neumayer (2004) developing countries are more dependent on tourism than developed ones, as there is usually a high percentage of GDP generated from tourism. Usually, developing countries are also politically unstable and therefore more likely to experience political violence. Destinations with unpredictable politics or histories of socio-economic or ethnic troubles have little hope of developing strong and successful tourism (R. Bar-on 1996).

3.7 THE EFFECT OF SUBSTITUTION

Lancaster (1971) argues that tourists usually consume certain characteristics of a tourist destination. If the consumers perceive that there is a risk involved in going to a certain destination, then they look at similar characteristics in another destination, perceived to be safer. Regarding tourism allocation, Wall (1996) argues that some tourists are likely to postpone travelling, but a more likely outcome is that tourism flows will be redirected to the substitute destinations. As well as the perception of the situation, for those destinations whose products are easily substitutable, political instability would have more impact on tourism. It is easier for tour operators to increase business in the other destinations, perceived as safer. On the other hand, if the product is not easy to substitute, tour operators will try to assess the real risk and to retain those destinations (Hall 1994). Mihalic (1996) gives an example from Slovenia. Political instabilities lasted eleven days. In the aftermath, visitor numbers to summer sun tourist products were down by some 52%. Visitor numbers to mountain resorts were down by some 36% and to the health and spa

resorts were down by “only” 19%. The summer sun resorts deteriorated the most, as these could be easily substituted with other countries’ resorts. Only if the destination has unique attractions to offer, or if it can develop a unique tourism product, it is more likely to retain its tourism appeal. Slovenian SPA resorts offered tourism products which were the least likely to be substituted. Targeting markets combined with tour operators’ knowledge and understanding, can reduce the effect of substitution. Though pure generalisations are difficult here, certain direction can be given regarding the characteristics of easily substituted tourism products.

After *coup’d etat* in 1985 in Fiji, it was substituted as a tourism destination with Bali, Queensland, and the Solomon Islands (Lea 1996). Tourism in Fiji did not recover until the beginning of the nineties. It was relatively easy to substitute with those destinations because they all offer a relatively similar tourism product. The Solomon Islands Tourism Board for instance, directly used Fiji’s political instability in its tourism adverts: “*War in the Solomons ended in 1945. Why risk Fiji?*” (Lea and Small 1988, taken from *the Times on Sunday*, May 31st 1987). These destinations, therefore, greatly benefited from the political instability in Fiji. Mansfeld (1996) argues that Cyprus, Greece and Turkey have definitely benefited from conflict in the Middle East, aided by media coverage of Israel’s problems which has created a significant “fear factor”.

Although there is much evidence that a certain type of product is easier to substitute, it should not be said that the type of tourism product is the only factor upon which the substitution relies. Cavlek (2002) argues that the substitution depends on the relationships which tour operators have with the destinations. The broader social settings need to be looked at and transferred from case to case and can be illustrated in the case of Israel-Jordan. Although easily substituted by the tour operators, Israel relies on its large diaspora (Kelly 1998). However, Jordan, which was substituted for the same reason as Israel, lacks a large international diaspora. Collateral victims, like in this case Jordan, are very often forgotten.

It is rare that political instabilities have an effect on global tourism patterns. The destination is substituted, but this has local, rarely global repercussions. There are only a few instances when political instability has deterred global tourism. Mansfeld’s research (1996) reveals spill-over effects in Middle Eastern tourism saying that the crisis here has implications for the whole region. Illustrating this through another conflict, the destinations that suffered from the Kosovo spill-over effect in 1999 were Turkey, Greece,

Hungary and Croatia (WTO report 2002). The countries, which have benefited from the Kosovo political crisis 1999, were Morocco, Tunisia, Portugal and Spain (WTO special report 2001). Kosovo's instability in 1999 had an effect on the whole of European tourism, especially on the countries, which are perceived to be in the vicinity of Kosovo. Annual tourism growth in Europe halved from 3.3% in 1998 to 1.7% in 1999. Recovery was quick though, as in 2000, Europe had an annual tourism growth of 6.1% (WTO special report 2001). War deters tourism from the destinations affected by political conflict or the destination perceived to be in the vicinity of those affected by political conflict (Crompton 1979). Tourists start searching for a safer destination. For those regions which are perceived to be safe, it is a good outcome as the number of tourists has increased. Tourism, looking at it from a global perspective, is usually unaffected as some destinations gain at the expense of the others. A destination with unpredictable politics or a history of socio-economic or ethnic troubles has little hope of developing strong and successful tourism; the same can be said for countries with neighbours in conflict (Bar-On 1996, Hall and O'Sullivan 1996).

Destination substitution is one of the most important characteristics in conceptualising tourism and political instability. Recovery depends on whether the substitution actually occurred. Substitution depends on the nature of the conflict and social circumstances. It also needs to be reviewed in relation to a whole set of inherited settings within the reviewed destination, for instance,; the nature of the product, media interest, and tour operators' interest (Cavlek 2002), as explained later in this chapter. Regarding the nature of the conflict, the substitution depends on whether the conflict is long- or short-term and whether it is perceived as a severe or a "minor" conflict. Long-term, ongoing, but minor conflict may have a cumulative outcome similar to short term and severe conflict. Long-term and severe conflict has the most serious outcomes. Long-term, but minor and short-term major conflict has a similar outcome. A single terrorist incident (viewed initially as a disaster), or repeated attacks, can create a crisis situation. Its outcomes are similar to those of natural disasters (Bierman 2002). It is difficult to define a tourism crisis when it is prolonged, the beginning and the end is not known and the prospect of ceasefire is unknown. Even when a ceasefire is achieved, bringing back the destination requires a strategy. The destination should not only manage the crisis, but also initiate marketing efforts to overcome lost tourism and bring back a positive image. If the destination is substituted, tourism will pay a heavy toll.

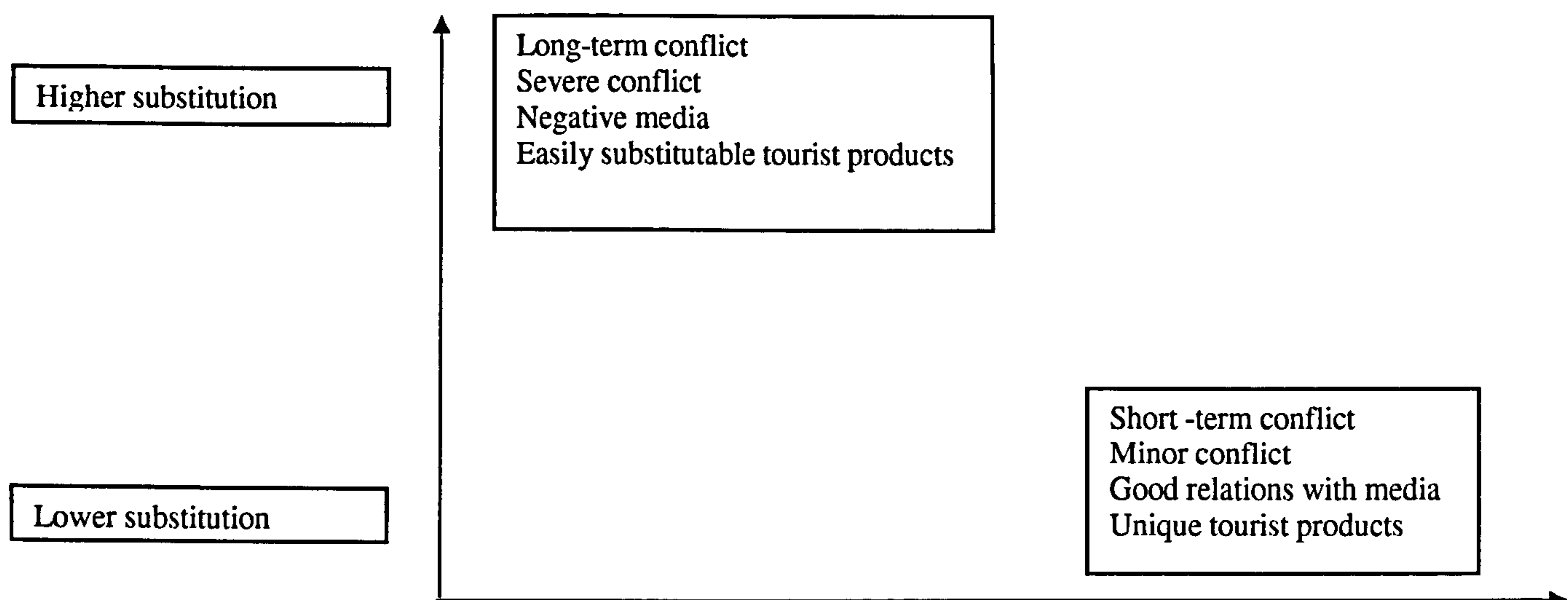


Figure 3.2 Political conflict outcomes on tourism development

The right response to political instability regarding tourism depends on the nature of the instability, wider socio-political, cultural and economic settings, the duration of the conflict, tour operators' interest and the stage of the tourism life cycle which the destination was at before the conflict. Some of the destinations recovered rapidly after the ceasefire, but for others, it was a relatively long process. Cyprus, Zambia and Sri Lanka were the examples of the countries who recovered relatively quickly after the political instability (Sonmez 1998).

The next section will explain tourism in relation to the genesis of the conflict.

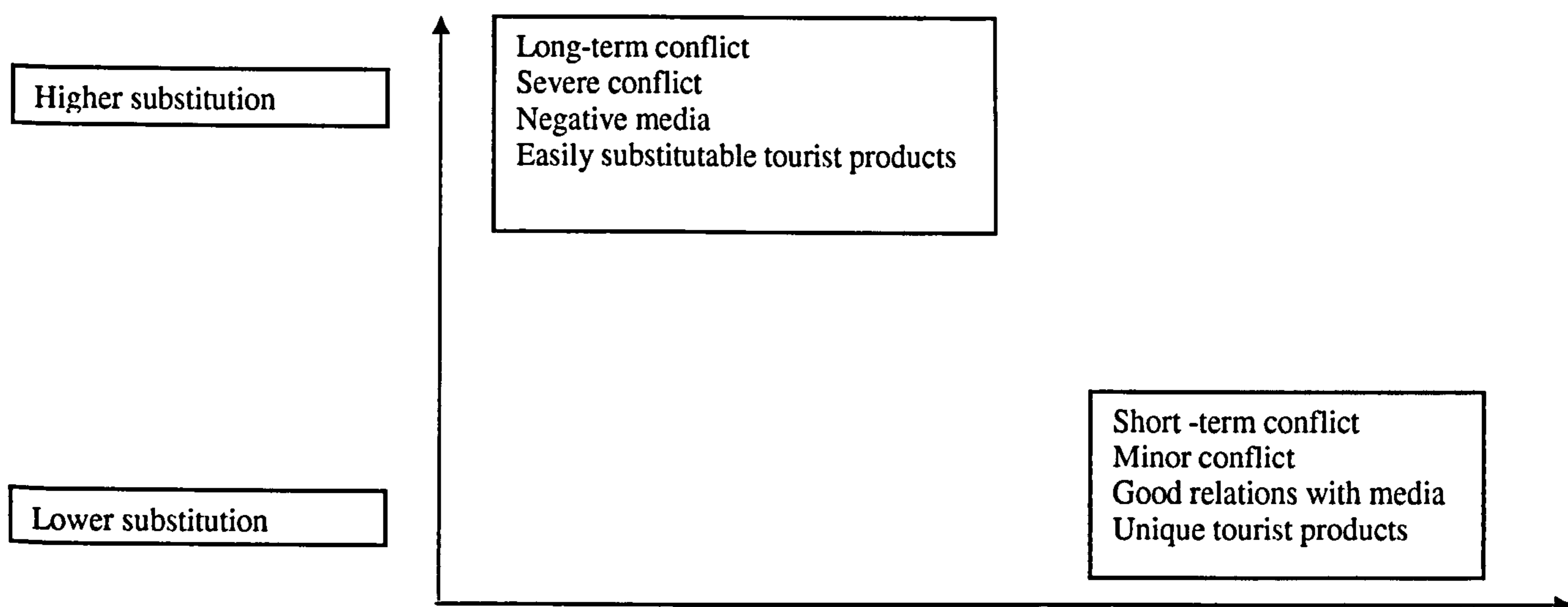


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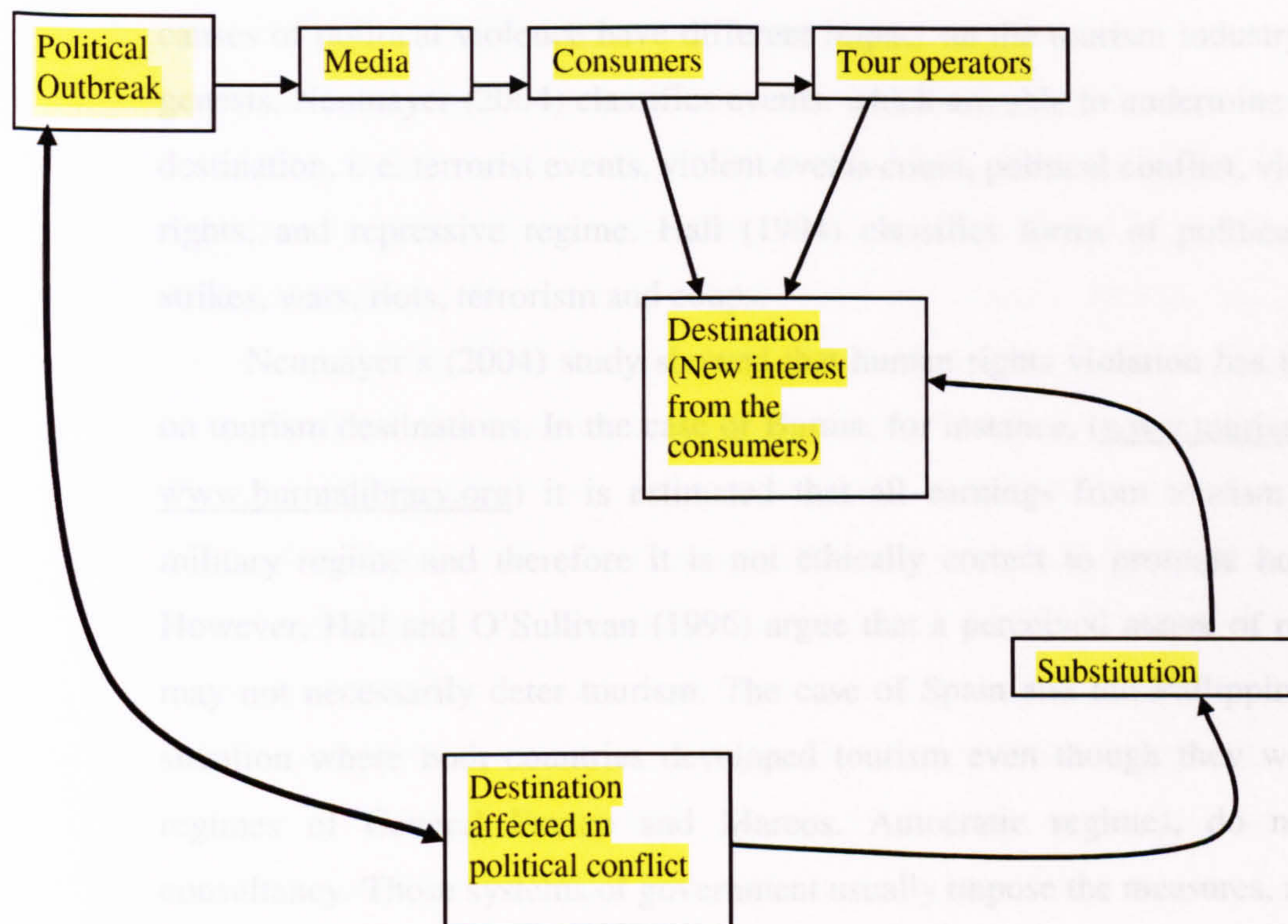


Figure 3.3: Destination substitution model

3.8 GENESIS OF TROUBLES

Many authors in the nineties researched the outcome of political violence according to the genesis of the conflict (Biernman 2002, Vukonic 1997, Pizam 1996, Neumayer 2004, Hall 1994, etc.) Besides defining whether the conflict and political instability was of short or long duration, Pizam (1999) argued about the importance of assessing the scale, and classification of a political conflict based on motive, victim, location, severity type and frequency. He suggested recovery based on education, information, publicity and marketing schemes.

Violent protests, social unrests, civil wars, terrorist attacks or the violation of human rights, or even the threat of these acts, can all cause tourists to alter their travel behaviour (Hall and O'Sullivan 1996). Bierman (2002) lists international war or conflict, prolonged internal conflicts, terrorism (where tourists are the main target eg. Egypt), crime waves (where tourists are the main target), natural disasters (which damage urban areas as well as the natural environment) and health concerns (i. e epidemics and diseases) as situations

which have a negative consequence on tourism operations. Neymmayer (2004) and Hall (1994) focus entirely on politically caused events. According to Hall (1994) different causes of political violence have different impact on the tourism industry related to their genesis. Neumayer (2004) classifies events, which are able to undermine the image of the destination, i. e. terrorist events, violent events count, political conflict, violation of human rights, and repressive regime. Hall (1994) classifies forms of political violence: i. e. strikes, wars, riots, terrorism and coups.

Neumayer's (2004) study showed that human rights violation has the biggest effect on tourism destinations. In the case of Burma, for instance, (www.tourismconcern.org.uk, www.burmalibrary.org) it is estimated that all earnings from tourism fund repressive military regime and therefore it is not ethically correct to promote holiday to Burma. However, Hall and O'Sullivan (1996) argue that a perceived nature of repressive regime may not necessarily deter tourism. The case of Spain and the Philippines illustrates the situation where both countries developed tourism even though they were ruled by the regimes of General Franco and Marcos. Autocratic regimes, do not allow public consultancy. Those systems of government usually impose the measures, rules and laws on any national tourism strategies and tourism develops only because it is in the government's interest (Hall 1994). The difference between Spain and the Philippines on one hand, and Burma on the other, is that recently the tourists have become more aware of what is happening in the world because of the media reporting and the Internet, which has made information more readily available to the public. However, although Neumayer's (2004) conclusion is that tourism is the most vulnerable to human rights violation, this should not be taken for granted because he did not take into account the socio-political settings, media or genesis of the tourism products in that area. Thus it should not be argued that a certain genre of political instability will bring a certain outcomes. Therefore, human rights violation in a destination, which is easy to substitute, is more vulnerable than violent events happening in a destination with an attraction which is not easy to substitute. Violation of human rights is usually a part of total political instability. However, tourism becomes more vulnerable if the violence is used against tourists, then even if the country has attractions, which are not easy to substitute. Wahab (1996) takes an instance of Egypt. Although it has unique attractions it was substituted due to incidents of terrorism. Each destination faces different challenges in order to overcome its negative image, declining tourism and lost revenues. Strategies to recover from a tourism crisis caused by political conflict are triggered by political problems in the country and need to be addressed viewed

in perspective by considering the social settings of that particular country. This points to qualitative research on the phenomenon.

Sonmez (1998), Biernman (2002) point out that the need for tourism crisis management is empirically proved, but the issue is rarely addressed. Faulkner and Russel (2000) argue that the reason for such small progress is in the limited development of the conceptual and theoretical frameworks. It is one of the weakest links in tourism marketing and management. The outcome of the recovery process depends on so called *damage control* marketing strategies. According to Hall (1994), political violence can be short-lived but the longer-term implications for tourism may last for a very long period of time. This research finds the term *crisis management* more applicable to single incidents. It is directed towards recovery marketing with the focus on repairing the destination's ruined image and ensuring the perception of safety. Short-term political instabilities can be cured with proper crisis management activities followed by press conferences, strong relationship with the media, etc (Sonmez et al 1994). The unfortunate event of 9/11 was addressed with crisis management. However, crisis management should not be based only on the genesis of the conflict. Socio-economical and political circumstances play the most important role. Sheldon (2005), and Mak (2008) points out that 9/11 in Hawaii was relatively easily addressed because Hawaii Tourism had a crisis plan and a budget already allocated for such situations. Moreover, when a political conflict happens in a less-developed country, it is difficult to address such issues. Baral, Baral and Morgan (2004) illustrate an issue in the instance of Nepal. Tourism suffered there because the country itself could not afford the budget for a crisis management plan.

Following a short-term incident, tourists still remember that this place was attractive. The destinations need a crisis management plan in order to recover. This is usually enough. However, the consequences of long-term political conflict cannot be cured with crisis management only. Those destinations need a complete strategy. The travel industry will have lost interest. The tourists will have deleted these destinations from their itineraries. They will not consider travelling there.

The next section gives more detail about the crisis caused by short-term political incidents and their post-crisis pattern, through illustrating the influence of terrorist attacks on tourism performance (Biernman 2002, Bar-On 1996).

3.8.1 Terrorism: short-term political instability

When the tourism sector is in crisis because of natural disasters, greater public and industry understanding is invoked, compared with when political violence is to blame (Leaf 1995, Biernman 2002). Political violence caused by human behaviour, however, triggers public outrage and intimidation. According to Cooper (2001: 883) “*terrorism is the intentional generation of massive fear by human beings for the purpose of securing or maintaining control over other human beings*”.

V. Smith (1996) defines terrorism as a politically motivated activity towards individuals and in order to control opposition. It is usually a short duration activity. In the case of terrorism, tourism is usually a direct “victim” (Hall 1994). Targeting tourists gives terrorists and their ideas a global audience. Terrorism may therefore happen in influential tourism areas, for instance the Bali bombings (Hitchcock and Putra 2005, Hitchcock 2007), Egypt (Biernman 2002, Wahab 1996, Aziz 1995). Tourists are perceived as an easy target. The attack on tourists is a double “gain” for terrorists. It gives media attention and international publicity to their causes, and weakens the government through the loss of tourism revenues. In some cases tourism is targeted because it is a symbol of the government whose policies the terrorists are opposing. This was the case of Egypt at the end of the eighties and nineties (Wahab 1996, Aziz 1995). The attacks on tourists which happened in Egypt, were actually targeted at government. Those groups opposed tourism development and wanted Egypt to stay a traditional country. They opposed the government, which gave incentives for tourism development (Biernman 2002). Terrorism targets tourists from the nations whose policies the terrorists are opposing (Biernman 2002, Hitchcock et al 2007). This was the case in the Bali bombing when Australian tourists were deliberately chosen as victims.

Another issue concerns the nature of the outcome. Wall (1996) focuses his study on Northern Ireland. He argues that the outcomes are both short- and long-term. Wall (1996) and Neumayer (2004) conceptually explain that in the short term, the destination feels that it is losing its earnings, because tourists are no longer motivated to go there. In the long-term, the destinations’ tourism image is jeopardised. Wall (1996) adds that the costs of tourism operation increases when security is strengthened and that increased expenditure on marketing, advertising and public relations is likely to follow. According to Hall (1994) tourism is affected by terrorism both through physical damage to the tourism infrastructure caused by the acts of terrorism and by the negative image which ensues. Thus, industry profitability fails as visitor numbers fall, costs of operation increase, and tourism image is

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jeopardised. According to Richter and Waugh (1986), the relationship between tourism and terrorism will increase immensely not because it is a new problem, but because politics and the economy are largely interlinked with tourism.

3.9 THIS RESEARCH SCOPE

The scope of this research is not a study of tourism after terrorist attacks. It studies destinations after a severe long-term political conflict and refers to destination substitution. There is a big difference between a single terrorist incident and an on-going conflict. This is the most important issue in addressing tourism development after a political conflict determining the nature of the recovery plans in aftermath of the conflict. It is important not to take the issues out of their socio-cultural context. Hall and O' Sullivan (1996) argue that in cases of civil wars, coups and riots, tourism is an incidental victim of political instability. The number of tourist arrivals decline as a consequence of the instability within the region. Sonmez's (1998) work conceptually influences this research saying that it is the destination's social, cultural and environmental characteristics that have stronger determinants of how tourism is affected than the actual type of political conflict. This characteristic complicates the creation of a globally applicable solution. This suggests that the generalisations are almost not possible. Generalisations are a characteristic of quantitative research (Decrop 2004). Generalisations are not possible in the context of political instabilities. It refers to the necessity to change the philosophy in researching post-conflict tourism development.

The following section will illustrate the main issues in developing tourism after a long-term conflict (when the destination is substituted). Firstly, the "typical" tourism issues in a post-conflict dimension will be presented. These are tourism markets, tour operators' response, image and tourism perceptions, and media and tourist perceptions under the context of a post-conflict situation. The second section brings tourism in a wider political scope. The third section concerns conflict memorabilia sites, in tourism literature known as "dark tourism".

3.9.1 Tourism markets after political conflict

The main constraints on more organised tourism development in post-conflict destinations are identified as the limited knowledge of potential visitors regarding the destination and the negative image provoked by recent political instability, tragic events, poverty and human rights (Grosspietsch 2006).

3.9.1.1 Who are those tourists?

Usually overlooked in these studies are the troops who serve within the area. They are the first “tourists”. Butler and Baum (1999) argue the presence of troops help a war-ravaged local economy by purchasing local products. As institutionalised peace and reconciliation occurs, international institutions and troops presence decreases. An alternative source of income for the local economy needs to be found. If an infrastructure in the area already exists, tourism is seen as an incentive. Though this is a rarely used resource, the military bases could be converted into tourism accommodation units.

Pitts (1996) and Timothy (2004) note so called war tourists. Pitts (1996) notes journalists, media and human rights activists. Although they come in rather small numbers their presence in the area helps local communities affected by the consequences of a political conflict. Tourists come to the borders of conflict and demilitarized zones (Timothy 2004). Some of them have motives bordering with a morbid curiosity or adrenalin rush. This type of tourists is a very small niche. Locals understand only those tourists to be real “dark tourists”, as explained in the findings and discussion chapters.

On the other hand, Hall and O’Sullivan (1996) Klaric (1997), Mihalic (1996) argued that a destination is more likely to reach success if targeting markets situated geographically close to the destination. It is estimated that they have a better knowledge and perception of the destination. According to Baral et al (2004) it is also cheaper to target the neighbouring markets, as promotion costs less. Northern Ireland relied heavily on tourists from both the UK and the Republic of Ireland. It is not just that neighbouring countries understand better the outcomes, but they are also connected with the destination through the personal relations for instance visiting friends and relatives (VFR). The VFR segment is a part of a solidarity market. An example of the solidarity VFR market is diaspora, in tourism terms usually positioned under the umbrella of VFR (Moscardo, 2000, Seaton and Tagg 1995). This is the consequence of the diaspora being observed through the narrow commercial aspects of the relationship between diaspora as the guest and the hosts. Socio-cultural settings of that relationship are not taken into account. Duval (2003) argued a broader social perspective which keep diasporas holidaying in their home countries for the purposes of maintaining network affiliations. They are a very specific part of a traditional VFR segment. Diaspora comes from far away in order to express their solidarity. An important example is the Jewish community who flock to Israel in order to express their solidarity, and also to save the country’s tourist economy (Kelly 1998). The Israel Government Tourism Organisation targets markets that are more likely to travel to

Israel during the “troubled” periods. In this case these are: solidarity Jewish communities, Christian Zionists and pro-Israel evangelical Christian communities, and Baha’i religious community. They express both political and personal solidarity.

Richter (1999) argues that, after a political conflict, the markets with similar points of view should be targeted. Pakistan targets tourists from Arab countries, which are more empathetic with regard to Pakistani traditions (Richter 1999). Sometimes solidarity and neighbouring markets overlap. This was an issue of former Yugoslavia. According to Mihalic (1996) and Cavlek (2002), the first tourists who came to Croatian region Istria were Slovenians. First, they are the neighbouring countries. They were the first ones to understand that the region is safe to visit. They also share a certain amount of a political solidarity. The literature identified diaspora and VFR tourists (Butler 2003) and those who share a similar past or those from the neighbouring countries (Pizam and Mansfeld 1999), as the markets most ready to visit post-conflict destination.

Mihalic (1996) further notes that tourists’ reaction to political instability, depends on their cultural backgrounds. The different markets’ response towards the atrocities in a single destination, Mansfeld (1996) calls the *horizontal approach*. The response of the single market towards various destinations, Mansfeld (1996) calls a *vertical approach*. He explains that it could be observed from the point of view of the sensitivity of different markets response to the particular destination and the response from one market to the security situations affecting different destinations. Versatile markets reacted differently to the political instability in Slovenia. The neighbouring countries (Croatia, Italy and Austria) were the first ones to return to Slovenia again (Mihalic 1996). As they understood better the political circumstances in the country, they expressed solidarity and understanding. Their cultural background, political solidarity, knowledge and media coverage influenced their response towards Slovenia. Mihalic (1996) contrasted their response with the response from other Western European countries; their recovery took much longer. Market reactions, thus, depend on political relations between the countries (G. Smith 1999). After the conflict ceased, it was easier to establish a tourism flow between, say, Croatia and Slovenia, than Croatia and Serbia. Another important market segment concerns countries with a similar and turbulent past and common political settings. In such cases, these countries are more inclined to travel to country once the conflict has ended as they have a better understanding of the situation (C. M. Hall 1994).

In the case of Northern Ireland, fear of terrorism was the most important reason why tourists were reluctant to come (Lennon 1999). This statement cannot be overemphasised.

However, Buckley and Klemm (1992) argue that fear of terrorism is just an excuse for a poorly-managed tourism industry. They concluded that the product which Northern Ireland (NI) offered was not competitive enough. In the late sixties when package holidays to Mediterranean destinations increased, Northern Ireland tourism decreased. If choosing between a holiday in NI or Spain, many Britons chose Spain, even though the UK was a traditional market for NI. Leslie (1999) notes that it was the time for Northern Ireland to plan its tourism rejuvenation stage (Butler 1980), but it found itself in the midst of a political conflict instead. Although deteriorated due to competition from package holidays, it struggled severely due to the political instability and violent conflict in the area. A very similar situation was noted in Croatia (S. Causevic 2002). Tourism in Croatia needed rejuvenation at the end of the eighties. Instead of rejuvenation, Croatia experienced political violence. An uncompetitive tourism product may cause tourism to decrease, but it is not a reason for tourism to exit TALC (Baum 1998).

Another issue identified in assisting the redevelopment of the post-conflict destination is the development of tourist products to attract niche markets. These markets are believed to be less concerned with the image of the place and more attracted to the specialised tourist products (McEniff 1992). As long as they knew that conflict was ended, they would come if they are interested in a particular activity. For example, tourism planners in Rwanda forecast the resurgence of Rwanda's tourism and began offering safari tours. They now target niche ecotourism markets, and explorers (Grosspietsch 2006) aiming to increase the tourist numbers from 8,000 in 2002 to 80,000 in 2010.

3.9.1.2 New travel trends, a chance for post-conflict tourism?

It was 1994 when Aulianna Poon wrote that tourism has changed, that tourists are not just holidaying for rest and relaxation. They are tired of the standard packages on offer. Tourists choosing to travel to destinations where the political conflicts and atrocities happened do so because they want to demonstrate their connections with humanity and to express their feelings. Weller (1992) calls it a tourism revolution. Since then, a spate of research has been conducted to address this issue. However at the time when tourism research start writing of that change B&H and NI were still suffering from extremely violent (B&H) and steady (NI) political instability. B&H is now ready to embrace the "new" tourism trends, as it can offer niche tourism. What are the new tourism trends? In a book *New Horizons in Tourism* edited by Singh (2004) a whole new wave of tourism (Weiler and C. M. Hall 1992) that is becoming more popular world-wide is captured.

There is growing demand from tourists for extreme and unusual environments, and amazing and bizarre experiences plus, pro-poor tourism, deep ecotourism, dark tourism, senior tourism, volunteer tourism and space tourism. Novelli (2004) also edited a volume devoted to niche tourism, capturing the new trends. The concept of niche tourism is not new anymore. Mass tourism criticism had already entered tourism academia in the late eighties (Krippendorf 1986) and has already been researched. However, the trends go hand-in-hand with post-conflict destinations, offering experiences different to the standard tourist experience.

Destinations with a turbulent past and prior political conflict have the market for themselves. A growing market segment of people want to be a part of a community, experience real life in a destination, do something useful for mankind or discover themselves (McNicol 2005). According to Wearing (2001), volunteer tourism places added value to both the hosts and the volunteers, putting the emphasis on the natural and social environments in which the volunteers have lived and worked, stating that

“this requires shifting this emphasis of travel from one designed primarily for providing pleasure for tourists ...to one in which the tourist's satisfaction and fulfilment are achieved through the individual contributing and learning about natural and cultural environments” (p. 122). Those are the tourists who want their holiday to have meaning. Volunteer tourism is a growing phenomenon (McGehee and Santos 2005). A new academic journal on volunteer tourism, Journal of International Volunteer Tourism and Social Development, has just been started.

The meaning of backpacking is the road less travelled, travel life style and an expression of identity (Ateljevic and Doorne 2004). For some, being a backpacker is a status symbol (Alneng, 2002, Cohen 2004). Backpackers are traditionally linked to the involvement stage of Butler's TALC model. Alneng (2002) argues that phantasm is a prime motive for Vietnam being a popular destination for the backpackers. They are imagining the place during the war and are inspired by Hollywood movies. Backpacker tourism related to post-conflict dimension will be assessed further in the findings and discussion chapter.

Helber (1988) and Singh (2004) argue that there is a trend towards the experience-oriented holiday, upon the emphasis on phantasm, emotions and nostalgia. That trend is very important for post-conflict destinations' marketing and development. Unconventional forms of tourism, so called responsible and appropriate tourism, self developed community tourism, pro-poor and rural tourism are tourism themed practices which could make a

difference (Singh 2004). They have become *en vogue* (Singh 2002). Those projects are usually small-scale, have minimum side effects, and include the active engagement of communities to whom they make a difference. They are tourism demand led. It is evident from the literature review that people want to learn, hear, see, help and broaden their horizons. Sharpley (2005) argues that people travel more and more in order to fulfil their spiritual quest. According to Singh (2002), Singh & Singh (2004), and Stennings and Graham (2004), people express their altruism while travelling. Singh (2002) argues that altruistic tourism and volunteers brought about a silent revolution through the socio-economic transformation at the isolated Kumaon Himalayas region. This is altruism in the shape of tourism. Those are people in a search of something more than just a holiday, but some kind of esoteric, almost spiritual journey where people will be able to witness recovery. Those ideas are core concepts of this research and will be explained throughout other chapters.

The table below gives a synopsis of the market segments which the reviewed literature identified as more likely to travel to the areas in the settings of the post-conflict.

Table 3.1: Tourism markets in a post-conflict tourism development

Author	Tourism markets	Main characteristics
Butler (2003)	Diaspora	They are visiting their friends and relatives and revisiting their memories
Mihalic (1996) Klaric (1997)	Tourists from neighbouring countries	They understand that the conflict is over and do not need any further explanation
Pizam and Mansfeld (1996)	Solidarity markets, tourists with a similar cultural background	They understand the situation, want to help and feel obliged to come
Wall (1992)	VFR	
Pitts (1986) Timothy (2004)	Genuine war tourists	Adrenalin rush, excitement about the area
Aleng (2002)	Backpackers	Phantasm about war heroes and Hollywood movies
Wearing (2001), Singh (2002), (2004), McGehee and Santos (2005)	Volunteers, altruists	

3.9.2 Industries' response to the political crisis and terrorism

According to Cavlek (2002) the role of the travel trade should not be underestimated in this process. If speedy recovery is in the interest of the tour operators, it will happen. This is the main difference between terrorist attacks and long-term conflicts. Tour operators help if a short-term incident happened (for example a terrorist attack), because they will lose business there if the tourists do not return. Post-conflict destinations have already been substituted. The return of tour operators and changing their perceptions of the destination plays an important role in the process of destination recovery (Steene 1999) and in the process of creating the image of the destination and influencing international views. If the travel industries are returning to the destination, it is taken as a sign that a destination is actually safe for investments too (Meler and Ruzic 1999). Relations between the tour operators and the hosts are important in this destination recovery process. The problem is that the tour operators withdrew from the country substituted it and established

businesses in other destinations (Boskovic 1999, Cavlek 2002). This was the case in Croatia. At the time when political conflict broke out in former Yugoslavia, some other Mediterranean destinations became increasingly competitive. Former Yugoslavia was substituted with Turkey, Morocco and Tunisia, but also with the “older” Mediterranean destinations like Greece and Spain, who managed to rejuvenate the tourism there (Klaric 1992, Boskovic 1999, Causevic 2002, Cavlek 2002). Although it may seem logical that tour operators move from the country, Cypriot tour operators continued to market the country in the UK despite the political conflict. This helped maintain the image of Cyprus as a tourist destination. They took an active approach to inform potential tourists about the safety of the destination (Mansfeld and Kliot 1996). The Croatian region of Kvarner, and particularly Istria, was completely abandoned by the travel trade during the siege, yet the region was far away from any conflict areas (Cavlek 2002). The tour operators simply substituted the destination. The Croatian Tourist Board did not have any plan on how to deal with the issue of tour operators. Cyprus decided to target the British market, which knew about the destination, and did not rely much on the media to assess the risk. Until 1960, Cyprus was a British colony and the relationship between the UK and Cyprus was still evident (Apostolopoulos and Ionnidades 1999). Cypriot tour operators helped tourism image not to deteriorate significantly. Their constant presence in the British market played an important part in preserving the networks, and more importantly, to keep a continuity and new trends despite the political dispute. Cyprus at that time had a plan to protect and maintain the travel trade. Croatia at that time did not have any plans.

If a destination loses its tourism competitiveness, it is far more difficult to make tourism appeal again. Biernman (2002) shows the importance of maintaining effective alliances between the private and public sector in a time of “crisis”. A major role in bringing tourists back to Egypt was played by Egypt Air. Its air-fares were largely subsidised by the government. Hall (1994) advises strong public sector support and understanding. Referring again the case of Cyprus, Alipour and Kilic (2005) further highlight the importance of having clear tourism development policies in place after any political conflict. They compare tourism development in the North (Turkish administered) and the South (Greek administered) part. Although the North (Turkish part) is more suitable for tourism development, it failed to capitalise on tourism attractions. They conclude that the government institutions in charge of tourism development are proven to be inefficient and caused the failure in tourism development. It illustrates the importance of the efficient public sector support to tourism, as illustrated by Henry and Jenkins

(1982), Hall (1994), Aziz (1995), Biernman (2002). They stress the need for high profile government involvement in tourism development after any crisis and illustrate the importance of public and private partnership in destination development after conflict. Government, media and tourist perceptions of destinations play an important part in the creation of tourism's image in the post-conflict tourism context (Hall and O' Sullivan 1996).

3.9.3 Rebuilding tourism perceptions

The issue of destination image formation and tourism planning resulted in a spate of research (to mention just a few, Crompton 1979, Ritchie 1992, Gunn and Vaar 2002, Gartner 1996). There are many definitions of image and the image formation process. Although this research does not go into the theory of image formation in depth, the researcher includes here the most relevant definitions which frame this part of the research quest. Destination image rehabilitation is one of the most important features of tourism development following political instability (Sonmez et al 1999, Baral et al 2004, Altinay and Issa 2006). The issue of destination image is, according to Somnez (1998) well researched, but the specific issue of tourism image development after prolonged political conflict still needs more empirical research and methodological consideration. All the researchers agreed that favourable image is the most important ingredient in building tourism not just after the conflict, but generally in tourism development. Favourable image leads itself to a country branding, which is inclusive not just to tourism, but to the investor relations as well. Therefore the process of image restoring and the role of tourism is an important part of the total process of restoring or re-building the area after the conflict.

Mayo (1973) defines image in one-dimensional manner of as a simplified impression. As the research interest expanded further, the definition becomes complex and interdisciplinary. Dichter (1985:75) defines it from a psychological stand "*as a total impression an entity makes on the minds of others*". According to Crompton (1979) it is the sum of beliefs, impressions, ideas and perceptions that people hold on objects, behaviours and events. Chaliand (1987) notes image formation as the interaction of values, attitudes and the individual's comprehension of the real world.

Richter and Waugh (1986) noted that national leaders usually fail to grace that it is political stability and perception of safety, not natural and cultural scenery, that is the real prerequisites for tourism development. They need to secure the affirmative perceptions of the country before promoting the natural and cultural sceneries.

Areas difficult to market have a relatively small tourism basis in terms of the profits, tourist nights and visits Buckley and Klemm (1992). They need infrastructure improvement. However, due to the “poor” tourism image and unfavourable economic and social factors they are automatically overlooked for tourist development. The post-conflict tourism context is a combination of those circumstances. Political stability or more precisely, a perception that a destination is politically stable is a prerequisite.

This section reviews the process which leads to image restoration. This process is an inclusive part of any tourism development after a major political conflict. It is important to highlight that this process differs depending on whether the destination has been substituted or it is still being marked as a holiday destination. For the latter instance, image restoration is a part of a crisis management plan. For the former one, the image restoration is a process, a part of the strategy. According to Buckley and Klemm (1992), even when the potential tourists are aware that the area is politically stable, the images of civil unrest and violence as portrayed in the media still remain in their minds. Those images deter tourists even once the area is stable again. It is especially to be observed with “modern” conflicts, which were entirely televised. Therefore the next section deals with the media as an important part of the re-imaging process.

3.9.3.1 Media

A common case is that the media act as an *image filter* between the destination and the tourist markets (Clements, Georgiou 1998). Sometimes the media highlights and sometimes completely ignores certain events (Hall and O’ Sullivan 1996). According to Lee and Crompton (1992), during the decision-making, potential tourists are comparing the costs and benefits of each destination. If the destination is associated with the images generated by media, which show political conflict or terrorist threat, the tourists abandon the destination which is perceived not to be safe. The stories broadcast by the media are usually the reality for the audience (Eheman 1977, Chaliand 1987). The mass media creates the perceptions in which people live and how they perceive the world. The problems appear when those perceptions differentiate from the real world. Negative media coverage easily impacts an attitude formation. Tourism experience is of an intangible nature (SLJ Smith 1994). Therefore a destination depends heavily on positive images formed by media coverage. Wahab (1996) suggests that the only way to overcome a negative image created by a political conflict is vigorous promotions in order to assure wide exposure and capture positive international media’s attention.

As previously said, tourism in Cyprus during the period from 1960 until 1974, was only partly affected by political instability. According to Mansfeld and Kliot (1996) it is due to the weak media effect on the propensity of travel. Media worked together with, as said in the previous section, the tour operators. Media and the tour operators highlighted that actual violence took place far from the main tourist destinations. This information was well communicated to the tourists. It implies that a strong relationship between the media, the destination and the tour operators is needed.

A good relationship with the media is an important part of re-imagining, but also it is a huge investment which small countries can hardly afford (Baral et al 2004). Beside the difference between long- and short-term political conflict, when it comes to the media, an important difference is between the countries which have and which do not have the financial resources to counteract negative media. The greatest challenge for tourism re-imagining lies in this aspect of communications. It is difficult for those countries in conflict to influence global media. They are usually featured in a negative light. It marginalises them in communication terms. Baral et al (2004) illustrates these challenges on Nepal example. On Western and global TV channels, Nepal is only featured regarding the conflict and political crisis. This coverage was extremely negative, sometimes based just on rumours. An instance is the hijacking of an Indian plane. The media broadcast that one of the hijackers was a Nepalese citizen although it was just rumour. That particular information had a great impact on the tourism image of Nepal and on Nepalese citizens. The Nepalese Tourist Board did not have the strength and financial power to fight back. The media did not wait to check this information. The result was a few more papers sold and a deterioration of tourism in Nepal. This is contrasted to Hawaii. It had an allocated budget to use in the case of crisis (Sheldon 2005). That budgeted was used in order to solve the 9/11 provoked tourism crisis.

3.9.3.2 Organic and induced image

According to Gartner (1996), potential tourists start looking at the promotion material about the destination only if they have already been motivated to go there. An advertising campaign alone is not able to provoke interest in visiting the destination (Gunn 1972). The destination needs a positive image first. Then it can provoke an interest. Tourism advertising assists in that process. Tourism related advertising, and marketing campaigns are not efficient. The destination needs to initiate a positive spin through the general news, media, and other non-tourist sources of information.

The media and tourism are strongly interlinked. Gunn (1972, 1988) illustrates it through the organic and induced image. Organic image emerges from the perceptions not directly related to tourism. These are features on the news, in the newspapers, TV and radio, geography and history lessons, the people from that area or any other aspect not directly linked to tourism. Organic image need to be positive and affirmative in order for the place to become interesting in tourism terms. This is where the relationship between tourism development and media is set. As soon as organic image is affirmative, all the required preconditions are satisfied for the creation of the induced image. The process is the conscious effort of tourism developers to establish an affirmative awareness of the destination. It is done through tourism related promotional materials, travel magazines and tourism related articles, the Internet, etc. Gartner (1993) suggested that the distinction between induced and organic image formation agents was the amount of control the destination had over what was presented. Echtner and Ritchie (1991) added a complex image, a modified version of the perceived one achieved by actual visitation of the place. In the stage of image reconstruction after a long-term conflict, the complex image is not that relevant, however, it needs to be acknowledged, as it is not just about short-term achievement. If a complex image is negative, it becomes a problem. Post-conflict brings an inherently negative tourism image. It is difficult to develop tourism if the organic image, called also a mental image, an image created through non-commercial sources, is not an affirmative one. If the organic image issue were not taken into an account, the only tourists would be a VFR (visiting friends and relatives) segment and a certain segment from the neighbouring countries. However, without tourism image, there are no tourism investments and any tourism development is limited.

Many argue, Choi, Xinran and Morrison (2007) for example, that with the provision of the Internet, the information is relatively easy accessible. Gunn's concept of organic and induced tourism image, developed in 1972, a long time before the internet revolution, did not take into account other media sources like web blogs and other internet-based technologies. However, the researcher argues that people do not access them, unless they are interested in travelling to the destination. To illustrate, on a web forum, www.tripadvisor.com, in February, 2008, there were 4,830 topics open on Croatia, 6,649 on Austria, 15,368 on Ireland, 29,630 on Greece, and 137 on Bosnia and Herzegovina. The global media still shapes the perception. An example of Nepal (Baral et al 2004) confirms that although the independent information is easily accessible and broadcast through the Internet people tend to be largely influenced by the global media, which has a monopoly

over the provision of the information (Strömberg 2001). The main constraint for more organised tourism development in those destinations is the limited knowledge available regarding the destination (Grosspietch 2006), which is a consequence of the global media's lack of provision of such information. Therefore, the researcher would still argue that Gunn's (1972) concept of organic and induced image is very important and needs to be understood by local tourism planners.

Weimann and Winn (1994) conclude that the media strongly impacts on attitudes that have not been fully formed. As attitudes are rarely fully formed, the impact of the media can be very strong. The problem is that the media is not only a unique source of information available to the audience, but also a source of interpretation, and image formation. The general public usually relies on the media in order to understand motives, implications and actions of terrorists (Weimann and Winn, 1994). Media coverage of events like wars, terrorism and upheavals influences the induced image individuals have of destinations. It is rare that the media follows the issues which happened after a ceasefire (C. M. Hall 2002). The outcome is that people still perceive the destination as unstable. That attitude in particular makes the recovery process difficult and thus the crises become prolonged. In order to classify the relationship between tourism patterns and the media, Downs (1972) defines the importance of issue attention cycle. He argues (1972: 38) that *“the problem leaps into prominence, remains there for a short time, and then, though still largely unresolved, gradually fades from the centre of public attention”*. It is very applicable to both short-term political crises and natural disasters. The difference is that if the crisis is long term, potential consumers have already forgotten about the attractions within the destination and have already substituted it with another similar destination. The issue attention cycle is divided into the following five stages (Hall 2002, adopted Downs 1972): the pre-problem stage, alarmed discovery and euphoric enthusiasm, realising the cost of significant progress, gradual decline of intense public interest, and the post-problem stage.

It is even more difficult to re-image the destination, as it is sometimes very difficult to find the link between the media and re-imaging. Mihalic (1996) provides a Slovenian example. For a long time, the experts tried to find out why tourism was deteriorating although they were doing their best in order to achieve tourism development. Although the political instability in the country lasted only a few days (precisely eleven days), people perceived it as an unstable place. One of the reasons was that the media confused Slovenia with Slavonia, a Croatian region where the worst atrocities happen. Sometimes there are

unpredictable cases such as the one between Slovenia and Slavonia, which at the end impact the perception. The political circumstances were not well known and people did not think about Slovenia differently, just that it was a part of former Yugoslavia, the place where the most severe atrocities in modern European history happened.

Examples show that social responsibility from the media's side is still missing. The media is eager to respond as quickly as possible to the public's craving for sensational news (Nepal example, Baral et al (2004)). Lacking the time and being profit-led, they sometimes base their stories upon rumours, or their political preferences, instead of well-researched and confirmed truths. Reporting and broadcasting led only by sensationalism lacks business ethics and social responsibility (Weiman and Winn 1994). To sum up, it would be easier for the destinations to put themselves on the tourism map if the media based their reports on well-researched information. It is rarely the case. Therefore, countries need to find by themselves the best way to counteract such issues. This research would like to conclude that the media has the most impact on recovering the image of the destination after the political conflict. The next section contrasts the attitudes the media has towards a long-term and a short term political conflict.

3.9.3.3 Media, terrorism and natural disasters

Richter and Waugh (1986) stated that terrorist violence has become a familiar phenomenon of modern times not due to the actual violent acts but due to the media's reporting on them. The media interprets issues giving them more or less significance depending on the type of coverage provided, political preferences and the degree of sensationalism needed to increase the sale. Weiman and Winn (1994) highlighted the relationship between journalists and terrorists. Terrorism is a symbolic event, whereby the terrorists are craving for media attention. They describe terrorism as a media event. Media reports are the perfect stage for the terrorists. There is a mutual benefit: terrorists achieve more publicity and the media achieve higher ratings (Chailand 1987). According to the research led by Wall (1996) on the example of Northern Ireland, an inaccurate perception of political violence does more harm to the industry than those events themselves.

The media has a different approach depending on whether it is reporting about natural disasters and short-term political instability on one hand, or long-term political conflict on the other. Natural disasters usually create havoc and pass quickly; a similar pattern occurs with terrorism. Natural disasters and terrorism have subsequent and focused media attention, but for a much shorter time span than long-term political conflicts. On the

other side, longer political conflicts (wars and riots) get more sustained and longer media exposure. The period of time before the political conflict is forgotten, and the destination is substituted. Long-term political disasters have further reaching consequences and usually more impact on the tourism industry, because the destination has been featured constantly over a long period. Somnez (1998) concludes that although they are different by their characteristics, both terrorism and war (political instability) impact on tourism severely. Terrorism is an act that happens quickly and which gets vast public attention through the dramatic media coverage. But there is the question again of whether public attention is due to the nature of an unfortunate event, or due to the fact that it is usually happening in prominent destinations. Would the terrorist act, happening in a less prominent location, attract the media with the same intensity? Is it the nature of the destination or the nature of the political instability that attracts media attention? The atrocities in former Yugoslavia attracted media attention as it was a well-known destination. The reports about the siege in Dubrovnik and Sarajevo, the images of the destruction of the Old Bridge in Mostar were very sensational. Europeans were familiar with the area, since it is situated only two hours flying time from London. Before the siege actually happened, tourists were arriving at the Croatian resorts and from there they travelled to Mostar, Sarajevo and Medjugorje. Eight years before the siege, Sarajevo hosted the Winter Olympic Games. People were familiar with the destination. They felt close to it and thus the sensationalism was provoked. Although not a short-term terrorist attack, it had dramatic media coverage throughout the entire duration of the conflict (1991-1995). Media coverage was very similar to the one related to terrorism. Consequently, it is the nature of the location, not only the nature of conflict, which decides the nature of the media coverage.

Besides the conflict duration, other characteristics of media coverage relate to the point noted by Bierman (2002) that if a destination needs to manage its tourism after a short political conflict with a well-known beginning and end, the same strategy as managing natural disasters should be used. Some political crises can carry many hallmarks of natural disasters. For example, the second Fijian political crisis from May to July 2000 (in which an attempted political coup by George Speight and his supporters was finally overthrown by the Fijian military) enabled the Fijian tourism industry to endorse the marketing recovery campaign. It was a case with a well-defined beginning and end (Lea 1996, Bierman 2002). However, conflicts with a definite beginning and end are very rare. It is usual that after the ceasefire, many issues are left for the diplomats to sort out (V. Smith 1996). By comparison, political crisis in Israel/Palestine, has been continuing for

years. A periodic flare up can often last for months. Middle East countries (Israel, Palestinian Authorities (PA), Jordan, and Lebanon) have been forced into a position where crisis marketing, as opposed to post crisis recovery marketing, dominates tourism industry planning for the present and foreseeable future (Bierman 2002, Issa and Altinay 2006).

The media treats political instability, which has a definite beginning and end, like a natural disaster. Well-planned crisis management is usually enough to put the destination back on the tourism map. An on-going and long-term conflict with an undefined commencement and end, bring more sustained impact on destination image.

3.9.3.4 Possible solutions

According to Neumayer (2004:262), *tourism will only bounce back* to the same position as before the violence, if the negative image is eradicated in the minds of the tourists. The political violence shapes the image of a tourism destination even after the conflict has completely ceased. Media relations are according to Bierman (2002) one of the most critical elements in destination recovery. Therefore the supervision of the media coverage during and after the crisis is a core issue in a recovery strategy. It is a joint task of both tour operators and tourism administration within the destination, as already stated.

In order to overcome the impression of negative images, some of the authors suggest taking a strategy of increasing visitation instead of focusing on expensive marketing and promotion. According to Witt and Moore (1992), Hall and O' Sullivan (1996), destinations after political crises often employ hallmark events and through them employ the media, in order to portray their destination in a positive light. Regarding a special events strategy, Witt and Moore (1992) conducted an empirical study involving personal interviews with attendees to 8 special events in Northern Ireland in 1985 to examine the country's image as a tourist destination. The study investigated if promoting special events created enough interest to outweigh Northern Ireland's negative external image caused by terrorism and civil unrest. China used the 1990 Asian Games hosted in Beijing to improve its image after Tienanmen Square massacre. South Korea used the 1988 Olympics to dispel its image of a war torn country after the Korean War. The researcher is aware that it is difficult for a post-conflict destination to win the hosting of a hallmark event after times of instability. It needs an event, which would be appealing to the niche markets. Through hosting important events, the tourist nights rise, and the perception of a destination becomes less associated with the conflict.

In the seventeenth century, Carl von Clausewitz (1873, Eng. translation), one of the great minds in the Prussian Army said that it is well known that the only source of war is politics. War is simply a continuation of political interaction, with the addition of other means. The next section deals exclusively with politics and the role of tourism in the process of reconciliation between the warring parties, its diplomatic role and at the end, it deals with travel advisors.

3.9.4 Tourism as a political tool

According to Mihalic (1996), tourism and peace are interrelated through two dimensions. First of all, tourism can be a vital force for world peace, and second, tourism needs peace for its development and prosperity. Tourism is the only industry that practically depends on peace. That characteristic of tourism should be more heard in the political relations and negotiations. According to Hall (1994), tourism and politics are greatly interlinked and tourism needs to be taken in a broad consideration of the political context. Tourism is positioned extremely low on the political agenda. Sometimes, tourism can be attributed to economic recovery, but this is usually as far as it goes. It is rarely an actual part of the recovery process or on any political agenda. Furthermore, the links between political studies and tourism are evident, but political scientists, planners and researchers have been very reluctant to consider tourism as a part of their research as it has been seen as being frivolous (Hall 1994). Tourism academia conveys this as pure academic snobbery. However, it is irresponsible to attribute this attitude to academic snobbery. The fact is that in many tourism journals the wrong data, expressions and facts are being published. For example, Stone (2006) notes genocide in Kosovo, even though genocide happened in B&H according to the War Tribunal Court in the Hague. The author probably confused Kosovo with Bosnia, although the genesis of conflict in those two areas was completely different. The author took a very tourism-centric approach (Franklin 2007) and forgot about the socio-cultural and geopolitical settings. Henderson (2000) talks about civil war in former Yugoslavia, although the official UN documents never refer to the atrocities in former Yugoslavia as a civil war. It is totally politically incorrect. The official UN documents are the result of political science research carried out on the West Balkans (Vulliamy 1994, Popovic 2004, Hansen 2006, etc). This is maybe one of the reasons why tourism is labelled as a frivolous area of study, and why the specialists in those disciplines do not think that tourism research is serious. Any factual mistakes occurring in tourism journals are not easy to tolerate. The responsibility is on tourism researchers to earn trust

from their colleagues in other social sciences departments, otherwise tourism's role in the peace process and reconciliation is undermined.

3.9.5 Tourism and its politicisation

International relations and tourism are closely interrelated. Governments will encourage tourists to visit the country if they want to establish a good diplomatic and political relationship (C. M. Hall 1994). This is illustrated by the tourism patterns of former European communist countries. Solidarity towards communist regimes encouraged international tourism between communist states (D. Hall 1991). Governments played an important role in that process, subsidising the travel and the organisation of those trips. It is estimated that in 1988, the travel flow between Eastern European communist countries constituted 11% of all the world travel (Tourism resources in Eastern Europe Report 1993). Researchers argued that travel advisories are not always completely objective. G. Smith (1999) notes a government's will to improve political relations can be observed through the wording of its travel advisories.

Another instance of a direct relationship between politics and tourism is in the interpretation of sites. Ashworth (1994:14) argues that *history provides the resources not only for cultural or heritage tourism...but more broadly serves as an amenity resource base for a wide range of high-order economic activities*. He argues that heritage is actually *a contemporarily created commodity purposefully created to satisfy contemporal consumption*, illustrating it on the process of building new heritage tourism, culture and identity in the post-communist Europe. According to Lennon and Foley (2000) Auschwitz was, during the communist period in Poland, interpreted primarily in an anti fascism manner. With the fall of communism, the anti-Semitism element was highlighted. Lennon and Foley (1999) argued that the Holocaust museum in Washington DC was opened in order to stabilise the relationship between Israel and the US. Rapport between those two countries slightly deteriorated, following the US selling of military equipment to Saudi Arabia. Anson (1999) argues that the opening of the Tower Museum in (London) Derry helped with reconciliation in the aftermath of the conflict, through the presentation of a contested history. In Tibet, problems arose when martial law was declared in the country in 1989. No one except tourists could tell the rest of the world about the violation of human rights there. During the unrest, journalists were not permitted to enter the country and tourists were the only source of information. The role of tourists was politicised in this instance (Schwartz 1994).

Tourism's potential role in political relations between countries is evident. Richter (1983) noted the potentials of tourism after political conflict for repairing a country's international relations. General Marcos put into practice martial law in the Philippines. He used tourism to repair the country's deteriorated image. Richter argues that the positive image generated by tourism was more useful than actual tourism revenues. The same applied to Spain during the reign of General Franco (Hall and O' Sullivan 1996). Spain was considered stable, and tourism was promoted as the most important foreign exchange earner. These examples show tourism as a political marionette of autocratic regimes. However, it is rarely the case that the political science includes tourism as a part of their research.

If tourism were successfully implemented by those autocratic regimes, would it be possible to use tourism as a part of the reconstruction and reconciliation process, and as a means of improving international relationships? Although there is a lack of research indicating the circumstances under which tourism can bring reconciliation among the nations, there is a widespread assumption that it does normalise relations and provide an opportunity for building the culture of peace between the nations or groups which were in conflict and remain hostile to each other (Hall 1994, Richter 1999, Kim and Crompton 1990). Kelly (1998) argued that tourism in fact, influenced the reconciliation between Israel and Jordan because the tour operators who featured Israel wanted to include Petra, a UNESCO World Heritage site, situated in Jordan in their itineraries. The governments started to cooperate more freely afterwards. Richter (1983) argued that the government could use tourism as a diplomatic barometer of their affinity to each other. There is also evidence that a relaxation of travel barriers might improve understanding among nations. According to Davidson and Montville 1982 (in Kim and Crompton 1990), there are two diplomacy channels. *Track one diplomacy*, is an official government channel. *Track two diplomacy* is an unofficial channel with people-to-people relations. Tourism is perceived as a tool for establishing *track two diplomacy* strategies in order to ease political tensions between the nations.

There are many instances of tourism being able to help not only in economic recovery, but also in healing the wounds of conflict and fostering better understanding between the nations or countries which were previously in conflict (D'amore 1988, Kelly 1998). Butler and Mao (1995) show that the mechanism which would be able to measure the movement between partitioned states, does not exist in WTO guidance. It would be a

useful guide in order to link the movement between partitioned states with the reconciliation process. M Altinay, HA Altinay and Bicak (2002) made projections of two possible scenarios for the future of the Northern Cyprus travel industry (in the Turkey administered part of the island). For the North Cyprus tourism industry, a federation with South Cyprus is preferable to economic integration with Turkey. The reasons behind that are divided into the categories of marketing and promotion, transportation, and accommodation. However, in this case the conclusion is that economic integration with Turkey cannot possibly bring huge benefits to the Northern Cyprus through travel industry, as North Cyprus cannot compete with Turkey's well-developed tourism industry and its competitive pricing. Federation with South Cyprus would, according to the study, result in a more positive image of the North Cyprus. The Cyprus example showed that a political solution could provide the business confidence and climate necessary for investment in industry. Doorne, 1998, Hall, 1994, Bowen and Altinay (2006) noted difficulties of managing the tourism industry of a country stressed by a power struggle manifested by different aspirations and expectations, and provoked by strong nationalism politics. Bowen and Altinay (2006) note difficulties in planning and development in Cyprus as the two societies have different objectives and expectations and constantly exercise their national sentiments. Their study argues for a strong interface between politics and tourism in the case of Cyprus. Ioannides and Apostolopoulos (1999) showed that it would benefit Cyprus if it would be possible to promote it as a single destination. In that case, Cyprus would become more competitive. However, cooperation was not achieved. National pride and sentiments have a louder voice than tourism.

Many instances show that tourism provides an opportunity for better understanding and contact between nations to occur but does not guarantee the positive outcome (Anastasopoulos 1992). The author gives an instance when tourism was not able to bring reconciliation after political atrocities between the divided nations. He examined the role of tourism in Greek tourists' attitude change towards the Turkish host community. The study showed that travel to Turkey had a negative impact upon Greek travellers especially regarding the perceived quality of life, government institutions and the cultural aspects of the people. The outcome relies on the conditions under which the contact takes place. On the instance of Northern Ireland, Anson (1999) indicates very complex socio-cultural, political and economic factors which influence tourism and give a positive spin to reconciliation. It is not a trivial process. There are many cases where tourism could not address the change and become a peace catalyst. The main reason for the failure was that it

was not placed in a broader economic, social and political prospective (Amir 1969). Progress towards peace through tourism is not an isolated process and should not be taken for granted (Anastasopoulos 1992, Pizam, Fleischer and Mansfeld, 2002). It is a part of a larger social change that begins with the recognition that the fundamental social and political order is changing (Kim and Crompton 1990). Amir (1969) argues that the direction of the change of attitudes between members of the different ethnic groups depends largely on the conditions under which contact takes place. Favourable conditions tend to reduce prejudices and tensions, unfavourable ones to increase them. Generally considered as favourable are the following conditions: equal status contact between host and guest communities, a favourable social climate, personal instead of superficial contact, pleasant and mutually rewarding interaction, instead of a stressful one. An interaction of functionally important activities leading to common goals of higher importance to the group is important in the process of reconciliation. In this case it would be wrong to highlight the individuals in the group. Cehajic (forthcoming) argues focusing on common identities, not differences through establishing a common goal and intragroup identity. Promoting intergroup contact favours beneficial changes which bring quality contacts (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Tourism is assessed as the most favourable activity in this process. However, it needs certain preconditions to be satisfied before tourism would be able to bring these beneficial changes (Causevic and Lynch 2008).

It is difficult to achieve the progress towards better understanding between nations automatically, but if carefully observed and managed it has a potential to assist in political agendas towards peace. Tourism does not address the other ideological and economic issues that may divide nations (Kim and Prideaux 2003). Progress towards peace through tourism is not an isolated process. It is part of a larger social change that begins with recognition that the fundamental social and political order is changing (Kim and Crompton 1990). In tourism planning, Hall (1994) suggests the need to take great care in noting the political context in which tourism development emerges and the potential that tourism has to breed healthier communities. Careful consideration of the factors influencing social and cultural relationships between host and guest population can lead to a properly designed tourist experience, one which will promote cultural understanding and the process of peace.

3.9.6 Travel advisories

Sometimes it is not just an issue of safety, but also a political issue when the state controlled media wants to show their ideas and who their state support in the conflict (G. Smith 1999). The media is then only a marionette in the government's hands. Teye (1986) argues that overall tourism development suffers in the long term when a country's image is damaged by negative travel advisors and negative media. The real purpose of travel advisories should not be trivialised. However, the literature also acknowledges that beside their main purpose to provide information for the travellers, advisories sometimes act as a political and diplomatic barometer for the relationship between the countries. They are both a political and sometimes even an economic tool. Therefore the researcher decided to review the role of travel advisories as a political tool. Cavlek (2002) noted that travel advisories for travelling to Croatia were completely discouraging. They remained as such for a long time after the ceasefire. They were saying that the whole of Croatia was a no-go area, although a prominent tourism region Istria had never been affected by the atrocities. Individual tourists from neighbouring countries, who had knowledge about the circumstances, visited Istria during that time. Sharpley and Sharpley (1995) argue that the influence of media and governments' travel advisories, influences the flow of tourists in order to exercise political power over countries dependent on this trade. They conclude that government travel advisories are sometimes based on political preferences, not on actual facts in the country. G. Smith (1999) argues that US travel advisory is more an illustration of US diplomatic relations than a real situation. As an indirect outcome, foreign investors lose interest regarding political upheavals in the country. To support their claim Sharpley and Sharpley (1994) cited the USA ban to Cuba and China and the USA boycott of the Moscow Olympics in 1980. Gambia was a stable West African country. After the coup, the Travel Advice Unit and The British Foreign and Commonwealth Office issued travel warnings against Gambia. The country was abandoned by tourists as the main tour operators pulled out (Teye 1986). The country's economy deteriorated and social conditions worsened. It was an unofficial trade embargo as tourism has a goodwill effect in international relations. The Fijian government (Lea 1996) accused Australian media and travel advisories of sensationalism, saying that the street violence that was the coverage of most Australian media was very far from Fijian beach resorts. Australian government advice, following the first Fiji coup was not issued until they received a public demand for such advice. After the second Coup, in spite of the assurance from the Fiji Visitors' bureau that it was safe, the Australian government issued advice that Australian citizens should

avoid Fiji, without checking if the information they were about to broadcast was credible and based on the true facts.

Sofield (2005) on the other hand argues that there is nothing too political in travel advisories, arguing the enormous responsibility of writing such a document. In a case of sudden violence, they would be criticised for endangering the safety of Australian citizens. It is an absolute truth, but it can also be an excuse.

To avoid government interaction with travel trade, and tourism as a tool for a positive image or sanctions against each other, Sharpley and Sharpley (1998) suggest the formation of an independent international organisation, which should exclude political preferences and base their findings on the facts. However, the question is whether this issue would realistically be able to be funded and whether the most influential world countries would again control the travel advisories. It would need a further research.

3.10 CONCLUSION

While reviewing the literature, the researcher argues that there is not that much new knowledge created, as would be expected. The research is usually narrowed down to fit into the already existing models and parameters. What cannot fit into the model will be considered as not relevant. This is the consequence of research that takes a neutral perception, assumes and holds onto the same approach to explain the problem. No matter in which location the work is done, it always takes the same perspective, trying to explain the problem through generalisation. The results are very similar and do not provide a solid conclusions. The researcher tries to stay away from the problem and to analyse it in a real business oriented manner. This is a theme where a complete distance from the issue is not desirable and generalisations difficult to achieve. This part of the literature review further argues the change in the research philosophy in order to make real contribution to the knowledge.

4. LITERATURE REVIEW: WAR MEMORABILIA SITES

4.1 INTRODUCTION: BETWEEN “DARK TOURISM” AND POST-CONFLICT TOURISM

This section presents the second camp, so called dark tourism. The researcher does not agree with the dark tourism concept, which includes conflict memorabilia as one of its categories. Unless there is a particular political interest (Ionidades and Appostopolous 1999), tourism authorities rarely think about conflict memorabilia, although conflict memorabilia sites attract vast tourist attention (Rolston 1993). War memorabilia sites are rarely acknowledged as a part of a post-conflict context. Instead, war memorabilia is researched as part of a so-called dark tourism concept, taken out of its natural context. It is usually acknowledged in the context of Lennon and Foley’s (1996), “dark tourism”. In 2006, a special edition of *International Journal of Tourism Studies* focused on War and Tourism (ed. Fyall et al 2006) the themes of which dealt with so called dark tourism and post-conflict planning, but the articles did not acknowledge the link between the war memorabilia sites and post-conflict tourism planning.

This section focuses on war memorabilia, identifying the main issues and research interests. This research argues that they are core to the concept of post-conflict tourism development, but only if they are removed from a dark tourism discourse. Instead, this research argues that they should be perceived within their own geopolitical and socio-cultural context. Those sites give a special meaning to a destination. This should be understood and not ignored. Finally the link between those two camps will be recognised.

4.2 WAR MEMORABILIA AND TOURISM

Although this type of tourism drew attention from tourism academia relatively recently, Seaton (1999) argues that this phenomenon has existed for centuries, manifesting itself in different sorts of pilgrimage or watching the gladiator games in Roman times. In 1866 Thomas Cook took British tourists to Richmond (USA), where the famous Potomac battle happened (V. Smith 1996). The first modern tourists were British tourists who took an organised package holiday and tour to the Waterloo battlefield site (Tarlow 2005). It actually initiated modern holidaying. The phenomenon has drawn substantial attention from academic research in recent years, (for instance Seaton 1996, 1999, Lennon and Foley 1996, 1999, 2000, 2002, Henderson 2000, Milles 2002, Slade 2003, Kiel 2005, Seaton and Lennon 2004, Sharpley 2006, Stone 2006, Dunkley 2007 etc) and is becoming widely recognised as a tourism niche for both tourism academia and practitioners. An

academic forum, www.dark-tourism.org.uk, features active discourse and debates regarding the phenomenon. The media is very keen on reporting about tourists visiting war memorabilia sites (Stone 2006). The problem with the media is that it focuses only on the most sensational part of the phenomena and usually illustrates it as an extremely negative phenomenon (Seaton and Lennon 2004). However, the media interest acknowledges that people are interested in those sites and tourism researchers try to find out why the interest has become so prominent recently. Academic discourse regarding this type of tourism was particularly focused on the interpretation of those sites, their management and motives to visit (Wight 2006). Many researchers tried to map the motives for the visitation. It proved to be very difficult, as motives are extremely complex in their nature (Sharpley 2005, Stone 2006, Wight 2006, Dunkley 2007). The theory of dark tourism is assessed to be vague and unnecessarily comprehensive (Stone 2006, Dunkley 2007).

Wight (2006) argues that it was wrong that the dark tourism concept is established through qualitative research, suggesting a purely positivist philosophy, and quantitative data research is needed to fill the gaps. However, this research points out the theory as being vague, not inclusively because it was founded on qualitative data, but because it is based entirely on a positivist research philosophy and the researcher who is not seen as a part of a setting, but as a neutral and distant one. The theories are vague not simply because they lack quantitative data, but also because they lack a real *hands on approach* with a researcher acknowledged as an integrative part of a study, not just an interpreter of the data. Studying this phenomenon encourages the acknowledgement of the emotions the researcher felt while doing the research. Dunkley (2007a) illustrates it through her reflection chapter, discussing the importance of the component of self in researching “dark tourism”. This is a component which is missing in most of the previous studies and it could be identified as another reason for a vague theory base (see methodology chapter). The researcher remained neutral and invisible in data interpretation and conclusion. Research was qualitative by its methods, however positivist by its research philosophy. Qualitative research methods conducted under a positivist philosophy bring weak conclusions.

The researcher presents first the debate regarding the definition of the concept. It is followed by the delivery and interpretation of the sites, site sacralisation, history commodification, politicisation, and market segments.

4.3 DEFINITIONS, CONCEPTS AND CRITICISM

Lennon and Foley (1996) defined the concept as dark tourism, Seaton (1996) as thanatourism. Seaton and Lennon (2004) argue that the terms are interchangeable. However, the media and the majority of the academics, refer to the phenomenon as “dark tourism”, which became a powerful and deeply rooted concept in academia and, among a few other ‘categories’, frames the sites of war memorabilia. As the research in this area has evolved since 1996, the researcher will use the term “dark tourism” with extreme caution and later in this section will explain why she suggests that the evolution of this research should also be acknowledged by different terminologies. Whenever the researcher talks about “dark tourism” she uses it under inverted commas to emphasize this point. The genesis of those sites, local people who remain, tourists and their emotions, were acknowledged only if the industry required their acknowledgement (Foley and Lennon 1996, Henderson 2000, Stone 2006). It was a purely one-dimensional research.

The standpoint of this researcher is that “dark tourism” is a pure conflict inheritance and needs to be reviewed as such- multidimensional and holistic. Similar to post-conflict tourism research, the studies on “dark tourism” have also been locked into the world of neutrality (Dunkley 2007). This research focuses on the war inheritance and its sacralisation through tourism.

Foley and Lennon (1996:198) define “dark tourism” as *presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real and commodified death and disaster sites*. Seaton (1996) defines thanatourism as a travel to a location, wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death. He argues that the stimulus of war is the principal energiser of history and modern times. LaCapra (2001), Lennon and Foley (2000) suggest a level of “unease” to measure an extent to which historic and cultural certainties were challenged by a traumatic disruption. Academic research focuses on a certain aspect of the phenomenon, rarely on the phenomenon in its natural context. Tarlow (2005:48), for instance, defines it as having the dimension of the interaction between supply and demand as *visitation to places where tragedies or historically noteworthy death has occurred and that continue to impact our lives*. Tarlow’s definition suggests the time dimension, mostly overlooked in the studies. All these early researchers define visitation of the “dark sites” as motivated by the encounters of death. However, Waterloo was not visited because of those dark motives, but for celebrating the victory. Those definitions unnecessarily point to dark motives for visitation of those sites.

The concept of “dark tourism” is complex in its nature and unnecessarily comprehensive. Academics use term “dark tourism” to map the sites of London Dungeon and Holocaust Memorial under the same umbrella. The term is used in order to acknowledge the haunted places, sites that do not have a material evidence that something really happened there. These are called “dark destinations” on the web site <http://www.darkdestinations.com> a database developed by Tom Gleason. He calls the “horror” sites, and examples such as Frankenstein simulations, the dark destinations. Auschwitz Concentration Camp is also classified as a dark destination. This is politically incorrect and unacceptable. Auschwitz is a site where a brutal event really happened. It is a site where a million people were slaughtered because of their religious and ethnic backgrounds. Gleason’s dark sites are simply fun factories. Putting it under the same umbrella appears to be morally or politically inappropriate.

Recent studies try to acknowledge that some sites are “darker” than others (Miles 2002). Stone (2006) defines dark tourism depending on the intensity of the interest and the actual motive to travel to see the site. His concept presents the difference between the actual sites of dark tourism and the sites which are just associated with dark tourism. This is extended by the conceptualisation suggested by Miles (2002) who contrasted the Auschwitz Site with a Washington DC Holocaust Memorial. Stone (2006) notes that the places which are the actual sites are “darker” than places which are only associated with a phenomenon. Those sites which have an education, history, authenticity, shorter time scale and lower tourism infrastructure have their characteristics “darker” than those whose orientation is entertainment, commercialisation, a longer time scale and higher tourism infrastructure. However, they are both understood as dark tourism sites. No matter how many different shades of darkness exist between fun factories and Auschwitz are, it is wrong to put them under the same umbrella.

Lennon and Foley (2000) exclude from the typology the sites based on events which did not take place, but are commemorated in tourism purposes. Academia and media, however, still map it all as dark tourism. The term is deeply rooted, being present in the media and in everyday life. Ordinary people, tourists, would call a fun factory, a dark site. There is a moral obligation of tourism academia to deconstruct the dark tourism concept by excluding “the darkest tourism sites”, whether to leave them alone or to construct another paradigm.

To highlight the above, Stone (2006) concludes that the literature review on dark tourism remains theoretically fragile. Keil (2005: 481) notes that ...*the phenomenon has so*

far been inadequately described and lacks a theoretical relationship to wider studies of violence and by-standing. As already stated, the researchers make detrimental mistakes when mapping out a historical background.

The researcher could only say here that the pillars upon which dark tourism research is based are not substantial enough to take this work further. There are still a lot of ambiguities present. Dark tourism is evidently a concept, which emerges from a developed western society perspective, associated academic discourse and acceptable “truth”. It provides the research with only one dimension of the phenomena, which is by its nature a multi-layered one. Academia tries to find the solution for those ambiguities in a trend for generalisation and putting the sites with specific characteristics into one drawer. The researcher did not count or create empirical evidence, but when reviewing the theme, a great majority of the work is based on publications of Lennon and Foley. This provides research with only one dimension. While doing the literature review, the researcher recognised a significant research trend to generalise and re-group. Although the generalisations are an important part of social science, the forced generalisations resulted in data which need to be checked out one more time before they could be taken for granted. It ends in putting a Frankenstein simulation and Auschwitz under the same spectrum.

4.4 SITE TOURISTIFICATION AND THE COMPONENT OF TIME

Socio-political settings are more important (Sonmez 1998) than the actual characteristics of the site. Many authors agreed that during the war-peace transformation of social settings, the war memorabilia sites in a certain stage of this process become economic generators (Tarlow 2005, Lennon and Foley 1996, 2000, Weaver 2002). There are many unfortunate events around the world, but not all of them become tourist sites (Tarlow 2005). - Sternberg (1999) proposes commodification, thematisation, contextualisation and staging, in the process of touristification. The last one, according to this author does not mean making it fake, but making it understandable and accessible.

According to LaCapra (2001) tourist interest in “dark” sites represents a transformation of an uneasy social experience into a narrative which suits tourists. The touristification of the sites was done because in that form it is easier to confront the banality of evil (Arendt 1977). This practice has the potential to endanger real events, falsify them and replace them with a more frivolous narrative, which would suit tourism.

This is a touristification of a culture and heritage. This is a very serious process that needs to be taken into account. The “dark tourism” context is extremely tourism centric. It has the same concept as mapping seaside resorts. This is the main criticism of the concept of dark tourism.

Seaton (1999) explains that touristification of conflict inheritance depends on social circumstances and the site sacralisation (MacCannell 1976, 1999). If media and social circumstances are synchronised with site sacralisation, the site is touristified easier, as explained in the example of Waterloo (Seaton 1999) later in this section. MacCannell (1999) differentiated five marking processes, which led to sight sacralisation and according to that, site touristification. These are naming, framing and elevation, enshrinement, mechanical and social reproduction. The social circumstances dictate if the site will become a tourist site. Social circumstances include media, financial means and access. If they work in favour, it gives a chance for the destination to be visited and the site may become a tourist attraction. According to Seaton (1999), sight sacralisation, creates a disposition to visit a place but does not guarantee it will be visited. The social settings play a crucial role. It is illustrated by the Waterloo Battlefield visits. They happened together with the beginning of mass media, availability of newspapers, an industrial revolution and the steam engine. The industrial revolution provided disposable income for travelling. No longer was it just the British Aristocracy that could travel. Steam engines provided a safer, faster and cheaper journey than stagecoaches. The media provided the story. British middle class emerged with a disposable income ready to spend on travelling to Waterloo and celebrate the great victory of General Wellington. This coincided with media revolution. The media reports were favourable and newspapers less expensive due to the new technologies employed in printing the materials. Moreover, more people could read and write. Media in Britain reported about the Lion monument elevation. Immediate reaction in Britain was to travel there and commemorate the battle. Due to the industrial revolution and advances in transportation, this became possible. Waterloo became a tourist site due to the elements of *elevation* and *framing* on one side and favourable social settings on the other. The elements of framing and elevation are defined as displaying the objects, or opening up the place for visitation (MacCannell 1976, Seaton 1999, Keil 2005). Seaton (1999) concludes that the favourable social settings were more influential to the touristification of the sight than the process of sacralisation itself.

Seaton (1999) explains that due to those favourable social circumstances, sight sacralisation, industrial revolution and media revolution, Waterloo became a tourism site.

The curiosity guaranteed the visitation. The sacralisation of the site was crucial in order to insure the permanency and long-time interest. At the time of writing, almost two hundred years after Waterloo happened, it is still a part of many tourist itineraries through Belgium (Spreechaert and Baecher 1990).

4.5 MEDIA AND WAR MEMORABILIA TOURISTIFICATION

According to Foley and Lennon (1996), Seaton (1999) and Slade (2003), the media is amongst the main agents in making war memorabilia sites a tourist attraction. The impact of media, not just on tourism, but on modern life in general is very significant. The media itself is probably one of the reasons that war memorabilia sites nowadays to become an integral part of most itineraries. Those sites have been on the news and provoked enormous media attention. Stories were created. People want to see it by themselves. Sartori (1991) concluded that *homo videns* replaced *homo sapiens*. Western societies, believe in what they see. This is the way the western society functions, "*we come, we see, we leave*" (Tarlow 2005:57). The media is also very selective in choosing what to broadcast. In that sense media influence commodification and touristification of war memorabilia sites.

The media likes to use the term dark tourism and to talk in an extremely sensational way about the sites. That is one of the reasons to understand the visitation of those sites in an extremely pejorative way.

4.6 TOURISTS AT WAR MEMORABILIA SITES

An important issue deals with the tourists themselves. What are their motives to visit those sites? The paradigm of "dark tourism" automatically associates with morbidly curious tourists. Pitts (1996) noted their existence after the rebellion movement against the Mexican government. Although this niche is very small, this is a new kind of tourism generated by war (Timothy 2004). A very interesting illustration of this type of tourists is featured in a short movie directed by Drljevic (2000). The movie is called "*Paycheck*". It depicts Sarajevo society at the end of the nineties, with a young man who rides his motorbike through the minefields in order to earn his living. The tourists watch "the spectacle" and bid whether he would survive. Although this is a fiction, the main actor is depicted as a modern gladiator. Seaton and Lennon (2004) explain that the driving force for this type of "tourism" is a malevolent indulgence in the suffering of another person.

However, this is an extreme case. The researcher believes that the role of these tourists in mapping the concept of post-conflict tourism is less important. However, the researcher tends to notice that those morbidly excited tourists colour the whole “dark tourism” paradigm and give false meaning to the phenomenon. Researchers are aware that the motives for the visitation of those sites are not linked to morbid curiosity. However, being sensational, media always gives them higher importance than they actually deserve (Lennon and Seaton 2004). Stone (2006) notes that the representation of the sites associated with war and suffering is growing in modern society. There are more tourists who engage in these discourses. The presence of the media in the discourses of “dark tourism” sites, acknowledges that people are more and more interested in exploring them. Sharpley (2007) links this movement to religion. As its importance in urban western societies is decreasing, people want to find by themselves the answers to the question religion used to give them in past centuries. People want to find the meaning of life by themselves. Keil (2005) explains that the meaning of the word holiday is derived from the term “holy day” which notes the time which is separated from a person’s normal life. Graburn (1989) noted profane-sacred relations in explaining the time spent in tourism. Religious feasts were a disconnection from a normal every day life. In the past, holidays were only the religious feasts. In the term holiday itself, there is a notion of transcendental and the notion of secular, there is a notion of both religious and leisure. Holiday is a religious feast, but also a time off, time to relax from day to day duties. For Graburn, tourism is a non-ordinary experience, similar to “sacred time”. This transcendental characteristic of a holiday, people who are searching for self-discovery, i.e. the meaning of life, by themselves, not through the official religious institutions, are linked to those “dark tourism” sites. This is a characteristic of the modern western society. They are the most interested in visiting these sites. Tourism per se, for Graeburn (1989) is a form of modern pilgrimage. Visiting “dark tourism” on the other hand, is a conscious decision to visit the place related to transcendental and spiritual.

There were many attempts to categorise “dark tourists”. Seaton (1996) based his research on the behavioural perspective of travelling to locations associated with death, motivated partially or wholly with the symbolic or actual encounters with death. He classifies those travelling as;

- People motivated with morbid excitements. In the past it was associated with public executions. Now, the motorcyclist going through the minefields near

Sarajevo may illustrate the issue. Rojek (1997) adds here immediate travel to places where a disaster happened.

- Travel to sites where mass deaths occurred (Auschwitz), killing fields in Cambodia; motive is usually linked to knowledge and education
- Travel to graveyards and war memorials (Pierre Lachese in Paris)
- Museums - representation of historical events (museum devoted to the assassination of Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo)

Although there are many different attempts to define tourists coming to those sites, the researcher would like to acknowledge that the only difference is whether they are motivated by a morbid curiosity and excitement or they are motivated by any other motive. Other motives include education, research and learning, transcendental and spiritual motives of finding the meaning of life, self-actualisation, and mystical motives (Tarlow 2005) of finding the roots or a part of a national identity. Some of the tourists come to a site by chance, because of their tour itinerary. For instance, the tourists who are on their way to Dead Sea, but the route went through Massada. It is like the tourists who wanted to jungle raft on the River Kwai in Thailand, but the itinerary went via a prisoner of war cemetery and railway. Keil (2005) for instance said that there are a lot of tourists who come to Krakow and then take an opportunity to visit Auschwitz.

Lennon and Foley (2000) advise that those tourists are not a part of “dark tourism”. It was not their main interest to go to see those sites. Usually the authors acknowledge the “by chance” factor, but do not comment or oppose it. This research will, through the primary data, give more insights regarding this issue. However, “dark” tourists who visit the sites by chance, still learn and feel. They experience it and for some of them it may even become a highlight of the trip. In Rwanda it happened that tourists come to safari, but also visited the capitol Kigali, memorial and radio station, which played a crucial role in the Hutu-Tutsi conflict (Greenhorne 2005). The “by chance” factor does not exclude the possibility to go through the same cathartic emotions as those who came specifically motivated by that. However, the real focus of this research is not only the sites. Tourists visit the whole destinations, which survived political conflict. Therefore it implies that there are less “by chance” tourists there. Tourists come to the destination, which is rising from the ashes. It is rarely by chance.

Furthermore, it should also be noted that the motives to visit and the feelings after the visitation depend on whether a person who visits has a personal connection with the site or feels a common sense of humanity, common to any nation, ethnicity or religion (Tarlow 2005). Ashworth and Tunbridge (1996) call it a dissonant heritage, arguing that in the formal recognition of large-scale atrocity sites as memorials, dissonance among the different groups involved such as the victims (or their descendants), the perpetrators (or their descendants) and bystanders will inherently have an impact on the management and interpretation of the site. Ashford further elaborates dissonant heritage, discussing management issues and challenges caused by the tourists visiting the sites. A Jewish person whose ancestors were slaughtered in Auschwitz, American on the Ground Zero Site, Bosnian in Srebrenica, according to Tarlow (2005), feel it as a part of their national and their own identity. Poria, Butler and Airey (2003) suggest that heritage sites have different meanings for different people. Poria et al argues that the motivation to visit the site is linked to the perception of the site. Those who perceive a site *as a part of their personal heritage are the basis of the phenomenon called heritage tourism* (p. 250), i.e. these are heritage tourists. Others are tourists at heritage sites.

It is also important to carefully consider the interaction among the physical attributes of the site, its authenticity, or the characteristics of the individual, i.e. the focus should be put on the relationship between them, which further leads to better understanding of the social behaviour in a destination (Poria, Reichel and Biran 2006). Tourists who visit the site which is a part of their personal heritage, involve a mystical experience, which grows out of tragedy (Tarlow 2005). Others at the same site would feel that same connection with humanity. They feel those emotions common to all humans. They feel superior to the doers of those deeds. They feel it as an attack on humanity. A diagram below summarises some of the most prominent ideas in mapping the tourists coming to see war memorabilia sites.

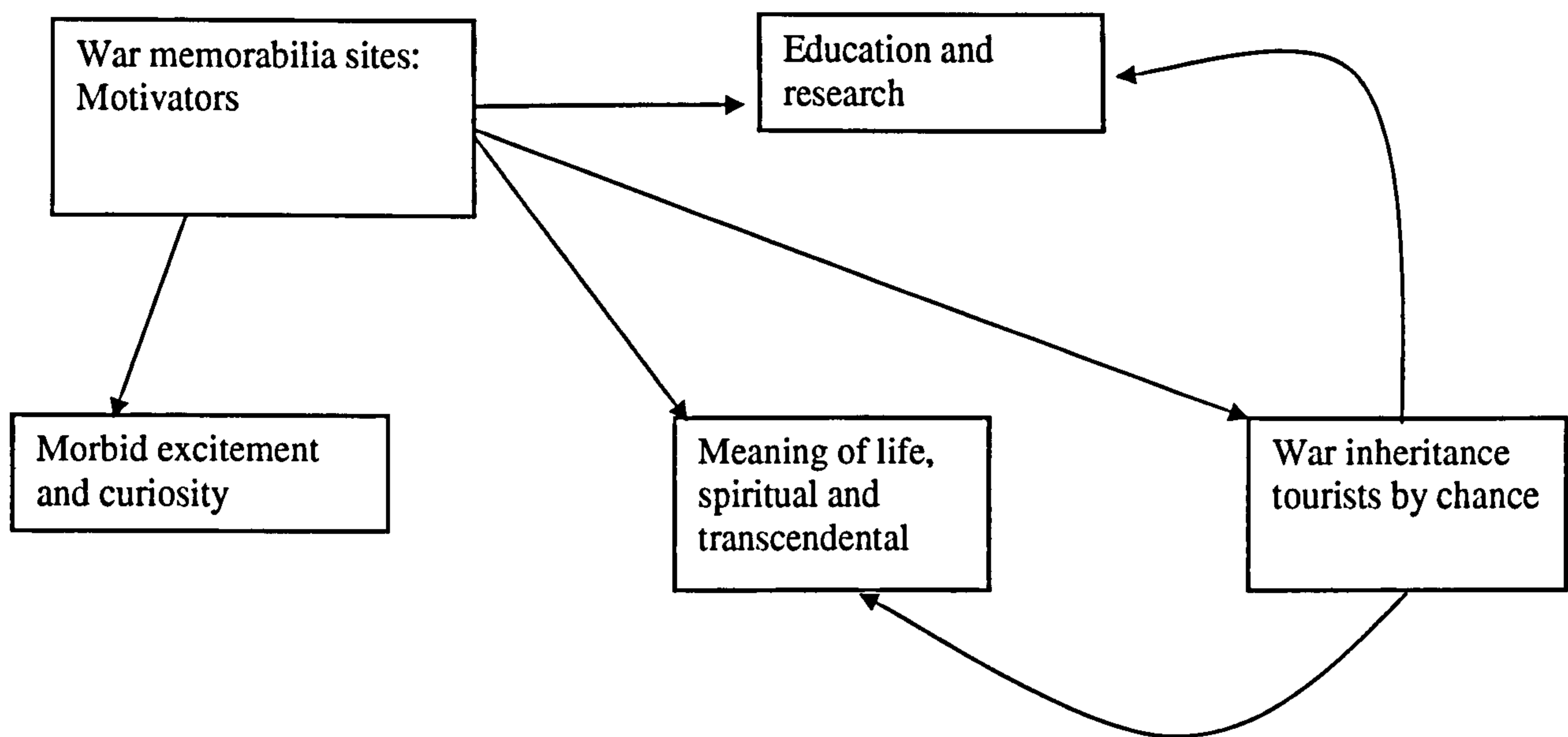


Figure 4.1 War memorabilia sites: motivators

4.7 INTERPRETATION AND POLITICS

Many argue that there is an ethical concern in promoting these particular sites for commercial and tourism purposes. It is natural that tourists' interest in war memorabilia sites accelerates the process of its touristification. However, local communities and other stakeholders affected need to be asked for permission. How should it be interpreted?

Diller and Scofidio (1994) illustrate the multidimensionality of the relationship between war and tourism noting that those two phenomena are on polar extremes from each other. However, those two practices are always interconnected and overlapping: tourism of war, war on tourism, tourism as war, war targeting tourism, tourism after war, tourism during the war, war as tourism, are a few but interesting couplings. The transformation of the memory of war into a sentimental tourism attraction (war as tourism) is the most interesting coupling. V. Smith (1996:248) explains the link between war and tourism by comparing them as social processes that are inseparable from the underlying and diverse cultural gear of group values, sanctions, beliefs and behaviours.

War and long term political instability generates a whole set of new tourism sites. Post-conflict is a context under which this research is conducted. Mansfeld and Kliot (1996) illustrated this with a Cypriot example. Their initial observation is that tourists in

the southern part perceive the military installations in Nicosia and Atilla line (border between north and south Cyprus) as tourist attractions. By exposing tourists to the physical dimension of the conflict, the Greek Cypriots are hoping to get more political sympathy towards the unification of the island. On the other hand, Turkish Cypriots want to mask the military landscape and to promote tourist resorts without any mentioning of military landscape. The authors suggest further research on the touristification of the sites hit by conflict. It is extremely important as an input for tourism planning following the ceasefire. As the Cypriot case illustrates, the issue is politically loaded. Therefore the interpretation of the sites is a complex issue, often overlooked by “dark tourism” concept.

Wars became the time makers of society (V. Smith 1996). The time and history is usually measured as the time before, during and after the war. War gives a special meaning and memory to the places and events that link warfare to tourism. According to Mihalić (1996), when war ends it becomes part of the historical memory of a certain destination and this memory becomes a tourist site. It can be argued that memory is touristified and the sites are just material evidence of it. V. Smith (1998) argues that compared to wars, crime and terrorism are historically insignificant. They do not leave heritage behind. War rarely breeds the final end of the problems. It results in disputes and diplomacy to sort it all out. The situation may remain unclear for some time. It causes unease in interpreting the sites. What is the best way to interpret what had happened?

It appears easier to interpret a historic site than a site which is still fresh. Although still a part of a collective memory, interpreting Massada in Israel was easier than interpreting Auschwitz. Massada happened 2,000 years ago. Tour guides interpret Massada in a heroic manner. Jewish patriots who lived there committed suicide rather than fall into the hands of Romans (Tarlow 2005). The interpretation is based on the people and their heroism. Is the message of the Auschwitz general human cruelty or a cruelty of a particular nation? What is politically correct, but also what is acceptable for the tourists? Who are the tourists here? Henderson (2000) notes that, for instance, the Vietnam sites are interpreted in a way to show the citizens as brave heroes who wanted to fight for their freedom. However, Alneng (2002) argues that certain sites in Vietnam, for instance, Cu Chi tunnel, became, as Ritzer (2004) calls it, Disneyfied and the respect is lost (see discussion chapter). Tarlow (2005) noted that it is difficult to contextualise and interpret those events. For instance, there is a problem with contextualising Ground Zero. Should it be interpreted in the context of New York and its struggle to come back after the attack or in the context of a total war on terrorism?

It is easier to interpret a site if there is a time distance. Although an issue of tour guiding is important in this aspect, Poria, Reichel Biran (2006) and Ap and Wong (2001) argue that there are surprisingly very few discussions related to the aspect of tour guiding. E. Cohen (1985) noted two distinct types of a tour guide. One is a so-called pathfinder. S/he provides a privileged access to the places. Another one is a mentor, who educates and spiritually leads the tour. According to E. H. Cohen, Iferganb and Ey. Cohen (2002), the mentoring tour guide gained importance relatively recently. His/her responsibilities are not just to guide the tour, but to educate and help tourists to find the meaning. E. H. Cohen et al (2002) employ a third tour-guiding concept. This is a maddrich, a young person with an informal education, usually a student doing a summer job. A maddrich facilitates the group and instead of informing the group, provides a plateau for discussions and debates. S/he is guiding Jewish youth and informing them about the common heritage. Which one of those three paradigms would suite a tour being guided through recent war memorabilia sites? This issue is illustrated later in the thesis. Are those sites politically loaded? Through tourism, a political message can be sent. Tourism is very suitable for that. At the end, it is tourism that is perceived as frivolous. It gave a power to politics to manipulate through tourism.

4.7.1 Chronological component

The memory plays an important component. Anson (1999) illustrates that the Battle of the Boyne, when in 1690 William of Orange defeated James I is still commemorated with a lot of passion and emotions through the marching season as though it happened yesterday. The Massada event, even though it happened 2,000 years ago, is still a site for an emotional commemoration from the Jewish communities. For others it is a heritage and a symbol of a common sense of humanity. The collective memory plays an important part in this particular process. This example is here just to acknowledge that socio-political settings influence the whole process of site sacralisation (Seaton 1999). Memory does not allow it to become a heritage site, but to remain in the stage where the emotions are still felt in a lengthy stage of evolution to become a heritage. Although this is not a pure tourism dimension, the battle of the Boyne clearly illustrates that it is not a one-dimensional approach to explain the process of sacralisation and touristification of the area which follows afterwards. It illustrates the importance of local communities, collective memory and socio-political settings, especially when it is about the sacralisation of sites which have a political dimension. Even if the event happened long time ago, the social

circumstances may influence it such that it would still be in the stage that it is not sacralised. Lennon and Foley (2000) argue that dark tourism is limited to events that have occurred within living memory. Dunkley et al (2007:58) opposes Lennon and Foley (2000) arguing “*it is not the chronological distance, which makes dark events become tourism attractions, but rather the resonance of dark event itself*”.

The researchers still keep calling war memorabilia sites *the attractions*, confirming that those studies are not naturalistic and are taken out of context. The perspective of this work is to take war memorabilia sites out of the “dark” or “thanatourism” box.

When is it possible to promote a site? When is it ready for tourism? This research finds that the “dark tourism” paradigm is missing a real recognition of a time component. Miles (2002) adopted a space-time framework (Novick 1999) in approaching the dark-darker tourism paradigm, explaining the difference between the actual Auschwitz site and the Holocaust Museum in Washington DC. However, he utilises only the space part of the framework, saying that the actual site, Auschwitz itself, is “darker” than Washington DC Museum because of the space difference. Although the time component did not concern his study, he acknowledges the existence of that component.

However, the time component is very important in addressing the issue of post conflict tourism and war memorabilia sites as its integral part. The way this researcher perceives the time component is presented through the anthropological study of Maurice Bloch (1982) presented in the introduction chapter. The first burial process was sad. The second ritual is full of joy. People celebrate that their beloved ones became an ancestor, a history, or in tourism terms, a heritage. This is a key in interpreting and eventually explaining “dark tourism”. The component of time has a great importance in this concept. In this particular ritual, it was a time to wait and make the corpse dry and then the ritual for their sacralisation to take place. Once it was done, they become heritage. It is the same with the sites which witnessed conflicts and carry with themselves war stories, both tragedies and victories. When the place “dries”, it is ready for the sacralisation. In the Madagascar ritual, the person becomes an ancestor. In tourism, the war inheritance becomes a heritage. In Madagascar ritual, the ritual of a second burial lasts for a couple of days; it is a process where the joy and happy moments dominate. In tourism terms, this ritual resembles the moment in history when the place is rising from the ashes, which is a stage, a turning point from war inheritance to heritage and sacralisation. This research calls it phoenix tourism. This is a moment which is missing in all those concepts trying to explain the dark tourism philosophy. However, it is difficult to predict the time it would

take for the site to become a heritage. How long does it take until the place rises from the ashes? The researcher would like to argue that it is a natural process, until it dries out. The same is with tourism and business consultant who argues that the war should be forgotten as the remembrance is bad for tourism. Those mistakes should be avoided.

This long journey from sadness to joy, is a Merina tribe ritual. This is a transformation of sadness into a joy and hope. Translated into tourism, it is a *phoenix tourism* stage in a process of post-conflict tourism development, a term which actually emerged from the data analysis of this current research.

4.8 CONCLUSION: RESEARCH GAPS AND CONCERNS

The table below summarises the main issues in the development of “dark tourism” concept, since it has become more prominent in tourism academia and since Lennon and Foley labelled it as such.

This section summarises some of the main issues which arise in researching a post-conflict tourism. Although research about the supply-side of war memorabilia sites continues to flourish, the area which concerns the social component, for instance local communities, has been largely neglected within the current literature. Dark tourism is a tourism centric (Franklin 2007) concept. Somehow, local communities do not fit in the concept. To the knowledge of the researcher, it is only in Northern Ireland that those issues have been taken into account (Rolston 1993, Anson 1999 and Lisle 2000) Sites associated with relatively recent conflict and their openness to tourism has an impact on a community within the area where the site is located. The early work of Smith (1998) and Lisle (2000) acknowledge the impact conflict has on a society. Their research illustrates a strong link between war and tourism, depicting conflict as a heritage. Local communities and their role in the process of tourism development are unfairly neglected. The premises of “dark tourism” result in a polarised understanding of the concept between academic and developed societies on one hand, and tourism destination stakeholders on the other. Inherently “dark tourism” conceptualises the consequence of a long-term conflict. Following the ceasefire, tourism may assist in the reconciliation process and in this sense the conflict memorabilia has its place (Leslie 1999, Anson 1999). Hardly any research related to the “dark tourism” phenomenon takes into account recent conflict and the views of those communities involved in the conflict. The relationship between the local community, the visiting of the site and the conflict is not clearly explained. Additionally,

current research does not elaborate the time dimension, i. e. the meaning of the word *recent* in this context. This research conceptualises *recent* as the status that still has an impact on the lives of the people who live within the area and is still influenced by legislation and regulations which are the consequence of the conflict.

This is not recognised as part of a so-called dark tourism paradigm. Generalisation, as already said and justified by tourism academia, made this theory vague and fragile. Generalisations are the outcomes of the research methods used. Although extremely important in building tourism theory, if the theory is vague as in this case, generalisations are not advisable. They can be faulty.

Dark tourism as a single category is not acceptable. The war inheritance and Madame Tussaud's Museum, are inappropriate to be put under the same umbrella, due to the different nature of these sites. Dark tourism concept is overly comprehensive (Stone 2006, Dunkley 2007). It needs to be deconstructed. This research calls for war related sites to become independent from the dark tourism paradigm and to stay separate under another label, also for including a socio-cultural and geopolitical context of the site into a consideration. The aforementioned issue will be discussed further in this thesis.

There are many issues in building tourism on the wounds of conflict. On the one hand, the ethics of making an attraction out of the sites of death and destruction is very questionable. On the other hand, if those sites became tourism sites, it sends a message that the war is over. It became a memory or a heritage. Tourist interest suggests that this is a real chance for local communities to directly participate in tourism development.

As said, the time component is very important. Further empirical work will be based on Bloch's double burial concept, a certain transition between the dark and heritage. In rising from the ashes, the war sites become an immortal heritage. It is a stage between dark tourism and heritage, a transformation, and not permanent. This point in history in tourism terms is like the ritual of Merina tribe in Madagascar, a double burial. The emergence of post-conflict destinations can be compared to the process of becoming an eternal ancestor; this joyful ritual and a long journey from one place to another.

The dark tourism concept emerged from academic discourse but does not resemble the real role that war memorabilia sites have in the process of tourism development. The researcher would like to conclude this discourse with adding a comment on a phoenix tourism destination. It is not just about the sites. It is about the destination literally rising from the ashes, just like the mythological bird, the phoenix. Regarding the academic

discourse, this study finds the concept of phoenix tourism to be more appropriate in the process of conceptualising the destinations with their conflict inheritance. The concept will be further explained in the research.

Table 4.1: “Dark tourism” - A chronological evaluation

<p>1996 official initiation of “dark tourism” concept</p>	<p>2002 – evolution Commodific ation of the sites, context of space explored</p>	<p>2005-2006 New ideas started to emerge, dark tourism internet forum, differentiated motives however the concept has not been changed</p>	<p>2007 Bringing new elements Religion and meaning of life</p>
<p>The phenomenon which encompasses the presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real and commodified death and disaster sites Lennon and Foley</p> <p>Thanatourism: a form which has been characterised as a travel to a location, wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death. Seaton</p>	<p>Commodificati on of anxiety and doubt, context of recent events (Lennon and Foley 2002)</p> <p>Shades of darkness; There is a difference between sites associated with death, disaster, and depravity and sites of death, disaster, and depravity. If visitation to the former is rightfully characterized as “dark tourism,” then journey/excursion/ pilgrimage to the latter constitutes a further degree of empathetic travel: “darker tourism.” Miles 2002</p>	<p>Visitation to places where tragedies or historically noteworthy death has occurred and that continue to impact our lives. Tarlow (2005:48)</p> <p>Difference between the motives of the people directly influenced by the event and real tourists, mysticism and spirituality -Typology of Seven Dark Suppliers, which may be loosely ‘plotted’ against the ‘spectrum of supply’. Stone 2006</p> <p>Dark tourism is the act of travel and visitation to sites, attractions and exhibitions which has real or recreated death, suffering or the seemingly macabre as a main theme www.dark-touris.org.uk Stone 2005</p>	<p>Modern society does not know how to deal with death - our own and the deaths of others. Religion provides a framework for understanding of mortality. But in western society where we have a lack of religious tools and where the focus is on eternal youth death is even more of a shock. Dark tourism sites therefore provide a legitimate means individually or collectively of coming to terms with our own death. Sharpley 2007</p>

5. NORTHERN IRELAND

5.1 INTRODUCTION

As already noted, before doing the research in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the researcher did fieldwork and completed analysis based on Northern Ireland (NI). The researcher has explained already (methodology chapter) how the fieldwork in NI influenced the approach to the study. Therefore the researcher decided to present the most important findings and a research framework based on the results of the interview and participant observation analysis from NI, illustrating its influence on the research in Bosnia. As research is taking a critical theory approach, with a researcher's personal reflection being an important part of theory building, the researcher would like to add here that besides being conceptually important, the research in Northern Ireland removed any mental blocks which would potentially disabled the researcher to face the Bosnian study.

This section will therefore present the main research findings and discussion of Northern Ireland, in the light of the research in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Before that, the research will give a short introduction to the actual socio-political settings of NI.

5.2 NORTHERN IRELAND BACKGROUND

It was in 1924 that tourism as an industry in Northern Ireland was formally recognised with the formation of the Ulster Tourism Development Association (UTDA) (Moorehead 1991). Its remits were to promote Northern Ireland (NI) as a holiday destination and to provide information on accommodation, transportation and travel to NI. UTDA did substantial work in recognising tourism as an economic activity among the local communities within the NI. It acted as a pressure group and lobbying body in order to improve the image of tourism as a sector, development of the infrastructure and accessibility. Even in those early days, it was recognised that improving accessibility to the destination is important in bringing tourists (Coyle 1984). The Science and Society web site has a collection of thirty two pictures which resemble Northern Ireland tourism promotion in 1930s and most of them highlight the railway and accessibility (<http://www.scienceandsociety.co.uk>)

The role of UDTA is historically important. It is one of the first tourism pressure and lobbying groups in Europe. It is a witness of the time. An increase of tourism in Northern Ireland was a result of the societal circumstances (Seaton 1999) caused by the development of the transport technologies during the World War II. Travel became affordable. However, UTDA being a voluntarily organisation did not have the ability to manage funds and assist in a more substantial promotion. It resulted in setting up a Northern Ireland Tourism Board (NITB) in 1948.

5.2.1 Northern Ireland Tourism Board (NITB)

The period from 1948 until now can be divided into three stages related to the political circumstances in Northern Ireland in that period. The first period corresponds with the work of NITB from its foundation in 1948 until 1967, which is a year to be taken as the beginning of organised political strife. The second period resembles approximately a 27-year period of a political and civil strife from 1967 until 1994 when the First Good Friday Agreement was signed. The third period is from 1994, Good Friday Agreement, until now.

British Travel Association, later British Tourism Authority, carried out the promotion internationally. The main role of the NITB in the beginning was a promotion within the UK. In later stages, its role became more sophisticated and included also (Smyth 1986) the encouragement of a high standard of tourism facilities, and the provision of tourist amenities directly and through partnerships with the local authorities, and advisors to government and tourism industry. However, already in early sixties, NI tourism faced its first challenges. Northern Ireland's markets were neighbouring countries and regions, mostly Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland. NITB positioned itself as a tourism destination, but soon it had strong competition. Mediterranean resorts became a novelty and a very popular choice of the British tourists. In the beginning of the 1960s, tourism in Northern Ireland deteriorated (Buckley and Klemm 1993). Northern Ireland could not compete with the Mediterranean destinations due to the different weather circumstances and also due to its remoteness and being peripheral (Rolston 1993). NI needed to restructure its tourist product in order to stop tourism deterioration (Buckley and Klemm 1993). The strategy for NI was to concentrate on the niche markets and create niche products which would appeal to the specific markets. Already before the troubles, in the 1960s, it was a challenge to position tourist product. Although an emphasis on niche

products seems like a new tourism idea (Poon 1994), NITB pioneered a product diversification in the early 1960s, as a response to the stage of decline in Butler's (1980) tourism area life cycle. It has already experienced the entire tourism area life cycle (Butler 1980) in the early sixties and because of the troubles, it marked an exit from the TALC (Baum 1998).

The troubles in Northern Ireland was actually a conflict which involved republican (Provisional Irish Republican Army – PIRA) and loyalist (Combined Loyalist Military Command CLMC) paramilitary organisations as the main protagonists (Taylor 1998). The Troubles have been variously described as terrorism (www.mi5.gov.uk/output/Page24.html), ethnic conflict (Coakey 2007), guerrilla war (Knickerbocker 2004), a low intensity conflict (www.onwar.com), with the elements of a civil war and high intensity conflict (for instance Bloody Sunday in (London)Derry, on January 30th 1972, and Bloody Friday in Belfast, June 21st 1972).

With a political conflict between nationalist and unionist paramilitaries in Northern Ireland, tourism completely deteriorated (Buckley and Klemm 1993). However, Wilson (1993) acknowledged that it was only the pure holiday visitors segment (PHV) that drastically slumped during the troubles. Those visiting friends and relatives (VFR) and business visitors were less affected (Figure 5.1). NITB did not cease to exist. On the other hand, a sharp decline in PHV segment, indicates that the troubles had huge impact on tourism in Northern Ireland, its tourism valorisation, image and popularity. Figure 5.2 show that visitor numbers were dramatically declining particularly in the years when there were more serious political violence and problems, i.e. the election of the political prisoner Bobby Sands to Parliament followed by the hunger strike that resulted in Bobby Sands' death proved emotive events for the nationalist community and were heavily featured in the media (Walker 2006).

Since 1970s both communities have been expressing their emotions by drawing political murals (Rolston 1992). The murals represent a general political view of the Belfast communities. They used to be themed exclusively by the troubles. However, recently they have been inspired by the generic world politics and history. Northern Irish murals have become symbols of Northern Ireland, depicting the province's past and present divisions, and becoming a main part of tourism gaze since the Second Good Friday Agreement (1998), presented in the next section.

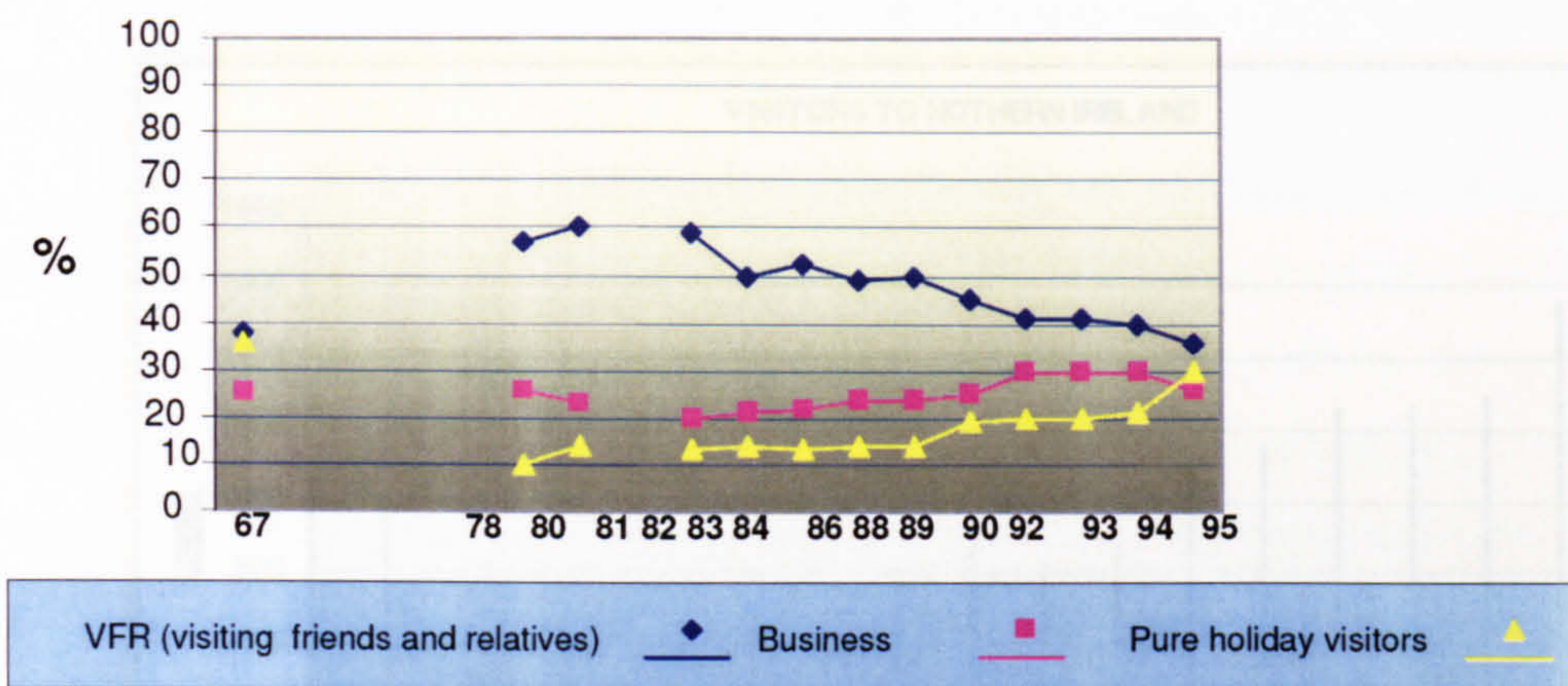


Figure 5.1 Visitors by the purpose of trip

Source: NITB Tourism Barometer Archive section, <http://www.nitb.com/research.aspx> (reworked)

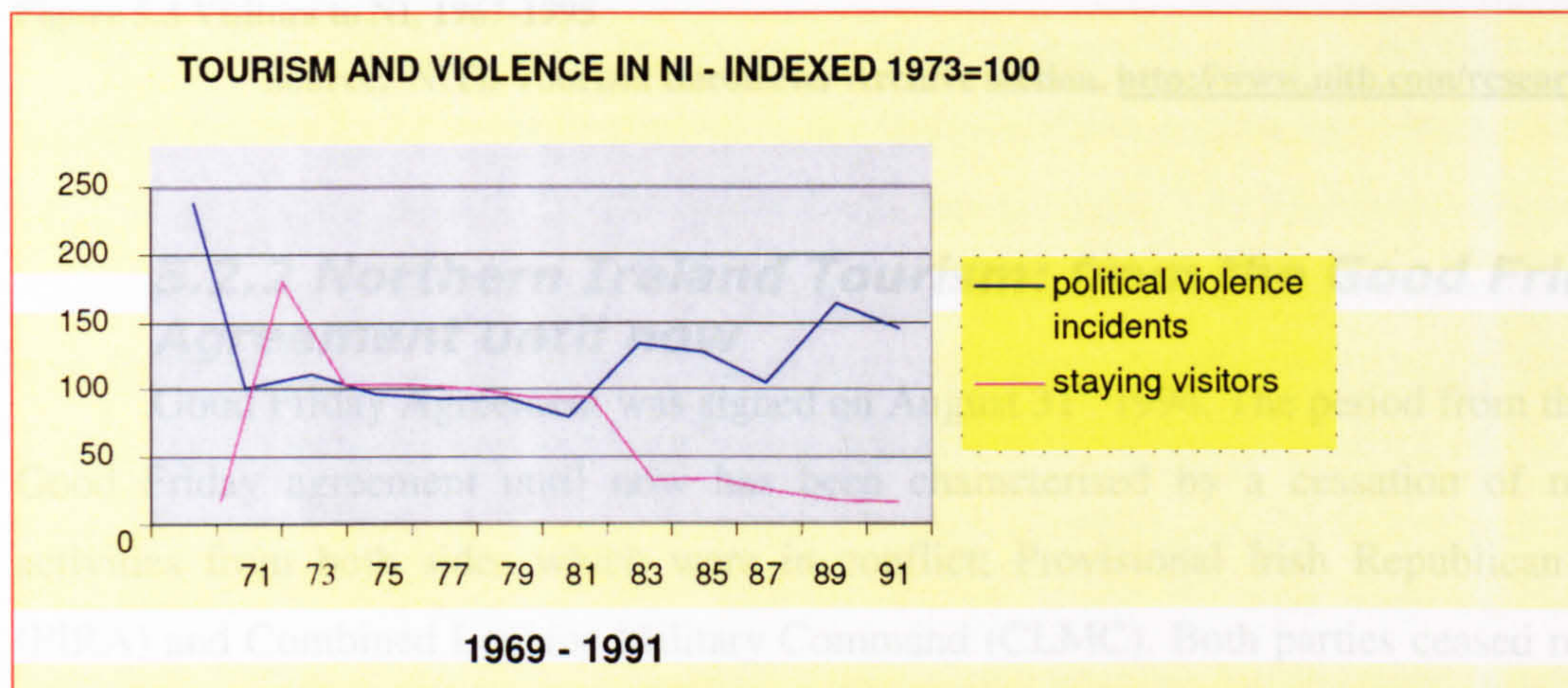


Figure 5.2 Tourism and Violence in NI 1969 - 1989

Source: NITB Tourism Barometer Archive section, <http://www.nitb.com/research.aspx> (reworked)

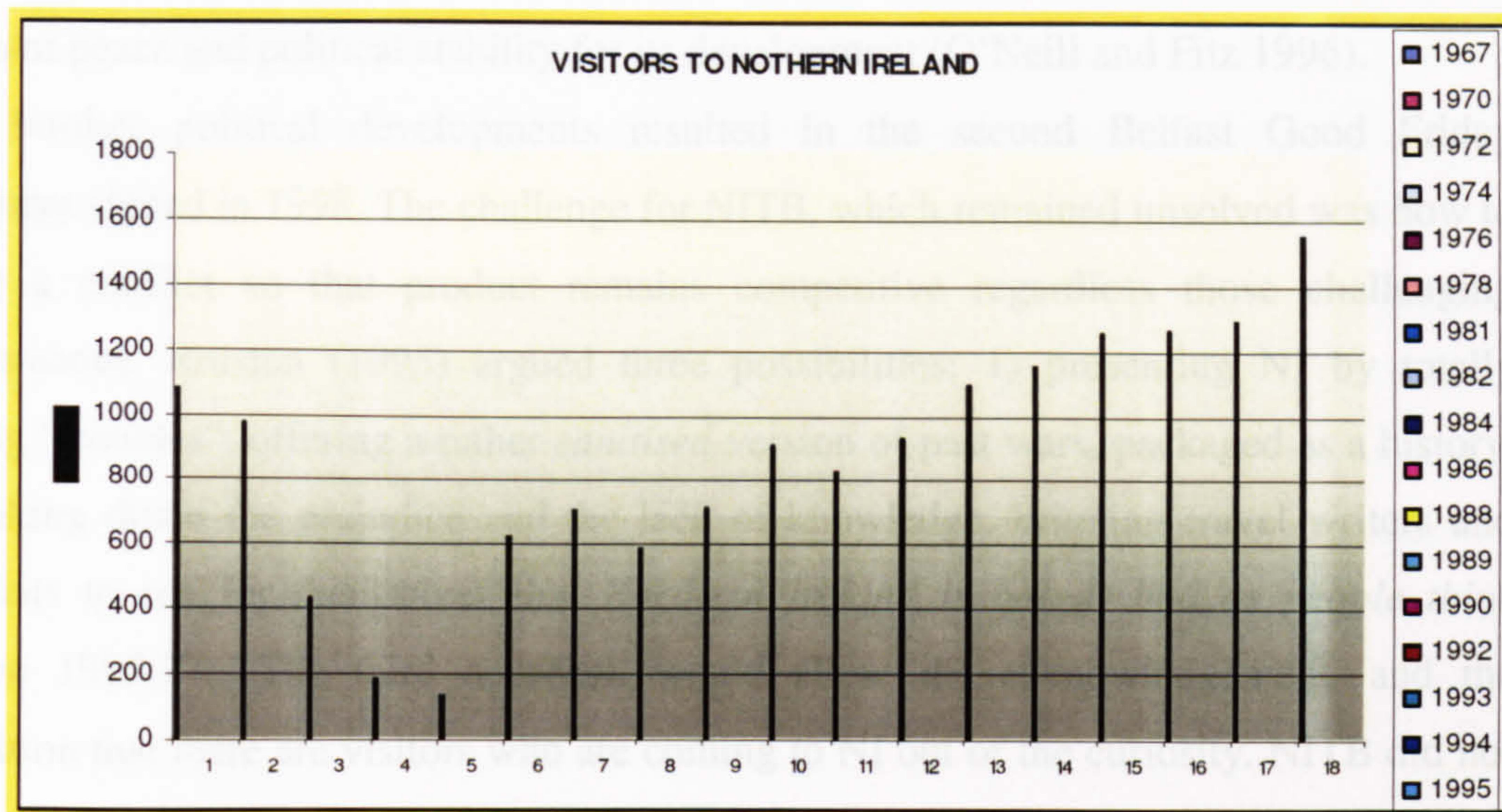


Figure 5.3 Visitors to NI, 1967-1995

Source: NITB Tourism Barometer Archive section, <http://www.nitb.com/research.aspx>

5.2.2 Northern Ireland Tourism: from the Good Friday Agreement until now

Good Friday Agreement was signed on August 31st 1994. The period from the First Good Friday agreement until now has been characterised by a cessation of military activities from both sides which were in conflict; Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) and Combined Loyalist Military Command (CLMC). Both parties ceased military operations (Leslie 1996). Tourism, which sharply deteriorated during the troubles, saw its chance for a more serious development and continuation of the tourism product development and diversification which had already started in the early sixties before the troubles. This section puts into the context recent tourism developments in NI with the relation to the troubles. The first Good Friday Agreement gave a chance to tourism. Unfortunately, the Agreement was interrupted by the bomb planted in London Canary Warf in February 1996. Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) announced the end of the ceasefire, causing negative implications towards tourism development. **Boyd (2000) argues that, in order for Northern Ireland to achieve its tourism potential, peace needs to become constant.** Gooroochurn and Hanley (2005) compared the reaction on PIRA's announcement of the ceasefire in 1994 and its announcement that they ended a ceasefire in 1996. The reaction on the ceasefire ending made a stronger impact on tourism arrivals than the ceasefire announcement. A number of the visitors in 1996 decreased by

some 15%, despite NITB's forecasted increase. Those figures illustrate that tourism needs a constant peace and political stability for its development (O'Neill and Fitz 1996).

Further political developments resulted in the second Belfast Good Friday Agreement signed in 1998. The challenge for NITB, which remained unsolved was how to present a conflict so that product remains competitive regardless those challenging circumstances. Rolston (1995) argued three possibilities; 1) presenting NI by totally ignoring "troubles", offering a rather *sanitised* version of past wars, packaged as a history, 2) breaking down the prejudice and the lack of knowledge, bringing travel writers and journalists to see for themselves that *Northern Ireland is not as bad as people think* (Rolston 1995:27). The third approach would allow the acknowledgement, and the recognition that there are visitors who are coming to NI out of the curiosity. NITB did not encourage this third type of visitation at that time. It was argued that it would portray NI in a negative light and deteriorate the image of NI even more. It was a standpoint taken by tourism officials in NI in the beginning of the nineties. However, the need for a standpoint regarding the issue means that the demand and interest exist. The approach, which NITB identified as the most suitable for promoting tourism after strife, was based on carefully selected tourism products. Those products have strength to transform the image NI has. It is done in correlation with media who are stressing positive image and transforming the induced image (Gunn 1972), (see literature review). However, complete avoidance of the troubles is a problematic strategy. Hardly anyone is not familiar with the troubles. Therefore if they are completely ignored, it might have negative consequences towards the credibility.

Long term peace and stability have had significant and beneficial effects on the local economy. During the years of trouble, image of NI as a tourist destination sharply deteriorated. Almost thirty years of violence have had severely negative consequences on the economy. These were summarised as follows (Northern Ireland Economic Council 1995);

- The direct costs in terms of the dead, injured, damaged property/infrastructure and job loss within the economy;
- A public sector and governance organisation became complicated. Over the past twenty-five years the public sector has grown substantially, in no small measure due to the "troubles" associated with higher need, additional costs (e.g. security) and a smaller private, wealth generating sector

- Political uncertainty inhibiting the ability of firms to plan for the longer term
Political risk can be expected to have a particular influence on the size of the tradable goods sector, which has an alternative to invest elsewhere, and, for a given rate of return, will seek out a lower risk environment
- Indirect costs in terms of the diseconomies of conflict – inefficient labour and housing markets generated by intimidation and community division – the lack of social capital, the complex matrix of trust, collaboration and shared responsibility that is a necessary precondition for successful development – community segregation that inhibits the scale on which local development can take place thus inhibiting opportunities for success;
- Political prisoners
- Other costs less easy to categorise – e.g. an increase in informal (and therefore non-taxed) economic activity (grey market costs)
- Tourism due to the “troubles” is swept away

Publics and government involvement and support to tourism development is assessed to be one of the most important conditions especially when tourism needs to be developed after those extraordinary circumstances like political strife is (Hall 1995). As the end of the eighties and beginning of the nineties marked an increase in selling of Republic of Ireland, it was decided that NI should be promoted as undiscovered part of Ireland, rather than it is a part of the UK. Tourism Ireland was set up in order to promote the entire island of Ireland as one destination to international visitors (Gooroochurn, Hanley 2005). Following the Belfast Agreement of Good Friday in 1998, a cross-border tourism organisation “Tourism Ireland” was created. However, partnerships in the areas under political disputes are more challenging to manage than the ones which are not burdened with it (Greer 2002). He argues that in the contentious political environment, in the beginning of their collaborative work, the feelings of distrust and suspicion prevailed, but with continuous effort it was possible to feel the first positive results in its existence. Tourism Ireland is charged with tourism promotion of the whole island of Ireland as a single geographical unit. It has proved to be a successful model for both tourism in Northern Ireland and tourism in the Republic of Ireland. It is significant in a political, but also in a partnership context. Tourism Ireland was established as one of ‘six areas of co-

operation' under ⁴ the framework of the Belfast Agreement of Good Friday, April 1998 (Greer 2002). The organisation also influences product quality and service delivery through Tourism Ireland's involvement in the promotion of both Northern Ireland and Republic of Ireland. Tourism Ireland concentrates on international markets. In terms of domestic markets Bord Failte in ROI and NITB in NI operate.

Leslie (1996) and Greer (2002) outlined the importance of Tourism Ireland in promotion of the whole island as a tourist destination to the international markets. Gooroochurn and Hanley (2005) evaluated the existence of Tourism Ireland by quantifying spillover effects between two regions. NI was presented as a destination which possesses similar characteristics as ROI. NI was presented as an undiscovered part of the island of Ireland. Under those circumstances, it was easier to promote NI after a long-term political conflict.

The next section presents the findings. It illustrates the most prominent themes in mapping Northern Ireland under the context of political conflict. It presents the influence of these challenging socio-political settings on tourism first. Further, it presents a development of those typical tourism themes under those particular socio-political settings.

5.3 NORTHERN IRELAND FINDINGS – POLITICAL SETTINGS

5.3.1 Theme 1: Tourism and Politics

Politics still play an important role in everyday life in Northern Ireland. The relationship between politics and tourism can be observed through the sub-themes of political parties' attitude towards tourism, over governance and administration. These two aspects had their implications on Bosnian findings.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND TOURISM

In a politically loaded setting like NI is, it was of a great importance that all political parties supported tourism development. A political party dimension was very prominent within the discourse.

Politically it has support from all the parties, it is important if you live in the surrounding like Belfast. You need that kind of support as well.

I4 (338-343) Belfast City Council – tourism department

⁴ The six implementation bodies are: Inland Waterways; Food Safety; Trade and Business Development; Special EU Programmes; Language (Irish and Ulster Scots); Aquaculture and Marine Matters. Areas for co-operation also include aspects of: Transport; Agriculture; Education; Health; Environment; and Tourism.

The political disputes emerge in tourism as well, but the essence of them is not tourism related. However, they influence tourism. Those political disputes prolong the decision-making process. An instance is the regeneration of the MAZE, a former institution where political prisoners served their verdicts. The nationalist party Sinn Fein wanted to convert it into a commemoration centre related to hunger strikers who served their sentence there. Unionist led parties are opposing those ideas. For nationalists, hunger strikers are heroes, for unionists, they are just prisoners.

There are loads of plans, but they are all politicking and lobbying at the moment whether it would happen. The plans are to have a sport stadium, International Centre for Conflict Resolution amongst part of it. But various parties still have to come to some sort of an agreement. There are also various communities, like ex republican and ex loyalist prisoners, the local community around the Maze itself how the things will develop, to agree what this actually mean ... But timescales in terms of agreement and once the agreement is made the diggers can start doing whatever they need to do to redevelop the site. But once they start doing to redevelop the site, it is four years. So if they make an agreement this year, then they would have something in place for 2010.

(I3) Belfast Visitor and Convection Bureau (BVCB)

Although tourism tries to remain neutral, in a society completely absorbed in politics, every decision is observed through the lenses of politics. I6 (local community) highlighted an issue through the promotion of West Belfast area; although there may be many other reasons for not including this area in tourism promotion, it is automatically attributed to politics.

West Belfast is predominantly nationalist, so they do not want to recognise it. There are definitely still some sectarian thoughts coming from NITB.

I6 (228-233) West Belfast Tourism Board

However, official attitude of tourism sector is to remain neutral.

Tourism should remain apolitical; I am down to ground with that and totally apolitical and trying to think in tourism terms

I4 (338-343) Belfast City Council – tourism department

OVER GOVERNANCE

One of the inherited characteristics of the Northern Ireland post-conflict society is their over-governance. In order to remain politically correct, a strong administration at all the government levels was needed. It has an impact on the efficiency of business operation, as administration funding is very high. It results in duplication of work and inefficiency. In NI, there are 26 local councils and it makes it difficult to remain efficient as there are duplications in each level of decision making. There are also seven different government agencies with tourism remits. The findings show concern on the effect of over-governance on the process of tourism development.

NI is quite a complex region for all various reasons; there are just different motivations with so many local councils as well. They are reviewing that as well .We got 26 local councils in NI which is for the size of NI ridiculous so I think they are talking about creating six or seven super councils, which would help and affect how tourism is perceived, who knows.

I3 BVCB

And also NI is incredibly over governed. There are 7 different departments with an interest in tourism and getting all those other organisations aligned to the strategic directions is not easy.

I8 (59-61), NITB

Working-together is suggested in order to avoid duplication of the work.

We need to do be aware of what other people are doing so that we don't duplicate. We need to be aware that this is everybody's city, that we cannot be proprietorial about certain areas and that we must share. Therefore we do it more in joined up because at the moment it is slightly fractured. It is fractured between different groups doing their own thing.

I1 (49-53) Ground Agent

The authors from the eighties and early nineties, for instance, Henry and Jenkins (1982), Teye (1988), Hall (1994), Hall & O' Sullivan (1996) etc. argue that tourism development needs support from government institutions. The NI findings clearly confirm this argument. Firstly, it is because this stage of tourism development needs a framework of laws and regulations which are *tourism friendly*, and this is a remit of government institutions. For too long, tourism was not considered as a serious subject in terms of

political agenda (Hall 1994). However, this research shows that in the case of NI, tourism had begun to feature more on the government agenda, but only in terms of its influence on economic development. Tourism has a significant remit in the reconciliation process, as these findings show that the authorities in NI did realise this, albeit their decisions are still based on the direct economic gains. Although it clearly cannot be said that tourism is a priority for governments, it is perceived as a key factor in the process of social and urban revitalisation and regeneration, explained further in this chapter. Thus funds are invested, but in the areas which are already money generators and in that context some areas are becoming even richer, at the expense of the areas which are stagnating. However, governments rarely address this issue. In an area with a contested heritage, such investments can be viewed as political decision bringing unnecessary problems into the process and unnecessarily politicising an issue.

5.3.2 Theme II: CROSS BORDER COOPERATION: Tourism Ireland (TI)

Cross border cooperation is seen as a political question. Although it is largely seen as a positive spin in the development of tourism, there are still some negative discourses regarding an issue. The findings show that they are very weak. Tourism Ireland is a regulatory body of this cooperation. In this section, cross border cooperation is presented in its political background. This cooperation was institutionalised through the Good Friday Agreement.

Tourism Ireland is a critically important organisation for what NITB does now. Ever since a Good Friday agreement in 1998, as a result from that, there were areas of cooperation, they found the bodies in NI and the Republic of Ireland, where they can work closely together...Tourism was another area where joint approach could really work.

I5 (78-82) NITB research unit

The problems in this cooperation are more related to tourism than to politics. GB and Ireland are competitors.

I think personally it works well...people are saying that it was a political deal done between the UK and Irish govt. and the deal was about that Tourism Ireland should have a responsibility for Northern Ireland tourism. For the Irish government, Great Britain is overseas, for the UK government NI is a part of the

UK. The birth of Tourism Ireland will be, in my opinion, 100s time easier if it did not include GB as we see GB to be competitive market to the Republic.

I8 (457-464) NITB

The initial findings show that the nature of tourism forces cooperation. ROI and NI is one island. Natural and geographical features were more important than the political ones. The sea around the island is easier to perceive as a border than the political border between the countries. The informants argued into that direction;

You mark the area, you mark tourism in Ireland as it makes more sense, and people really perceive no boundaries. People do not have the awareness of the boundaries.

I3 (BVCB)

People, foreigners may not perceive that many boundaries within the communities as we would probably perceive it.

I5 (78-88) NITB research unit

It is not that tourism associations in NI and ROI have merged into Tourism Ireland. They still exist and manage tourism internally. Tourism Ireland's remit is to present and promote the island internationally. That was important for these political purposes as it symbolises the territorial "sovereignty".

5.3.3 Theme III: Networks and Partnerships

This section presents formalised relations between different organisations related to the process of tourism development. They evolved into an important element in the process of tourism development after a long-term conflict. Research identifies the partnerships on the different levels:

1. Public private partnerships
2. Partnerships between the industries (cultural and tourism industries sectors as private and Belfast city council as public)
3. Partnerships within the local communities (see community tourism theme)

Government and government based agencies in Northern Ireland charged with tourism planning, product development and implementation initiated the networking process. These are: Tourism Ireland - promotion of the whole island of Ireland

internationally, NITB - promotion of NI tourism domestically and tourism product development, cooperation and networking with the local partners on different projects, Belfast City Council (BCC) - cooperation with various organisations related to tourism in Belfast, Belfast Visitors and Convention Bureau (BVCB) - promotion of Belfast, and Local initiatives (community partnerships). Belfast City Council took a lead in tourism development.

Belfast City Council took a lead at that stage to create tourism portfolio within its remit

I4 (23 – 24) City council – tourism

An example of PUBLIC PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS: Belfast Visitor and Convention Bureau (BVCB) and Belfast City Council (BCC)

In 1999, as a direct attempt to consolidate public private partnership regarding Belfast promotion, Belfast Visitors and Convention Bureau (BVCB) was identified. The model is a partnership between Belfast City Council, Northern Ireland Tourism Board and private sector.

Study recommended that we have to work very closely with the private sector, to grow the tourism opportunity and that we should look at the best practice models throughout the world, how high cities market themselves. Then BVCB model was identified so in 1999, it was set up as a public-private partnership between the city council, the tourist board and the private sector. It was charged as responsible for marketing Belfast as a destination for conferences and the short breaks.

I4 (31-37)

BVCB emerged as a good model for public private partnership. It reduced the problems caused by the overgovernance and bureaucracy and enabled more effective decision-making, as I3 would say

The great thing about being in arms of such an organisation [Belfast City Council] is that we are autonomous and have more flexibility in making decisions, having to go to committee here and there, having an idea and having to wait two months later to get it signed off by local politician...no, we got far more flexibility in this as long as we have our business plan produced agreement with the council and signed off.

I3 BVCB

Tourism Ireland is a government initiative which all the interviewees assessed as a successful model of cross border cooperation. The role of NITB came under question. As a tourism organisation, the remit of NITB was supposed to be promotion internationally. Promotion internationally is under the jurisdiction of Tourism Ireland now. NITB is charged by implementing tourism products and setting up the standards for tourism products in Northern Ireland. Findings show undefined role of NITB within the process and the need for NITB to define its role better. They should support Belfast more, as it is a regional capital. Their role and involvement in Belfast should be better defined. The existence of NITB comes into a question. Should they still exist or their remits can be a department within Tourism Ireland?

Well, sometimes we ask ourselves, what is a role of NITB in the whole process? NITB is there as a national agency and their remit is all of NI so.... We would like to have closer working relationship with them in terms of Belfast to avoid any duplication of effort of what we are doing and what they are doing. But we think that they really need to support capital city more...

I4 (82-86) City council – tourism

BCC and BVCB have a confidence and trust each other. They operate within the area of Belfast. As NITB is charged with the whole Northern Ireland, it is not focused enough on marketing Belfast as a city capital. BVCB is working on promotion and Belfast City Council is working on product development. NITB, who is charged with marketing, is according to I3 and I4 not doing enough for marketing the city. There is no agency and no organisation to do the tourism marketing function for the city of Belfast and the whole organisation of tourism sector needs a revision in order to become more efficient. The table 5.1 captures the different opinions between I8 (NITB) and I4 (BCC) regarding the importance of partnership.

Table 5.1 Cooperation within Belfast area

INTERVIEWEE	ISSUE	
I 4 (88-92) City council	Cooperation between NITB, BVCB and BCC	We would like to have closer working Relationship with them [NITB] in terms of Belfast and where we want to go and to avoid any duplication of effort of what we are doing and what they are doing. But we think that they really need to support capital city in the terms of tourism.
I8 (297-304) NITB		Depending on the projects, we are switching now more towards Titanic project realised and in that way we can cooperate more closely with the Council because they do a product development end of tourism within Belfast, as opposed to BVCB because I guess our priorities have switched and those partners whose responsibilities matches with our Responsibilities, a part of the change with NITB is that it moved away from being a promotional organisation to be much more a marketing organisation with a much more focus on product and getting a product right.

5.3.4 Theme IV: the Role of Tourism Partnerships in the Process of Regeneration

In order to manage the regeneration process, the partnerships and networking are identified to be of an utmost importance. As I8 (NITB) argued, it is not investing any more in a particular attraction in for instance, (London) Derry. Now it is investing more in the destination and therefore partnerships between different industries, public and private, different communities are assessed to be crucial. The research indicates the proactive role tourism has in the process of urban and social regeneration. Continued political stability, foresight from the government and organised tourism promotion is a base upon which the tourism is developing. As I5 (NITB) said, illustrating the role of local government;

I think what was important was a foresight from the council in the terms of development.

Belfast and Derry employed tourism as the main component of the regeneration process. The support from local authorities enabled the process.

Regeneration is a key to economic growth of Belfast and tourism has to have a prime role in that, in driving the economy forward. Two big economic drivers in Derry are tourism and education. They are two big sectors that Derry is trying to develop. It is not just about the tourism, but how city regenerates itself in that way.

I8 (321-326) NITB

The urban regeneration in Northern Ireland has partially been addressed through the cultural tourism initiatives, achieved through the partnerships (private public and cross industrial) and tourism product development.

Cultural quarter is defined by a high concentration of arts and culture organisations based there (Newman and Smith 2000). Boyd (2000) argues an importance of tourism designated areas, i.e. cultural quarters, or how Gunn (1988) and Inskip (1991) terms it “attraction clusters” and “tourism zones”. The development of cultural quarters is a direct way to include tourism in a city regeneration process. Cultural quarters are city regeneration projects. They are very much in need in Belfast because during the conflict, the values and functions of the city had changed. It was not a social space anymore. As a part of its reconciliation process, the city needs to regenerate its service industries’ function. Places after a conflict need the initiatives, which would motivate people to come to the city and enjoy it as for so many years they could not do it. There are two remits of cultural tourism initiatives in post-conflict settings; first one is to make the place interesting for its citizens, the second one is to motivate tourists to come to the city and maximize its experience while they are in the city.

If people have pride in their city, enjoy their city that would help.

I4 (284) Belfast City Council, Tourism Department

Some initiatives have their focus on the citizens and some on the visitors, but they both make city more appealing and attractive. Through the partnerships between tourism and cultural industries and under the umbrella of city council, the place is getting back its tourism and service function.

But it was because there was no tourism product before, a city was a ghost city, at 6 o’clock everything closed down and everyone went home, nothing was going on, now we have to work hard to push it.

II (475-478) Ground agent

Besides creating the cultural events for its citizens in order to bring back the pride into the city, Belfast City Council is trying to create cultural tourism product, whose remits are to maximise the experience visitors have while they are in Belfast.

Because people who come for a short break or a conference will do cultural things, will go maybe to the shows, exhibitions, tours, shopping... How do we package all

that for visitors to come and the cultural quarters are two initiatives? ...People are recognising the work what we are doing, it is good and positive. If we can get Belfast right, the rest of NI will be right.

I4 (219-238)

A criticism given to, not just cultural tourism strategies, but official tourism strategies in general is that it is creating *tourism hubs* around already established areas. The most deprived areas are not getting enough funding for their regeneration and the gap between them is widening.

TOURISM HUBS AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES: SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS

It is especially important that deprived areas become more tourism attractive. One of the key issues is to create proper infrastructure in order to enable tourists to stay within the area, not just to come to the area, see it and go.

Yeah, because there was a need to create a proper infrastructure for tourism because there are no hotels in West Belfast ... we are also encouraging people to set up B&Bs, we are quite successful with that.

I6 (52-68) West Belfast Tourism Board

But the key is to let tourists stay and then they would shop in local shops, drink in local bar, eat in local restaurants so it has a knock on effect to the rest of the community.

I6 (491-503)

Areas like West Belfast still miss necessary tourism infrastructure. Cultural tourism appears to be a strategy for already developed places in Belfast. I2 (local community) say that the biggest problem they face is prejudice.

People assume that according to where you live, where you come from, you will not be able to provide a professional service.

Authorities support tourism, but only certain parts of the city are included in tourism themed regeneration projects. It creates tourist hubs.

NITB, they do not recognise areas like West Belfast for tourism. There are many tourists who would come to the areas like West Belfast. NITB don't seem to ever pay any attention to areas like West Belfast regarding tourism.

I6 (85-96) West Belfast Tourism Board

West Belfast area is not supposed to be one of the tourist hubs, although people who live there are very motivated to be included in tourism development.

We think for any tourism market you need to be slightly different. In Belfast, you have Titanic quarter, Queens quarter ...the Cathedral quarter... We need to have something else. We want a Gaelic quarter. People could come to West Belfast, learn the Irish language and culture, because we are different from anywhere else in Belfast, but NITB would not recognise it, they would not give any fund towards it, they would not build it up.

I6 (219-224)

On the other side, local council is to a certain extent aware of the issue that the situation as it is today can make a polarisation of the city based on the perceived social class instead of the sectarian one.

People would like to go up to Falls and the Shankill so they are curios. One of the things that I think is that we have to insure that the economic benefits go into those areas and that people are not just going there and come out again...They are very deprived areas and they need more investments and those areas are the sections of the worse unemployment. They need more regeneration and we are very conscious that it has to happen.

I4 (138-145) Belfast City Council, tourism department

Local communities are linking the development of cultural quarters with the process of reconciliation. Areas with murals are slowly becoming a potential cultural quarter. Findings show that it is difficult for obtaining funding from the council for community tourism projects. It is easier to obtain funding for the projects based on culture than on tourism. Therefore tourism and cultural industries need to work in a partnership in local community areas. I7 illustrates the initiative of murals and its impact on the community.

It is also that we did, we invited well-known international artists to help us with pursuing the ideas. New mural has just been created which has nothing to do with the troubles, it depicts a chronicles of Narnia as C. J. Lewis is from Belfast. Those artists are changing the murals to the more softer ones, it is important, well... this action with murals resulted in 12 new jobs besides other benefits.

I7 (133-141) community tourism

5.3.5 Epilogue

The previous section presented the role of tourism in building a society in a context of a post-conflict. These are the features of political nature of tourism, partnership and collaboration in tourism realms, community development and area regeneration. They focused on the wider implications tourism policies have on social and cultural aspects in a post-conflict context. Following section presents “typical” tourism themes; in the post-conflict context, which have a strong link to the process of social and urban regeneration.

Tourism image development and destination promotion need to be synchronised with the infrastructure development, which is a part of urban regeneration theme. Those two concepts are interconnected and influence each other.

Tourism development depends on wider social implications. On one hand, there is a challenging political setting; on the other, there are tourism themes. Political and social setting influence tourism development, and vice versa, tourism influences social, political and cultural development. They influence each other and meet in the theme of conflict memorabilia sites, which are, on one hand, a pure tourism theme. On the other hand, they are a pure political context.

The next section therefore presents tourism themes first and then, almost as a conclusive part of a discourse, it presents conflict memorabilia sites.

5.4 NOTHERN IRELAND FINDINGS: TOURISM THEMES

5.4.1 Theme V: Image of Northern Ireland: Troubles

Findings show that even negative reports about the area do not need to be exclusively pejorative. I6 explains that the media intensively reported about the conflict, but also about the *ceasefire* and automatically created a curiosity.

As a matter of fact, Belfast is known all over the world because of the troubles, but it is also known because of the ceasefires. They come over because of the curiosity factor. They have all seen it on the news for many times, it was not a peaceful society. So they are curious to see what happened and to learn also what happened.

I6 (154-162)

I6 explains that conflict actually gave certain recognition to Belfast. This is created through the news and reports not directly linked to tourism. Belfast is known around the world and is in a process of changing its negative image. This is the difference between the generic places, which want to develop tourism and place like Belfast, which has an image, but one loaded with a political conflict. This theme presents image formation process after

a long-term political turmoil, with media factor being the most influential one within the process.

MEDIA

Generally speaking, media has both positive and negative implications in the process of destination re-imaging. This section will present both aspects. The interviewees called those negative media reports, a *CNN factor*. Whenever there are negative media reports and broadcasting, it has an implication towards the perception of the destination. The destination needs to react.

People here return to CNN factor. You know, you have two minutes on the CNN on bombs, killing...that was the image of the troubles and we are still living with that to the degree.

I8 (154-157) NITB

I3 explains that they cannot easily predict the way media reports about certain political issues. Sometimes their reports are negative, but sometimes the interviewees are surprised that certain incidents did not make the cover page. They say that it is a subjective media decision. The following illustrates the media attitude towards the area featured in the report. Belfast is not interesting anymore.

It did not find it sensational enough, for instance;

It's quite hard, I suppose it just depends. To the certain degree you cannot do anything about that. Its hit and miss exercise. Before when there was an incident automatically front page coverage. Today if there are incidents we are not on the cover page anymore. We got Iran and Iraq taking it over...Media used to blow it out of proportion, but I think that's changing slightly.

I3 (BVCB)

MEDIA – PROACTIVE APPROACH

It is indicated that travel writers, positive media reports and above all, a good relationship with the media are the re-imaging tools. Media is an investment, as Baral et al (2004) argue. This is a *proactive approach*.

We have a good return, an incredibly good return of investment on that. Last year we generated 14 million pounds advertisement value from travel writers. So, the media have a big role to play there. But it is a long term

I8 (151-154) NITB

Proactive approach towards the media includes building good relationships with them. It is the initial stage.

The other thing is about the publicity which goes with some of the big concerts that are held here and that is great. We would meet with the media and talk with the media to encourage them to put good news and stories as well. But you have to be proactive and keep them informed. We have a good relationship with them.

I4 (305-309) Belfast City Council – tourism department

It is not directly tourism related, but it is sending an affirmative message about the destination. Gunn (1972) calls it an organic image. Strategies on how to attract the media were developed.

The whole our focus was firstly the whole international round to get all those international travel writers and getting stories, give them reasons to give them stories and the second thing is about having a long term plan for how you improve your product.

I8 (372-375) NITB

Journalists and travel writers showed an interest to write about NI in a different light, not about bombs, but about tourism. Audience is interested. It is sensational. The most important point is that the media needs to know, get invited, be given the incentives. It includes a strategy.

In the start it was quite a tough thing and for getting travel writers or travel media to Belfast and NI, programming things with them have been tougher. We maybe had 100 journalists in a last couple of years. Now we are hosting over 300 journalists per year. We are getting travel writers or freelancers approaching us now.

I3 (BVCB)

5.4.2 Theme VI: Tourism Strategies

The findings define signature projects as definite tourism products. NITB published in 2004 a Strategic Framework for Action, identifying as signature projects, Giant Causeway, Titanic, Walled City, Saint Patrick and Mourne Mountains (www.nitb.com). There are four remits of signature projects identified. The first one is to create the standard and to do the brand tracking between NI and Eire tourism product. Secondly, it is to establish tourism product in NI on the long term, not just to base it on the characteristics of novelty. Another one is to enhance the partnerships between tourism and cultural sector, private and public sector, Eire and NI and to reach the new markets.

We published in 2004, what we call it our Strategic Framework for Action, our plan essentially and we identified in those 10 programmes, but probably one which is more important is what we call signature projects. We identified 5 key signature projects which we believe are important to give NI international standard, especially if you are marketing NI as one island, how will then NI get the standard in the island of Ireland context internationally. Those 5 projects are, what we believe, a key in getting, I guess... a standard for NI.

I8 (62-67) NITB

There are two distinct processes in tourism development in Northern Ireland. One is the official tourism strategy based on five distinct signature projects. The other one is not official. It is happening inside the communities and is a result of the interest the tourists show regarding the conflict and its resolution. Signature projects and community tourism are in contradiction towards each other.

Northern Ireland based its tourism promotion on product development. This research refers to product development as defined by Medlik and Middleton (1973) as a bundle of activities, services and benefits that constitute the entire tourism experience. The bundle consists of destination attraction, facilities, accessibility, images and price. There are three distinctive types of tourism products in Northern Ireland. They are not just tourist products, but they symbolise a total process of tourism development. They encompass signature projects, community tourism and cultural tourism (table 5.2). Community tourism is not official. All of these three activities encompass partnerships, regeneration, revitalisation and image formation or re-imaging process as the activities upon which they are built. The remits of tourism products in Northern Ireland go beyond tourism realms. Tourism product is a key factor in social and economic regeneration process, which is explained in previous section.

The next section will therefore present the signature projects initiative as a part of the official tourism strategy and afterwards the community tourism will be presented.

Table 5.2: Tourism products

Feature	Sub theme/	Issue
Official strategy	Signature project	Considered as unique and authentic, Levelling the standards, regulations and brand tracking between Eire and NI, Enhancement of the partnerships, Getting the product right on the long term basis, Reaching new markets
Community Tourism	Unofficial strategy	Community regeneration and reconciliation, Product delivery and interpretation, Terminology, Markets, Shankill and West Belfast partnership
Cultural tourism	A part of both official and unofficial strategies	Cultural and tourism sector partnership

SIGNITURE PROJECTS

NI and ROI (Republic of Ireland, Eire) promote their tourism product jointly. As already said, ROI has a well-established tourism sector. NI is lacking behind in tourism regulations, standard and quality. NI needs to find out the way to catch up with ROI. Signature projects put an accent on positioning NI tourism by establishing a standard on tourism product. Through establishing those aforementioned five signature projects, NI tourism is trying to catch with the standards in ROI in order to become a reliable partner.

Those 5 projects are, what we believe, a key in getting, I guess... a standard for NI, encouraging people to come to NI.

I8 (67-68)

Tourism Ireland is doing a brand tracking of the place every year so we know how we compare on the key indicators with the Republic. We are behind as you might expect. Every single indicator, we are behind. But we are catching up... those 5 signature projects, if we can realise those, will begin to change and drive more positive image as well.

I8 (137-145)

Setting standards for Northern Ireland is an opportunity to capitalise on tourists who are coming to Eire. Up until now, there are only about 5% of tourists who come to the Republic of Ireland who visit Northern Ireland as well (Interviewee 8, NITB). It forms another remit of signature projects; it is making a direct entry for the new markets, i.e. markets who are coming to ROI do not perceive the difference between NI and ROI tourism products, as they have both established identical tourism standards and industry regulations (Interviewee I8, NITB). People are coming to NI out of the curiosity at the moment. This is dangerous for a long-term sustainability. The findings show that

following the conflict and political turbulences, tourism sector is enticed to re-image and promote tourism, based on the attributes of curiosity and novelty. However, the findings show that it can only be successful in the short run. When the destination is discovered, it cannot be discovered once again.

Now, just now, we are like a discovery destination, because they have heard of it. Especially younger people want to come and discover NI because they know it is more peaceful and they want to see it. But you can only be a discovery destination for a short period of time and that is why I think you have to plan long term to actually establish ourselves as a long term destination, not just a short term discovery, cause you are discovered today, you cannot be discovered today and again tomorrow.

I8 NITB

SIGNATURE PROJESTS: A NEGATIVE ISSUE

Signature projects are assessed positively. However there is a negative side here as well. The process takes longer then expected. Interviewees added *time dimension* into discussion. This is linked to the issue of efficiency and duplication of work due to an over bureaucratic society which is a consequence of a complicated political environment in which tourism is developing.

They usually mention 5 key themes, and they stick to them. They never seem to diverse. I suppose the amount of time, money and effort they have put into, it should already be well established and they should be moving on from that.

I6 (186-192) Community

UNOFFICIAL STRATEGIES: “DARK TOURISM “, COMMUNITY TOURISM

People have heard about it on the news. When they visit the place, they want to find out what happened. They are curious. Therefore majority of tourists who come to Belfast visit the sites associated with the conflict. Tourism academia calls it dark tourism. This research employs the term conflict memorabilia sites and community tourism as those sites are situated in the communities directly affected by conflict. The constant presence of tourists in those areas should not be ignored. The theme has its socioeconomic character. The most important remits of “dark tourism” development include community empowerment, inclusion and revitalisation. Research findings derived following sub – concepts: community factor, dark tourism terminology, interpretation and delivery of a community tourism product, tourism markets and community revitalisation.

IMAGE OF NORTHERN IRELAND: COMMUNITY FACTOR

Although only superficially included in promotion material, this research finds that people are an important part of the re-imaging exercise. People who lived under the siege developed different system of values.

Is it because of all of that what happened? Such a welcome, you see it in Belfast and in Sarajevo, it is probably that it has to do with the troubles. Through all those 35 years I think we needed to develop our very own identity and sense of humour to survive, it was a survival mechanism. If we did not do it we would have gone crazy. I think people are happy now that we have a peace, so they are friendly.

I1 (Ground agent)

But now this concept brings us into communities, very much community lead and community based and we think that and people think and tell us personally that they have a great enjoyment here, and we know that it is because of the people in Belfast. It is interaction with the people that make us so unique. Because the people here are the biggest asset we have, they are friendly, they are helpful and it is especially to be said when they are interacting with the visitors.

I1 2-8

TERMINOLOGY

Dark tourism is an academic term. Tourists do not understand its meaning. For local communities the term dark tourism has a pejorative meaning and connotation.

NITB still comes back to me, they call places regarding political tourism, they call it dark tourism and my response to that would be that NITB are living in the dark ages and they need to move out of it. The term dark tourism is also used in academic circles, there is nothing dark there. It's about heritage, about the history.

I6 (302-309) Community - nationalist

When you call it dark tourism, the ordinary public would not know what it means.

I2 (363-364) Community - nationalist

RECONCILIATION

The partnership between the communities who were previously in the conflict was established through tourism development. There were two main reasons for developing this partnership. Firstly, it was customers' demand. Niche markets, mainly motivated by education purposes wanted to understand both communities' views on conflict.

There is a huge demand from the universities, various peace studies and conflict resolution studies. This is a very lucrative market. Republicans were more proactive in that project. But they cannot do it alone, as those university groups want to hear both sides. Then republicans contacted us and we started thinking about tourism and political tours as well. We saw the opportunity in that as well.

I7 (26-31) Community - unionist

But at the end of the day, people want to come and they want to know from grassroots what was going on and we feel that we are in a position to deliver it.

I2 (88-91) Community

Secondly, both communities are deprived, with common social problems. Interviewees identified the unemployment, social exclusion and former political prisoners' issues (legal barriers to find a job).

It is about 25% of our community that they are former prisoners and they are discriminated in every aspect of the life, especially in legal things, sequent discrimination. It is a huge cost for our community.

I7 (17-19)

According to Belfast City Council Report (2006), both communities are included in the worst 10% in Belfast. Tourism is positively correlated with jobs provision, an important issue in deprived areas overwhelmed with the unemployment.

The adult population in West Belfast is about 60.000. 10% of everybody you see on that street has been through the prisons, not as criminals, but as political prisoners. If it wouldn't have been a conflict here, they would not have been in prison. We see it as a sizable section of our community that was discriminated in everyday life.

I2 154-158

Epic – It is a former loyalist prisoners' organisation which assists former prisoners to integrate into the society. They are by majority normal people, political prisoners, not criminals and they spent many years in jail and now need a help to integrate into the society without much trouble. The toughest remit is to secure employment for them and it was what motivated us to start with tourism jobs.

I7 (1-5)

With an aspect of tourism, most of them may be able to find jobs in tourism, for instance as local tour guides.

Some of the communities are more responsive than others. Some of the communities are still very depressed and it is very hard to encourage people to come on board because they have been in a conflict situation for so long, there are a lot of social issues as well, we have to go in and find people who want to be out, who want to get training.

I1 176-180 (ground agent)

Although they were directly in the conflict and there are still disputes between them regarding other social issues, they manage to have a partnership and business relationships. They found many points where they can relate to each other. For instance;

They are not our buddies, but we have a working relationship. I work with those guys, meet them, then I hand over, I had a telephone contact with them, telling them when the group is coming in. ... Also we went to Berlin with them. We went to look at walking tours around the wall, around the city and the history.

I2 (270-278)

We understand each other well; both communities are having the same problem, we are from the same world.

I7 (58-63)

Yes, I have to say that this is a class thing. NITB and BVCB are both middle class people. We are not.

I7 (95 – 96)

DELIVERY AND INTERPRETATION

I think that most people who come to Belfast would probably like to take a bus tour or taxi tour which would include West Belfast, murals, there are very few people who would not like to come and see it while in Belfast cause its just something everybody is aware of and certainly there is more and more of those operators coming on board whether it is city sightseeing or open top bus or a local black taxi driver who has done a course or two. There are a few black taxi drivers who have done a welcome host or blue badge tour guide qualifications and then people are up to Shankill or the Falls and besides those key tours there are also Coiste, ex Republican prisoners association, They are hoping to develop Epic on the Protestant side of the Road. They are developing their tours and tourism ad hoc bus tours, there is a demand and West Belfast is quite a strong community. West Belfast festival is one of the strongest festivals in Europe in terms of festivities, but there is also a political side of that, you have talks and debates, politically related things very sort of politically aware and motivated to the certain degree and it seems to generate a lot of interest from visitors from Europe as well.

I3 BVCB

Tourists are coming into the communities in large groups. Tourists do not tend to stay in the communities due to the inadequate tourism infrastructure. Local communities do not benefit if tourism is managed like that. Tourists come, see and go. Locals therefore perceived it as exploitation, earning from their struggle and stealing from the community. The rivalry between tour providers from the inside and from the outside of the community is constantly present. Official tourism authorities provide red buses and the route through the communities is an important part of a general city tour. Local communities are opposing big red buses in featuring those tours, saying that they do not have a moral right to do that. Local communities are irritated by the presence of the red buses. The local community prefers smaller groups and local guides. Findings show a misunderstanding between the communities and official tourism bodies. For instance,

For people in Belfast, one of the things people tends to notice most are city bus tours, the open top bus tours. They run all year round and they are generally well used all year round and people notice that. Those small things which make people realise that the situation nowadays is becoming much more normal if you see tourism around. I always say, tourism is almost like a parameter for normality. If you see tourists here, you are becoming much more normal society.

I8 (343-350) NITB

It is opposed to I1 and I2;

Its better that we bring people into the communities than having those big buses going around and having somebody talking about the community who is maybe even from outside the city. They don't realise, they don't know what it's like. People may have the feeling that they have been stared at, whereas if we bring people in the community, we say: Come on board, interact... and that gives people chance to tell the story.

I1 (304-311) ground agent

Or those buses...they do not even get off the bus and who knows what they are telling them, oh this community, oh, that community!!! It is simply not fair. You can do it like that in Riviera, in beach resorts, probably in Edinburgh and London, not over here. It is a bit pathetic; we will try to put it down.

I2 (448-453) community leader

I8 is right. Red buses show that place is normalised. They are a symbol of that change. It is a mainstream tourism. On the other hand, it is perceived as exploitation of the legacy of conflict. That is also right. Red bus is on one hand, a symbol of normalisation and on the other, a symbol of exploitation. On one hand, red buses symbolise the

commodification of the history. Communities, on the other hand, feel proprietorial; i.e. it is their story and they should tell it to the world.

The language, which tour guides use when delivering the tour is important for the community where the sights are. Tour guides from the outside of the community are using the *expressions*, which the community perceives as insensitive and wrong. It creates a tension and hostility towards the tourists. For instance;

They are telling to the people whatever they want. They are using the language which is not very appropriate and of course when local people hear it, they do not like it. These guys starved themselves to death; they committed a suicide in jail.... People who pass by, they would stop and say, excuse me!!!

I2 (479-484)

At the end, it is up to the local tour guide to decide how s/he will deliver the tour. It is difficult to remain neutral and not to give political opinions. Compared to ordinary generic tours, it is difficult to deliver a politically sensitive tour. As I2 and I8 say it is important to deliver it sensitively.

If I know that my script is going to offend somebody, I would not change it but choose to be deliberately different. I could say, people are of this opinion, people feel this way, instead of being very explicit in that manner.

I2 (409-412)

Provision of training helps in gaining a collective self-esteem and confidence. It has a chance to dismiss some of the assumptions that people from certain areas do not know how to deliver a tourism product. With a confidence in delivery and quality of the product, it is a prerequisite for a further development and area regeneration.

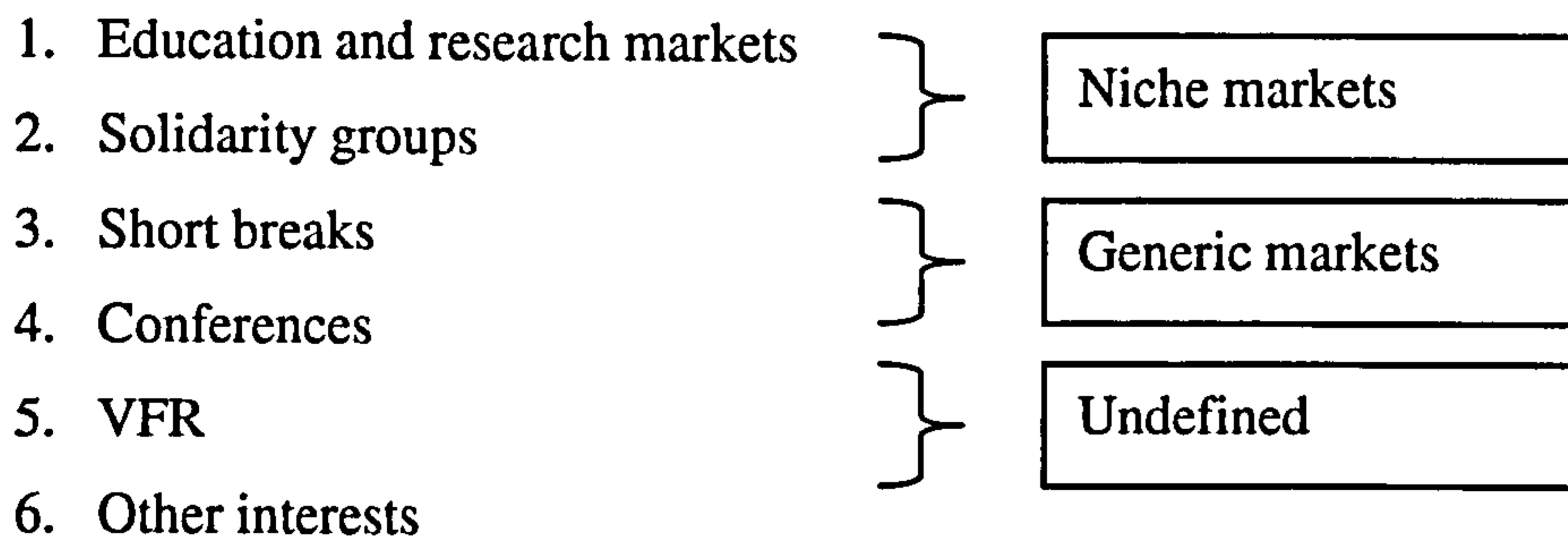
It is very worth, I have to admit, but it is our script and our knowledge and we know our own history you see. They teach us how to arrange, deliver and market it. Nobody is beyond an additional training. I think more people have the training, they have better background, confidence and their product will be stronger.

I2 (393-397)

MARKET SEGMENTATION

Tourists who come to Belfast are interested in taking a political tour. Their interests vary. Some tourists come exclusively because of the political sites, some others include it in their itinerary. The market segments are presented in relation to their interest

towards those tours. The reason for this particular presentation is to discover the relevance of political sites to official tourism strategies in Belfast. First niche markets segments particularly motivated with political sites are portrayed.



Niche markets coming to Belfast motivated by political and conflict sites are interested in understanding the political process or some other aspects of the conflict and reconciliation. These are universities and other research or education institutions. They are searching for authenticity and knowledge about the conflict. Therefore they would rather employ local tour guides and providers.

Because constantly people come to our office from all around the world, also students, people doing their PhDs, there is a big demand for the knowledge of the conflict. So we needed to create this product.

I6 (50-53) Community - nationalist

From March 2003, I have been employed and from that point we have taken this project from virtually nothing to have a quite a large clientele base particularly from the universities from North America and also quite lot is northern Europe.

I7 (59-62) Community - unionist

Another market segment is *political solidarity group*. They share a difficult past, conflicts or similar problems in their own surroundings (prisoners' issues with Basque County, etc) or they share similar ideology and political ideas. They are interested to see the community, which is similar to their own and in the well being of the community. Therefore they utilise the services provided locally.

There is a strong link between Basque and Irish people. It is mostly because of the prisoner issues. Those are the prearranged tours. A lot of our tourists come from the Basque County, but those are the pre arranged ones and mostly from North

America. More and more English are coming over and that's very good for us...which one is the biggest...maybe the Basque.

I2 (345-353) Community – nationalist

I2 mentioned English. They have different motives than Basque, their motives are strongly linked to curiosity. They were previously affected by IRA actions and now have a particular interest to learn about the community and to see how the community lives now.

The niche that comes particularly to see the conflict inheritance sites is very small and mostly motivated by educational reasons. Local communities are benefiting by providing services to the niche markets. Generic markets also take a political tour. However, at local community does not manage those tours. Generic markets are the biggest market segment. They come, see the sites, take a few photos and go back. Analysis shows that the communities do not accept well this type of tours. The main motive for generic markets is curiosity. They have heard about Belfast in the news and once there, they express an interest to see it.

We had peace since 1994. I think that has been a big part of our history for more than 30 years. So there is a natural curiosity when people come here they want to see those areas.

I4 (132-134) Belfast City Council

Generic tourists are curious to visit Belfast, walk around murals, learn the stories and see how the people live now. All the interviewees agreed that, when visitors are in Belfast, a great majority of them would take a political tour, regardless their prime motive for visiting Belfast.

It ranges from just passing through to real I must come, I must see it, I want to discover every bit, and whether is ex prisoner here or there.

I3

There is still a curiosity about Belfast. People have heard about Belfast and they want to come and experience it and see what is like

I4 (43-44)

Taking into account both niche and generic markets, interviewees agreed that Northern Ireland is especially appealing to younger markets.

The segment which is very interested in is young people. Almost all the visitors want to see them [the murals] as those spots became “famous” and put the name Belfast in the media. They want to see it and feel it all now.

IS (289-292)

5.5 DISCUSSION

5.5.1 The perception of tourism in relation to politics

Tourism is perceived to be less political than other social and industrial activities. However, in the case of NI this research argues that tourism is not politically neutral, with various reasons to confirm this statement. First, according to Belfast City Council, more than 50% of tourists come to Belfast out of curiosity; with at least a part of their itineraries related to conflict inheritance. Marketing areas of contested heritage and conflict inheritance is politically sensitive, especially the issue of delivery and interpretation of such sites. This issue is dealt with later in this chapter. Second, as a part of conflict inherited regulations, job applicants are asked to specify their religion. Political correctness seems more important than qualifications, a price needed to be paid in order to preserve peace. Third, political disputes, not directly related to tourism, strongly influence tourism development. As an illustration, at the time of writing, there are still some political disputes regarding regeneration of the Maze prison site, which are prolonging the decision making process.

Also, West Belfast Tourism Board (WBTB) is predominantly led by the Republicans. They perceive Northern Ireland Tourism Board (NITB) to be a predominantly unionist institution. WBTB claims that they experience problems due to sectarianism, but is this issue being unnecessarily politicised? Are the NITB really guilty of sectarianism or are they failing to adequately promote tourism in West Belfast because they do not believe that the product is of a required standard? A dispute easily becomes a politically rooted problem and delays the process of reconciliation.

On the other hand, community tourism has merged with “dark tourism”. In order to deliver a tourism product, the communities in Belfast work together. It is crucial not just for tourism, but for further community development in general that official institutions welcome and support such community initiatives. Otherwise the notion of reconciliation through tourism is just pure rhetoric and trivialises the issue. It seems that sectarian disputes are decreasing (at least in tourism related issues). On the other side, the social

disputes are becoming more prominent. The division which becomes very prominent is the one between middle class and working class. The sectarian division is becoming less prominent.

To sum up, the regulations and laws, directly inherited from the conflict, are there to consolidate the peace. They are rarely there to support the development of tourism. Under such conditions, NI tourism has gained some success. Managing tourism after conflict needs strong institutions, able to support the development of that sector. Tourism Ireland was formed. It is a result of cross-border cooperation between Republic of Ireland (ROI) and NI, a state institution with its clear remits and accountabilities. It has been crucial in the development of tourism in NI. Undoubtedly, being fully accountable for its decision-making was a characteristic, which assisted in coping with the unfriendly laws and regulations. The Bosnian case will explain further the importance played by a strong institution, fully accountable for its decisions.

The issue of cross-border cooperation is always politically sensitive. However, all communities in Belfast perceive Tourism Ireland as being beneficial for the development of tourism in NI and its social transformation. Less unrest in Northern Ireland has resulted in less negative media coverage and an opportunity to present the island as less divided. This research did not find any significant issues relating to why the island of Ireland could not be promoted as one destination. The only issue, which was noted during the fieldwork, concerns NITB. Its work, according to some of the interviewees could be successfully managed from Tourism Ireland thus saving on administrative costs. However, as already said, unstable political settings result in the need for strict administration in order to have peace within society and therefore NITB will not cease to exist. The “cost” of having an NITB is justified as by its existence, NI is still recognised as an autonomous place, a part of the UK, not ROI. Besides that, its work in strengthening the product in NI helps strengthen its own position. It is one of the characteristics of a post-conflict society that political correctness is the basis for a balanced and a stable society. Each “wrong” decision can easily be attributed as a political attempt. Beside the over-governance, post-conflict laws and regulations are complicated, comprehensive and unfriendly. These regulations are efficient in securing a peaceful society, but they are not tourism development friendly. The researcher has found public-private partnerships crucial in managing tourism in these circumstances. Partnerships form strong institutions, accountable and able to make shortcuts through the excessive bureaucracy. In a generic setting, the adjective, which would describe the public sector in NI, would be that it is unnecessarily bureaucratic and

complicated. In the NI setting, it is a necessity. Due to such a complicated government structuring, a duplication of work and a time-consuming decision-making process are the inevitable consequences. However, this is a price NI has to pay in order to remain peaceful.

5.5.2 Local community partnerships

Many authors agree that tourism provides a framework for better understanding within partitioned areas (D'Amore, 1988. Kelly 1998, Richter 1999). However, this is a very trivial conclusion. In order for tourism to become a tool for reconciliation, there should be certain preconditions which are satisfied (Amir 1969, Anastasopoulos 1992, Kelly 1998, Kim and Prideaux (2006) etc). Tourism needs to be considered as a part of a broader socio-cultural and geopolitical perspective. Any reconciliation and change for the better depends on the conditions under which any contact takes place. Generally considered to be a favourable condition would be that of equal status, i. e. a situation where two divided communities would be able to find similarities between them. It is a favourable social climate. According to the literature (Amir 1969, Cehajic, Brown, Castano forthcoming), such preconditions are focused on a common aim. Those preconditions in Northern Ireland concern political parties. Interviewees argued that it is important in a country with political conflict in the past for all political parties to support tourism development. It would become a political issue if, for instance, nationalist and loyalist parties had different views on tourism development. Though nationalist and loyalist parties are on opposite sides regarding their political views on Northern Ireland, both political sides agree on tourism issues. In the case of Northern Ireland all political parties supported tourism development and this was a precondition for its development.

According to Selin and Chavez (1995), crises present a significant catalyst for a partnership. On the other hand, conflict left very similar issues outstanding in communities, i. e. unemployment, deprivation, political prisoners and poverty. Thus, the communities could easily relate to each other in those aspects. Furthermore, when it comes to their social status, they perceive themselves equal. At the moment, social class division is more evident than any division based on the conflict. There is more understanding between loyalist and nationalist working class communities than between the working and middle class communities, regardless of religion. Communities found that they had almost identical social contexts, not just as a consequence of conflict, but also as a consequence of a social class division. As equals, they joined together to deliver a product. Tourism

demand, combined with deprived social and economic status bond these communities together. Now they unite themselves “*against*” other tourism providers, perceived as *middle class intruders*. Tourism emerged as the most responsive employment sector. As a result of a partnership between the West Belfast Tourism Board (WBTB), mainly nationalist and Shankill Tourism, mainly loyalist, community tourism is on the rise in Belfast. However, funding bodies’ mistrust towards the communities is easily recognised. So, in order to become self-sufficient, a community business has been established. Loyalists and Nationalists have worked together on creating a tourist product. This is a sign of social reconciliation, happening through providing tourism products through a provision of a qualitative contact which is the precursor for reconciliation (Cehajic et al forthcoming).

Table 5.3 Reconciliation through tourism

Reconciliation through tourism	
Amir (1969)	Northern Ireland
The direction of the change of attitudes depends largely on the conditions under which contact takes place. Generally considered as favourable are the following conditions: equal status contact between host and guest communities, a favourable social climate, personal instead of superficial contact, pleasant and mutually rewarding interaction, instead of a stressful one, It would be wrong to highlight the individuals in the group or to have a goal, which is there for the individuals in the group. To sum up, the importance is to be equal and to have favourable social settings	Political parties, although usually have opposite points, agreed to support tourism
	Community tourism development through partnerships between loyalists and republicans in order to deliver a tourism product
	Demand for the product, which gives a real, authentic point of view from both “sides”
	Working class: both communities have the same social status
	Both communities have the same problems: political prisoners, unemployment and relative poverty
	Both communities are marginalised in the same way
	They found a common “enemy”: red buses which deliver sanitised version of the conflict
	Tourism Ireland as an accountable and strong institution

5.5.3 Signature projects

Promotion and re-imaging through tourism product development is a strategy for Northern Ireland. Five signature projects represent a mixture of nature and adventurous tourism, city, cultural heritage, industrial heritage and religious tourism products. They are the Titanic, the Mountains of Mourne, the Giant Causeway, St Patrick and the Walled City of Derry. Cultural tourism emerged as one of the key themes in product development and regeneration issues, because of its tendency to encourage investment in the whole destination. Therefore, this was used as a city regeneration tool and a strategy for the regeneration of deprived areas in Belfast. However, observing in a generic context the attention given to signature projects can be compared to other successful tourism destinations. In Spain for instance, sun, sea and sand were initially the main attraction before tourism expanded to include other destinations there. To use this on NI, first it would be the signature projects, which would attract tourists. Signature projects are understood as an induction to the destination.

The signature projects, however, reveal some other characteristics of tourism in Northern Ireland. The first stage is characterised by two main push factors; novelty and curiosity. However, developing tourism, based on curiosity, is not sustainable in the long run, though is a good way of resurrecting interest in a tourist destination. The remit of signature projects is to assure long-term benefits for NI tourism. That at least, is the official explanation, but should be contrasted with the less heard voices, those excluded.

5.5.4 Tourism hubs: signature projects criticism

It emerges that the majority of tourism support goes towards already developed tourism areas and that the areas most in need of regeneration are excluded from tourism regeneration projects. There are several reasons for this. In NI, signature projects may be considered a controversial issue. Since Tourism Ireland is formed, NITB struggles to define its role in NI tourism realms. Perhaps the signature projects are not about tourism, but are more about emphasising the role of NITB? It may appear that signature projects are just a political deal in order to justify the work of NITB. Tourism is an integral part of the process of regeneration. It can be seen in Derry and in the area of Belfast, concerned with the Titanic tourism product. Although the way the regeneration process is going appears to ensure a long-term sustainable tourism, the challenge for the authorities is that the deprived areas will need support to develop tourism as well. Since the tourists are

interested in exploring the recent conflict, there should be an investment in tourism infrastructure and in this way urban regeneration is achieved.

Tourists visit the sites of a conflict heritage, but will not stay in the area as it lacks a proper tourism infrastructure. Instead, they go to tourism hubs and this is the strongest criticism of the signature projects. Some interviewees opposed signature projects, contesting the issue of heritage. Whose heritage is presented? Whose cultural quarters? In Belfast, it is no longer just contested heritage; it is more that the working class and their heritage is not adequately presented. It needs an investment in tourism infrastructure and tourism product in order to get off the ground. In the socio-cultural context of Belfast, signature projects reveal that the socio-cultural context needs to be well consulted.

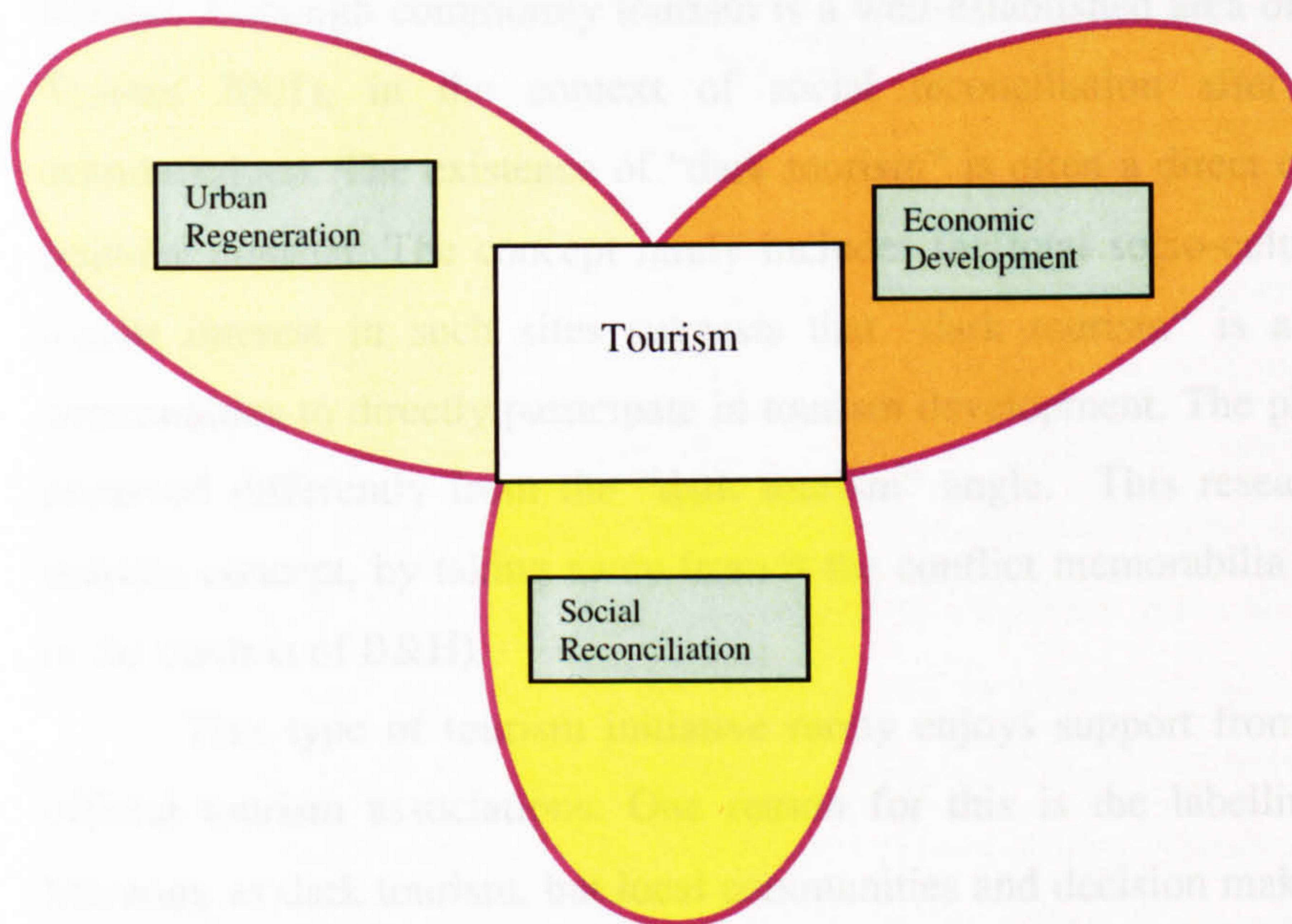


Figure 5.4: Tourism, economy, regeneration and reconciliation; the way it should be

5.5.5 The community tourism

The value of having tourists there goes far beyond just economic value. The post-conflict areas generally lack confidence and pride. The fact that tourists are showing interest, gives locals a sense of pride and self-esteem. Locals are happy because they have a peace; therefore they are hospitable. Local people value tourists on the streets of Belfast as a parameter for normality, a sign that they are safe and sound. In the process of tourism formation this can be called *people's factor*. Tourism is usually seen as an economic generator. However, in all it goes far beyond this. The pride it brings to the communities is

immeasurable. Evidence shows that in 2001, 43% (Belfast City Council Report 2001), of visitors came to Belfast out of the curiosity linked purely to conflict inheritance sites. However, this type of tourism needs different ways of thinking. It may endanger the efforts to change the image of Northern Ireland if it is promoted in a “classical dark tourism” manner. Further, NI is promoting itself internationally with ROI. Cross border cooperation is based on similarity of their tourism products. Therefore, conflict inherited sites cannot be a part of official promotion strategy as those sites are only related to NI. Secondly, people know that the troubles happened in NI as they have heard about it through the media. The incentive tourism promotion of such sites is not needed. Thirdly, this type of tourism is happening in the communities, which need to earn the trust from the others. So called dark tourism merged with the community tourism in the context of Belfast. Although community tourism is a well-established area of research, (for instance Tosoun 2001), in the context of social reconciliation after conflict, it is rarely acknowledged. The existence of “dark tourism” is often a direct consequence of a recent political conflict. The concept rarely includes the total socio-cultural settings. However, tourist interest in such sites suggests that “dark tourism” is a real chance for local communities to directly participate in tourism development. The phenomenon needs to be observed differently from the “dark tourism” angle. This research deconstructed dark tourism concept, by taking away from it the conflict memorabilia sites (further explained in the context of B&H).

This type of tourism initiative rarely enjoys support from governing bodies and official tourism associations. One reason for this is the labelling. It is known in the literature as dark tourism, but local communities and decision makers do not want it to be referred to as this. Since Belfast wants to come out of the “darkness” it will not invest in “dark tourism”. This is all about the conception; why do the Belfast Murals need to be observed as dark tourism sites? This research finds community inclusion in tourism delivery and interpretation and infrastructure development in the area as the first stage in the community revitalisation and regeneration process. In fact, the murals in Belfast are not dark tourism. These have just been brushed with the same paradigm, which has been common in tourism academia in the last decade.

This study suggests the regeneration and revitalisation process should be based on tourism. In this case, labelling tourism as *dark tourism* is not appropriate as it is about community revitalisation and regeneration. Based on the Belfast example, official tourism institutions sometimes look on *dark tourism* from only one point of view: its promotion

will ruin the process of re-imaging. But on the other hand, it is possible to achieve community regeneration, pride and acknowledgement, if set up in a different framework, i.e. positioning tourism as a tool for social reconciliation and urban regeneration, not as an aim. This concept will be explained further in Bosnian chapter.

5.5.6 Interpretation of political tours

Delivering a political tour is more challenging and demanding compared to delivering a general city tour. Ideally, the interpretations should be neutral and factual. In reality, this is hardly feasible due to the emotions and political opinions which the tour guides may have. This is a very sensitive issue and depends also on the tourists themselves. Therefore it is important that the guides are properly trained to be able to respond to the demands and challenges peculiar to political tours. There are four benefits to communities being involved in the delivery of these tours. First, it challenges social exclusion within deprived communities (i. e. providing job opportunity). Secondly, the tours are more authentic if the story is told by a local. Thirdly, the communities are regaining self-esteem if they are doing the work, which they perceive is designed for the *middle classes*. Fourth, communities which had been in conflict, now work together. Tour guides play an important part when it comes to interpreting politically sensitive events. Trained tour guides are professional in their jobs. However, they answer according to their political beliefs. They are asked questions about politics, not only in a politically themed tour, but in every city tour. Thus the role of the tour guide in delivering and interpreting a politically sensitive tour has significant implications on the quality of the experience. The researcher refers to this particular issue when discussing Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The number of operators providing political tours is growing. They range from red buses providing general city tours, and which include Shankill and Falls Road in their itineraries, walking tours, and black taxis, and more specialised tours delivered entirely by the communities themselves (I3 interview). Different markets require different interpretations. They will choose a tour according to their particular interest.

Official institutions present a *highly sanitised version* of the troubles, i. e. a product appealing to the generic markets. Due to the lack of tourism infrastructure, local communities do not benefit from these tours. They feel they are stared at and in extreme cases even feel hostility as *people from the outside are exploiting the legacy of the conflict*. Local communities are concerned with the language and mannerisms tour guides are using when interpreting the recent conflict. The size of groups is a problematic issue too. Tours

organised by official tourism providers from the *outside* tend to be larger. The author named tourism providers from the outside of the community as *Red bus providers* and referred to the whole phenomena as *Red bus syndrome* because during the interviews red buses were often referred to in this context. These buses are easily noticed on the streets. They purport to represent the official *voice*, disproportionably big and different. It is seen as a phenomenon when tourist numbers in certain areas are growing, but the benefits derived from tourism do not stay within the area. Locals are neither included in delivering the tourism product nor in making decisions about it. In a community, the *red bus* is seen as a symbol of middle class intrusion; brought in from outside and which capitalise on their struggle.

Red bus tour in Belfast is very significant. This study draws upon the point that for the Irish community, seeing a red bus tour does not have the same meaning as red bus tour in, for instance Barcelona, New York and similar. For Irish communities in Belfast, red bus does not mean only a tour company, but also it associates on a British presence and may provoke a hostility towards.

Tourism infrastructure, to encourage visitors to spend more time within the area, is needed. In order to develop tourism, effective communication between local communities, tourism associations and local government is needed. This is manageable through different partnerships. This study recommends that the tours need to be delivered in a way which benefits the local communities. So far, local communities benefit only from a small niche tourism segment, particularly motivated by exploring the legacy of conflict. This constitutes only small fraction of the tourists coming to Belfast. If NITB and the city council would give more support and understanding to local communities related to the issue of delivering political tours, then tourism could perhaps help revitalise these communities. As it is managed today, tourism development is concentrated around the areas which are already advantaged and with tourism development focused only on that side, the gap between the advantaged and the deprived areas become wider.

Although tourists may be interested in exploring Belfast communities, there are several reasons why tourism delivery in these areas lacks a proper infrastructure. Firstly, because before the conflict those communities were not tourism areas and now the link between the suppliers within the community is not well established. Secondly, there is a lack of trust surrounding the communities and their abilities to deliver the product. They are the “others”. Thus the communities have to market themselves internally and promote themselves as a reliable partner. Thirdly, this type of tourism is not promoted

internationally, so its existence is not recognised officially. This study concludes that the official tourism bodies need to fully integrate these communities in the decision making process and provide the area with a tourism infrastructure. This should lead to community revitalisation and regeneration.

However, when compared to Northern Ireland tourism as a whole the processes of re-imagining and of image formation are different. Image formation does not mean just attracting tourists, but also building a tourism infrastructure and internal relations.

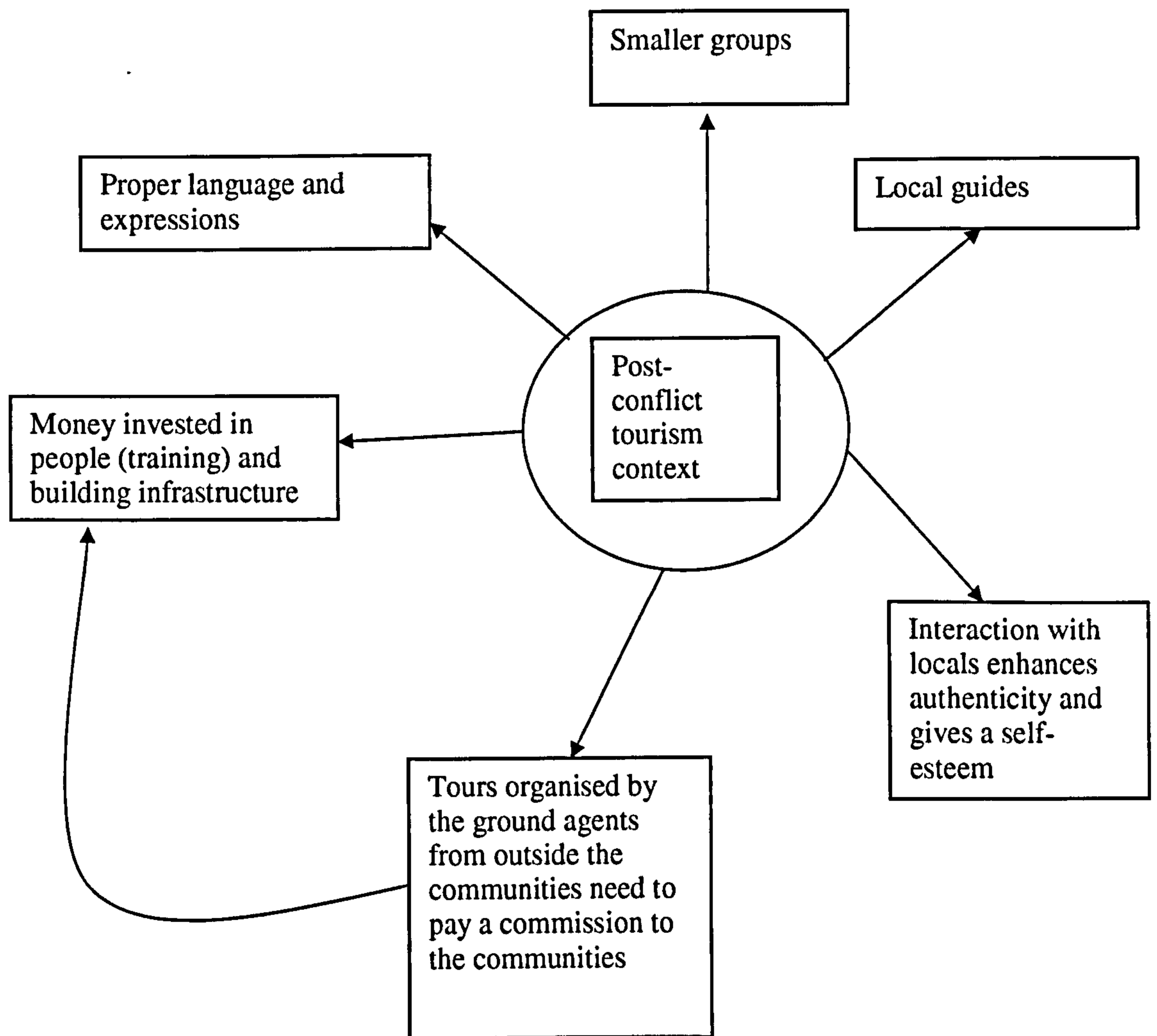


Figure 5.5 Tour delivery in post-conflict societies

5.6 CONCLUSION

Northern Ireland is a good example of how strong and accountable institutions play an important role in strengthening tourism. The issue of over-governance is easily transferable to any post-conflict society. The most efficient way to manage it, is through institutionalised and official relationships. In NI such initiatives forced people to work together, and as externality brought reconciliation.

Further, this section points to polarised understanding of the concept of dark tourism between academic and developed societies on one hand, and tourism destination stakeholders on the other. These stakeholders assess the concept as being detrimental to the process of destination image formation after political conflict and seriously challenged the institution of dark tourism, which itself spawned a substantial research interest.

There is strong evidence to suggest social reconciliation occurs through the process of delivering community tourism products. Special attention needs to be given to tour interpretation, delivery and tour suppliers. The benefits need to go into the deprived areas as well and the way forward is through the creation of public-private partnerships, which would include these local communities. This example illustrates the importance of [tourism] infrastructure in building tourism destinations, with a framework of confidence and trust as a prerequisite for more organised tourism success. This is another issue community planners need to think about. It is not just about bringing new Starbucks coffee shops to the Falls Road, but about supporting locals to start or redevelop businesses of interest to tourists. The local communities benefit in this way. Furthermore, they benefit even more as through the notion of tourism, the communities started to reconcile. Northern Ireland is currently a place where social class division overwhelms sectarianism. The working class communities were not taken into account when tourism strategies were being drawn up. Urban regeneration through tourism happened in selected areas only and the division between deprived and middle class sections of society widened. This emerged as an issue during the researcher's fieldwork in NI. At the time of writing, the researcher acknowledges that those relationships are changing. For example the Gaelic Cultural Quarter, as a real "tourism cluster" (Boyd 2000) has emerged in the heart of West Belfast. The discussion continues further, throughout the Bosnian chapter.

6. BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA BACKGROUND

6.1 INTRODUCTION

There are several theories regarding the origins of name Bosnia and Herzegovina, but the strongest one is that it was derived from the word *bosana*, originating from the Illyrians (before Roman times) and which means *water*. Bosnia is an abundant source of fresh water. Herzegovina was named after Herceg Stjepan, the last Duke of Hum and literally *means the land of the Duke Herzeg* (Clancy 2004).

To paraphrase the tour guides, three significant 20th century events occurred in Sarajevo. The first of these was the assassination of Habsburg Archduke Franz Ferdinand in 1914. This event is officially recognised to be the cause of World War I. The second event is the Winter Olympic Games held in Sarajevo in 1984. The third one is the siege on the city which lasted from 1992 until 1995. This last event left an extremely strong mark upon the socio-cultural and geopolitical settings, a wound which in fact, still hurts from time to time. That pain influences the social activities within the country, thus tourism cannot be seen separately from the settings in which it takes place.

A European political elite in the early nineties wanted to present the conflict as a civil war (Lambrichs and Thieren 2005). Many politicians (for example John Major, addressing the House of Commons, June 1993, in Malcolm, 1994:XX) and historians tried to explain the conflict as the result of the inherited inter-ethnic hate which was suppressed within communist Yugoslavia and then revived after the fall of communism. However, the conflict was not a civil war. Malcolm (1994), the most quoted Bosnian historian, negated the prominence of inter-ethnic hate in Bosnian history. Most of the historical conflicts started because of loud voices from the outside which from time to time become dominant inside Bosnia. Balagija (1940) explains that it was not possible for those different ethnicities to be in inter-conflict in the land like old B&H. He stated that even local customs were mixed, on the same day, Christians celebrated St. Elias day, which B&H Muslims called Alidjun, celebrated it together on that day. A popular saying from that time is "*Up to mid-day Elias, after mid-day Ali*" (Malcolm 1994:58, from Balagija 1940). B&H is a mountainous country where life had never been easy. People were forced to cooperate and to help each other, as they did not have any other options. Even at the time of the Ottoman Empire, when the presence of Islam was felt in the country, people were not divided by their religion, but by their economic status. People who did not own land were called *raya*, and people who owned the land were called *spahis*, be they Christians or Muslims (Malcolm 1994). Bringa (1994) argues that conversion from Christianity to Islam

did not happen by force in Bosnia. In 1582, after being evicted from Spain, Sephardic Jews came to Sarajevo. It was the only city in Europe where Jews had never lived in a ghetto (Dz. Causevic 2005).

Malcolm (1994), and Popovic (2004), proves that the conflict in B&H was caused by the imperialist ambitions of neighbouring states not by genuine internal tensions. Also the UN and Den Hague International Court of Justice do not employ the term civil war. Malcolm (1994), and Vulliamy (1994) for instance, argue that what happened to B&H was a classic example of aggression from the outside. As EC recognised B&H as a sovereign country on April 6th 1992, and the former Yugoslav Peoples Army fell under the command of Slobodan Milosevic, there was an aggression on a sovereign country. However, this researcher decides to refer to the events in B&H in period between 1992 and 1995 as a conflict.

B&H was a melting pot for almost two thousand years, which created an interesting and distinguishable culture, history and heritage. When the Roman Empire was divided 385 AD, the Drina River became the border between the Western Roman Empire and the Eastern Roman Empire – Byzantium (Figure 6.1). River Drina is today a border between Serbia and B&H. This rich and complex historical heritage attracted many social and political scientists. An interesting historical heritage and outdoor attractions marks tourism potentials for a country. However, the country's tourism has rarely been researched. A short outline of tourism development in B&H from the Second World War onwards is presented in this chapter.



**Figure 6.1: River Drina, Eastern and Western Roman Empire, B&H and Serbia
Ridino (2001, 175)**

6.2.1 From a tourism perspective: social settings in former Yugoslavia (1950 – 1990)

An important characteristic of former Yugoslavia is that it liberated itself from Nazi occupation alone, without the aid of any alliances. In 1945, Yugoslavia was expelled from Stalin's Warsaw Pact and during the whole cold war era, it remained non-aligned (Malkin 1994). In 1963, the central government decided that Yugoslavia should re-open its borders and as a result international tourist arrivals increased by some 45%, compared to 1952 (Prjavec 1987).

Yugoslavia was a federal and socialist republic consisting of six federal units. In 1974, a new constitution was introduced, as a response to the rising of nationalism in the 1970s (Malkin 1994, Prjavec 1987). This influenced further political and economic movements in the country. The introduction of this new constitution was a critical factor in

6.2 MAIN CHARACTERISTICS

B&H is one of the youngest and smallest European states (51.129 km² and circa 3.8 million inhabitants). Constitutional ethnicities include Bosnian Bosniaks (42%), Bosnian Serbs (37%), and Bosnian Croats (17%) and others. There is a strong Jewish community still present in Sarajevo. However, according to the Constitution, none of the aforementioned ethnic groups are allowed to use the prefix Bosnian. All the peoples in B&H are from the same stock and are physically indistinguishable. They speak the same language, but which they call Bosniak, Serbian or Croatian depending on their ethnicity (Gomez 2005).

Lord Paddy Ashdown when a High Representative in B&H from 2002 until 2004, and other members of the international community residing in B&H, were instrumental in acknowledging the potential of tourism development. However, the development of tourism should not be presented as a blank sheet. B&H was a part of former Yugoslavia before the conflict, thus there is a pre-conflict inheritance, which influenced the concept of tourism re-development after the conflict. The following presents the socio-economical settings in former Yugoslavia (1960-1990) from a tourism perspective. It establishes links between the status of tourism during this period and tourism development now and implications of these. This is followed by a review of the situation after the conflict in relation to tourism development. The final paragraph of this chapter indicates the main challenges facing tourism development in B&H.

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understanding the essence of the conflict which then occurred. As a result of the new constitution, the republics became more decentralised, with the economy planning in most cases being now the responsibility of federal republics. This decentralisation continued to the extent that it guaranteed the right of republics to hold a referendum and proclaim their independence. These decentralisation measures significantly damaged the Yugoslav economy. Despite having more power, the republics found consensus was not easy to achieve. Furthermore, they lacked the necessary macroeconomic planning skills (Kobasic 1991). From 1974 onwards, tourism planning came under the jurisdiction of the federal republic government (Antunac 1989). Unfortunately, these governments did not have the required knowledge and expertise to deal with the challenging issues in tourism development. Many politicians particularly blame the 1974 constitution for reviving national sentiments and for causing conflict. Thereafter, the researcher refers the reader to Malcolm (1994) for more information regarding this issue.

6.2.2 Communist Europe and Yugoslavia's tourism patterns

This section presents the differences and similarities between tourism in former Yugoslavia and the other communist countries in Europe. It is worth noting that the economic system in former Yugoslavia differed from that of a "classical" communist cold war system. According to Kuljic (2003) and Stojanov (2004), the entire ideology of Yugoslavia's self-management was based on a third way. It was neither planned socialism nor capitalism. This ideology of the third way also facilitated the introduction of a very flexible foreign policy, which resulted in good relations with both Eastern and Western ideologies. Companies were organised by a form of workers self-management (Alcock 2000, Stojanov 2004), unique to Yugoslavia which mixed together the setting of prices by markets, self-management of economic activity by collectives and managers' as well as some planning by central and federal authorities.

Tourism in ex – Yugoslavia, according to Allcock (1986), was regarded as a pot of gold. Mass tourism which manifested itself in the form of package holidays, was actively developed. Package holidays to Mediterranean countries were in high on demand among Western and Northern European tourists. Yugoslavia developed a tourism patterns similar to that of other Mediterranean countries (i. e. those governed in a purely capitalist way). The main difference of tourism in Yugoslavia when compared to communist European countries) is that a greater number of West European tourists came to Yugoslavia every summer in the period from 1960 onwards (Robinson 1986, Buckley and Witt 1987).

Tourists in East European countries were mainly from other East European countries (Vukonic 1992). Travel and tourism within communist Europe was directed and subsidised by the central government (D. Hall 2002). In these countries, tourism was not a market-driven activity. Thus Yugoslavia's tourism competitors were other Mediterranean countries, with similar tourism patterns, (eg. Greece and Spain). This indicates that tourism in former Yugoslavia was largely a market-driven activity.

The following section explores how Yugoslav tourism patterns resembled Eastern European ones. A labour market did not exist in Yugoslavia. Employment was centrally governed (Spall 2003, Hall 2002), which had strong implications for productivity and efficiency. Another characteristic, which though not directly tourism related, influenced its development, concerns the methodology for measuring GDP. According to Stojanov (2004), service industries were excluded from total GDP. For instance, GDP per capita in B&H was \$ 2.400 in 1990, but this figure excludes these industries. It is understandable that the Eastern European communist countries would exclude service industries, when measuring GDP, as these were not relevant for the functioning of their economies, however, this was not the case in former Yugoslavia. Tourism profits were measured separately, but were also not included in GDP although, as previously mentioned, (Alcock 1996), tourism was regarded to be a pot of gold in former Yugoslavia.

The percentage of GDP derived from tourism varies considerably according to year. In 1980 tourism generated about 10% of Yugoslav GDP, a very similar figure of that of Greece and Spain. In other communist eastern European countries, the percentage of GDP only amounted to between 0.2% and 0.7% (Buckley, Witt 1987). In Yugoslavia, tourism played an important part in export earning and balance of payments. The main differences and similarities between Yugoslavia and Eastern European countries are summarised in table below.

Table 4.1: Tourism in former Yugoslavia and other former communist countries in Europe (1969-1990)

Differences		Similarities
Former Yugoslavia	Eastern European countries	Former Yugoslavia/Eastern European
Tourists are mainly from western European countries	Tourists exclusively from communist countries	Labour market does not exist
Tourism is market driven activity	Tourism is not a market driven activity	Service industries are officially not included in GDP
Tourist facilities are mostly 3 star hotels (to cater for mass markets)	Tourist facilities are usually more modest in order to keep costs low	
Tourism important in the economy	Tourism not that important in the economy	

6.2.3 Tourism in former Yugoslavia: problems and challenges

Between the 1960s and 1980s tourism grew from being the 10th to being the 2nd foreign earner (Cicvaric 1980). However, tourism policies illustrate vagueness and weaknesses in the whole economic system. Tourism was a victim of unpredictable policy change. According to Kobasic (1981) it is possible to divide Yugoslavia's tourism policy and planning into three different stages: a period of limited stimulus (1961–1966), a period of strong stimulus (1967–1972) and a period of no stimulus (from 1972 onwards), without a consistent tourism policy it was not possible to have any long term plan. According to Unkovic (1983) and Kobasic (1981), tourism incentives included specific measures on fiscal and credit policy. These were primarily directed towards stimulating lodging and board facilities, transportation conditions, and to tourists arriving by car. It was estimated that in 1983, 70% of tourists to Yugoslavia arrived by car. Thus, incentives were formulated in the relation to petrol prices. This measure was very popular though it caused queues on the main roads, traffic congestion and air pollution. It appears like this that many decisions were short-sighted and extremely one-dimensional.

Pirjavec (1987) argued that tourism and general economic policies were not coordinated. Allcock (1996) suggested that it would have been preferable to invest in the modernisation of agriculture, instead of building vast hotel capacities. Then the country would not have needed to import large quantities of food, which provoked tourism

leakage. As an illustration of this issue, Yugoslavia became a net importer of food even while tourism continued to expand (Vukonic 1986). In 1979 the country Yugoslavia spent \$977 million on importing food (OECD 1980). In order to prevent leakage growth, Yugoslavia needed to restructure its economy. Instead it signalled its first great tourism losses in the beginning of the 1980s, and the economy began to deteriorate. President Tito established a good relationship with both the USA and USSR and Yugoslavia was receiving a substantial financial aid from both. However, this ended with his death in 1980. Former Yugoslavia marked its first deficits in 1979 (OECD country report 1984). It was a consequence of the 1974 Constitution, which allowed the federal authorities to make economic decisions. As already said, they lacked expertise and it was time-consuming to achieve consensus. On the other hand a weak global environment during the early eighties affected former Yugoslavia as well. This manifested itself in poorer tourism receipts. In order to counter the deficit, Yugoslavia imposed severe economic restrictions, but this resulted in an artificial surplus. The import restrictions, although successful in the short-term, had cumulative export implications and seriously affected production. The decline in exports amounted to about 5% between 1980 and 1983 (OECD economic surveys, Yugoslavia 1984). Further, these import restrictions had a serious impact on tourism performance. In 1983 Yugoslavia received 10% less tourists than in 1980 and profits from tourism were almost 40% down compared to 1980 (Vukonic 1986). Adding to the trend of tourism stagnation in all European countries, Yugoslav tourism suffered from a lack of tourist goods (due to foreign exchange savings). This caused a decline in the standard of services as well (Lebl 1983, Buckley, Witt 1987). The decline of the quality of services and tourism receipts was also caused by the trend in the mid-1970s, whereby tourism demand outstripped the supply of tourist infrastructure and superstructure (Travis 1980). Staff training, employers' education and tourism planning in general could not support such rapid tourism growth (Kobasic 1981 Buckley, Witt 1987). Another constraint in the development of tourism within Yugoslavia was a lack of marketing and promotion skills (Buckley, Wit 1987, Stankovic 1984). Advertising material (catalogues, brochures, posters etc.) was of a poor quality. Therefore in order to make Yugoslavia more competitive as a tourist destination, the federal authorities sharply depreciated Yugoslav currency before the main tourist season started (Kobasic 1981).

Towards the end of the eighties, and as a result of these short-sighted policies, the economic situation in Yugoslavia began to deteriorate. Tourism deteriorated even more, because of its TALC (Butler 1980) had come full circle. Yugoslav destinations needed

rejuvenation. Indeed, this was the case with most Mediterranean destinations (Boskovic 1999). By the beginning of the nineties, the Mediterranean destinations succeeded in their rejuvenation. However, Yugoslavia found itself in political crisis and exited from the tourism area life cycle (Baum 1998).

6.3 TOURISM IN B&H (1960–1990)

The following section focuses on B&H. It will allow the reader to compare general trends in the former Yugoslavia and those specific to B&H. Despite the positive aspects tourism brought, it also revealed some serious problems. A persistent problem was, according to Allcock (1986) an uneven regional development, with coastal areas benefiting the most from tourism. Continental parts of Yugoslavia (B&H for instance) could not capitalise on their attractions. The reason behind this was that that tourism in Yugoslavia was oriented to the summer sun market and it did not attempt to divert this market to other parts of the country, eg. the continental part (Kobasic 1981). The market segment attracted to Yugoslavia was not motivated to explore attractions other than sun, sea and sand (Pirjavec 1998). This orientation still has an impact today on tourism development in B&H whose tourist attractions focus on the natural environment and cultural heritage.

Yugoslavia attempted to address the problems of uneven regional development by the industrial strategies. Unfortunately, it could not properly address these problems. The return of investment had not been taken into account in industrial planning. Heavy industries were located in the poorer regions of the country and light industries (including tourism and other commercial industries, were located in the better off regions. Instead of narrowing the gap between the poorer and better off former Yugoslav republics, the gap became wider. In 1952, GDP for B&H was 95.5% of average Yugoslav GDP. In the 1960s this declined to 76% (Allcock 2000). B&H and Slovenia have very similar natural resources as a base for tourism development. When tourist arrivals in B&H and Slovenia's lake and mountain resorts during the 1970s are compared, it can be observed that in Slovenia, the number of tourist arrivals was much higher than in B&H. (table 6.2).

While tourism in the coastal areas was booming, in many highland areas of Yugoslavia, during the 1970s was still in its infancy (Hamilton 1990). Until the beginning of the eighties, tourism was not regarded as an important economy activity for B&H (Pirjavec, 1987). The average tourist growth rate in former Yugoslavia was 10.80% and in

B&H 5.50% (table 6.3), (Tourism Association of B&H 2005). Central government planned B&H as a region where heavy industries would dominate the economy (Allcock 2000).

Table 6.2: Tourism arrivals to B&H and Slovenian lake and mountain resorts, 1980

B&H	International tourist arrivals	Tourist arrivals -B&H total	Slovenia	International tourist arrivals	Tourist arrivals - Slovenia total
Jahorina – mountain B&H	200	7 400	Kranjska Gora - mountain	23 700	57 800
Trebevic – mountain B&H	/	10 900	Bohinj – lake and mountain	68 800	115 000
Jezero (lake – B&H)	19 600	44 400	Bled - lake	18 700	57 200

Source: Statisticki godisnjak Jugoslavije, Savezni zavod za statistiku (1980)

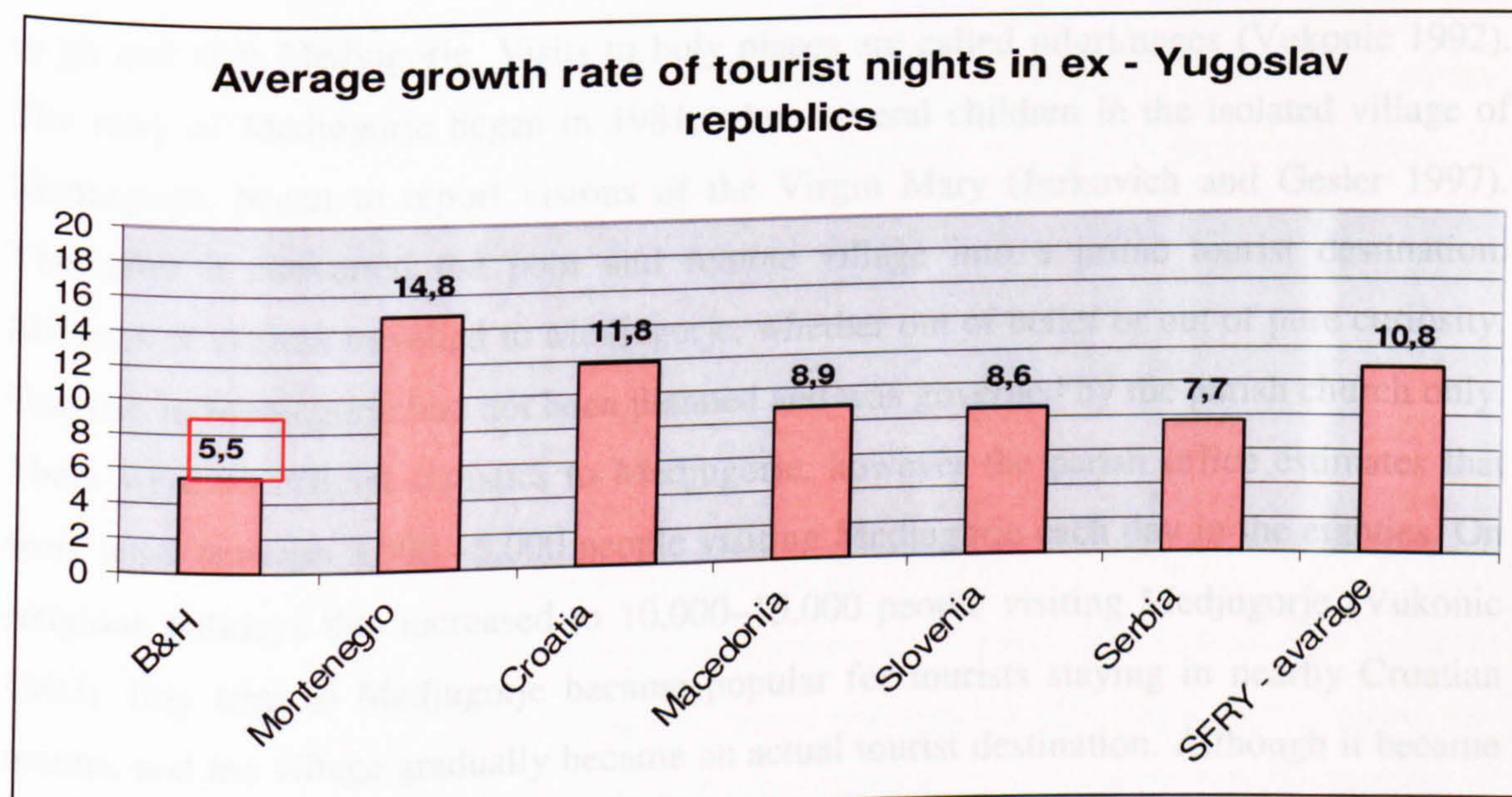


Figure 6.2: Average growth rate of tourist nights in ex Yugoslav republics,
Source: re-worked, Yugoslav tourist association statistics (1974)

With all the challenges mentioned in the previous section, Yugoslavia managed to stay as one of the top European destinations until the beginning of the eighties. In the beginning of the 1980s new tourism trends emerged. Tourists were looking for a more dynamic holiday (Poon 1994) and a real experience. Yugoslavia did not do much in order to rejuvenate its tourism product. However, the organisation of Winter Olympic Games in Sarajevo in 1984 appeared to be a sign of a change. According to Allcock (1986) the

Winter Olympic Games in Sarajevo was an extension of Yugoslavia's efforts to diversify its tourism product. Hosting an Olympic Games is not a niche event, but at least the winter season in B&H, an area which had never been taken seriously in terms of tourism, was acknowledged.

6.3.1 Tourism development in B&H (1978- 1991)

B&H offered good quality winter sports areas, plus numerous opportunities for canoeing, rafting, climbing, hiking, trekking, fishing, etc. It offered a good alternative for declining tourism in coastal areas. Although various types of tourism could have been developed in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Virgin Mary pilgrimages in small village of Medjugorje in 1981 and the 1984 Winter Olympics in Sarajevo, highlighted its potential for tourist development.

Medjugorje

According to Marin (1989) hope, in a wide sense, is the main motive for pilgrims to go and visit Medjugorje. Visits to holy places are called pilgrimages (Vukonic 1992). The story of Medjugorje began in 1981, when several children in the isolated village of Medjugorje, began to report visions of the Virgin Mary (Jurkovich and Gesler 1997). Thereafter it converted the poor and remote village into a prime tourist destination. Millions of visitors travelled to Medjugorje, whether out of belief or out of pure curiosity. Tourism in Medjugorje had not been planned and was governed by the parish church only. There were no official statistics to Medjugorje, however the parish office estimates that there were between 3,000 –5,000 people visiting Medjugorje each day in the eighties. On religious holidays this increased to 10,000–15,000 people visiting Medjugorje (Vukonic 1992). Day trips to Medjugorje became popular for tourists staying in nearby Croatian resorts, and the village gradually became an actual tourist destination. Although it became popular due to the development of tourism (Vukonic 1992, Jurkovich et. al. 1997), the basic reason for travelling to Medjugorje still remained religious. New hotels and other types of accommodation were built and tourism had become a major activity. The airports in Mostar, Sarajevo and Dubrovnik had become busier and needed developments. By the end of the 1980s the most favourable package holidays combined Medjugorje with some other coastal destinations in Croatia (eg. Dubrovnik or Makarska Riviera). Although this had happened more by chance, it was one example of regional tourism development leading to tourism diversification. The residents of Medjugorje and neighbouring villages,

who knew only poverty and hard work, suddenly experienced real prosperity (Vukonic 1992).

However, Medjugorje was not a part of B&H's tourism plans during the 1980s. Therefore, it is worth exploring the causes of tourism development in Medjugorje, in view of its relevance to further research. One question posed is how a country, founded on Marxist ideology, and where religion is marginalised in social settings, could develop religious tourism. Allcock (1986, 2000) explained that tourism in former Yugoslavia was considered a valuable resource. Medjugorje was accepted because its economic value was quickly realised. Another reason was that the story spread fast throughout the world. Yugoslavia did not want to show itself to be a regime which forbade religion. Further, religion was marginalised socially, but it was never forbidden.

Winter Olympics in Sarajevo 1984

The earnings from the Winter Olympic Games in Sarajevo 1984 stimulated tourism in former Yugoslavia that had began its recovery from years of constant decline. It is estimated that the Winter Olympic Games in Sarajevo 1984 brought in about \$30 million as a profit from tourism (Buckley, Wit 1987). However, this was a short-lived boom. In the year following the Olympics, the amount of international tourist earnings had halved. Tourism needed rehabilitation (Brckalovic 2003). The solution would be cooperation with the tour operators. The biggest tour operators, selling ski holidays in the Olympic Mountains near Sarajevo were TUI, Yugotours and FRAM. According to surveys, Jahorina was awarded the best ski resort in former Yugoslavia. However, constant tourism growth was disrupted by the political conflicts of the 1990's.

The Winter Olympics gave hope to Bosnians of all ethnicities that tourism is viable in their country (Selwyn 2007). There are many quantitative indicators, which show that tourism in B&H was developing. One of the most indicative, for instance, is the number of tourist beds and arrivals. Although nowadays those indicators are no longer considered conclusive by themselves, they are able to indicate the main trend of tourism development in its infancy stage. Tourism growth in B&H was for the first time 1,5% higher than average tourism growth in Yugoslavia (Tourism Association of B&H 2005). In 1985, there were an estimated 5,647,000 tourist arrivals in Yugoslavia (WTO-World Travel and Tourism Statistics 1985). Bosnia and Herzegovina's share in former Yugoslav tourism was 15% in 1985, compared to 3,2% in 1978 Bibanovic (2006).

Both winter as a result of the Olympics and Medjugorje were mainstream mass tourist attractions. Those examples show that de facto, real diversification of tourism in Yugoslavia did not happen. Yugoslav tourism was structured in such a way that only mass tourism could bring profit. The same market segment, attracted to Yugoslav coastal resorts during the summer, was attracted to Bosnian ski resorts during the winter. According to Pirjavec (1987), tourism potential in B&H had never been completely realised as former Yugoslavia did not position itself as a destination for niche markets. However, winter tourism in B&H marked a positive trend in its tourism development in B&H. Perhaps the next stage would have been to extend the seasonality and engage rural tourism, or some other outdoor activities, but this will never be known because just when B&H started to attract more tourist arrivals, it found itself involved in serious political conflict.

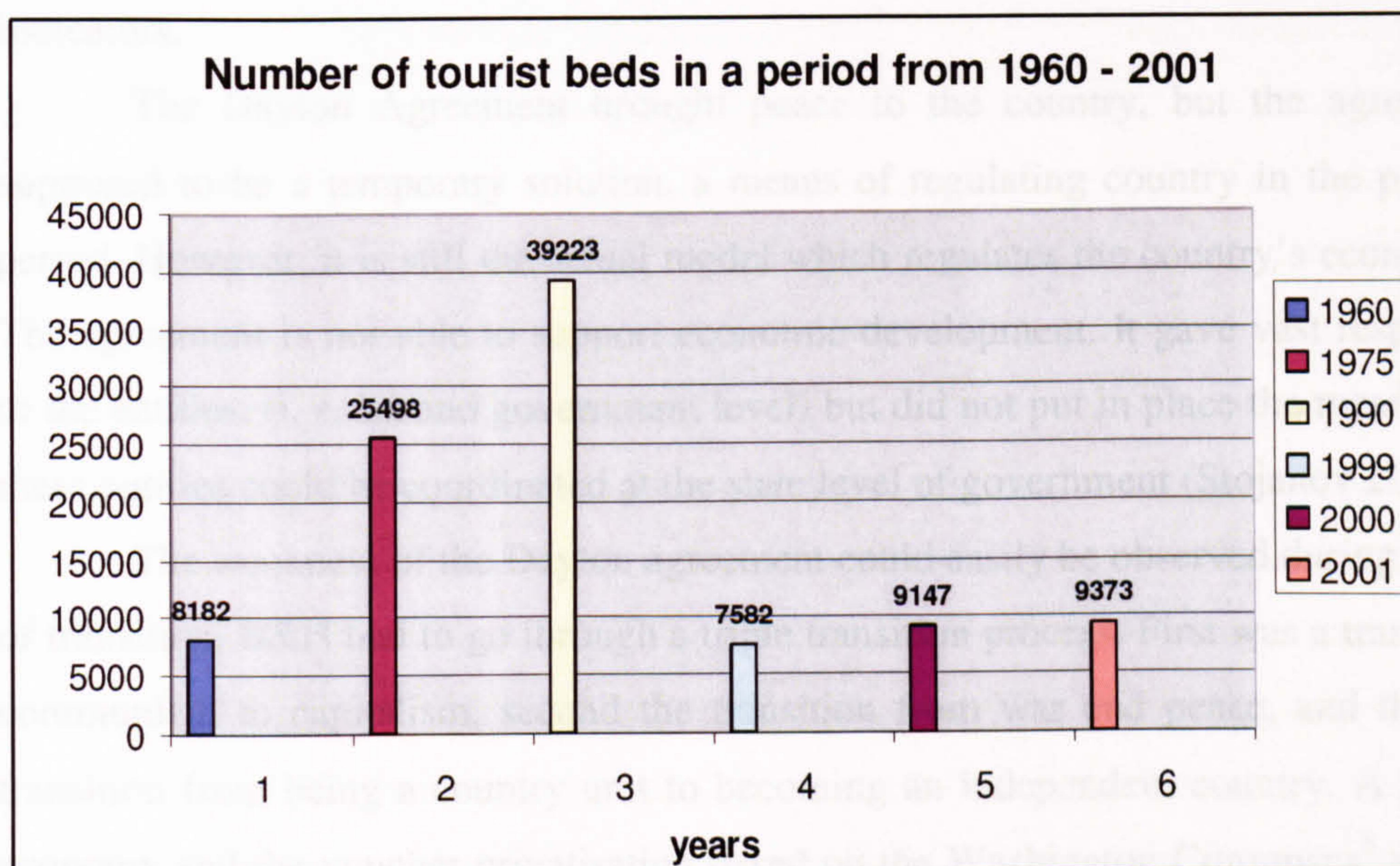


Figure 6.3 Tourism beds in B&H (1960, 1975, 1990, 1999, 2000 and 2001)

Source: World Travel Organisation Fact Book Report, 2005

6.4 PRESENT DAY B&H: A BUREAUCRATIC MONSTER

On November 21st 1995, in Dayton, Ohio, the warring parties initiated a peace agreement. The final agreement was signed in Paris on December 14th 1995. The Dayton Agreement retained Bosnia and Herzegovina's international boundaries and created a joint multi-ethnic and democratic government. More about the Dayton Agreement is presented in the Introduction chapter. Apart from the obvious consequences, the country is also left

to deal with the indirect consequences of war, presented later in this section, through the lens of tourism development. Here are some of the insights derived from the UN report on the health of B&H citizens (in Bibanovic 2006). It is estimated that there are approximately 3.5 million people who live in B&H. Before the conflict, there were approximately 4.4 million people. Deteriorating economic indicators, refugee trauma, stress, and internal displacement are just some of the few issues which had to be addressed. The number of civilians killed in the conflict is still not known, but it is estimated to be between 150,000 and 175,000, with more than 300,000 disabled and a quarter of Bosnians displaced. There are also land mines which though marked and designated, are still danger especially for children and agriculture producers situated close to the affected areas. It is estimated that 19.5% people live in absolute poverty in B&H (World Bank Poverty Assessment 2004). People are trying to cope with those challenging indicators.

The Dayton Agreement brought peace to the country, but the agreement was supposed to be a temporary solution, a means of regulating country in the post conflict period. However, it is still the actual model which regulates the country's economy today. The agreement is not able to support economic development. It gave vast responsibilities to the entities, (i. e. second government level) but did not put in place the means by which these entities could be coordinated at the state level of government (Stojanov 2004).

The weakness of the Dayton agreement could easily be observed during the process of transition. B&H had to go through a triple transition process. First was a transition from communism to capitalism, second the transition from war and peace, and the third the transition from being a country unit to becoming an independent country. A free market economy and the voucher privatisation based on the Washington Consensus⁵ was advised by the World Bank (1996) to be the means of transition. However, the Washington Consensus is difficult to implement, even in politically healthy economies. Hungary for instance, according to Stojanov (2004) chose not employ the Washington Consensus.

The Dayton Agreement left the state to cope with a relatively complicated structure. Amidst a lot of duplication and 40% of the country's budget has been spent on administration (www.cia.gov). Many argue that the administration costs are much higher, amounting to 75% (OHR country report 2005). About 75% of the country's GDP consists of different grants and credits (World Bank Report). With such a government structure, the

⁵ The Washington Consensus is based on free-market ideology which relies on small and medium enterprises (SME) and privatisation, coupled with an expected flow of foreign direct investments (FDI) (Williamson 2004)

state cannot function normally. B&H as a state needs to rebuild its foundation, upon which a healthier society can be created. So, it appears that B&H is hampered by a rigid and bureaucratic “monster”, which renders decision-making and democratic progress impossible. Subsequently, the pace of economic development has been slow. These challenges are apparent in the development of tourism, mentioned as a top priority for B&H. The Dayton Agreement, on which the Bosnian Constitution was founded, charged the regulation of tourism to the two entities (Republic Srpska and Federation of B&H governments) to regulate tourism. There are no regulations set on the state level (more in findings chapter). This complicates the process of tourism development. The laws and regulations are different in these two entities. There is no a single mechanism at a state level to coordinate the entities. Similar challenges arise in almost every economic sector. There is a plethora of non-governmental organisations, all trying to connect and reconcile B&H citizens through different regional projects, but due to regulations, this is a slow process. The tourism development therefore needs to be observed in the context of these social settings.

In B&H, there is, according to official statistics, (accessed in December 2004) a 45.5% rate of unemployment. Many of the unemployed work, but on the black market, as their employers prefer not to pay labour taxes. Stojanov (2004) calls it a Frankenstein economy. Even though inflation does not exist and the currency is strong (although artificially), so production has plummeted. Stojanov (2004) estimated that a main source of income comes from relatives who live abroad. Economy indicators are presented in the Appendix VII but these are not completely accurate, as RS and the Federation collect their statistics using different methodologies and as already said, there are a lot of black market activities which cannot be assessed as a part of the statistics. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) released a report in February 2008, which explained the problematic statistics produced in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Appendix VI)

6.5 THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES IN B&H

International agencies play an important part in a post conflict environment and this was the case in B&H. The most important agency at the moment, is the one appointed to oversee the stabilisation process and Dayton Agreement implementation, the OHR (the Office of High Representative) (www.ohr.int). There are also others like OSCE, EUFOR,

UNDEP⁶, which try to oversee the stabilisation process. Some of them represent donor agencies appointed by foreign to assist in specific fields, the US government (USAID), the German government (GTZ), the Japanese government (JICA); to name but a few. USAID for example provides, support in the form of technical assistance and capacity building, training and scholarships, food aid and disaster relief, infrastructure construction, small-enterprise loans, budget support, enterprise funds and credit guarantees (www.usaid.gov).

Selwyn and Karkut (2007) argue that because of confused and chaotic situation in the country, international agencies could only focus on physical reconstruction. Any other initiative requires a wide range of stakeholders. The challenge was to find a common ground in order for those different institutions to move on from the past, and start working together.

In the very beginning, the international agencies appointed to oversee the development of the country considered that tourism in B&H would be able to commence in a generation or two (Selwyn and Karkut 2007). But when B&H began to find a common ground when developing tourism projects, once more tourism began to play an important role.

6.6 CURRENT ISSUES IN TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN B&H

“Whenever they burn books, they will also, in the end, burn human bodies.”

(Heine, “Almasor”, Scene I, written 1820)

According to the OHR, Bosnia's only remaining choice if economic recovery is to take place, is to develop tourism. Bosnians still remember the success of the Winter Olympics and the opportunities to develop tourism which arose thereafter, giving some kind of faith. Many competitive opportunities for tourism development have now been identified. Although the government of the Republic Srpska oppose a single economic establishment, it has agreed to tourism promote tourism together with the Federation and at the level of Bosnia and Herzegovina (OHR report 2004). According to the Bosnian Chamber of Commerce (2005), it is estimated than one new working post in tourism and hospitality, costs around EUR 5000, less than in any other industry. As Bosnians unemployment rate is high, there is according to Ashdown (2002) stronger potential for tourism development than in any other economic activity. Tourist Association of B&H

⁶ OSCE, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe EUFOR-European Union Forces, UNDEP- United Nations Development Programme

identified the following as potential niche markets: Winter holidays (Olympic mountains near Sarajevo), SPA holidays, religious sites/pilgrimage, culture and heritage, and outdoor activities (mountaineering, trekking and rafting).

There has since been an increase in the numbers of visitors, especially to the urban areas of Sarajevo and Mostar, and those participating in adventurous tourism on rivers, lakes, and mountains. However, the statistics are fractured, as the entities, each use different methodologies to measure tourism movement. One of the most important issues within tourism development concerns statistical data collection. At the moment, this does not encompass tourism activity in its entirety. As a result, WTO and WTTC needed to correct their study on tourism development in B&H. According to the first study, WTO predicted that by the end of 2015, B&H could be the third country in the world in terms of tourism development. This study needed to be corrected, by taking into account a total socio-political context. The new figures are much lower, with the annual increase calculated to be 5.8%, instead of 10%.

Many heritage sites were destroyed during the war. The researcher mentions two sites of special significance to Bosnians. One is the National Library in Sarajevo, which was shelled in 1992, and the priceless incunabulae and written artefacts burnt and destroyed. The second is the bridge in Mostar, a UNESCO World Heritage site, which stood for more than 500 years yet was destroyed in 1993 (Riedlmayer 2002). The city of Mostar derived its name from the bridge. "Most" means bridge in Bosnian. Both destructions are perceived as the attempt to destroy Bosnian multiethnic society. According to Glenny (1999) the act of destroying of the bridge symbolised the misery and senselessness of the entire conflict. Riedlmayer (2002) calls it *culturocide*. The national library contained historic books and incunabula, written in Latin, Cyrillic, Hebrew, Old Bosnian, Glagolithic, Church Slavonic, Hebrew, Arabic, Persian and Aljamiadic scripts, testifying the history and multiethnicity of the country (Riedlmayer 2002). The main targets of the besieging army were revered cultural and historical heritage sites; military strategy to destroy the stamina and endurance of those besieged (Riedlmayer 2002, Crisp 2003,). In order to heal the wounds of conflict, and also to attract tourists into the country, it was important to rebuild these sites. The Mostar Bridge, for instance is now rebuilt and reopened in the summer of 2004. It is once more the designated UNESCO World Heritage Sites.

Beside cultural and historical heritage sites, accommodation facilities had been destroyed during the war (1992–1995). In 1999, there were fewer accommodation units

than in 1960. From 39,223 accommodation units in 1990, there were only 7,582 beds in 1999. The figure below presents the current number of tourist nights in B&H.

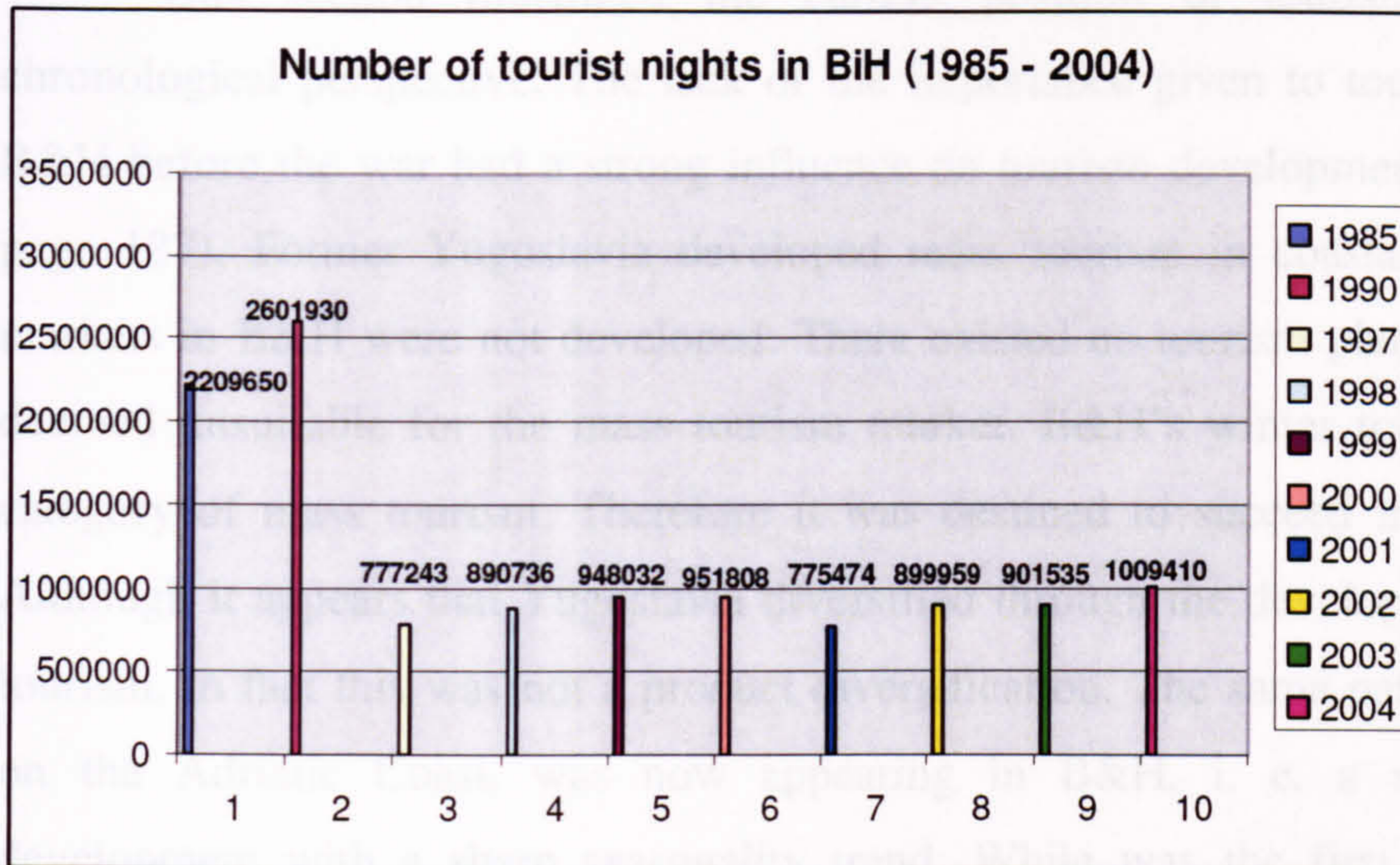


Figure 6.4 Number of Tourist nights in B&H (1985 – 2004)

Source: World Travel Organisation Fact Book Report, 2005

Even before the central Tourist Association of B&H was founded, both entities launched a project in 2001 “Putting Bosnia on the tourism map” (Van Eekelen 2001). This project presented B&H as one destination, a niche tourism market country and was the first attempt after the war to create demand and interest in Bosnian tourism, i. e. to talk about the country in a context different from the conflict. It was the first time that Bosnia was presented at trade fairs, with the purpose of attracting tour operators previously present in Bosnia. The Tourism Association of Bosnia and Herzegovina was founded in September 2003. Its main task is to promote the country internationally, attempting to influence the profile and significance of tourism and to improve service quality. Before the Tourism Association on a national level was founded, tourism offices only operated at the level of entities. These organisations on the entity level, did not merged, they still exist. Tourism system in B&H and the institutions in charge of tourism on all three levels (cantonal, entity and state) are presented in Appendix VIII.

6.7 CONCLUSION

This section illustrated the current position of tourism in B&H from a chronological perspective. The lack of the importance given to tourism development in B&H before the war had a strong influence on tourism development now (See findings, page 187). Former Yugoslavia developed mass tourism in coastal resorts while niche markets in B&H were not developed. There existed no tourism plan to develop products deemed unsuitable for the mass tourism market. B&H's winter tourism was put in the category of mass tourism. Therefore it was destined to succeed in former Yugoslavia. Although it appears that Yugoslavia diversified through the development of B&H winter tourism, in fact this was not a product diversification. The same pattern, seen previously on the Adriatic Coast, was now appearing in B&H, i. e. a mass winter tourism development with a sharp seasonality trend. While was the first stage in its tourism development, it will never be known what would have happened if B&H did not exit the TALC (Butler 1980, Baum 1998) because of the conflict.

Conflict left B&H struggling with a complex government structure, rigid and unwilling to assist in re-building the economy. This structure makes it difficult to reach any consensus. The Dayton Peace Agreement framework was assessed as a good agreement to stop the conflict, but it lacks the strength to move the country forward. The country is completely divided along national lines. Those who work in the tourism sector pioneer cooperation between the entities and reconciliation. While the laws and regulations inherited from the war govern the country, it is difficult to have a functioning economy and tourism sector, regardless the efforts.

To sum up, actual tourism development in B&H is influenced by its pre-war settings, the conflict itself and the laws, which now regulate its tourism development. Throughout its history, the different ethnicities which existed in B&H lived mostly in harmony with each other. However, the voices from outside were a bit louder and these external voices endangered the harmony of the region. This happened in the last conflict. In fact, at the end it became a complete human tragedy. This section will help the reader to understand the context of the fieldwork, presented in the next section.

7. BOSNIA FINDINGS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The following section presents the findings resulting from thematic analysis of the interviews, conducted with private and public sector decision makers (table 2.1 and 2.2) and overt participant observation of the guided tours (table 2.4). The research addresses these themes through a conceptual framework (table 7.1). First, the themes showing tourism as part of a wider generic social setting are presented. It is followed by the presentation of typical tourism themes (eg. markets, image, promotion, products), in the context of a post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Where certain public sector issues resemble that of the private sector, the researcher acknowledges this and refers the reader to the section where the issue is explained. If a public sector issue added a new dimension, or sub-theme, the researcher added this to the whole set of findings. This approach resulted in the final research framework (figure 8.2 and 8.3).

The tourism structure in B&H follows on official government structure. In order for reader to have a better understanding of the findings, the institutions and organisations which manage tourism development, are presented through their geo-political scope and the role of the relevant interviewee of the respective institutions. The researcher refers the reader to Appendix VIII for more information about the institutions. Interviewees as well, have multiple functions and researcher outlined them all, but focused on the one which is the most prominent in the discourse.

Table 5.1: Tourism in a generic political discourse

Feature	Sub-feature	Issues private sector	Issues public sector
Societal transformation-starting points	Inherited conditions: tourism in B&H before the conflict	Inherited lack of confidence, tours went through B&H managed by Croatian, Serbian or Slovenian tour operators, Olympic Games 1984 managed by the whole former Yugoslavia, comparison,	B&H tourism was taken more seriously after the organisation of the Olympic Games 1984
	The economy of transition	B&H did not follow all the steps in the transition process and now feels the lack of them	Privatisation process, the ownership issues, corruption, slow process, the resurgence of the natural environment
	Human capital	Old school understanding slows down the process of tourism development	The lack of skilled labour
	Physical infrastructure	Lack of public sector support to tourism development, big communist style hotels are not appealing to the tourists B&H targets now, positive that they have gone	Physically distorted during the conflict, regeneration of the environment as a positive dimension
	Accessibility	Transit tourism-B&H has bad infrastructure and image, but with a good campaign can make people come through B&H, politics- high risk country, expensive to fly to B&H	
Politics		Complicated government structure, difficulties to move the economy forward, Over governance, tourism regulated by the entities, unnatural barriers between the people, entities and cantons are too powerful, tourism development would prefer more powerful state,	
	Dayton Agreement B&H constitution	Political correctness, people are voted regarding their nationality, not their competitiveness	Country itself has 13 small governments and no one can make a decision without a consensus,
	Laws and regulations	Missing the regulation of Cross-border and entities cooperation, Environmental protection, Tour guiding, The categorisation	Many different ways to solve this issue, country does not want to do that in order to keep a "social balance".
	Tourism taxes	Not easy to plan as the market intelligence is not accurate, state is blamed for tolerating that behaviour	
International Agencies	Cooperation between the entities	Help in funding, private sector receives support from international agencies instead of public sector, funds usually channelled to NGOs which are not profitable; need to establish the link between public sector, NGO and private sector	
	Public-private partnership		Division in economic regions instead of national ones, allowed to work with all three nationalities

Feature	Sub-feature	Issues private sector	Issues public sector
Partnerships – Geo political perspective	Cross-border cooperation	Bi-lateral cooperation with Croatia, regional cooperation-Balkans and Mediterranean, local partnerships, trust unregulated tourism sector in B&H makes it as an unreliable partner, politicisation of the relations, borders	
	Entity relations	International agencies role in bridging the Entities, suggestion for the division based on the economy, not politics, Promotion internationally-tourism activity done on the level of the state	
	Cross-sector	Does not work well	
	Local networking	Trust, functions well on small scale informally	
Diaspora	Intention to return back to B&H		The fluctuation of knowledge, the fluency in “unusual” languages
	Non intention to return back		Tourists, promotion on a small scale, promotion on a bigger scale- danger of nationalist sentiments instead of multiethnic ones, barometer of change

7.2 TOURISM IN A GENERIC POLITICAL DISCOURSE: PRIVATE SECTOR

7.2.1 Theme I: Societal transformation-starting points

7.2.1.1 Inheritance

Pre-conflict tourism in Bosnia is presented in the background section. This section presents how the pre-conflict inheritance still influences tourism now. When it was still part of former Yugoslavia, Bosnia was a heavily industrialised region of the country.

B&H I think was 17% of the total territory of Yugoslavia, but it also generated 32% of the energy output of Yugoslavia. Basically, that is what they are trying to do again. I think this is a catastrophic mistake. But none from our neighbours in Serbia and Croatia and of course government mafia here, the European, they see us as an energy raw material base. Bosnia needs to stand up and say no.

I1 25-32 (Consultant)

Conflict destroyed the industrial infrastructure so production continuity was lost during the conflict. However, the sector with the strongest lobby decides on the future of the country. In B&H this is heavy industry. The tourism lobby is weak as tourism has never been an important sector in Bosnia.

How could you not offer an alternative when an energy lobby and forestry lobby is extremely well organised and extremely well financed. We are an extremely unorganised and underfinanced movement and all we can say is Don't! Don't! Don't! It is not realistic, how could you not offer an alternative in a post war economy?

I1 46-50 (Consultant)

Therefore tourism is a socially and governmentally marginalised sector. It needs to grow stronger, as the tourism option is a diversification away from a tradition. In the past, B&H was receptive to tourism activity. However, this was managed by the tour operators who possessed the know-how. Most of them were based in Croatia and Slovenia, but organised itineraries through Bosnia.

Bosnia was then a part of one big destination, but also had a transit character on the way to the seaside or part of itineraries through Yugoslavia, complemented with some kind of urban tourism in Sarajevo.

I2 103- 105 (Tour operator, director)

Some may argue that if Bosnia was able to successfully organise the Winter Olympic Games of 1984, it cannot be said that they do not have any expertise in managing tourism. However, this was a project which included the whole of the former Yugoslavia.

The Olympic Games was a project which was organised by the whole country. The whole of Yugoslavia worked on it.

I2 464-465

Like all other sectors, in former Yugoslavia tourism was planned by the government. Paradoxically, the informants who worked in tourism during this period express almost nostalgic sentiments. They compare the settings before the conflict and now;

In former Yugoslavia, tourism was developing with some kind of a plan in mind. There was first the plan to rejuvenate the mountain lodges, then they implemented an idea that every town needs to have a hotel, then they created Neum as a Riviera, then from 1978, they started building the infrastructure for the Olympic games...it was all planned, now it doesn't have any plan, any strategy...

I11 412-422 (Travel agent, owner)

Bosnia was always on the margin when it come to tourism. It had a tourism product, but was managed by those with more expertise and influence. They cannot organise B&H tourism now though B&H is an independent country. Today the tourism lobby is extremely weak and therefore it is difficult to move tourism higher up on the government agenda.

7.2.1.2 Economy of transition

The situation in B&H at the moment is the result of its triple transition⁷, pre-conflict inheritance, and devastated cultural heritage, infrastructure and industrial production. Regulations within the country (Dayton Agreement) focused on delivering peace; the development of the society was marginalised.

But it is all slowly developing, it is getting better. We had that war which destroyed everything in this country; we also had another challenge. We have completely changed our system from communism to capitalism. Now we need to embark on privatisation. It is not going well. People are not ready for this kind of privatisation. I have a feeling that most of those "investors" bought those properties because of the location, not because they want to do something for B&H.

I5 467-477 (Tour company, manager)

⁷ The three transitions happening in B&H are: workers' self-management (communism)-neoliberalism (capitalism), war-peace, federal unit-independent country.

This all resulted in the loss of continuity.

The problem is that Bosnia had a 10-year break from every sort of a development. It is difficult now. The country was distorted, the infrastructure demolished, the continuity lost. The requirements of the clientele have completely changed.

I2 112-118 (Tour operator, director)

While the other economies in transition were going through that process, B&H was in the midst of political conflict and it did not have time to prepare itself for the transition process.

We took our rights, but not our obligations. We lived 50 years under system where we could not do what we wanted and now we are lost. We are not used to living under system where we can do whatever we want to do. We forget that we have some obligations. It has to do with Dayton as well.

I10 150-165 (Historian, tour guide)

This is a tourism example, but very similar to the other sectors. The following quote explains an issue of multiple transition in B&H as seen through the eyes of the tourists.

There is an enormous difference between what I was doing as a tour guide in 1988 and tourism today. The difference is between the city tours I am doing today and those tours before the war. The requirements have changed. Their questions have changed. Before the war, Bosnia was very interesting in one specific way. The communism and socialism here were completely different compared to the communism in other Eastern European countries. The communism here was set up in some semi-democratic way. Religion was not forbidden and at the same time, it was a communist country. There is different interest now. They want to know how this all has changed, how it was possible that such a strong system collapsed and became a mix of nationalism, sectarianism, fascism and radicalism. How come was it possible to make those mistakes...but, in certain communities, people remain bounded and some kind of typical Bosnian neighbourhood, love and tolerance, were preserved.

I10 120-129 (Historian, tour guide)

7.2.1.3 Human capital

People in B&H are afraid that they will be unable to deliver the product. Their lack of confidence slows down the process.

Some guys from London came and asked me if I would like to take part in their project, a direct flight from London to Sarajevo. I told them that the idea is great, but that I could not take part in it. I am afraid of possible complaints and concerned at having to pay back money should complaints arise. It was the reason why it is not possible to have a direct line from London to Sarajevo

I9 241-25 (UTA B&H)

In the case mentioned by I9, the president of the Association of Travel Agents in B&H (UTAB&H), it would be more understandable if the UK blocked the launch of a direct flight between London and Sarajevo. On the contrary, it was B&H which was stopping it. There are three reasons behind this; first the “old school” operators perceive tourists in a “classical” sense, i. e. people who would complain. This is a characteristic of tourists who are coming for a traditional seaside package holiday. Second, they do not perceive their tourism product as being relevant and interesting to the tourists. Thirdly, it shows intention to stay within their comfort zone. In this sense it is easier to find an excuse not to make an effort, if at the end it might not work. Although the informants were sceptical and scared about launching a direct London–Sarajevo flight, on March 25th 2007, British Airways actually launched such a flight, three times per week. Findings show a gap between the old school and younger generation. This is due on one side the break in business continuity, and on the other, the economic transition which due to the severe conflict in the country did not go through all the stages.

It is only a matter of time when set a low cost airfare flying into here. The biggest problem is that probably 75% to 80% of the government here are old school thinkers.

I1 199-202 (Consultant)

7.2.1.4 Physical infrastructure

Even when there is an abundance of resources and possibilities, it is difficult to achieve a serious tourism development if there is no tourism infrastructure. The lack of tourism amenities slows down the process of tourism development. I1 suggests that this concern can be slightly dissolved through working together (partnerships or networking).

Anyone with a general concept of tourism who might be interested in doing something ... to be a guide, who might be able to open a small or a medium size enterprise...someone who might like biking and could open a bike renting... Then we do tourism inventory. Do you have a hotel, a restaurant, an ambulance?

I51 759-764 (Incoming tour operator cofounder)

The natural resources of B&H are an asset, but mainly as a consequence of war destruction and sluggish privatisation, the infrastructure is a drawback. This is the case for the rafting, spa, and winter ski resorts. The built environment is a challenge and lack of initiative and investments is slowing down the process of tourism development. Table 7.2 summarises this issue.

Table 7.2: Infrastructure problematic

Product	Issue	Quote
White water rafting	Infrastructure. Although the quality of the rough product is high, it is difficult to attract tourists if the infrastructure is not of the required level	<i>Talking about this type of tourism, I reckon we are among the top 10%, probably even the best in Europe, but the problem is that we do not have an infrastructure; we miss the basics, roads, changing rooms, toilets...</i> I6 - owner
Spas		<i>Bosnia is full of Spas. But I have to be honest here; they cannot satisfy the modern clientele. I could point at ILIDZA SPA near Sarajevo and Reumal Fojnica and Vrucica as those restored and with a good infrastructure. This is a huge potential and I have mentioned a few of them which work well, but even they can satisfy only the clients from B&H and probably the neighbours</i> I5 450-457
Winter ski Resorts		<i>As soon as we create a better infrastructure and capacities, we will become interesting destination for the European market. What will be with our winter tourism, it all depends on the people. The investments have started on Bjelasnica, Jahorina, Vlasic</i> I5 210-215

However, there have been some positive outcomes from the infrastructure destruction caused by the conflict. Before the conflict, the hotels were typical of the communist style, i. e. big, very simple, grey and modest. These do not appeal to the new tourists, which B&H is targeting at the moment. Informants see it as a chance to start from the beginning.

But I am also glad that those horrible big concrete hotels have gone.

I1 1474 (Consultant)

The informants expressed the need for public sector support in the building tourism infrastructure. The findings show that in fact, there is very little support given to the development of tourism. It has to deal with the tourism lobbying (page 187).

Local authorities, they do not support anything, you know what the mayor said...he said let those private entrepreneurs make the road by themselves, let them invest...and on the TV he said...oh, we are supporting local initiatives...this is just ...NO COMMENT

I6 415-419 (Business owner)

And

Based on my own experience...if we had just a bit of support from local authorities, we would have much more success. I have been in this business for ten years and it is the same now as it was ten years ago. It is all just talk ... "oh, tourism is our

future, and we want to help”...we do not believe them any more. We are working as much as we can and we promote ourselves as good as we can, but we have never received any help from them.

I6 52-56

7.2.1.5 Accessibility

The informants highlighted generic issues as well, for instance the provision of low cost airlines. However, this section will focus on the post conflict dimension of the accessibility. These are the issues of transit tourism and the pure conflict dimensions of regarding access. B&H is situated between the Croatian coast and central Europe. It could use this position to attract tourists who are on their way to the Croatian coast as well as tourists already in Croatia. However, tourists avoid travelling through B&H due to its association with the war. Although a generic issue, another dimension for avoiding B&H as a transit destination concerns the conditions of its roads. However, the informants believe that with a good campaign it is possible to encourage tourists to pass through B&H in order to see or visit a certain site or attraction.

If you know how to do it, you can make lots of money with transit tourism. But we have to do a few things beforehand if we want to keep the tourists at least one night in Sarajevo.

I11 765-769 (Incoming tour operator, owner)

The general view is that the cost of travelling by air to B&H is too high due to the high risk associated with it. Automatically, this makes Bosnia inaccessible. The relatively expensive flights are the result of the post conflict settings.

The interest rates in B&H are high and the insurance companies do not pay the warranties so this is the reason why the airlines need to increase the prices. Also the costs are higher here because the airspace was, until recently controlled by Belgrade and Zagreb, not Sarajevo.

I11 829-832 (Tour operator, director)

Politics and management of the airlines is what is making the flights so expensive. Then the informants say that the government should be more flexible in dealing with this dimension, revealing the problem of over-governed state and ineffective public authorities and also touches on the subject of corruption.

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It's unbelievably expensive to fly directly to Sarajevo. I think it has to do with chief exec of the airlines, they think they cannot have a steady flow and I completely disagree. ...but also I think that is because of local management...and I have strong suspicions that Austria Airlines is paying for...they are making lots of money. To get out of Sarajevo, you pay at least 350 EUR ...and the government is not lobbying ... in all those other countries government is lobbying, here government, it's a joke.

I1 995-1002 (Consultant)

7.2.2 Theme II: Politics and Dayton Agreement

7.2.2.1 Complicated government structure and ineffective regulations

I am saying that for the third time, Bosnia is a specific country. The country is a federation of one federation and one republic. Who makes us live like that? It was Dayton. We have in B&H on one side a Republic with all the rights of a Republic and we then have another Federation, the Federation of Croats and Bosniaks divided into 10 cantons. And then is also a District Brcko where they did not know how to divide this. The country is nonsensical in its own, 13 ministries of health, 13 ministries of education, 3 presidents...

I10 198-208 (Historian and tour guide)

Every informant argued that the current laws and regulations facilitated well the peace process and state consolidation, but does not have a required strength to support the economy in general and tourism in particular. Lots of money and time is spent dealing with the administration and government structure. Tourism needs laws and regulations which will support its development, but the current ones were politically imposed.

You know how complicated the structure of this country is. I mean we have those two entities, the politics is complicated and it complicates life although we are trying to live and function normally.

I2 29-34 (Tour operator, director)

Complicated government structure and huge administrative costs delay the process of tourism development.

We are supposed to start working on this project next year and to finish by the high season, but it all depends on whether or not all the documentation is completed on time and you know it all goes a bit slowly here because of such a complicated administration.

I8 144-148 (Marketing director)

Tourism in B&H is a fragmented industry and B&H is itself a fragmented country. It is not clear who is in charge of tourism development. There are too many governing

bodies, resulting in overlapping and duplication. This is delaying the process of tourism development.

Not that long ago, every council had a tourism office and there were huge amount of work duplication. People were doing the same work, or they did not do anything. Now they are trying to regulate it a bit, but it is very hard and we are all tired of it. We had an enormous bureaucracy, people are refusing to accept the change, and unfortunately it all goes slow. It is all about politics in this country.

I5 34-42 (Tour company manager)

Who is in charge of tourism? Is it the Ministry of Tourism in Federation, is it Tourism Association, is it Chamber of Commerce, is it the state level, Foreign Relations, The chamber of Commerce says they are responsible for it. They have one man. The Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, the Ministry has...nobody. They have 1 man who actually only passes things on. Then there is a Ministry of Tourism and the environment which is starting to assemble a sort of team...they haven't even sorted out the offices yet, because they are a new Ministry. Then you have a Federation Tourism Association and everyone wants to take that position because of the funds that are coming to there ...he spends more time on politics than on tourism

I1 227-240 (Consultant)

In B&H there is a quota, a certain number of Croatians, Bosniaks and Serbs to be employed. The national identity is more important than professionalism so as not to endanger the fragile stability. This regulation slows down economic development.

Politically independent people, there are unfortunately very few of them in B&H. Everything is divided by 3, making it all at least 3 times more difficult, 3 media, the number of tour guides is set up depending on the nationality.

I10 25-28 (Historian and tour guide)

Before the war, tours were controlled by the communist party. Nowadays, the number of tour guides is set depending on the nationality. There has to be a certain number of Bosniacs, Serbs and Croats.

I10 21-32

The Federation of B&H is divided into 10 administrative units (based on ethnicity). RS is not divided into smaller units. The complicated governing structure in the Federation slows down the development. Therefore it follows that it is easier to work in RS as it is not sub-divided. It further shows the consequences of the post-conflict settings.

All talk and no results. I was a consultant for federation tourism association and I just can't do it any more; it is out of the principle. I am tired.

I1 450-453 (consultant)

and

I figure that in RS it is less of a headache and more clear cut, whereas here you have the ministry of urban planning, the ministry of tourism, then you have canton and everyone is fighting for it and here you have just one person to deal with.

I1 933-937

RS can devote more of its time to real tourism development. The federation spends that time just trying to agree. Sarajevo is a capital, thus there are more funding possibilities though paradoxically, this is slowing down the process. In RS, there are fewer funding opportunities and therefore, it is easier to get together and agree upon something.

Particularly here in Sarajevo because there is so much money circulating around here, everything is very closed and protected, there is no sharing of information no one gets together. But when you go to small communities in RS, they know it is either this or nothing...

I1 921-924

Politics overwhelmingly dominate life in B&H. Informants say that they try to avoid politics, but this is difficult, because politics is felt in almost every aspect of their lives.

Speaking overall, you are situated in a very poor country, in which politics and politicking is more important than economics.

I2 512-514 (Tour operator, director)

I am running away from the politics whenever I can, but it is everywhere. Ok, now there is a plan to have a National Park here. I am afraid that it will not happen as planned and all because of the politics.

I6 402-404 (Business owner)

Just because of the complicated political structure, we are in a much worse position when compared to our neighbours and European practice

I9 9-13 (Travel agent)

7.2.2.2 Government support, laws and regulations

The findings show that the following aspects of the tourism sector in B&H need more consideration: cooperation between RS and the Federation, cross-border cooperation, environmental protection, tour guiding, the accommodation grading, tourism taxation, and profit taxation. The laws regulating cooperation are presented in the chapter on partnership. Others are presented in this section. The country is still run using regulations

brought in at the cessation of hostilities. However, tourism needs laws specifically able to regulate the sector.

You are developing your state by developing the sector of the industry you work in, that is how I see it and that is why you need to regulate your sector, and not allow everyone to work in it.

I6 398-401

Tourism taxation

In B&H it is relatively easy not to register overnight tourists. In other words, tourism generated profit is not declared and less tax is paid.

Nobody pays tourism taxes. Medjugorje, they have never paid, they pay probably 2% and no one does anything about it

I1 478-450 (Consultant)

Roughly, this state loses 250-300 million EUR per year on the black market, just because the tourists are not registered

I9 120-122 (Travel agent)

The informants blame the state, which allows and tolerates such behaviour. Informants highlight the need for more transparency about where the taxes are being channelled.

Yes, it is true that we have in Medjugorje illegal accommodation units and nobody pays any taxes...but this is more to do with the state itself, not with those accommodation providers. The state enables them to act, this way because there is no law. State needs to put such things in order. Taxes need to be used for the provision of better tourism infrastructure, not only just for promotion or personal needs.

I4 58-64 (Travel agent)

Environment

Nature based tourism is a product which B&H could use to its advantage (presented further in this chapter), but the laws and regulations needed to protect the environment are still missing.

But that is Bosnia, Mother Nature; it has to work for us. Yes, we have to develop the product, we have to train our guides, you have to have customer service... but when you go trekking... nature is the biggest product. And not taking care of that... it's absurd

I1 294-298 (Consultant)

Tour guiding

Some attempts to regulate this area of tourism have happened in the more developed tourism areas, eg. Mostar. Tour guide certification exists in Mostar, on a local level.

It is the duty of the state to certify the tour guide, to name the certifier and to decide on the curriculum and at the end to award the tour guide with the certificate, nothing has been done yet.

I9 278 – 284 (Travel agent)

Only the area of the City of Mostar (UNESCO World Heritage) has managed to regulate tour guiding. These were imposed after, as informants noted, some of the tour guides coming from Croatia, interpreted the historical events in a way which was offensive to those living in Mostar. Thus regulations were imposed in order to protect the sensitivities of the locals.

Actually, I have heard Croatian tour guides walking to the east bank of Mostar saying “don’t drink the water, don’t buy souvenirs, we are going to the Muslim side, you will be supporting Al Qaeda”.

I1 489-494 (Consultant)

Therefore in Mostar, only locally certified tour guides are allowed to guide tourists.

In Mostar, not that long ago, the first attempts to regulate the industry occurred. I am pleased to see this works well. What happened before was that tour guides from Croatia used to come and when tourists asked what happened to the bridge, they said that it was old and that is how it fell. People from Mostar did not like this and have made sure that only a certified tour guide from Mostar is allowed to take you on the tour. This was always the case in former Yugoslavia anyway. And also local tour guides will earn something.

I10 669-677 (Historian and tour guide)

Accommodation grading

Another concern is unregulated grading system;

We do not have any adequate system of hotel grading. There is this Kristal Hotel at Jahorina. It is new, very nice. But it should not have even 2 stars as it is built without the necessary hotel standards.

I9 170-173 (Travel agent)

These are the areas requiring regulation necessary in terms of B&H tourism development. As they currently stand, they do not serve their purpose, and the fact that RS and the Federation have different laws is not helping.

B&H is a new country on the map and all the laws need to be consolidated for the first time. The current laws do not support the development of the economy. Also, how these laws completely destroyed the relationships between the people will be presented later in this section.

7.2.2.3 Tourism strategy

A B&H development strategy has been drafted several times, but tourism was not even mentioned. In its third version in 2004 we managed to include tourism in the strategy.

I9 22-24 (Travel agent)

It is a generic characteristic that matching the tourism market, the product, promotion and infrastructure requires a strategy. Targeting a niche market with a specific product is a viable strategy. However, this is not an official strategy. An official strategy does not exist in B&H.

We always say that B&H has great potential for tourism development, but the problem is that this tourism potential is not framed into a tourism product.

I3 58-62 (Specialised TO)

In order to compensate for the lack of an official tourism strategy, the private sector tourism companies have narrowed down their tourism product to a very small segment. The international agencies offered some help by promoting these at extremely specialised trade fairs.

There is a fly fishing segment, one which requires specific conditions like those found on Una River. We were forming that product gradually and it took us a year and a half to do so.

I2 165-173 (TO director)

The findings suggest that a raw tourism product in Bosnia is competitive on a small scale and may even be able to change people's perception about Bosnia. However, B&H itself still perceives tourism as it did 30 years ago, i. e. tourists coming to the beach. This is process whereby tourism development and tourism re-imaging use product development as the main tool. It has some small-scale results.

Well because we are trying to make the best perspective of a country as possible...it was a matter of image, offering in the beginning a city break then it goes more within the country itself, it is a matter of trust. [sic]

I7 127 -130 (UK tour operator)

I2 said the tourists they are targeting niche markets who know that B&H is a safe country now.

I mean, people know that we are not in war anymore. We are back to normality.

I2 290-191 (TO director)

B&H could develop eco-tourism, but there is no strategy, with which to target this niche.

Thus, tourism development is not steady.

We start talking about eco tourism, it is on the rise 10 to 15% every year. Traditional tourism is what...2 to 3% rise every year. Responsible tourism in the west is massive; the biggest eco tourism market in the world is Europe.

I1 206-208 (Consultant)

Mistakes are happening and there is a lot of duplication.

We are developing products for we don't know whom we are going to sell them. And second, we are the only country in Europe that does not have a strategy. [sic]

I1 114-115

And

Tourists are coming regardless the lack of our marketing strategy which means to me...what would we actually be if we had a marketing strategy? WHOW [sic]

I1 627-629

Trade fairs illustrate an issue of not having a proper tourism strategy. B&H's tourism follows the Croatian pattern. Croatia targets the German market interested in a generic beach holiday. They are not interested in the types of tourism which B&H is able to offer. A strategy which works well in Croatia, is difficult to apply in B&H. For instance;

We've never been to France, we've never been to a Paris tourism fair...yet the French are coming here. We have never...as a country gone to London...yet the Brits are coming; Brits are, by far, the biggest travellers in Europe. Germans are not coming and we always target Germans.

I1 215-220 (Consultant)

Going only to the largest trade fairs is not assessed as being the best value for money. Generic markets have a perception of B&H as being unattractive and politically unstable.

On ITB they asked me if we have enough food in Sarajevo. This was a question a tourism professional asked.

I5 (Tour company manager – after the interview)

The findings suggested that in addition to going to the big tourism trade fairs, the tourism association should also fund more specialised trade fairs.

So we have never been to Hanover⁸, but we spend hundreds of thousand of KM going to Berlin year after year after year with absolutely no results whatsoever.

II 212-214 (Consultant)

B&H private tour operators developed segmented tourism products and target niches. The private sector cannot afford to participate in specialised trade fairs so whether or not to go is dependant on funding from another source, i. e. international aid agencies. This represents a break in the relationships between the public and private sectors.

7.2.3 Theme III: International agencies

A fragmented country setting causes difficulties in relations to funding. International organisations do not know who to give funds to. In B&H money is mostly channelled to NGOs as this is a sector which appears trustworthy. However, NGOs are not profitable and are not sustainable, although most of the funding is given in order to assure sustainability. The link between NGOs and the private sector has not been established.

For instance, the Japanese, JICA, they funded the eco-village Sipovo, but they follow up...they forgot.

I51 Tour Operator co-founder, post-interview

The funds are channelled, but not well used. This is a generic issue, but needs to be highlighted here as well, as the presence of international organisations is in fact a consequence of the conflict. They have certain funds to be spent on B&H. What would be the best way to spend these funds?

Exactly, you give a fund for helping ... the things how it goes with some of the funds around the world, it is happening here as well but if there are funds available to private sector, to NGO sector, make the most of it, that's the rule ... don't give it to the institutions, but to NGOs and to private sector. This country is

⁸ Eco-tourism fair

very complicated, you don't know to whom to give. Look at the EU, they are giving funds to NGOs, not to private sector at all and their point is sustainable development? How can an NGO be sustainable? That's my first question cause if you are an NGO you are not allowed to make money...and there is no NGO in tourism development in this country, none 0.0, there is no point...millions and millions and millions of EUR.

I1 1168-1176 (Consultant)

Sometimes the international agencies act as a substitute for official institutions. This section presents several instances of this. The private sector saw an opportunity to invite the international media over to promote their product. Specifically an incoming tour operator specialising in fly-fishing got support from USAID since Tourism Association of B&H did not respond.

We went to the specialised trade fair in Verona and established contact with SKY TV who has its own TV channel Cace e Pesca in Italy and we agreed with them to come over and do that study tour. USAID financed the project. One Danish journalist came with them and he wrote a nice article the River Una – Bosnian Paradise.

I2 195-205 (Tour operator director)

Informants suggest that it is more valuable to go to the trade fairs specialising in a particular niche market. The private sector does not have the funds required, therefore they ask the Tourism Association for assistance. However, they are reluctant. This lack of understanding from the B&H public sector is replaced with the international donor agencies. This is a post-conflict dimension of the context. If there was not a conflict, the international organisations would not be there.

When we do get a chance, we go to international tourism fairs. Another great example is the Dutch agency, I think it is called CBI...They help developing countries and they organise to bring you to Utrecht tourism fair... for 5 years... they contacted tourism association. Tourism association didn't answer them...free stand at Utrecht for 5 years. So in the last minute, they contacted us direct, we organised all the papers, we organised 4 private sector tourism companies and we all went together...we called Tourism Association to fund our travel expenses. "Yes, absolutely, no problem"...10 days before we were supposed to go..."Sorry we cannot give you anything". So, USAID gave us money. So now, we can go to Utrecht for 5 years.

I1 516-525 (Consultant)

However, the private sector is aware that the presence of the international agencies is decreasing and it will not be possible to rely on their assistance in the future. The help offered from the international aid agencies, makes B&H more dependent on international

funds and in that sense the self-confidence in being able to do something alone is lost. The problem is that real cooperation between the public and private sector was not established and the international agencies are helping to bridge the gap. They should not only work on getting the funding but to establish private-public partnership.

And the Bosnians were, for a lack of better phrase...pitiful... daj (in Bosnian give me). Handouts. They all got so engulfed in the mentality of handouts. And I think that Bosnia needs to stand up and say no.

I1 12-14 (Consultant)

7.2.4 Theme IV: Partnerships and networking

Tourism is an important sector in areas which have suffered from long term political conflict, not least because it forces people and organisations to cooperate.

One important thing where having tourism is an advantage is that tourism cannot function without cooperation. If you want to have wood processing industry, I mean you can have it on your own. It will be more expensive, but it is manageable. With tourism, it is a different case. You can build the most beautiful hotel in the world, but nobody would come there if you have a dumpster nearby. And the dumpster is cleaned by the city council. So tourism forces you to cooperate. As soon as it starts to develop, it forces you to realise that. With every other industry, you can control a part of it. This is not the case in tourism.

I51 226-236 (Tour operator co-funder)

The research findings identify the importance of networking and partnerships within the process of building progressive societies after the conflict. The aim of this section is to define under which circumstances and in which context tourism networks and partnerships occur in the post-conflict context. This research will employ the term *partnership* for describing a formalised working together relationship and the term *networking* in informal working together relationships.

7.2.4.1 Partnerships: geopolitical perspective

First, partnerships and networking in a geo-political sense will be presented, regional partnerships, bi-lateral partnership between B&H and Croatia and between the Entities (RS and the Federation). Finally, the research will present the local level partnerships. Also, the nature of these working-together relationships; public-private and cross-sector partnerships and networks; will be presented.

7.2.4.2 Regional cooperation

It was identified that regional network and cross-border cooperation is important to create a tourism product. In this case the region is the West Balkan, composing the countries which used to belong to Yugoslavia. Their tourist products complement each other. At the time of writing the network exists on a small scale and is not institutionalised.

Bosnia is a small country. You have to link it together with the neighbours and have cross border cooperation within the region. For instance creation of tours which would connect former Yugoslav countries, starting from Slovenia, Croatia, B&H, Serbia... Yugoslavia can be connected through tourism again, a sort of West Balkan tour.

I2 264-274 (TO director)

7.2.4.3 Bi-lateral cross border partnerships and networking

It is difficult to institutionalise partnerships between the neighbouring states and B&H. A Croatian example illustrates the issue.

We had good cooperation with small organisations there⁹ who do similar things...but we have a lot of problems institutionally.

I1 947-948

B&H does not have the laws and regulations to make the country a reliable partner. On the other hand, informally and on a small scale between the private sectors, it functions well. People easily agree if they have a common goal and trust each other.

I have a good relationship with colleagues in tourist agency ATLAS Croatia, them. They really helped me. They provided me with all the equipment I needed without a problem.

I6 16-18

7.2.4.4 Crossing the border

A problem identified by both sides, concerns a border crossing. This is an institutional problem. There are no regulations to allow more tourism friendly border crossings, or to control the behaviour of custom officers. In a few cases, tourists have experienced difficulties in crossing the border between B&H and Croatia. This deteriorates the country's tourism image further.

⁹ In Croatia

For example, Mustafa, our guide, when we have guests flying from Dubrovnik or Split ... they are starting to give us a hard time crossing the border...and they say we cannot cross the border. Instead of Croatia and Bosnia talk about how they have wonderful cross border cooperation a bus loaded with Pilgrims going to Medjugorje is never a problem. A bus loaded with tourists going to Sutjeska National Park or Sarajevo is a problem. They stopped us not letting us through the border I don't even know if Dubrovnik can take any more tourists but if they have Bosnian tourists flying to Dubrovnik, they pay airport tax and our guests spend at least a day in Dubrovnik. There is definitely institutional problem, they can seriously affect tourism and that has to change

I1 949-962 (Consultant)

On the other hand, these are problems with B&H customs officers if tourists go from Croatia directly to Medjugorje.

Also it is a problem to cross the border between B&H and Croatia, especially in the summer months. The Croatian border is easy to pass. B&H custom officers complicate things. They check the passports twice, then it all takes so long and the conditions in which you have to wait in such a long queue, are appalling.

I4 (Tour operator)

Fortunately for tourism in both countries, those cases are the exception rather than a rule. However, their detrimental effect has been noted. The findings show that the roots of this problem are traced to some unresolved issues related to the last conflict.

It is at the discretion of the border guards if you have ever been to Ivanci...it's a small crossing, the driver name is Mustafa and they are going to Sutjeska National Park...I could be wrong, I could be making a complete wrong assumptions, but it is never a problem for Ivan to go to Hutovo Blato. I'd like to think that I am wrong. I don't know if that is just coming as a local directive, you know, are they just taking an initiative by themselves or someone says, hey obstruct...they have to stay in Croatia, which is not really in the spirit of European Union. We didn't have problems before and now we do. Croatia has regulations, Bosnia ... there are no regulations which could protect you.

I1 964-986

Cooperation between Croatia and B&H could be better. Both sides should put more effort into regulating their relationships and promoting understanding. Croatia is already a developed tourism destination, but B&H have to ensure Croatia to cooperate with B&H. The vicinity of Croatia offers a chance for B&H to put itself on the tourist map and for Croatia to diversify the tourism it offers.

In our brochure we have a tour called "A journey through Dalmatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina". It includes the sites from Dalmatia like Dubrovnik and Split

and from there travelling intensively through Bosnia. The accent is on Bosnia, and the two Croatian cities and the coastline complement the tour.

I7 239-245 (UK based Tour operator)

Despite these negative examples, there are also positive ones. Here the partners recognised the value of the cooperation.

Tourists come to Bihac thanks to the information office located in Plitvice Lakes¹⁰. It should be a good cooperation. In Plitvice you cannot have rafting and I think in that sense we should work together to promote Plitvice Lakes and Bihać...because they are close to each other and our products complement each other.

I6 157-163 (Business owner)

The potentials are unexplored. However, both sides are afraid of this cooperation and the process is stalled.

Some of them are really scared to work with us as they think that tourists might come to us instead. We are cheaper. ☺It is an issue which is limiting cooperation.

I6 152-155

The tourists who are coming to Croatia are a potential target market for B&H. Croatia is also a role model for B&H, because it is a developed tourist destination and B&H would be able to learn from it.

We are really lucky to have Croatia as our neighbour, and what has happened there is good for us in tourism terms. They invested so much in promotion and re-imagining. Therefore those tourists coming to Croatia, also decide to come to Bosnia for a day or two as an excursion. We can see that when we track the trends in visitor arrivals.

I5 257-267 (Tour company manager)

B&H tourism sees opportunities in regional cooperation. The most important alliance would be to cooperate with Croatia as their tourism products complement each other. B&H does not have the laws and regulations to protect any hip with Croatia and thus guarantee B&H a trustworthy partner. B&H needs to regulate its tourism internally first and to strengthen its tourism in order to become a competitive and trustworthy partner. Again, international agencies are asked for help.

Also, Croatia is stronger and will dictate the terms of cooperation.

¹⁰ Croatian National Park situated 20 km from the border crossing

Croatia has the regulations, Bosnia has nothing. There are no regulations which could protect you, nothing from the Tourism Association. We are actually trying USAID to see if there is anything to be done.

I1 985-990 (Consultant)

7.2.4.5 The cooperation between the divided communities within the state

Cooperation between the entities at the institutionalised level (eg. ministries in charge of tourism in both entities, and tourism offices on the entity level), functions exceptionally well, taking into an account the very difficult settings in which this takes place. For Bosnia, there are several examples of co-operation within the tourist sector.

I've been here for almost 15 years ... it's the only time I've seen RS and Federation work perfectly together. RS Ministry of Trade and Tourism and Federation Tourism Association have not only great personal relationships, but great professional relationships. We presented B&H abroad together, it's worked extremely well the cooperation has been very friendly, very correct, it has been very fair. In the beginning federation had more money than RS so the beginning federation would fund things, but include RS, once the RS would pick up the budget, they would pick up the tap.

I1 897-901 (Consultant)

The cooperation is excellent. Tourism erases all borders. It is so funny when tourists sometimes ask if they need a passport. You cannot divide a river; you cannot divide a mountain... I do not know how it is anywhere else, but tourism here... you cannot politicise. We go on tourism fairs as Bosnia and Herzegovina. What else can we say...Maybe Welcome to Federation, or Welcome to Republic Srpska. Oh, come on...This does not make any sense...

I11 68 – 76 (Tour operator owner)

Cooperation between the Entities is possible because of a promotional strategy which treats B&H, not the Entities, as the destination. Also, the nature of the tourism product in B&H requires cooperation. The findings will be presented along those two lines.

Cross entity partnerships: an instance of tourism promotion

It is perceived as being easier to promote and re-image the country if it is done at the state level. There would be a duplication of the work and costs if this were be done separately. However, the Dayton agreement empowered the Entity level to regulate tourism.

Federation has a separate law, RS has a separate law which regulate tourism in RS, but there is nothing to regulate our cooperation.

I11 85-86

In order to be able to cooperate, they have to make the laws and regulations equal. Instead of starting with development of the product, the need is to equalise the laws and regulations. This has slowed down the process of tourism development.

I cannot see any problems there, neither in sport nor in tourism, but the problem is legislation again as there are rafting clubs which are appointed to do rafting in RS and here there are companies. It is a legislation which is different in those two entities

I6 378 – 382 (Business owner)

The nature of the tourism product in B&H, and the philosophy behind tourism promotion and re-imaging in B&H requires tourism to be regulated at the state level. In fact, both the Federation and RS are keen on this to happen. When cooperation began, RS did not have a Tourism Board there, so it formed a board to enable cooperation between the Ministry of Trade and Tourism in RS and the Ministry of Environment and Tourism in the Federation. In addition to this, the umbrella organisation which regulates and controls the cooperation has been established at state level. This can all be observed twofold. First, cooperation between the entities is complicated, even if they are motivated to do so. Lots of time, work and money needs to be spent to create the administrative conditions under which cooperation would be possible. Second, informants have pointed out that the institution at the state level; (i. e. the Tourism Association) has neither a budget nor any executive power. It is funded through donations, and decisions are made at the entity level.

Tourism Association of B&H does not have any employees and regular funding and it is lacking a strategy. It works, but without any systematic organisation... three men meet and decide on which fairs they will go to.

I2 327-330 (Tour operator, director)

Although there are still challenges which need to be overcome, the informants identified the funding of a state level institution, as a step forward.

As we want to work together it was necessary to form a tourism office in RS. It was formed a year ago. It was important to have these two identical institutions, which would be able to form one umbrella organisation. The laws are more similar now. At least the institutions are identical. The process went smoothly. We were pleased with that.

I5 108-136 (Tour company manager)

Natural borders are in this sense more important than political ones. The tours start in one entity and end in another and require cooperation. The following is an example of the cooperation between private sectors from different entities;

My company has created a joint project together with PAOK Banja Luka (in RS) and PSD Prijedor (in RS). The cooperation was great.

I3 (Project manager, e-mail interview)

The situation itself is interesting to tourists:

Trebevic and Jahorina mountains are in RS and Igman and Bjelasnica in the Federation. The ski lift which used to be a tourism attraction has an entrance in the Federation and exit in RS. Tourists find it interesting and a unique case.

I10 213-218 (Historian and tour guide)

The findings do suggest that when it comes to tourism, people are ready to work together. I2, based in RS for instance, said that they are working more and more in Sarajevo and that they include Sarajevo in all of their tours.

We are very active in developing incoming tourism, especially since we have opened a branch in Sarajevo, This is definitely a gem in terms of cultural heritage and everyone who is in Bosnia should pay a visit to Sarajevo.

I2 139-146 (Tour operator director)

7.2.4.6 Public-private partnerships: the role of the state within the process

The state does not do enough to support tourism. For instance;

Tourism as an economic activity hasn't existed in B&H's development strategy until 2004. Do I need to say anything else? This just shows the attitude which the state has towards tourism. The state is practically not aware of tourism development. We have a problem. As you already know, we need cooperation between the public and private sectors. The public sector needs to give support, the state needs to take a step forward and acknowledge Bosnia and Herzegovina has competitive advantages for tourism development, let's see what it is and let's focus on it. The situation here is totally opposite. Our country does not understand the value tourism development may have for this country. We have here a private sector which is aware of its own abilities...but alone, it can do very little. This is our problem.

I2 344-359 (Tour operator director)

Any support which the private sector gets from the public sector, is mainly concerned with promotion at international trade fairs. Actual public-private partnerships,

for instance, working together on a particular projects, does not exist. The findings suggest that the public sector is not aware that they need to give support to the private sector.

All the support they are offering is based on promotion, it means when they are going to the trade fairs, they take our brochures and probably talk a bit about us. But that's it, nothing structural or systematic. There is very little help from them, but this is in accordance with their real capabilities.

I3 30-34 (Project manager, email interview)

Ambassadors ask us, how much government support do you get? Which government institution is supporting you? Well, they closed our office for three months, that's how we are getting our support.

I1 1457-1460 (Consultant)

and

Even when I first wrote it¹¹, I had no help from local institutions, and no help from the tourism association...

I1 76-78

Tourism cannot develop without institutional support. Nowhere in the world has this happened.

I9 86-87 (Travel agent)

7.2.4.7 Local communities, networks and trust

Within the local communities, partnerships within small and medium size businesses work well. They cooperate in order to deliver a tourism product. Several communities acknowledge a value in connecting in this way.

We actually send people out to develop itineraries. And that's connecting other people, some communities. Can I come to this community and stay for three or four days? Probably not, let's connect you to another community. Now we have a 5 day package with 4 communities working together.

I1 767-771 (Consultant)

As I1 explains the philosophy behind the approach and illustrates it with an example;

We can arrange it with our local partners, we got a great range of small and medium sized privately owned hotels and everybody is happy. People cannot grasp a fact what is a measure of success for us; it is not only the profit margin at the end of the year. It is actually what have I done for this community, ...rafting, 300 guests directly from us, motel Sunce made 12.000 km because of us, it means we are successful in implementing our vision

I1 1196-1205 (Consultant)

¹¹ Bradt Tour Guide

The problem is with the local authorities and the public sector in general. Their position is secured whether they do the work or whether they do not. However, private sector needs to secure their existence and if they perceive that they can gain from the cooperation, they will do so.

With private SMEs it works well, but it does not work well with the government and public sectors. Local community, we had a great relationship with them, local government, they would never call us yet we are only ones who bring customers there.

I51 262-264 (Tour operator co-founder)

The informants suggested that building up trust between people is the most important segment in developing tourism. It is a prerequisite for any partnership. Since partnerships are identified as one of the key issues for tourism development, trust is critical to the success of tourism development. However, in B&H, there is not enough funds. If people cannot perceive any direct benefits, they are not going to institutionalise their partnership. This is the reason why informal networks and short-term partnerships work better. Here, risks and outcomes can be visualised over the short-term.

Thanks God that in those situations we still trust each other. The guy from the agency calls the bus company...hey mate, would you please book the bus for me. I am not sure if the group will come, if they do not come...sorry. I will pay you as soon as they confirm.

I10 332-338 (Historian and tour guide)

And

We have problems, but we can solve them if we want. It is very important in tourism to start to trust each other and create informal networks in this way.

I10 460-462

Epilogue

The previous section explored the influence of the generic socio-political settings on the process of tourism development in Bosnia, as seen from the private sector perspective. The following section will explore the same issue from a public sector stance. Both perspectives give a holistic meaning to the phenomena of what was actually happening with tourism development under these specific circumstances?

7.3 TOURISM IN A GENERIC POLITICAL DISCOURSE: PUBLIC SECTOR

7.3.1 Theme I: Societal transformation

7.3.1.1 Inheritance

Private sector findings show that the lack of tourism tradition brought fear and a lack of confidence into tourism discourse now. This was one of the reasons for the slow development of tourism.

Accent is now put on tourism. The process of its development is slow, as tourism was not an important sector in B&H before the war. It is not a mature sector in B&H.

I25 54-57 (Academia and consultant)

People were used to think of Croatia when it comes to tourism.

It is still here the perception of Croatian seaside when it comes to tourism. Who would come to see us. We lack courage and confidence.

I23 121-122 (Chamber of Commerce)

The tour operators from Croatia and Serbia managed the tourism in B&H. B&H possessed the knowledge of ground handling, but not managing.

We have people who worked as local providers all their life, but there is no one to create a tourism product according to what the targeted markets want.

I22 (66-68) International Agency

In former Yugoslavia, B&H did not require any knowledge of how to develop a tourism product.

Lots of tours, which went through Yugoslavia, featured B&H. But B&H did not have a single tour operator. It was all managed the tour operators from Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia.

I22 (59-65) International Agency

It is not only that we need capital investment. We also need know-how.

I21 (92-93) Project Manager

Although the informants said that the Olympic Games were organised by the whole of Yugoslavia and that B&H was only a playground, the informant who was in charge of the B&H Tourism Association [TUZB&H] in 1984 pointed to the substantial knowledge they accumulated through the project.

We cannot express it here what it meant for one city to host the Olympic Games. I participated with 8 projects there. It was all a huge learning process for us. It is not only an enormous sporting event, but also cultural, political, social and business development event. Tourism development was one of the most positive outcomes.

I 42 7-10 (Tourism Association – retired)

7.3.1.2. The transition process

The process of transition is in itself difficult. Furthermore, in B&H it was accompanied by sluggish privatisation, corruption, loss of continuity and damage of the infrastructure. At the time of writing, there is not enough work in the cities and rural areas were not developed. People started to look for an alternative ways.

Banja Luka was quite an industrialised city before the war. That production does not exist any more. People are lost in the transition process. Tourism is a new thing. My idea is to promote rural life and tourism. It gives a better quality of life and jobs. It sounds a bit idealistic, but I think that many people would have a brighter future if they move back to the rural areas and develop tourism.

I26 323-328 (Tourism office RS)

Although former Yugoslavia was a communist country, a majority of the small bed and breakfasts, bars and restaurants were privately owned. However, though this characteristic was not deemed important in the transition process, it shows that the tourism sector does not need to start from the scratch to develop into a market economy.

We had quite a developed private sector in former Yugoslavia; restaurants, hotels and motels, there were plenty of them privately owned. Big hotels were state-owned, smaller ones were private. I21 135-137 (Project manager)

7.3.1.3 Privatisation

Informants suggest that privatisation is slow because of ownership. It is not known who the owner is, who the owner was and with whom to sign the contract. The legal issues were disputable, as the informant said;

The main issue with privatisation is about the ownership relations. As they built them, the Olympic Committee is the owner of properties in both Republic Srpska and Federation. If you want to buy a property in RS, you cannot do so easily as you need to deal with Olympic Committee within the Federation.

I23 52-55 (Chamber of Commerce)

Privatisation, however, is slow as the investors are waiting for prices to drop. The state itself is helping by using loopholes within the regulations, a certain form of corruption.

Lots of companies remain un-privatised and everyone suffers. It was all destroyed in the war and the state has no interest in investing. I think that they are waiting for the value to drop as low as it can so that someone could buy it.

I24 70-74 (Chamber of Commerce)

Bosnia is classified as a high-risk investment country, mainly due to corruption and disintegration.

I25 90-91 (Academia and consultant)

Informants highlighted the issue of privatisation and in particular investment in tourism as a sign that a country is safe for investment in general.

Investment in tourism opens up other sorts of investments. It means that the country is secure. It is still in very early stages. As an entity¹² in 2004 we just started to invest in tourism.

I32 (RS Tourism Ministry), interview notes

The main characteristics of the triple transition in B&H are highlighted in the table 7.3.

Post-conflict society is regulated by the laws established at the outcome of conflict. The state has to further progress things by establishing regulations capable of supporting the economy. The informants concluded that such a process is slow. However, the slow process brings its benefits. Healing the wounds of conflict and personal traumas, while living a normal life takes time anyway, as does the organisation and setting up of priorities. The informants suggested that fast development would invite heavy and dirty industries, those traditionally present in B&H and which have a strong lobby (page 187). Thus there was something good in the regulations and over-governed state, which prevented faster development. The time “lost” on administration and the complicated regulations, allowed for a period of contemplation. For instance, the RS entity almost signed a concession contract regarding dams on the Vrbas River, which would have destroyed not only possible tourism development, but also the natural environment.

We managed to stop signing that contract with the German Bank regarding the concession of the dams on the River. If we did it the only gain we would have in

¹² Republic Srpska

Banja Luka would be that the number of the people who suffer from asthma would increase.

We should be careful when it comes to the investments. I am glad it goes a bit slow now. We all suffer a lot, but we will suffer more if we would allow unsustainable investments. I know we need money. It is better to think about. All those concessions and agreements can be good, but they can be bad as well. It is good that those settings do not allow us to make the decisions fast.

I26 540 – 545 (Local tourism office)

The country progresses slowly. People who occasionally come to Sarajevo perceive the changes. The respondents agreed that the development should not go that fast.

People who come here often cannot see the changes. But Sarajevo has changed a lot in the last 5 years. You can see a difference. This is my own anecdote. I think that development should not go too fast. It takes time for people to understand the changes. A friend of mine from Denmark said it once in the 80s, “I have been coming to Yugoslavia for 15 years and the developments made in the last 15 years equals the developments made in Denmark e in last 200 years. Can a human mind keep up with this physical and economic development?”

I22 570-576 (International Agency)

Table 7.3: Main characteristics of B&H transition

Conflict-post conflict transition	Independent state	Communism-neo-liberalism
Lack of the continuity in the process	Ownership of the property	Corruption –
Physical damage of the infrastructure		High risk country
Loss of the markets		Loopholes in the law system
Tourism investment as a signal that the country is safe		Centrally planned economy: no market competition

7.3.1.4 Physical distortion

Industrial production, tourism sites and private homes were destroyed during the conflict. The issue of physical distortion is accompanied as a consequence, by the lack of continuity. Those few factories, which were rebuilt and successfully privatised work, but with a fraction of their previous capacity.

Energoinvest was employing 65,000 people, now it employs 5,000.

I33 (Tourism Association, State, President)

Tourism sites were seriously damaged. The informants illustrated this by reference to the physical destruction in Mostar:

More or less, we did not have tourism. I thought of linking Mostar with Medjugorje at that time, but most of the pilgrims who come to Medjugorje are interested only in religion and finding salvation. Those others... we did not have anything to offer them. The Old Bridge was destroyed; the city was in ruins, and the surrounding area totally ruined and in depression.

I 32 (3-7) (Tourism Association, Canton, President)

Although the conflict physically distorted the built infrastructure, it cleaned up the environment, and B&H become a country with tourism potential.

There is something good in all the bad things which happened here. B&H is not an industrialised country any more. Now it got back its clean water and organic food and it is a tourism resource. B&H cannot be industrially competent any more, but it can be perfect for tourism.

I34 13-16 (Constitutional Commission)

The natural environment is a resource for tourism development. However, in order to have a complete tourism product, it still needs a basic built infrastructure as already pointed out by private sector (page 191). The problem is that the processes are not coordinated. On the one hand, there is intensive urbanisation of the mountains, but on the other hand, the deteriorating ski infrastructure and poor roads. It might be better to spend money on building better roads and ski lifts, less on the urbanisation of the mountains. The informants believe that it would be better for tourists to stay in Sarajevo, visit local attractions in the city in the tandem with their ski holidays. With that particular product, it can target a niche attracted by this combination. It is unusual to have a state capital and the Olympic slopes next to each other. This is an appealing feature to certain markets, but not well employed in tourism development. In this case the winter tourism market would be diversified between those tourists who like to stay in the mountains and those who would prefer to stay in the city, and combine the attractions in the city with skiing. Sarajevo is the city which hosted the Olympic Games in 1984. The informants believe that this image of the Olympics could be better used.

The charm of skiing in Sarajevo to me is you can be in, or just next to primeval forest in Igman up to 4 o'clock in winter time. People like to party, hang around...4 o'clock, its quite a long to be on the mountain with not a lot going on...you are 30 minutes from here and you got a great movies a great restaurants, you can go to a bar, it's a café culture...why not make your base here? [sic]

I35 379-385 (Tourism advisor)

7.3.1.5 Accessibility

Although accessibility is a generic characteristic, the findings concentrate on the dimensions, which are specific to the post-conflict settings. In order to attract the airlines, a certain modality needs to be found. This has to be calculated as a part of the country's budget. The government structure in B&H is complicated and there is not a single authority which is able to make a decision. B&H has 14 governments and though they all take part in decision-making, no one can make the decision. The modality for attracting the airlines was not foreseen by any of the regulations. Another reason for a problematic situation is that the time and the resources available do not allow the planners to realise all the necessary requirements. Their priority was to repair the physical destruction. The airport runways were seriously damaged. The facilities were ruined. It took an effort to get Sarajevo Airport to the level where it could be commercially viable and self-sustaining. Therefore no one thought about a modality for attracting airline companies. Until recently, the skies were controlled by Croatia and Serbia. Such issues needed to be solved before any tourism related issues were addressed.

They have focused at this stage on retaining control of the skies. This was controlled from Zagreb and Belgrade before. A lot of money is in flying over B&H and we finally control those skies. We had to focus on that first.

I22 561-564 (International agency)

and

I mean... poor souls. First they needed to rebuilt the infrastructure, some of the airports did not even have runways, the facilities were in ruin, they needed to rebuild it all, then to register, and do the requirements first. It took time and who on earth would think about the modality for attracting the airlines?

I22 542-548

The international agencies said that they wanted to identify an expert who would find a modality for attracting the airlines. Their role is more business-oriented part of the process.

We¹³ are in a process of finding an expert who would help us to find the modality for attracting the airlines

I 40 351-353 (International Agency)

¹³ International agency

7.3.2 Theme II: Official politics, Dayton Agreement and tourism

Politics is fragmented, the country is fragmented and the tourism industry is fragmented. The public sector highlighted the difficulties working in such conditions.

We all know about the politics in this country. It is fragmented and it does not exist. We {Tourism} are fragmented and we do not exist.

I24 (50-51) Chamber of Commerce

Dayton did not allow anyone on the level of the state to deal with tourism. It has to be on the level of the entities. It is all on the level of the entities and then it is not regulated, but the people need to make an agreement for every specific case separately. And this is a problem because official regulation does not exist and then you have to try different ways to bridge it.

I35 (52-57) Tourism Advisor

7.3.2.1 Entities and tourism regulations

A foreign tourism adviser recommended that it would be more effective if tourism were centrally regulated. At present, it is the entities who regulate tourism (Dayton Agreement).

We have a tourism expert, sent here from France and he works in the State Ministry, advisor for tourism. He said that in France they tried to have regional development 2 decades ago and it did not work well at all. They advised us to have a policy on the state level

I21 (22-25) Project manager

The tourism structure follows the same structure as the government. Official tourism politics is similar to the politics of the government. The difference between tourism and the official government structure is that when it comes to tourism, the informants said that everyone is willing to cooperate. Although the private sector perceived that it would be relatively easy to institutionalise cooperation and bring in state level laws, the public sector suggested the opposite. It appeared to be easy, as the people who work in tourism want to work together. However, regulation of state B&H tourism is the only possible way to the promotion of B&H internationally. However, the internal organisation of tourism, and the development of a tourism sector, remains under the jurisdiction of the entities.

International promotion is the first step. If this works well, transformation will proceed and the two tourism organisations in both entities will merge into one tourism association at the level of the state. Tourism Association at the state level exists, but has

neither budget nor legal base (see private sector findings). Three of them, one Serb, one Croat and one Bosniak meet to discuss which trade fairs to attend. Their structure is reminiscent of the structure of the three presidents B&H has on the state level. The institution exists, but does not have power.

As we go together to the international trade fairs, we need an institution on the level of the state which is legally liable. Therefore we founded Tourism Association. It is liable only for the presentation internationally and nothing else. It needs to be legally liable and this is the only thing we fought for. We are now trying to bring about law which would regulate the whole concept, but as I said, it is a difficult process in the current conditions

I33 34-40 (Tourism Association President)

However, progress on a state tourism association could not proceed further due to political matters, the entities do not want to lose their powers;

We have very regular meetings and we work together. Of course it is very important to keep in mind that entities are important players and to keep in mind that sometimes they would like to be stronger players than state level.

I35 (67-70) Tourism Advisor

As already said, it would be easier to work if economic, and not political regions divided the country. Current borders are set up as a consequence of the war, but change is necessary if the country wants to achieve economic prosperity.

It is much easier this division into economic regions. There are 5 economy regions, which the EU is enforcing and it is difficult to work like that because of the administrative barriers, i. e. two entities.

I37 4-7 (Mayor – advisor for tourism and investment)

The following example further illustrates the issue of politics in a post-conflict society. As argued by the private sector as well, the nationality and political competence is by law, more important than professional competence.

In those institutions, people are appointed to the positions despite knowing very little about tourism. It is more important that you are a party member.

I26 402-404 (Local tourism office RS)

7.3.2.2 Laws: tourism taxation

The private sector clearly stated the seriousness of the problem with taxation. The public sector claimed that it could be solved easily but only when it is in the interest of the state. They add that the problem is not only about registering tourists, but also not registering the employees and businesses.

If the inspector arrives, 90% of the businesses will close. There are dozens of ways to make them register the tourists; it is just that the state does not want to do that.

I24 248-250 (Chamber of Commerce)

Informants also say that the country deliberately allows this kind of behaviour. A short-term social balance, despite being unnatural, was achieved and therefore the state tolerates this issue.

This grey economy is a problem here. This is because it is dead easy to hide something among the service industries. Unregistered work mostly occurs in service industries.

I24 248-249 (Chamber of Commerce)

Added to the consequences mentioned by the private sector, the public sector highlighted that if the employees are not registered, the business owner does not have any incentive to invest in those employees. This is the collateral damage of this social “balance”. For instance:

We sent information to 600 restaurants in Sarajevo Canton about this programme on restaurant staff vocational training. Only one out of 600 expressed an interest.

I23 20-21 (Chamber of Commerce)

It appeared that the state was not motivated to take care of these issues.

Officially last year B&H declared 140 million KM from tourism revenue. We know in our Chamber of Commerce, according to our fieldwork and estimations that it was at least 1.2 billion. We have 18.000 beds registered. We know that Medjugorje has 20.000.

I24 318-320 (Chamber of Commerce)

The registration of tourists in B&H concerns the organisation of the Tourism Office. If tourists are not recorded, then official statistics cannot be measured. As a consequence, it is not possible to gauge whether the Tourism Association is doing well or they need to change.

State officials assess our work regarding the number of tourists. According to the official statistics, an average occupation capacity is 16% and every year there are 8% more new beds registered.

I33 184-186 (Tourism Association – president)

One of the informants pointed out that the people would choose to hide their revenues and not register the tourists if they did not know where the taxes were being channelled. Another informant also said that the state itself did not help in re-building tourism thus they have no rights to collecting the taxes.

More transparency regarding what the taxes being collected are being spent on is needed. In which case there would be more interest in cooperating with the state on this issue.

If they do not know where the money they give is spent, of course they are going to hide it.

I24 339 (Chamber of Commerce)

As they do not know where the taxes are channelled, small businesses do not see any benefits. This narrow perception is a generic issue.

Our bed and breakfast owners do not see further than their courtyard.

I26 18-19 (Local tourism office RS)

Informants pointed out different ways of collecting the revenues. They wanted to illustrate how relatively easy it would be, for instance:

If 7 day ski-pass is 100 EUR, put it 300, but then say that if the tourist brings the proof confirmation that he is registered, he would get it for 100. Tourist will then do everything to be officially registered.

I24 (252-255) (Chamber of Commerce)

I would recommend different zones. For instance it might be calculated on half the occupancy according to tourist zones. If the actual occupancy rate is more than half, then the owner does not have to pay more, but has to record it. If the actual occupancy is less than half, he would still need to pay as if it is half, but to record that the occupation is law

I24 249-253

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I24 249-253

Perhaps state needs to be a bit more cunning. Why do they send Bosniaks to check on Medjugorje? The Bosniacs there are too scared. They should send Bosnian Croats there.

I 32 142-144 (Tourism Office local)

We would easily solve that issue. Just give some incentive to those inspectors.

I 32 150

The perception is that this is relatively easy to solve problem. So the fact that it remains unresolved may be deliberate.

7.3.3 Theme III: International agencies

International agencies would not be in B&H if the war had not happened. The majority of these agencies decided to champion tourism.

International organisations USAID, JICA, GTZ, they all saw tourism as a chance.

I26 40 (Tourism Office RS)

Fundamental requirements for tourism development are strategy, vision, laws, regulations and accountable institutions. B&H does not possess these. B&H lacks a basic tourism infrastructure and human capital as well as self-esteem. Therefore the international agencies focus was on developing that base. Their mandate will be successful if they manage to clearly identify that base.

Lots of things need to be done in order for B&H to be in a situation to be able to apply to the development funds.

I31 603 (Tourism Ministry-Federation)

The projects administered by international agencies are focused on developing the base.

I21 77 (Investment manager)

USAID identified tourism as one of the sectors which has a potential for development, but needs foundations. Developing clusters and competence is the aim of our project in Bosnia.

I22 18-20 (International Agency)

At the moment we are working on linking people who work directly in tourism and making their links stronger so that they can communicate and be more effective. These are all pre works in order to build the base...

I22 23-26 (International Agency)

International Agencies are in B&H temporarily.

Even if our project would last 10 years, it is still temporarily. The institutions in this country will remain, not us.

I22 190-191 (International Agency)

The areas where the informants hope that they would get support from the international agencies are presented below. For instance, a local informant suggested;

We have plenty of problems when it comes to tourism. It is still understood as a frivolous activity. The international agencies USAID, GTZ, JICA, European Commission, they have all seen tourism as a way forward, but our governments and even local people have not seen tourism as such. For them tourism is seen as something with which to have a bit of fun with. The international agencies may help us with that issue.

I26 38-43 (Tourism Office RS)

As a response to that, as a part of the cluster competences project, USAID explains its focus

We will officially announce our tourism campaign with the slogan "tourism enriches". We call it "I can sustain myself through my work, I work in tourism." In the first stage, we go directly with the message to the people in B&H, but also specifically a message for the people in the government, a message which would make them aware that tourism can do something good for the country and create an awareness.

I22 421-427 (International Agency)

The campaign was designed by listening to the locals. The people who cooperate with the international agencies argued that the sector would benefit more, if tourism has a better public perception.

The people who work in tourism told us that someone has to send that message to the public. This is the 1st stage.

I40 428-430 (International Agency)

International agencies do not have a quota on how many Bosniaks, Croats or Serbs to employ. They divide B&H into economic regions. The work is more efficient, which works much more efficient. It allows people from the different entities to work together.

EU commission divided B&H into 5 economic and development regions. They gave a support to all those regions and tourism was pushed to the front although there was lobbying from the side of heavy industries.

I 26 517-520 (Tourism Office RS)

EU divided the country into 5 economic regions, regardless of entities and this helps in recovering relations between the people.

I37 10-11 (Mayor Advisor, tourism and investment)

Another observation from I37 was that, if well-communicated, international agencies can really help in keeping track of the transition period. If not well communicated, funds will be spent on unnecessary projects. The respondents identified the need to promote their sector to the people and to the governments. It is happening at the moment. International agencies brought with them the funds, which could bring effective benefits, but only if the people on the ground co-operate with each other. The fact that people from the different entities have contact with each other through those projects is a worthwhile achievement. From a purely human perspective it seems that the international agencies are needed in tourism development. Official B&H politics blocked those links between the people. It seems an intermediary is needed to re-open them and this is a role for the International Agencies.

I had a fantastic cooperation with Kozara National Park. We needed USAID to help us to make those connections¹⁴.

I37 313-314 (Mayor Advisor, tourism and investment)

Although some informants expressed doubts on tourism development in general and the role of the international agencies in that process in particular, the majority of them spoke of positive experiences, when the interviewees talked about the international agencies. However, a few respondents said that they could not understand why international agencies put so much belief in tourism, when the basic pre-conditions for its development are still not in place, for instance;

They are aware of the facts that without those pre- conditions like infrastructure, demining and human resources to start with, we cannot develop tourism. And they are so stubborn; I do not think so that they are doing it because of tourism, it is more some kind of money laundering.

I23 21-23 (Chamber of Commerce)

As said before, international agencies are preoccupied with establishing a base from which tourism can grow. However, some of the informants recall instances of hypocrisy when the projects were embarked upon in order attract funding and to say that B&H got some help. In such cases the problem was that the international agencies did not understand the country and its people. This caused some frustration to the locals. An understanding between the international agencies and local people is important.

¹⁴ Kozara – Republic Srpska, I37 – the Federation

I mean if you come to my country, work with someone there. It is not that we all lack the knowledge.

I24 44-46 (Chamber of Commerce)

I am not joking now; one of their projects was to teach us how to use a washing machine.

I24 post-interview (Chamber of Commerce)

... Telling someone how to develop...whether you want to humiliate that person or ...I think that ... they just come over to spend some funds. I do not know why they do not allow us to develop those projects. We should have been included as well.

I46 161-165 (Consultant and Academic)

Some of the projects needed time before the benefits can be apparent. This naturally caused some frustrations. The mentality of the people in B&H is that everything has to bring an 'immediate result. It is important for the international agencies to understand this characteristic of the Bosnian people and to communicate their decisions well.

I always say that they are helping us, but the results cannot just happen over night, it takes time. Germans help us through GTZ, Americans through USAID, Japan through JICA, French government sent us an expert for tourism development...

I33 268-273 (Tourism Association-President)

The next section presents some of the positive feedback international agencies receive from the local industry leaders. The informants highlight the role of education within the whole process.

GTZ help us with the education and visions and teaches us how to work

I32 40 (Tourism Organisation-local)

Lots of cooperation has happened already in this Canton. We were a pilot project for tourism signalisation and the EU said that it was the best project they funded in B&H

I31 33-35 (Tourism Organisation – product manager)

Other projects assessed as successful by informants were about formation of tourism destinations and tourism products.

Thanks to the project initiated by JICA, Japanese donor and their funds, Blagaj has been transformed into a tourism destination.

I32 43-45 (Tourism Organisation-Regional)

A German agency GTZ funded the wine roads project in Herzegovina in order to complement Mostar tourism. To promote the product, a 3-day long familiarisation trip was organised for t German travel journalists. The local people were undertaking the project by themselves. GTZ funded the project and helped with advice.

I put international agencies on the first place. They are the main actor and they really help with their initiatives.

I3 225-28 (Tourism Organisation-Local)

International agencies helped us with the wine roads project. It is a pilot project, just to see if the tour operators will show an interest

I32 59-60

The role of international agencies in B&H is assessed positively. The drawbacks mentioned concerned with very common and generic issues. Interaction between the international agencies and the local tourism experts and people on the ground was important. The projects that took care into account those dimensions were assessed to be successful. Local informants were also to the opinion that the international agencies can help in the matters of attracting the airlines. The role of international agencies in this particular area is presented in the infrastructure chapter (196).

7.3.4 Theme IV: partnerships, networking and cooperation

7.3.4.1 Geopolitical perspective

This issue is politically sensitive, but it also has its pure tourism side. As the private sector already acknowledged, the public sector also sees cooperation within the region as crucial for the strengthening of tourism in B&H. They are in favour of presenting B&H as part of a wider tourist region, for instance a Mediterranean (Herzegovina) or a Balkan Region (element of rising from the ashes).

We have to promote ourselves as a part of the Balkasn. We have to send a clear message to the world. Balkan is looking forward to a better future. This is a message we have to communicate through tourism. A Balkan tour will be a 100% success.

I39 (282-287) Tourism Association, vice president

We applied for a project with Italy-Puglia. Croatia is also a part of that project. 3 partners. Our part of the project deals with gastronomy in Herzegovina. This is a project worth more than 400.000 EUR and we are short listed.

I 39 (237-240) Tourism Association vice president

7.3.4.2 Cooperation between B&H and Croatia

Bi-lateral cooperation with Croatia is identified as of great importance for B&H tourism. Croatian destinations such as Dubrovnik and the Plitvice Lakes are identified as the most important partners in any cross-border cooperation. The findings present that there is potential for cooperation with Plitvice Lakes National Park first and then with Dubrovnik.

Plitvice Lakes

In the specific case of Plitvice Lakes by its character it used to be a transit destination. Croatia built a highway, which connected Split and Zagreb, but Plitvice Lakes was not linked to this highway (figure 7.1). Therefore, its character as a transit destination was lost. Plitvice Lakes needed to attract stationary tourists. This was the impetus for cooperation with the neighbouring region in B&H. Plitvice Lakes is a National Park and a protected area with very little tourism related activities allowed in the park area. Theoretically, that product complements the product B&H may offer, i. e. rural tourism, water sports and rafting. However, B&H is not a developed as a tourism destination. It had a bad image and an unregulated tourism industry. It was very difficult to establish a fair cooperation with B&H.

Not just because it is a National Park, but also because it is 20 km from our rafting facilities. My opinion is that there is no tourism in this region if do not use the chance to cooperate with Plitvice Lakes.

I37 100-103 (Mayor Adviser for tourism and investment)

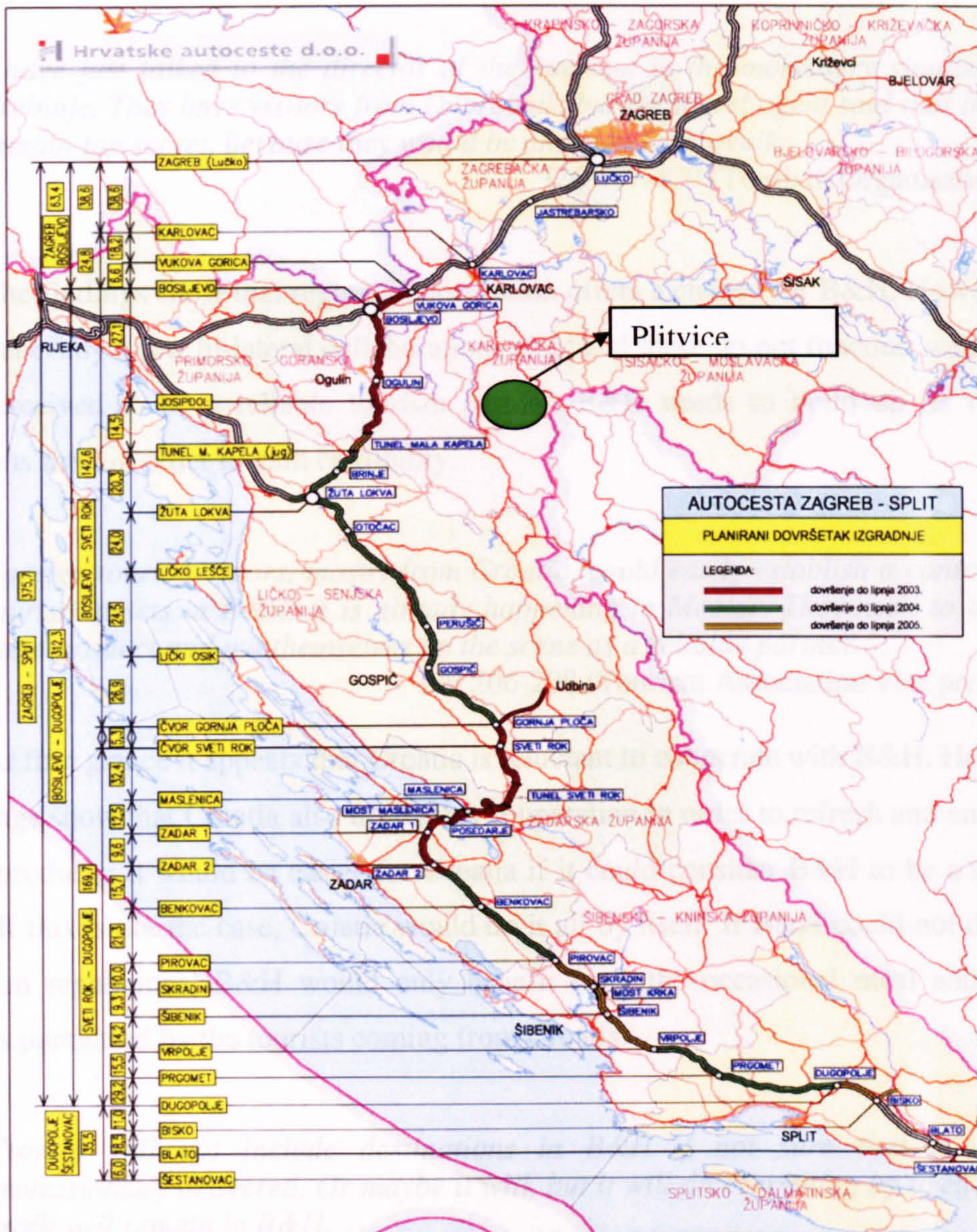


Figure 7.1 Zagreb – Split highway

Source Hrvatske Autoceste d.o.o. (<http://www.hac.hr/?task=aut>)

Dubrovnik

Although easier with tourism than with any other industry, an instance between Trebinje and Dubrovnik suggests that it was not easy to establish the cooperation. Trebinje is a part of Republic Srpska and it would be difficult to establish cooperation between Dubrovnik and Trebinje because of the war inheritance. Dubrovnik was shelled from positions located in Trebinje. Despite a rich cultural heritage there, tour operators from Dubrovnik felt reluctant to bring tourists to Trebinje region.

I have just talked to the director of the museum in the monastery situated near Trebinje. They have visitors from Dubrovnik, but the travel agent said that it has to remain top secret, because they would be angry in Dubrovnik.

I26 477-479 (Tourism Organisation RS)

The findings show that regional cooperation offers a chance for B&H. However, at the moment only a few bi-lateral collaborations exist and these do not function well. B&H is not perceived to be a reliable tourism partner. B&H needs to build up its tourism legislations first, in order to gain credibility.

Foreign tour operators, mostly from Croatia, could easily establish a control over tourism assets in B&H. It is already happening in Mostar. They need to develop local product and put themselves on the scene as a reliable partner.

I39 206-208 (Tourism Association vice president)

At first glance it appears that Croatia is reluctant to cooperate with B&H. However, the findings show that Croatia also needs this cooperation in order to refresh and enrich its tourism product. It would be easier for Croatia if it could consider B&H to be a reliable partner. If this is not the case, Croatia would do it all by itself. If B&H could not develop its tourism regulations, B&H would only benefit from the occasional meal and cheap souvenirs purchased by the tourists coming from Croatia.

Croatia will not include destinations in B&H if not sure that it will be professionally delivered. Or maybe it will, but it will do everything by itself and no profit will remain in B&H.

I41 204-207 (Tourism Association-Federation)

This section illustrated what the private sector previously said; i. e. in order to have cross-border and regional cooperation B&H needs to regulate its industry, build a base and act as a reliable partner. Another issue based is one concerning social catharsis, which would help build better relations and establish more open cooperation. Conflict inheritance still colours cooperation between the borders.

7.3.4.3 Cooperation between the entities

The tourism philosophy in both entities is the same. It is the same environment; you cannot divide the river by the political border. It is ridiculous.

I 42 163-164 (Tourism Association – retired)

The next section focuses on cooperation between the entities. This is politically the most sensitive issue. Cooperation is usually dependant on the projects. If the projects were good, then cooperation would be established accordingly. However, cooperation between the entities was not overseen by any state regulations. Therefore they had to find a modality from case to case which takes time. Informants pointed out that they expected international agencies to focus on this particular issue and help them find the modality for cooperation on an institutional level between the entities.

The existence of the entities is not good for the economy because politics poisons peoples mind. People who work in tourism are not that narrow- minded. I think that is why it is so easy for us to agree. I have to say that in the society we live, we are an exception. I had a fantastic cooperation with Kozara National Park¹⁵, but the international agencies like USAID should come to help us to make those connections

I37 (310-314) Mayor advisor, tourism and investment

Informants described cooperation as an underground movement. Whereby they would find some secret passages in order to avoid the official channels. Cooperation was happening because people realised the benefits to be gained from it. However, they were slightly worried that it would take a lot of time until the officials realised the need for institutionalising cooperation.

We cooperate with Trebinje region which is RS. The problems come when we have to talk about politics. It is like we are doing some kind of an underground movement. I believe that once people realise the importance of this cooperation, it will influence political sphere as well. But it will take some time. Political borders are so illogical, we have that barrier and at the same time we gain so much from cooperation with them.

I25 156-160 (Consultant and academia)

The findings suggested that the cooperation is due to the nature of the tourism product in B&H, the education inherited from the past and the general assumption that political streams, compared to other sectors of the economy, have less influence on the people who work in tourism. However, the informants feared that it would not stay like that for long due to twelve different education systems in the country, which are divideing the younger generation along national lines.

¹⁵ Republic Srpska

It is not easy to control what our kids learn at school. They can learn to hate or to be tolerant. They can learn that this diversity enriches or that everyone who is different is the enemy.

I25 283-287 (Consultant and academia)

At the time of writing it appeared that it was easier to establish institutionalised cooperation with Croatia than with another entity.

But I assume that due to our problems inside, they (RS) will turn their back on us and work with Dubrovnik or Serbia.

I25 161-162

All the links inherited from the past could easily be lost and have a detrimental effect on the sovereignty of the state itself. Due to the nature of the industry, it was argued that tourism helps with the process of reconciliation as it forces cooperation. Although not yet institutionalised, entities are finding their way, as the following examples illustrate.

7.3.4.4 Successful examples

Like the private sector, the public sector points to the importance of cross entity cooperation in the sphere of international promotion. At the time of writing, they were in the process of finding the modality and regulating this issue.

We have to cooperate when it comes to the promotion. If we put RS, nobody will know what it is.

I26 380-382 (Tourism Office RS)

Cooperation between the entities is possible despite irrational administrative borders and unregulated issues. If both sides perceived that the suggested project was worthwhile, they would cooperate. Informants give an example of a successful promotion regarding the co-production of the tourism related TV show Tourism Plus. Two public TV channels one from RS (RSTV), and one from the Federation (FTV), established cooperation. The show was broadcast in both entities. The show has an educational character and through it people can get another, more positive perception of their country. It publicly broadcasts cooperation between RS and the Federation to the whole of B&H. An international agency was engaged in this project, helping with the initiation, and identifying the partners.

If the project is good, people cooperate. RSTV and FTV made an agreement about co-producing Tourism Plus, a TV show about tourism in B&H. They go from place to the place and show the tourist spots, and have interviews with the people who work in tourism. Those who are closer to the location, cover the particular settings. People cooperated really well, on TV a co-production between two entities.

I22 398-402 (International Agency)

Another example given was of cooperation regarding “the Wine Roads” project. It included the wine producers from both entities, with an international agency acting as an intermediary.

Trebinje is included in our Wine Road project. I know it is in another entity, but we have to include him¹⁶ as well. Those political borders are awful. Now we should not include him just because he is in RS? I cannot work like that.

I39 64-67 (Tourism office vice president)

One further example illustrates the politicking happening within tourism, and an inability to avoid becoming a part of the political game.

We work together with Trebinje part of RS and, we cooperate on a few projects. There are no problems, we look beyond this administrative border in tourism terms. But now we are just about to have the elections. RS is putting on their agenda that they want to cooperate with Serbia. I mean, we cannot say to them “don’t do that”. We heard from Trebinje that this is just a political game and not to worry too much, our projects will remain.

I32 321-326 (Tourism organisation local)

7.3.4.5 Trust

Informants argue that there are no national or political barriers between the people if they perceive value. Problems only ever happen at the beginning of a project due to a lack of trust. People are afraid that cooperation will make them lose what they have worked hard to earn. It is part of human nature to feel like this. If not perceived as a gain, cooperation will not happen. In the beginning, there are questions such as, *who are those others?* But this was the first contact established after the conflict and gets it easier after that first step has been made. People are vulnerable. Certain situations could easily be attributed to sectarianism or hard nationalistic sentiments. However, this is not the cause of the problem. The cause is a lack of trust. People lost connections and do not know each other. The problem had a social and existential character. Lack of trust dominated and it

¹⁶ Wine producer from Trebinje

easily slipped into sectarianism, instead of trying to build trust and change perceptions. It is easier to blame the problem on nationalism, more interesting and less complicated to understand. However, as soon that first barrier was overcome, the project became successful.

There was a sort of distance in the beginning, but it is much better now than it used to be. Our first meeting was in 2003 and I do not want to say that it was awkward, but they were probably thinking...who were those others? But afterwards, it was fine. The silence was broken.

I22 105—108 (International agency)

Every problem is automatically attributed to sectarianism. People sometimes put up barriers to cooperation due to economic reasons, not ethnicity. Unfortunately it is always easier to say...yes, this is because of the ethnicity, but once that first barrier is broken, no problems anymore.

I40 210-212 (International Agency)

It is still the case that the Federation has more presence in promotional materials. It is not that it has some ethnic sentiments; it is because there are more international organisations there and more funds. And it is also because people who work for the Federation are more agile. It is our fault.

I26 389-394 (Tourism Office RS)

Those who see it to be in their interests, instigates cooperation. Economy is stronger than politics. Private sector cooperates, but the institutions do not.

I41 60-63 (Tourism Organisation-Federation)

Although tourism is less concerned with the conflict related issues, it still has an influence when it comes to cooperation between the entities and between B&H and Croatia. Sometimes it is used just as an excuse. In B&H, there is a lack of trust between the people, but it cannot be said that this lack of trust is due to nationalism. It is more to do with not knowing each other. Therefore, trust has to be rebuilt.

Trebinje is in RS and needs to cooperate with the Mostarsko-Neretvanski Canton in the Federation as well as with Dubrovnik in Croatia. However, their institutional regulations necessary to support that cooperation do not exist. At the time of writing, such cooperation is characterised as an underground movement.

7.3.4.6 Public-private sector

The findings suggest that when it comes to partnership between the public and private sectors, the initiative always comes from the private sector. The projects need a strong and flexible public sector to support their ideas. Two decades ago, B&H was still a state-run economy and those findings confirm that it still influences public sector attitudes towards businesses. During the communist period the institution of public-private partnership did not exist. While other communist countries were in the process of transition, Bosnia was under siege and skipped some of the stages of transition.

At the time of preparing for the Olympic Games, the organisation needed a bit more money. It was easily solved. We had an industrial giant at that time in Sarajevo. It was Energoinvest with a very smart director, Mr Emeric Blum. The president of former Yugoslavia would just call him and asked him to transfer over the profits for the project. We cannot work like that any more. I think that all the people running the show here are sort of an old school, that sort of thinking. Now you need to make partnerships with a lot of small ones.

I31 330-335 (Ministry of Tourism, the Federation)

The “collateral damage” of tourism development in B&H is a chance to build decent relationships and the belief that it is possible to live together. However, a lot of work is required in order to accomplish this. The process has begun, but there are only a few projects which have actually got off the ground and are making a positive impact on the reconciliation process (TV show example, presented further in this chapter). One of the solutions suggested by the international agencies, deals with re-grouping B&H into economic regions instead of political ones regardless of the administrative barriers.

We divided B&H into three regions, no matter the administrative borders.

I22 103-104 (International Agency)

This requires a change in the constitution (Annex VII the Dayton Agreement). It requires more power to be given to the state, at least in the consolidating the sectors whose success depends on cooperation (discussion chapter).

7.4.5 Theme V: Diaspora

The researcher applied the term Diaspora to B&H citizens, who left the country due to the escalation of the conflict. They were forced migrants. Although they all went out of the country for the same reason, they are not a homogenised element. The

discussion about the diaspora will be structured around criteria concerning their intention to return.

7.4.5.1 No intention to return

Skilful labour left and according to the informants, obtained work relatively easy abroad.

Regarding skilful labour, we had some of the ground handlers and very skilful hospitality staff. They found good jobs outside and will never come back here.

I33 225-227 (Tourism Association President)

Thus, continuity in tourism and hospitality training and education was lost.

First it was the war, then it was the reconstruction of the country, we needed to create the basis. We could not possibly think about the education of our tourism and hospitality staff. It was at least a 15-year break.

I33 232-235 (Tourism association president)

Through the public sector a lack of know-how was highlighted.

Everyone cries out that we lack money. But the problem is actually in human resources. If you have a good project, you would get the money.

I25 85-90 (Academia and consultant)

The public sector identified the diaspora as an important market segment, perceiving them to be the “real” tourists and good customers.

It is our diaspora, but when they come over, they are our tourists. They spend a lot and they travel a lot. They are extremely good customers.

I32 327-328 (Tourism organisation-local)

The B&H diaspora have usually become well integrated into their new societies. They now bring friends from their new societies and in doing so influence perceptions about B&H on a small scale. At the time of writing, many people from Mostar live in Oslo, Norway. On the streets of Mostar, can be found tour guides written in Norwegian.

We had a lot of success at a tourism fair in Oslo. Lots of our people are there now. Bosnians talk a lot. They talk all the time about Bosnia and they bring their friends with them as well. They are potential tour operators.

I32 (324-326)

The private sector said that the diaspora helps with tourism promotion. The public sector argues that while this may be true, the issue needs further examination. There are two different kinds of B&H diaspora. One section of the B&H diaspora expresses heavy nationalistic and sectarian sentiments. They may be classed as Bosnian Croats, Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Bosniaks. The other type section is the one which considers B&H as one country expresses no nationalism or sectarianism. This sector can assist in building country's positive image abroad.

They could definitely help with promotion of the country, but no one has ever done any studies on that. We have two different types of diaspora. First one is grouped by national entities; Serbs on one side, Croats on the other and Bosniaks as a third one. Grouped by national identity, I do not think that they can help at all. I had some contacts within those grouped by national identity; it is awful. They are not helpful. They cannot adequately present Bosnia. However, diaspora not burdened by nationalistic sentiments, those groups which consider Bosnia as their country, they can do a lot. But we cannot identify those groups. We are afraid of using diaspora because the diaspora which is burdened with the nationalistic sentiments, may bring much damage, but not a lot of gain.

I22 616-628 (International Agency)

This phenomenon has not been researched further, but early findings show that the diaspora from bigger cities in Bosnia is less burdened with nationalism. Cities in B&H have always been more mixed of different ethnic groups and they refer to themselves as Bosnian rather than Croat, Serb or Bosniak. However, these are only early findings and will require further research.

I went to school with people from seven different confessions. My perception is cosmopolitan, but I can imagine someone who comes from a village in the mountains where almost the entire village is one family.

I22 222-224 (International agency)

The diaspora, with no intention of returning, was identified as a barometer of change. They do not live in B&H. However, they visit it frequently and their reaction to the changes and happenings can indicate if the development is going well or if it is just a fiction.

Well, the diaspora, those who come frequently, they cannot see the progress...but those who do not come that frequently are much more inclined to see, but also feel that something has changed

I22 570-572

7.4.5.2 Diaspora – intention to return back

In a pre-conflict context, people in B&H did not travel abroad a lot as tourists. Within mountains located near Sarajevo, and seaside resorts in Croatia, there was no need to travel for tourism purposes. This characteristic of the people in B&H, to be always close to home, added even more to the trauma of being dispersed.

Well, we were a bit “unlucky” that Croatian seaside is just here and the mountains for skiing are 30 km from this point. We did not need to travel a lot and it is a part of our mentality not to move a lot, basically to live in the same place all our lives and therefore it takes time until new things reach us.

I 22 588-591 (International agency)

The public sector identified the diaspora as an active participant in the process of tourism development at this stage. They are bringing new skills from the outside, which are starting to circulate within the country.

I mean these are some skills and some knowledge what they [diaspora] are bringing into the country whether they come here and leave after a few years or they just do some kind of a research and include this country in it whenever, but then the knowledge start circulating.

I22 598-601 (International Agency)

A second characteristic of a B&H diaspora is that for a certain period of their life became fully integrated into the society which gave them refuge. They then came back to B&H fluently speaking the language of their then host country. There are lots of young adults now in B&H who had to learn languages like Czech, Slovak, Norwegian, Swedish, Finish, Dutch, etc. These are languages, usually not taught at school. That skill has not been valorised yet, but has the potential to bring a unique feature to B&H’s tourism offer, as one informant explained;

These are the kids who, for instance, did their primary schooling somewhere else and can fluently speak some of these unusual languages. This is a huge potential for tourism, but still not used as such. I have not found yet the best way to employ that potential into tourism. It is such a unique characteristic to be able to say to “oh, we can provide you with a tour guide fluent in Lappish ☺”.

I22 (603-607) International Agency

7.5 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK II: TYPICAL TOURISM THEMES IN A POST-CONFLICT CONTEXT

The previous section presented the generic socio-cultural and geopolitical settings through the lens of tourism. The following section presents typical tourism themes in these atypical social settings. Through the lens of tourism, the previous section illustrated the issues a country needed to cope with in order to form a viable society and tourism sector. The following section presents the conflict consequences felt inside the tourism sector. How should it be adequately interpreted and should it be included in tourism? How should the image be restored, and tourism product promoted? Similar to the previous section, this section presents the conceptual framework derived from the data first. Afterwards it addresses the conceptual framework themes, first through the lens of the private sector and then by the presentation of it from a public sector perspective. Tourism product is associated with tourism development and tourism promotion. It is the connection between the base (laws and regulations, vision and strategy, accessibility and infrastructure) and the re-imaging agents. Although the research focuses on the issues which are the direct consequence of the conflict, the findings indicate certain issues that are generic and therefore significant not only for tourism development in a post-conflict context, but as a general issue. Generic dimensions of the issues are presented separately at the end of each theme, and indicated as such.

7.6 PRIVATE SECTOR: TOURISM THEMES IN A POST-CONFLICT CONTEXT

Table 7.4: Conceptual framework: Tourism themes in the post-conflict context

Feature	Sub-feature	Public sector	Private sector	Generic
<p>Tourism product: Phoenix tourism Concept</p> <p>Hosts: The process of social reconciliation and urban regeneration of the communities distorted by recent political conflicts and disasters through tourism related activities</p> <p>Tourists: The process of self-discovery, actualisation and the meaning of life</p>	Delivery and interpretation	The focus on tour guides, social and moral catharsis and adequate interpretation, focus on the sites which can be positively interpreted like Sarajevo Tunnel and Mostar Bridge	Explaining the conflict through the perception of an ordinary citizen, history and giving an antiwar message, war themed and generic Sarajevo city tour merged, no talks about politics, facts, not assumptions	
	Attitudes and emotions		Strong anti-war message, citizens of Sarajevo as heroes, highlighting multiethnicity	
	Market segments		Niche- education and research, Generic- other tourists who come to Sarajevo	
	Motives and emotions		These are not morbidly curious tourists, but people who are looking for the enhancement, self-discovery and catharsis	
	Unique products – 4 religions equally important	Multiethnic society promoted		
	Nostalgia	Former Yugoslav markets		
	Terminology			
Tourism product	Niche product rural, cultural, education, spa	Preserved nature and the environment, land-mines, tourism product is no standardised, war related issues		Tourism re-imagining through the product development, city breaks as tasters, events- sub-product, used in promotion, winter tourism has generic characteristics-appealing to the neighbours
	Generic tourism product ski tourism, cultural tourism in Mostar and Sarajevo	Former Yugoslav is a generic market due to the familiarity and understanding		

Feature	Sub-feature	Public sector	Private sector	Generic
Image and promotion		CNN internal marketing	Media and CNN video clip, corps diplomatie and tourism	Tour operators promotional activities Trade fairs
		Sensationalism and an interest in writing about a post conflict country developing tourism	B&H needs to be a generic media more, proactive approach	
Markets	International communities (until 2000)		International community, as the first "tourists" after the conflict	
	Backpackers, solidarity, research, Diaspora			
	"Real" tourism markets – tourists from former Yugoslavia, tourists from all the other countries			Tourists with a specific interest as an important market segment

7.6.1 Theme I: Phoenix tourism

They can call this type of tours as they want. I just know that I was completely misunderstood in the beginning. I was accused of earning on the blood of my people. Yes, I found the niche, but in every single general city tour people ask about the war and other tour guides talk about it as well. Someone has to tell the truth and present the recent history. The only problem is that it is possible to cash on it a bit. What can I say; I wish I were a tour guide as I was in 1988. I feel that I am educating people during my tours, they want to hear, and it is a learning process.

I10 602- 614 (Historian and tour guide)

Visiting the post-political conflict destinations, so called dark tourism is more than just visiting the sites and much more than a morbid curiosity about what had actually happened. In tourism literature, dark tourism is related to war memorabilia sites. However, the entire destination also has some significant *flare*, which is difficult to observe from a dark tourism perspective. This research conceptualises post-conflict destinations. War memorabilia sites somehow give the perception of being a phoenix tourism destination. However, the mental barriers between the actual war memorabilia site and the destination, needs to be removed.

People's curiosity about what has actually happened there should not be ignored, and at the same time cannot be conceptualised through dark tourism. The phenomenon of phoenix tourism is part of the social context and a part of tourism product. Actually it

connects those two concepts. The theme will focus on conflict memorabilia sites, explaining them through the main issues, which emerged during the interviews and observations. These are the issues of: delivery and interpretation, market segments, terminology, motives, attitudes, and emotions (table 7.3). The issue of attitude is related to the hosts, i.e. how do the local communities and local tourism decision makers perceive this dimension of tourism? The issue of motives and emotions explores the state of mind and the feelings of tourists while visiting the sites. Delivery and interpretation relates to the interaction between the site, tour guide and tourists. A market segment issue explores the tourists who are coming to the sites. There are some specific expressions which the interviewees used to define this type of tourism in Bosnia. These are *learning process, education, history, curiosity, cathartic experience and empathy*. During the observations, those words are employed in order to describe the meaning of those tours and sites. They conceptualise the process of interaction between the tourists, tour guide and the site. The researcher observed themed, war themed and general city tours and mainly focused on the Sarajevo War Tunnel. The tunnel itself represents the essence of the people of Sarajevo, and their personal fight and victory. During the siege, the tunnel was the city's only lifeline – a secret 700 metres passage through which food, provisions, and people passed. Without the tunnel, there would have been no food in the city and the people would not have been able to survive. The tunnel was a symbol of survival. Now it is the most visited site. This is the basis for the phoenix tourism concept. The tunnel represents bravery, freedom and the strength with which to rise from the ashes. It is a symbol of phoenix tourism in Sarajevo and these phoenix emotions are felt most intensely during a visitation to the tunnel. Every tour which goes through Sarajevo, refers to the last conflict. It is not always intentional, but the very fact that something happened there is difficult to hide.

In some of the tours it is the main focus of the tour, in some others it is just on the way, but it is still an important part of every tour in Sarajevo and B&H.

It was really important to understand how it was living in that time, and what the war in Bosnia was really about. I find it very good, I am touched... people are happy to talk more than tourists can see with their eyes and be given a real insight... It is so obvious that something big happened and it would be stupid to hide it.
I7 221-225 (UK tour operator)

Tourists coming to B&H who show an interest and inquire about what has happened are welcomed and the questions are appreciated. This is not considered as dark

tourism. Dark tourism in Bosnia is understood to be for tourists expressing morbid curiosity in the events. A thematic tour with reference to the conflict, but not labelled as dark tourism is not perceived negatively, by the people in B&H do. This research focuses on the positive spin, which was overwhelmingly felt during the fieldwork, but which deserves more attention from tourism academia (see methodology, emancipatory knowledge).

The concept is further explained by means of the delivery and interpretation, i.e. the interaction between the site, the tourists and the tour guide or the interpreter acting as an intermediary (figure below).

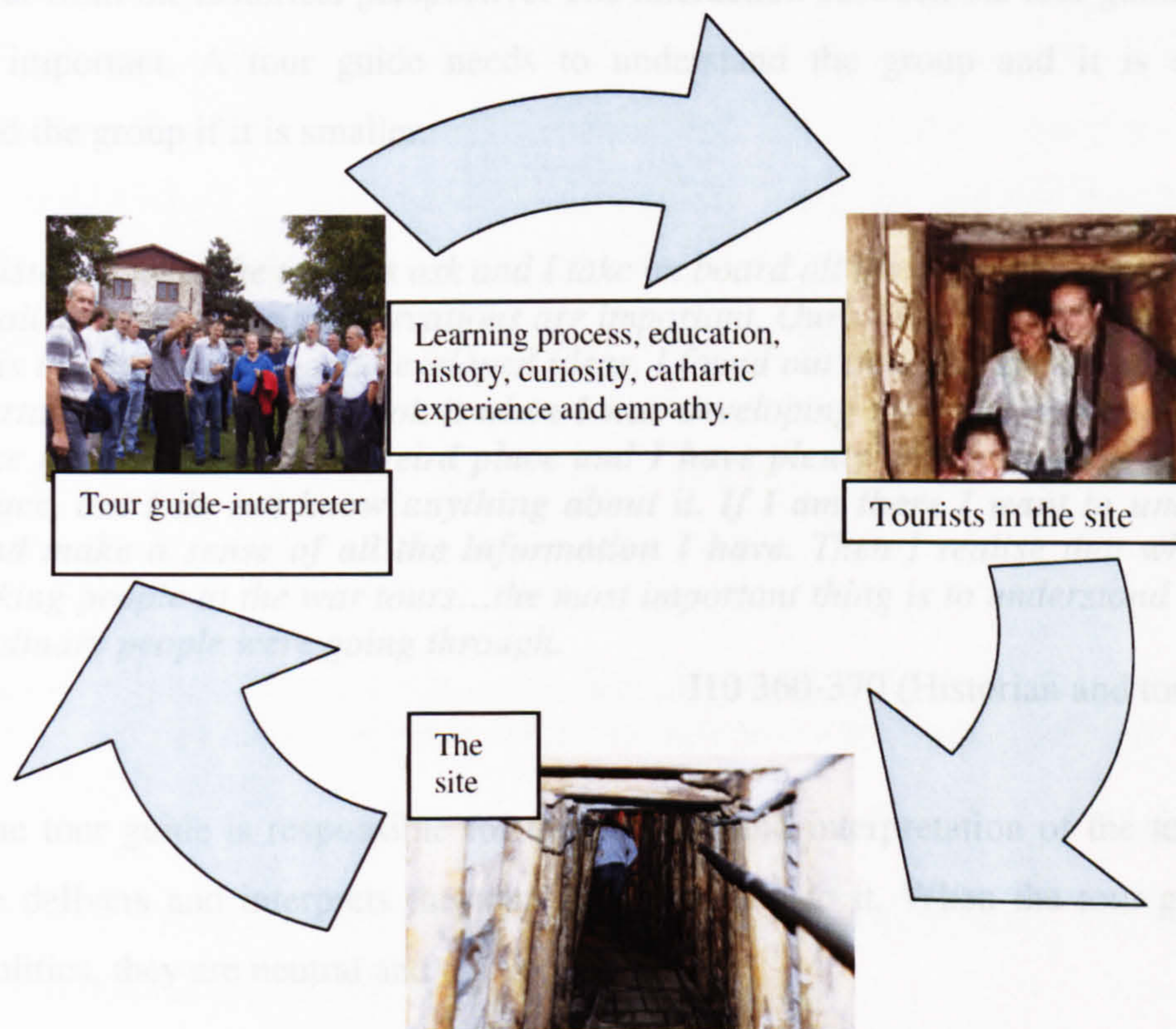


Figure 7.1: Tourists, tour guide and the site (Sarajevo Tunnel permission)

7.6.1.1 Delivery and Interpretation

In Sarajevo, the generic and war themed tours have merged. Reference to the conflict is a part of every general city tour and reference to its history is a part of every conflict themed tour. Their focus differs, but both types of tours include the recent conflict and history. The informants have observed this and confirm that it is more common to have a small group joining the conflict themed tour, because the atmosphere during the

tour is intimate and emotional. This atmosphere is lost if the group is big. By its nature the tour is delivered in a more modest and subtle way. The size of the group is the most observable difference between generic and themed tours.

There are usually small groups of people...2, 4, 7, only a few times 14 - 15 which join the war tour, never big groups, rarely...sometimes only groups from Slovenia are slightly bigger.

I10 697-701 (Historian and tour guide)

Conflict themed tours explain the history through the war. History themed tours explain war from the historical perspective. The interaction between the tour guide and the group is important. A tour guide needs to understand the group and it is easier to understand the group if it is smaller.

I listen to what the tourists ask and I take on board all the questions they ask, I take it all seriously. Their observations are important. Our talks, their questions...I took this into account all and developed ideas. I found out that they spend more time on certain locations and I took it when I was developing the tours. I started to think like them... I came to a weird place and I have plenty of information about that place, but I do not know anything about it. If I am there I want to understand and make a sense of all the information I have. Then I realise that when I am taking people to the war tours...the most important thing is to understand what the ordinary people were going through.

I10 360-370 (Historian and tour guide)

The tour guide is responsible for the delivery and interpretation of the tours. The way (s)he delivers and interprets the tour gives meaning to it. When the tour guides do refer to politics, they are neutral and try to trivialise it.

The history is documented so I always stick to the official version. I do not want to lie and sometimes when they ask me politically sensitive questions, I just say that I was really little when it all happened.

I24, interview notes (Tour guide)

They do not politicise the tour and this did not happen during the research. As already said, life in B&H is complicated due to the obscure political structure. Politics is a part of everyday life in B&H. An ordinary B&H citizen avoids politics whenever it is possible to do so. Therefore B&H tours are far less a political discourse than one would expect. Delivering this type of tour is more demanding than delivering a tour in a city destination, which is less overwhelmed with the political circumstances.

Tourists ask different questions. In the beginning they are afraid to ask questions about the previous conflict. They are really scared. They perceive Bosnia as a dangerous place. So, it is all on the tour guide to open up those people change their perceptions and make them feel safe and secure. I come to the point when I have to go into the details of religion, details of history...in order to explain why the bullet holes are on that wall, I have to explain the sides and the description of the artillery they used. If I am talking about Jews, I have to explain how they settle, why they left and why they feel great in Sarajevo. I mean, tour guides in other normal countries, they cannot be compared with us here.

I10 547-549 (Historian and tour guide)

Recent conflict is also related with a timeframe. The tour guides are referring to time before the last conflict, and the time after. General city tours include visits to sites from the last conflict and give a commemoration. This has meaning to the city and every tour guide feels obliged to show the site to the tourists. It may be said that that there is no need to reference the site of the recent conflict, but at the same time it is unethical not to show respect. Instead of politics, tour guides talk about history, the ordinary people and their war struggle, and give an antiwar message through that discourse. The main point to every city tour is a history. Recent conflict has a historical value, tour guides stick to the facts and official version of the history.

I always stick to the facts. I have the data and the statistics and I interpret it on my way. I am not taking any sides and I do not have any kind of political speeches during my war tours.

I10 593-595

In a few instances, war tourism is merged with historical tours. The conflict is explained through history instead of politics.

I am a historian, I have a degree in history and politics and I frame all those political tours in history and explain it from a historical point of view. Some tourists are very responsive to that.

I12 73-76 (Business owner and tour guide)

I do all kinds of tours, but the one about the war is separated and its focus is the war. But in order to understand why the war, I have to explain the emergence of Milosevic, then the change in the Yugoslav Constitution in 1974, then I have to explain Tito, then I come to WWII, then I have to come to WWI as without WWI there would not be WWII. Then I have to explain why there are so many Muslims here, then I have to explain about the Ottoman Empire and then Bogumils¹⁷ as

¹⁷ Bogumils are a schismatic religion. In 1113, when the church divided itself into Catholic and Orthodox, Bogumils remained in B&H, proclaiming Bosnian Church (Malcolm 1994)

without Bogumils, there would be no Ottomans here. But it all starts with the war, with what happened and then all the other questions and answers follow.

I10 517-526 (Historian and tour guide)

7.6.1.2 Promoting the antiwar sentiment and people's perspective

Tour guides promote the values of the peace within the society. The interpretation given and stories told during war themed tours is that the majority of people in B&H were better off before the war than they are now.

Through the ordinary people of Sarajevo presented as the heroes in their own sense the antiwar message is given. Nostalgic sentiments are expressed, but these are not prominent, the accent is on the antiwar message. This message is very prominent in general city tours as well. It is easier to explain the event through the ordinary people than through high-level politics and it is easier for tourists to understand. Delivering an antiwar message recounted through the ordinary people is the most important part of this tour. It gives a moment of rise and rebirth and brings a cathartic experience to the tourists as they seek something untouchable, some kind of a spiritual enrichment.

Everyone is interested in finding out what has happened here. There are only a few things people relate Bosnia to at the moment. First it is the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, which was a reason for the start of World War 1. Second are Olympic Games. And third is this last war. That war is the most recent and this is what people are very interested in. During the general city tour, we realised that people are interested in our recent history and therefore we decided that we should create a thematic tour which talks about the recent past. Sometimes we would not like to talk about it. I think that we should talk about that, but not as it were exclusively our problem, but to talk about it as a global problem. Nobody should go to war. War is the most stupid thing. People die and tragedies are everywhere. Look at the statistics; the majority of people in Sarajevo and Bosnia lived better before the war than they live now. These are the facts which are the theme of this tour. I think that the tour which I am doing and some of my colleagues as well, is a kind of educational tour, 100%. It is not that we hate someone and now trying to put that forward. This is a kind of a tour which everyone should go on; it should be a part of every school programme. Also another point which we always want to say to our guests, is that we want them to know what happened here, we want them to be able to perceive that this has nothing to do with religion, we do not want people to think that we are some kind of primitives who fought just because of that. We want them to perceive us as normal people who were just a bit unfortunate recently. We want them to learn something from this war. For instance when you look at Kosovo, it did not escalate into a war there and I think it did not escalated because they saw what happened here. The main message of my tour is that war is stupid and does not bring anything good to anybody.

It is important that those tours exist, but their message should not be directed against anybody, just against the war in general. It is a positive and educational message to the world, some kind of a warning that it should never ever happen again.

I5 382-388 (Tour company manager)

The main characteristics of the war themed tours in Sarajevo are the antiwar message, a positive attitude; a focus on facts and ordinary people, reference to the history and showing respect. The tourists themselves can relate to those ordinary and unfortunate people. The outcome is empathy, catharsis and emotional, almost spiritual enhancement. However, it is still rare to have Serbian tourists on war themed tours. This is due to a perception that those tours are political and social catharsis being on a very low level.

Still, I do not have Serbs on my war themed tours. I went to Jahorina¹⁸ and left my brochures, but nothing. Put it simple, until they are willing to face up the events which took place and until we face ourselves, it will be difficult to reconcile, both sides. They do not want to present this war tour there because they think that it will be political, although I exclusively present the facts and official explanation.

I10 478-483 (Tour guide)

However, the tours which are perceived as less political, where the ordinary Sarajevo citizen is put before politics, do attract people from Serbia and example is the Sarajevo Tunnel. Those tours do not attract extremists, and neither the tour guides in Sarajevo nor the tourists from Serbia are extremists.

I think there is nothing political in it and I do not have any interest towards the Serbs, Bosniaks or Croats. I am interested in history and the truth and my family can tell the truth to the world. The Mayor of Banja Luka, the capitol of the Republic Srpska was here, lots of Serbian tour guides are coming and narrate things as they are written in this brochure more or less. They took a historical perspective as well.

I13 36-40 (Tunnel curator)

An excuse

After everything the country went through not that long ago, the tourism product cannot be perfect, it is in a process of formation. This is another reason to talk about what has happened. It gives an understanding of tourism imperfections. It gives a more complete picture of a destination, its turbulent past, and complicated present and hope that it is getting better.

¹⁸ A ski resort, 30 km from Sarajevo, in Serbian governed part of B&H

Some people do not stress it very much; they prefer not to think about that. But I don't think that this is a country really of this kind. It is not something like Spain or Croatia...oh lets just relax by the beach and forget about everything else...they don't want to get involved in the culture or in the story of the country and that's fine. In Bosnia I think it is quite different in itself.[sic]

I7 225-236 (UK based tour operator)

The Tunnel

Speaking more generically, the tunnel is perceived as secret and mystical, a symbol of the unknown. What is on the other side of the tunnel? The reason for the Sarajevo Tunnel being the most visited site is that the story of the conflict is explained through the ordinary people of Sarajevo, people in every sense similar to the tourists themselves and whose lives were saved thanks to that tunnel. The result is a cathartic moment. People come to those sites because they themselves want to find the meaning of life.

An important part of every Sarajevo tour is the Secret Tunnel. This is in a way an illustration of what we as humans are able to do in order to survive.

I5 368-370 (Tour company manager)

The Tunnel is currently the most visited site in Sarajevo because of its story about the war and the curiosity of the tourists. It is a story of the people from Sarajevo. It sends a message to the world and glorifies human life.

I10 555-560 (Historian and tour guide)

The informants realise the importance of this site and would like the authorities to acknowledge its status as a site of a historical importance. They express nostalgic sentiments towards the times before the conflict, which ties in with what has previously been said i.e. that they had better living conditions and the war brought nothing good.. This is an authentic feeling.

This is what has remained from the tunnel, it is 25 metres of the whole tunnel and now we need to wait for Canton Sarajevo or some other government structure in order to restore it and make a museum out of it.

I5 368-370 (Tour company manager)

In tourist organisations, they would like to begin with the reconstruction of the tunnel, but certain structures would not allow that. The state is not able to put this object under control and to convert it into a symbol of the braveness and survival

of the people from Sarajevo. If Marshal Tito passed through this Tunnel once, it would already be golden.

I13 560-565 (Tunnel curator)

I10 argues that the Tunnel needs to become a national monument, a symbol of the braveness of the Sarajevo citizens. The City has not done it yet as, it is very difficult to agree on how to do this. The tour guides compensate for this through their stories. Tourists are coming to the tunnel, despite its inaccessibility. Would it lose its authenticity and charm if an element of commercial activity were introduced around the tunnel?

7.6.1.3 Market segment

Market segments are differentiated, according to their particular understanding of the phoenix dimension of Sarajevo. Tourists whose main motive is to learn, see and experience those sites are a niche market attracted to phoenix dimension of Sarajevo. Tourists who become a part of a phoenix tourism site by chance are classified as a generic market. The sites that are reminders of the previous conflict are widely visible and close to the “ordinary” tourism sites. Some of them are on the main promenades or at meeting points. Tourists sometimes without any prior intention, come into contact with these sites. On Sarajevo’s promenade, red roses are engraved on the pavements at the spot where civilians were killed (Appendix IX). On the other hand, the Sarajevo Tunnel is far from every tourist promenade. Although not so accessible, it is still the most visited site in Sarajevo. Therefore it can be argued that tourists have an intention to see the Tunnel.

All the embassies in Sarajevo, every hotel, every international organisation...they all have the information how to find the Sarajevo Tunnel and recommend tourists should come and visit.

I13 104-106 (Tunnel curator)

Tourists, who visit Bosnia because of its turbulent past can then link it to understanding of modern Balkan history, education and research.

For me, it is history, a history of diversity and creativity. And I think that, and now that war is ended and it is very much in the heart of Europe. So much to see, so much to learn...[sic]

Tourist 1, male, mixed background, British resident

I love history and this is a place which has so much to tell us, the history is everywhere here, I have never seen such an abundance of history. I think that if you go on the war themed tour, it tells you much more about the history, it is history alive and you learn and understand it more. If you go with the normal city

tour, you feel a bit more distant and sometimes you just understand the years and numbers, but nothing beyond that [sic]

Tourist 2, female, French

When you go on the war tour, you get stronger sense of historical background. It is not a dry history; things happened to a real people, impacted on whole communities. You now can imagine, but you couldn't imagine it when you saw it on the news.[sic]

Tourist 3, male American

You feel that something dramatic happened here. You ask because you cannot understand it. It looks so normal. You sense something and then you need to ask. I was a bit confused, now after the tour it all makes sense, I learned so much.

Tourist 4, male, French

A section of tourists motivated by their love of history and heritage, would come to Bosnia as the recent conflict is an important part of history. In order to understand Balkan history, many go to B&H;

I have never had any problems with the people who join the war tours. They are mostly intellectuals with a certain amount of knowledge. Completely different types of people come on those tours compared to the people coming for a general city tour, those who are like...ok I would like to take a walk around Sarajevo as I did around Budapest and Prague

110 535-540 (Tour guide and historian)

Another motive to join those tours relates to the cathartic experience. It is usually not completely intentional, but a by-product. It is an important part of tourism formation as it gives a sense of uniqueness to the experience. Some of the tourists come on those tours in order to understand themselves, give meaning to their lives, etc. Tourists feel extremely emotional, for example;

I was born in one continent and I settled in another. We speak English, yet at home we speak Russian, we are from different nationalities, for instance Cecilia...father Orthodox and Mother Muslim. When you realise that, you can see that we are all the same and lets celebrate that diversity and that is what we found here.

Tourist 1

7.6.1.4 Time dimension

The research findings do not negate the existence of market segments who are motivated to come to the sites by morbid curiosity or some “darker” motives. However, this did not emerge during the tours and interviews. The researcher observed that there is a

time dimension which does not allow this aspect of tourism to spread further. Sarajevo was under siege from 1992 until 1995. So, B&H is not the focus of those tourists anymore. Thus, although the researcher is aware of the possible existence of “dark motives”, it was not felt, seen and observed during the research.

Like people come and get excited about how people were moiled ...I can understand going to Auschwitz for example. Education, learning and catharsis, but why you want to go and get excited, going to see, you know an arterially that slaughter 60-70 people...we don't support that. [sic]

II 1380-1384 (Consultant)

We don't deny history and we don't deny the suffering and we do talk about it, but in more educational way, like a learning proces, not as adrenalin rush or to get excited about or to go to Srebrenica. I can understand why people want to go to Srebrenica. Europeans feel guilty, something horrible happen what we thought would not be able to happen anywhere in Europe and people want to go and see that, I can understand that. But there are also people who get excited about that, like to tick off, we have been to Cambodia, saw the Khmer Rouge; the skulls stacked ceiling high and that sort of stuff. We do not support that. [sic]

II 1370-1379 (Consultant)

However, war tours are not the only “dark tourism” sites. Franz Ferdinand’s assassination point is featured in every modern history book. There are certain differences between those sites. The main characteristic of a war tour in Sarajevo is that it can be a cathartic experience. Franz Ferdinand’s site has a historic character. The difference is in the time dimension.

In 1988 the assassination of Franz Ferdinand was the focus and when I got my certificate, the focus of the exam was on Franz Ferdinand. We could create such a fantastic attraction there without much investment and it is a pity that nothing has been done there.

I10 730-734 (Tour guide and historian)

The time dimension also plays part in Sarajevo becoming a phoenix tourism destination, not a destination where extremists come to in order to satisfy a morbid interest. Interviewees support the educational and cathartic part of the phenomenon, but not this adrenalin rush type of a dark tourism. Motives to join war themed tours are to gain an understanding of the history, research and education, to undergo a cathartic experience, and curiosity. These motives can also apply to the general city tour. These are general characteristics of visits to Sarajevo. The tourists show interest and curiosity in

understanding the conflict and some of them go on a war themed tour, some of them go on the general city tour, but all of them asked what have happened. B&H is a destination where the inner emotions, cathartic moments and self-discovery dominate the experience. This is a destination where it is not possible to divide the war themed tour from the general city tour. Therefore the researcher applies the term Phoenix Destination to the city of Sarajevo. That moment when the place realises the rising from the ashes symbolises the process of tourism rebirth in the city.

7.6.2 Theme II: image and promotion agents

The tourism product is what connects the base (laws and regulations, vision and strategy, accessibility and infrastructure) and the re-imaging agents. The following section presents the process of re-imaging in the post-conflict context of B&H, a destination in the process of re-establishing its tourism sector.

7.6.2.1 CNN promotion material

On September 27th 2006 the Tourism Association of B&H, Foreign Investment Promotion Agency (FIPA) and USAID presented a tourism promotion video to be shown on CNN (video clips available for viewing at

<http://www.usaidcca.ba/index.php?otvori=vijest&id=37&lang=eng>).

In the early nineties, CNN reported on the war and massive killings in B&H. Therefore it was decided to use CNN again, but this time to present B&H, but in the light of tourism. Some of the informants were in agreement with this, though some were not. The findings present both the negative and affirmative points highlighted by the informants.

Negative points

The native English-speaking informants have negative comments regarding the use of English, for instance,

ENJOY CROWD ... ENJOY ALONE...its in English and better not be on BBC this sort of stuff

II 351-352 (Consultant)

The informants highlight the inconsistencies happening in tourism promotion due to the lack of any official strategy, and illustrated through those examples;

We've gone from YOUR NEXT ADVENTURE, to HEART SHAPED LAND, to this new CNN which is the worst thing I have ever seen; ENJOY SILENCE, ENJOY CROWD!

I1 352-354 (Consultant)

The informants perceive CNN to be a TV channel for mostly business executives. Informants say that it would be better to target niche markets.

But I tend to think that it is not targeting our market, I tend to think that CNN international is more businessmen who are travelling and looking for more 4 – 5 stars. And this is more for independent grassroots, independent adventure spirit type of traveller and I think that it should be about bringing those tour operators who will bring that type of tourists. Paying to someone to put us as a National Geography article would be money better spent.

I1 868-872 (Consultant)

Informants highlight that the video clip is not authentic. The video clip features a golf course yet B&H has only one 3-hole mini course. Furthermore, a golf course has nothing to do with B&H's own identity, yet it is forcibly included on the clip. It signifies that B&H would rather hide its own identity.

You have someone playing golf...ok we have on the side of the hill, three holes ...you can't even do a miniature full swing, if you do a full swing, you're going to hit someone's backyard. You don't have golf in Bosnia. It is a lie.

I51 interview notes (Tour operator co-founder)

We have to be careful here. It is not easy to get the tourism image right. You can bring some initial profit once, but it is not long term, and what will you do afterwards when you lose credibility. If you lie to the people, word spreads. What they would say? "Oh, those people, first they fought, then they have mines, then they lie, I do not want to believe them anymore". I am personally afraid that all our effort will become useless

I10 88-98 (Tour guide and historian)

Another problem is the infrastructure which is not sufficiently developed to deal with more tourists.

We invested in the tourism campaign on CNN, but we will not be able to accommodate those tourists next year if as a result of the campaign they actually come. We could not accommodate them this year during the European Junior Championship in Canoeing. I do not know what would happen if there were more tourists on the road Mostar-Sarajevo, maybe a constant traffic jam. We are constantly talking about tourism development, but do not invest in tourism infrastructure.

I6 447 – 457 (Business owner)

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I6 447 – 457 (Business owner)

Although the informants highlight the negative points, the tourism promotion video encouraged faith and belief in a brighter future

CNN promotion: affirmative thoughts

The most positive effect of the CNN video is the promotion of B&H to its own citizens. The informants are hoping that the clip will bring back hope and pride to the community. The country is still fragmented and nationalism is still present in certain regions. Many B&H Serbs would rather live in Serbia, many B&H Croats in Croatia, many other B&H Bosniacs somewhere else. Through the video clip people who live in B&H may start perceiving B&H as their own country and be more affirmative about it.

I think it is a good thing. To me the most positive effect, the biggest affect it would have, would be more on a local population. It will start with a sense of pride; they will start thinking...hey wait a second...We are a tourism destination, look how beautiful our country is. I think it will start developing a country image. Some people don't like to be Bosnian ... and that's a shame [sic]

I1 874-880 (Consultant)

Another potentially positive outcome is to present B&H as a normal country and influence the general image about it.

Because everyone watches CNN; it is positive propaganda and it is out there for people to see; showing Bosnia in the different light.

I 51 interview notes (Tour operator co-founder)

As already said, tourism is traditionally not considered a viable economic sector in B&H. The CNN video is supposed to be a positive step in that direction.

It is very fragmented, people don't think of tourism as much as they should, in my opinion.

I1 880-882 (Consultant)

Overall, people are happy with the promotion. It was not done in order to bring in new tourists, but more to present the country in a different light to both an inside and outside audience.

I mean, those 9 video clips on CNN, I am very glad, I always said, there is a bright future in tourism...steadily and slowly

I6 100-103 (Business owner)

The positive and negative implications of the CNN video clip are summarised in the table 7.5.

Table 7.5: CNN tourism promotion

Positive outcomes	Negative outcomes
Promoting tourism as a viable economic activity which has potential in B&H and within the community	B&H still does not have a strategy for its tourism development
Presenting B&H in a different light (tourism destination instead of a war zone)	Is presenting on CNN the best value for money? B&H is more a destination for adventurous travellers and travellers who want to experience novelty.
Some B&H citizens would rather see themselves as citizens of some other countries, but not B&H, they feel a bit ashamed of being Bosnians and in that sense this may be able to return a sense of pride	The clip is presenting golf (B&H has one small 3 hole golf course), but less focus is given to the actual city culture and festivities.
	Infrastructure is on a low scale. It is not developed.
Country is fragmented. Nationalistic sentiments are still present. This is an attempt to diminish these and to present B&H as one country.	B&H does not have a tourism product or a strategy for tourism development and therefore it is not clear which market to target

7.6.2.2 Media

The findings show that the media is interested in B&H, because it is sensational to report on tourism development in a place which has recently been featured because of the political conflict. The audience still remembers the country in the light of destruction. Promoting tourism in tourism setting brings attention and sensation.

It is sensationalism...people can now go as tourists to a place which was under siege. The media loves it.

I1 519-588 (Consultant)

However, the findings show that this angle is not being exploited in tourism terms.

The media is very interested in this place...they contact...but no one answers them.

I1 542 (Consultant)

New direct air links get a lot of media attention. As soon as British Airways started direct flights from Sarajevo-London, the flight was featured in the media and focused attention on B&H. This dimension is a generic issue. However, a contextual dimension of

the issue concerns the first direct flights into the city since the conflict. This was even more sensational and created enormous media attention. It was symbolic. The first flight brought tour operators and journalists to Sarajevo. The return flight passengers were British troops who had served in Bosnia. Tour operators used the moment to promote their product in B&H, to promote the destination and to influence its image and the perception. The sensation of the post-conflict setting motivated journalists to research the destination. Tour operators and ground agents gave information to the journalists, in return for some “free” promotion.

So they contact us, we find them a sponsor; we give them free trips when they come here and they write a front page article about Sarajevo, about us. In the UK, it costs 150.000 pounds to be on a front page of the Guardian travel section. It costs us a trip, a hotel room and a coffee, sit down and talk to people. So we are very open towards international media... we had an article in Guardian and within days we have 50 reservations.[sic]

I1 151-156 (Consultant)

We chose some of our products to be highlighted. So Bosnia is chosen because I am quite impressed with it and it is quite important to advertise and speak and it is always going up, some specialist papers, travel journalists...they always ask to write about some new and interesting destinations. [sic]

I7 154-157 (UK tour operator)

Findings suggest that the media is an important re-imaging tool. Besides this, locals are also considered able to assist in the promotion of tourism.

I was impressed by the funniness of the people and beauty of the country...a big historical past, great culture and artistic heritage. I was really touched by the welcoming I was receiving from people and I think this is my image of Bosnia.[sic]

I7 250-257 (UK tour operator)

Also in 2005 the first B&H tour guide was published. It was an important step towards the re-imaging the destination.

Those are the books you can buy anywhere in the English speaking world. It is a Bradt guide.

I1 420-421 (Consultant)

A place like Bosnia keeps on developing because of those few enthusiastic individuals, usually foreigners, who believe with their heart and mind that there is a bright future for the country through the development of tourism.

7.6.3 Theme III: Tourism markets

The findings suggest that the first tourists in B&H were the international peace keeping forces. They were accompanied by various aid workers and the representatives of international organisations which remained in B&H after the conflict. Although there were still around 18,000 of them in B&H when the fieldwork took place, their number is decreasing and is slowly being replaced by so called “real” tourists. The findings suggest that this process is slower than assumed by the informants.

An important market segment is a *solidarity market*, diaspora and VFR (visiting the international community). The destination becomes appealing to backpacker tourists and they prepare the country for the “real” tourists. Niche markets are coming to B&H motivated by specific tourism products and activities. Generic markets in B&H are those from the former Yugoslav countries, which on the one hand resemble the Plog’s (1974) psycho centric characteristics, but on the other completely differ from the model. This plethora of different market segments will be presented chronologically (table below).

Table 7.6: The chronology of a post-war tourism in B&H

1995-1996	1997-1999	2000	2001-2007
Peace keeping forces, journalists and aid agencies		Journalists and aid agencies	
	VFR- visiting friends and relatives family and friends of a peace keeping forces, OHR, aid agencies and other international community		
	VFR – B&H Diaspora, political and economic migrants		
		Solidarity markets	
		Backpackers	
			Education motivated tourists
			Niche markets (mainly outdoors)
			Generic markets (ski and partly cultural tourists)

7.6.3.1 International communities

The international community presents the beginnings of tourism in B&H. Most informants acknowledged that an interest in B&H tourism was established thanks to the international communities temporarily residents in B&H. They stimulated the idea of developing tourism and motivated people to research these opportunities.

Also what might be very important here is that there were foreigners who kept it all moving.

I11 18-19 (Travel agent, owner)

This is the official beginning of post-conflict tourism development, a realisation that there is an interest in the destination. I11 for instance, remembers the tours organised for those international communities after the Dayton Agreement was signed.

Well, there were SFOR¹⁹ Germans in Sarajevo, Americans in Tuzla, etc. and also some international organisations. We organised, just after Dayton Peace Accord, some tours around Bosnia and Herzegovina for them. It was all very interesting. Also there were many congresses and conferences organised by those international organisations in Sarajevo and the visitors wanted to take a tour around Bosnia and Herzegovina.

I11 20-25 (Travel agent, owner)

I5 and I6 remember that the beginning of post war tourism in Sarajevo characterised the VFR segment that came to visit the international community who lived and worked in B&H.

In the beginning when I just started, in 1998, there were not that many tourists here, only those people coming here to do some kind of work and also friends of the foreigners who worked here. This was my first impression

I5 15-19 (Tour company manager)

When I started, 10 years ago, I was working mostly with the international organisations.

I6 30-31 (Business owner)

The international community initiated tourism development in B&H. However, as a result, there were some negative consequences. The international community in B&H were accustomed to paying high room rates for hotel accommodation, in the comparison to the quality of services they offered. As the presence of the international community decreases, the B&H tourism sector cannot rely on them as a source of income anymore. They need to target the “real” tourists.

We have a specific situation in B&H. Our hotels are too expensive and not competent. We had a lot of the international organisations after the war who were not concerned about the room rates. They used our hoteliers on the uncompetitive pricing.

I2 113-116 (Tour operator, director)

¹⁹ Peace Keeping Forces

7.6.3.2 Solidarity markets

The main characteristic of a solidarity market is that they have a specific motive for coming to the destination. They want to help. Solidarity itself became a motive for visiting. People interested in the well being of the community are interested in visiting the places where the money they spend stays within the community.

Responsible tourism in the west is massive; the biggest eco tourism market in the world is Europe, the money that visitors spend here does tend to trickle down directly to the people.

I1 208-209 (Consultant)

Tourism can provide additional income for deprived rural communities. Local ground agents are keen on bringing in specialised tour operators and including local villages in the creation of tourism products.

Western travellers are very very keen on supporting the local people for the common good. What's good for this country we know it is good for us, what is good for local village, we know it is good for us. That's philosophy that hasn't really caught on here yet. [sic]

I51 174-177 (Tour operator co-founder)

7.6.3.3 Diaspora

An important solidarity segment is the diaspora. It is estimated that there are more than 1 million Bosnians who live abroad as a consequence of the war. There are also B&H economic migrants who immigrated in the 1960s and 1970s to western European countries. Now they come to B&H to visit the friends and relatives who remained behind. It is a form of support and solidarity, but it is also related to a collective memory and social context. Firstly, they are actually coming to Bosnia. Secondly, they are talking about Bosnia. They influence the perception and image about Bosnia on a small scale. They are for the most part integrated within their new societies and invite their new friends to come with them to Bosnia. The private sector saw their role exclusively as tourists and as a tool for changing the perception of the country, but on a much smaller and much more personal scale. This role is explained in more depth under the public sector section.

They are such an important market. First they come and second they talk about how beautiful it was, and sometimes bring their friends and spread the word. We had Scandinavians never before here. There are around 40.000 people from

Mostar who live in Norway and they are fully integrated into society there. This is an incredibly important market for us.

I11 115-121 (Travel agent, owner)

Apart from the Bosnian diaspora abroad, the market segment from Turkey is identified as being a solidarity market. Turkey is what was left after the fall of Ottoman Empire. Bosnia was a part of the Ottoman Empire and there are still links between Turkey and Bosnia, eg. the UNESCO World Heritage bridge Stari Most (Old Bridge) in Mostar or Bascarsija in Sarajevo and also many written historical documents on Ottoman rule in Bosnia. The Turkish markets motives are related to education and heritage; learning about their own past. There were also Turkish citizens with B&H roots, whose ancestors immigrated to Turkey with the fall of the Ottoman Empire. This is an instance of roots tourism, a search for lost kin or to carry out some genealogical research.

Also as Bosnia was a part of the Ottoman Empire and there are lots of beautiful historical artefacts from that period, we have a lot of people coming from Turkey.

I 11 110-114 (Travel agent, owner)

There are hundreds of thousands of people from Turkey who are motivated to come over and visit. Some of them come back to explore their roots, Bosnians who emigrated to Turkey with a fall of the Ottoman Empire. We just need a good tour operator from Turkey who would work in that direction.

I5 749-754 (Tour company manager)

7.6.3.4 Backpackers

Individual backpackers were the first “real tourists” who expresses an interest in visiting Bosnia.

Backpackers are the first ones interested in exploring the city, the culture, those younger tourists, backpackers; they left the first impression on me. I was working with younger people anyway and it was easier for me that way to start with the people full of understanding and similar to me.

I5 15-20 (Tour company manager)

Lots of tourists who come to Sarajevo are backpackers. Although some of them come here to drink and eat cheaply, we also have fantastic people coming over. Some of the groups and individual tourists are really nice. There are lots of students who are researching something or who came to rest and relax cheaply, but they are well behaved and they have some knowledge and interest and pay some respect.

I12 16-26 (Tour guide, business owner)

A lot of people know that Bosnia is an interesting place; I mean...you can't escape the independent backpacker; want to see the whole world.[sic]

I1 1080-1083 (Consultant)

For some backpackers, it is a social status to have visited an unusual country. For them, the stamp in the passport is a token, a proof that they have visited B&H thus it deserves attention from their peers. As one of the informants suggested;

Well, those backpackers I am in charge of...I like that they are coming, but the worst is when they are coming just in order to cross the border and get a stamp in their passport..."whow...I was in Bosnia"...a big thing, to show off in front of their mates. But if the stamp makes them happy, I am happy too.

I19 (Interview notes) Tour Guide

Some of them are great, interested in history and our way of life and they respect. But some of them just come to drink and eat and have fun as it is all very cheap here for them. I don't like when they are showing off with their money, probably they do that because people back home do that to them. I don't know.

I13 (Interview notes) Tour guide

7.6.3.5 Niche markets

All the tour operators who established business with Bosnia are highly specialised ones. It makes them an important part of the tourism concept.

Basically Exodus, Eastern trekker, Sobek, Regent Holidays, Slav tours out of France, we are trying to get something with Sinbad in Holland

I1 1222-1223 (Consultant)

The specialised tour operators research the destination in depth and get to know and understand it well. It is important that they explain to the potential visitors that the tourism product in B&H is still in its formation process, i. e. the infrastructure is not on the level it should be. They assure the potential visitors that the country is safe to visit. Their clients trust them. It is not just about getting tourists to B&H, but also preparing them for what to expect when they get there. Niche markets in B&H, are aware that the country is safe, they trust their tour operators, and know what to expect.

It is a bit difficult and we know that and we make sure that the clients know that when we fly over there. It will take a bit longer because it is in a stage of forming industry...

I7 79-81 (UK tour operator)

7.6.3.6 Generic markets

There are a few reasons why former Yugoslav countries come to B&H in bigger numbers;

- They know that there is no war in B&H anymore
- They are familiar with the destination, they know what to expect, they can speak the language
- B&H ski resorts are price competitive
- White water rafting is a popular activity in Croatia
- B&H is easily accessible from former Yugoslav countries
- Until 1991 it was one country and there is some nostalgia attached to visiting Bosnia
- Curiosity and novelty have different dimensions, here it is more about perceiving the differences when compared to the past and to their own new countries
- VFR segment and roots tourism

The next section illustrates the characteristics of the market compared to former Yugoslavia, and their specifications when compared to the markets from the other countries. The main difference is their familiarity. They know what to expect there, they speak the language. In the case of rafting as a tourism product, this is competitive only to Croatian market due to accessibility from Croatia and the popularity of rafting in Croatia. Due to image difficulties and a negative perception, B&H cannot easily be competitive further from former Yugoslav countries.

They are coming from Croatia because rafting is very popular there. But there are still problems with image and perception and that is one of the reasons we cannot expand further from Croatia

I3 Product manager (email interview)

Bosnian ski resorts are price competitive compared to other destinations. The market from former Yugoslav countries is coming to the ski resorts; from Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia. They have all the characteristics of a mass tourism market.

People from former Yugoslavia, mostly Croatians and Serbs, are coming for a ski break in massive numbers. We are very price competitive and close. Kupres, Adria ski is 2 hours from Split.

I5 157-159 (Tour company manager)

As nationalistic sentiments calmed down, a sense of nostalgia for the past is revived.

Although Slovenians were the first to separate, they are the most nostalgic. They are coming over en masse.

I10 post interview (Tour guide and historian)

It is most important to have a good relationship with our neighbours. Most of our tourists here are from Slovenia. There are a lot of trade unions, young people, organised trips from Slovenia, they come here a lot, and they miss us

I5 156-161 (Tour company manager)

Former Yugoslav markets are coming mostly for a winter ski holidays. The main concept to be considered when developing winter tourism in B&H, include: the infrastructure development, the use of the image of the Olympic Games and former Yugoslav markets.

Unfortunately we do not use the fact that Sarajevo is an Olympic City as much as we could

I5 222-223 (Tour company manager)

Memories and nostalgia for times passed may both be factors in attracting tourists to B&H's winter sport resorts, eg. niche markets which still remember the Winter Olympic Games. There is a sense of curiosity as well, to see what has happened, to compare emotions before and after the war. The emotions, memories, nostalgia and curiosity are suggested as possible "marketing" tools, depending on which market is the target. I21 explains that it could be possible to target a UK niche who still remember the Winter Olympic Games, and a Gatwick-Sarajevo direct flight could assist with this.

Some of the worst war damage has been repaired, like that of the Olympic skating rink where Britain's Torville and Dean won the golden reputation in the Winter Olympic Games in 1984.

I21 UK based journalist

Compared to the ski resorts in other European countries, ski resorts in B&H are associated with low costs, accessibility and familiarity. The findings suggest that winter tourism in B&H has the potential to become a real generic product to accommodate

tourists from Croatia and Serbia. In the case of UK tourists, winter tourism in B&H is a niche.

What happens with our winter tourism, all depends on us. The investments have started on Bjelasnica, Jahorina, Vlasica and Blidinje. They are of no interest for the Europeans, but they are for Croatians, Serbs, Slovenians and the locals. As soon as we create better infrastructure and increase capacities, we will become an interesting destination for the European market. But I also think that it is important to remain an interesting place for the locals. We see a great potential in winter ski tourism.

I5 210-221 (Tour company manager)

In the development of winter tourism, it is again pointed out that the strategy for its development is missing and therefore the development is slow.

We are just talking about that ski holidays. Ski is fine I mean, but do we have some kind of a strategy, a vision?

I9 437-439 (Travel agent)

7.6.3.7 Motives: curiosity, interpretation, ordinary people

The events in the past make B&H a destination which people are curious about.

This is a part of people's curiosity, they come here, most people are curious and that's completely fine ...we explain things about the war and how it happened.

I1 1366-1369 (Consultant)

During the time spent in B&H, their curiosity transforms into a cathartic experience, (encompassing emotional enhancement and empathy). Even if the tourists do not come primarily but of curiosity, once there, almost every tourist will want to know what happened. The tourists experience catharsis, the things which happened to the ordinary people similar to them.

Bosnia is a fascinating country and people have an interest in visiting simply because they discover themselves here and appreciate their lives a bit more. They go through various cathartic experiences during my tours.

I10 29-33 (Tour guide and historian)

When tourists are in B&H they try to establish: *What had exactly happened here? What is there now?* People are usually not aware of that curiosity until they come to B&H. There is still a feeling that something has happened there and people become curious to

find it out. Local people are honest and willing to talk about the recent conflict. Western tour operators like this, as it is authentic. Tour operators advise tourists not to talk, but to ask and to listen. It gives a specific charm to the destination the fact that people are willing to talk about their lives under siege and about themselves. Tourists coming to Bosnia through the western tour operators, are a market niche, interested in the culture of the place. Those niches create an image of the destination as real, dynamic and mysterious. Hiding the past or pretending that it has never happened is sending a false message and appears fake and staged.

They are surprisingly open about it, everybody really is quite happy to talk about it really. I was very impressed, very touched by this. I thought I would be perceived as an intruder in people's lives ... I find that...that they want to share their experience with you it is amazing.

I7 216-219 (UK based tour operator)

The motives for coming to B&H are framed under curiosity, discovery and novelty. People are always looking for new destinations.

I don't think people really knew much about the destination apart from the fact that it was a very unusual thing, very new product and I think in general when I went there and the feedback I received...people were very surprised at what they found ... very well, positive surprise. [sic]

I7 16-19

B&H is a novelty. Compared to many other novelty destinations, B&H is in Europe and many people prefer to travel to countries which are not too far away.

I think there is a curiosity, this is a new destination, less and less people travel far distances because of current political situation. Definitely less people travel to the US, less people travel to the Far East, but still looking for new destinations.

I1 1077-1080 (Consultant)

People are connecting B&H to the war less and less. However, this depends on the market. The geographically closer markets have a clearer perception.

People fear less and less. I think that depends on the type of tourists. Europeans less and less definitely... Americans...Oh my God you go to Bosnia ... be safe. That is a dangerous place! [sic]

I1 595-597

Tourists who visit B&H change their perceptions of the country. However, generally speaking, B&H is still perceived in a negative light. It is still in a process of re-imagining, but the process is slow.

For instance, we had those clients who went and we got a positive feedback from them, they were pleased with what they found and experienced so it is obviously quite positive as a starting point

I7 325-327

They are all suspicious in the beginning. They think that they will not experience anything here. They think that we do not have anything except problems here. Bosnia looks like it is close to Kosovo. For them it is a place in crisis, a place with bad nationalists.

I10 30-33 (Tour guide and historian)

7.6.4 Epilogue

This section presented findings derived from the private sector in Bosnia, focusing on the post-conflict dimension of typical tourism themes, presenting the tourism themes focusing on context specific dimensions. The most prominent of these is a discourse of phoenix tourism, which will be further elaborated upon in some depth, throughout the discussion chapter. The next section will present the findings derived from the public sector, focusing on those dimensions of the phenomena not previously considered during the private sector findings and which will enrich the process of theory extension.

7.7 PUBLIC SECTOR: TOURISM THEMES IN A POST-CONFLICT CONTEXT

7.7.1 Theme I: Phoenix Tourism

There is a big difference between a conflict like the one in B&H and historic battles, which were battles between armies. Firstly this is due to the time dimension, and secondly it is due to the nature of the conflict. In those historic battles, civilians were not the victims. This is a very delicate issue. In “new” conflicts, most of the victims are civilians. This certainly has implications for the meaning of tourism.

In Moscow, there is a museum devoted to the battle of Borodin. It was a battle of two big armies. The civilians could watch it almost like a football match. Civilians would get killed, only by throwing themselves in front of the cannon. The type of conflict here, it should not even be called a war, since 80% of the victims were civilians. I do not like wars like the Borodin battle, but I can understand it in a

sense of a battle between two armies. But this here, it was complete dehumanisation. It is different; you cannot put those two things together, no way.

I42 294-300 (Tourism Association – Retired)

7.7.1.1 Interpretation

B&H on its own is not well known in tourism realms. Therefore the respondents suggested that it would be the best if B&H were presented as a part of the Balkans. West Balkan is currently an interesting destination. It overcome its troubled past and now has a brighter future. Balkan recent history should be employed for tourism purposes. Since there are tourists interested in exploring this part of Europe, informants suggest that significant sites from the last war (92-95) should be marketed as this is where the story begins. This stage is characterised by curiosity. What is the region like now after the conflict and where does it go from here?

Balkan is out of the wars and looks to a brighter future. People find it interesting, that particular time period. They are interested in seeing the visions of the Balkans which we have. A Balkan tour would be really interesting. Those ruins from the last war, they are interested to see that, not because of the ruins itself, but because of the story which follows.

I32 285-290 (Tourism Organisation)

The respondents believe that how the sites are presented, should be determined by the market segments. If they are interested in a political aspect, then they should be provided with the information truthfully and in an adequate way.

Some tourists come to B&H as researchers, and they would come regardless of the promotion. Such tourists are a small niche market, with significant knowledge about the issues and a need to expand that knowledge further.

People are interested in finding out what has happened here and in the modern history. I think that information needs to be available to the tourists but presented in an appropriate way. The tourist needs to be satisfied with the way this requirement is handled.

I33 351 – 354 (Tourism Association President)

It remains to be decided what the most appropriate way of presenting such information could be. However, the private sector points the importance of tour guides to the process, in particular their role in dissemination of information.

In post-conflict societies it is important to have training seminars for the tour guides, but there are very few of these in B&H.

We organised locally a seminar for the tour guides. We told them, it is up to you what you are going to say. The only thing is that you are not aloud to lie. This is a moral and personal dilemma. This is not their fault that this country has not made this thing clear. On one side the same person is the hero, on the other side he is a war criminal.

I25 269-272 (Academia and consultant)

The informants insist that the golden rule of post-conflict tour guiding, is that lying is not allowed. Tour guides are morally obliged to give the official version. The problem in B&H is if some of the issues have not been resolved, how can there be such a version yet? However, this is just an excuse, because official version to describe most of the sites which are in the tourist itineraries exist.

It is challenging for tour guides to talk about the recent past, which may have had an impact on their own personal lives. The respondents say that the presentation of the sites of conflict in B&H needs to have almost an esoteric character. Political opinion is not important. This can be found in the books. However, feelings are important, especially the anti-war sentiments which are brought to the forefront during the tours.

I think that if they are interested in they can read it in every book.

I42 293 (Tourism Association, retired)

However, many are motivated to come to see for themselves what they read about in the books and to seek answers to their questions. All informants believe that these questions deserve to be answered. To be able to achieve political correctness the most important aspect to be considered is that of social and moral catharsis. Until the whole society goes through the process of a social and personal catharsis, it is difficult to live a normal life. The tour guide who has not undergone this process, cannot and should not do this job. Thus in this sense tourism is an important factor in this social transformation. Tourism accelerates the process, but the most problematic in achieving social catharsis is the education system.

This city [Mostar] cannot start to live although the war ended 15 years ago. There are very delicate things which need to be addressed. Schools and politics should not teach about the hate, but about the tolerance and which enriches society. But this is all just talk if not backed up through education.

I 25 287-290 (Academia and consultant)

The danger of a non-regulated tourism industry comes into the frame at this point because in extreme sense, everyone can be a tour guide and tell their story.

I do not think that it [talk about last conflict] should be avoided. Some people think that it should be avoided because in B&H, the question of moral and social catharsis has not been completely addressed yet. Everyone conceals the war crimes by blaming them on others. Only those who are morally and politically mature can be involved. But how do we know who is morally clear? Therefore it is a bit delicate to develop. If you say to the ordinary Croat that Croats destroyed the bridge they would either refute it or try to justify it by talking about the things which were done to them. Those who are part of that group of people who did not go through the moral and social catharsis should not be tour guides in Bosnia now.

I 25 252-262 (Academia and consultant)

7.7.1.2 The sites

The informants focused on Sarajevo Tunnel and Mostar Bridge. Mostar Bridge as a tourist site can be considered as a symbol of the process of society transformation.

The bridge was destroyed in the conflict. The bridge itself was a UNESCO World Heritage site and was a symbol of the city. Destroying the bridge was in effect like destroying the city. It was rebuilt again and symbolises the message B&H tourism is sending to the tourists. It is a symbol of phoenix tourism. It was destroyed. It was rebuilt.

Tour guides in Mostar should not just concentrate on the destruction of the bridge. The tour guides and also the guys who built the bridge, should tell the authentic story about how the bridge was built, about the span on the bridge, why it is so attractive...

I42 270-273 (Tourism Association-retired)

Those new generations do not know about B&H, they know that some kind of war was there. They know Mostar Bridge because it is so symbolic, it draws an attention.

I32 279-290 (Tourism Organisation-Regional)

Mostar Bridge in this particular story is a symbol of the transformation of the society. The Sarajevo Tunnel is a symbol of hope and life. The tourists think about their own life and go through moment of personal catharsis while visiting the Tunnel, Mostar Bridge or Bosnia in general. Mostar Bridge is a story of social catharsis. Sarajevo Tunnel is a story of personal catharsis. As such, these sites are attractive to tourists in a non-

classical tourism sense, trying to find meaning, philosophical underpinnings and the understanding of life itself.

The Sarajevo Tunnel is presented in depth more in the private sector findings. The public sector focused on Mostar Bridge.

I am for the life and optimism. In that sense, Sarajevo Tunnel is attractive. The people go out through the tunnel to find happiness on the other side, a free territory. I agree with this, interpreting it in a positive way.

I42 132-135 (Tourism Association-retired)

Everyone knows that there was a brutal conflict in B&H. The scars of that war are still visible. It would be impossible, as well as detrimental to hide it.

I was student when the war was here and I remember Sarajevo was on the news every day, everybody remembers it. The people who visit, everybody would ask about. I do not see the purpose of hiding it. [sic]

I35 183-185 (Tourism Advisor – state level)

In some ways, Sarajevo is a very ordinary city. However, the tourists feel very different when they are there. They became emotional. It is neither possible, nor necessary to hide those sites from tourists. They are easily seen and felt. Therefore it is better to acknowledge them, but in the realms of phoenix tourism, and with a message of hope at the end.

Then also this image of Sarajevo after the war can be a part of the promotion. We have to use wisely for tourism purposes, there is huge potential as.

I23 78-79 (Chamber of Commerce)

The accent was placed on these sites able to send a positive message to the tourists. However, at the time of writing, those sites promoted themselves despite a lack of the official strategy.

We have here a site, which promoted itself, and which the tourists apparently appreciate a lot, the Sarajevo Tunnel. I33 355 – 356 (Tourism Association)

Due to the unregulated tourism industry, there was a risk that those sites could be promoted in a negative way. An official strategy was needed, which would include those

sites from the previous conflict, not because they needed promotion, but because they had to be presented adequately to tourists. The scars of the conflict are still visible and still colour the path of this development.

The possibilities for tourism develop in this country are huge. At the same time, the wounds of the conflict are still visible in this society. It puts a shadow on all those prospects; it is overwhelmed by the evil that happened here. People are still healing the wounds. You cannot just say, oh stop it now, let's start from the beginning. Many people, who did not experience it, make detrimental mistakes

I31 1-7 (Federal Tourism Minister)

At the time of writing, the country itself is going through a type of social catharsis and phoenix tourism is a part of that process. The country cannot afford to neglect these cathartic moments. They should be included in country's development plans and strategies. If the tourism industry were not regulated, Srebrenica could become a part of the tour. This is a place where genocide happened and tourists do not belong there. That place is left alone and remains unvisited most of the year and then, in July on the anniversary of the genocide and a remembrance service takes place, and a funeral for all the victims found in the mass graves since the last anniversary. Srebrenica is one part of the world which is not ready for tourism. As one informant said;

The place is quiet. Serbs who live there are quiet. Bosniaks there are also quiet. This is a place where you can come and contemplate, write a poem.

I10 reflection after the tour (Historian and tour guide)

Regarding Srebrenica, social catharsis has not taken place. Tourists do not belong there. A tour guide who included Srebrenica in his itinerary said that although he would only take researchers and journalists there he did not feel comfortable taking the journalists there. The people accused of committing war crimes and genocide are still fugitives as at the time of writing. This is a place which cannot give hope; the issue is not resolved and at the time of writing cannot cope with tourists.

7.7.1.3 Phoenix tourism product

Although B&H put a lot of faith into tourism development, every neighbouring country has similar tourism potential ready to form into a product. Those countries can easily compete with B&H which also has to deal with the conflict inherited issues. In order to be successful, it is important to find a specific feature which can be competitive and distinguishable from those on the offer by the neighbouring countries.

B&H is the only county in the region where Catholic, Orthodox, Jewish and Muslim religions are equally important. People who look at religion more holistically, those interested in understanding the philosophical meaning of religion find it to be an appealing characteristic. It is a personal journey. How was it possible to have four religions in such a small area and yet all four of them were equally strong? Moreover, religion is closely linked to the history of B&H and this product is appealing for the niche markets motivated to come in search of knowledge and understanding; a niche, whose motive to travel in order to understand the philosophical aspect of religion, should be targeted. They need to know that B&H can meet their expectations. If well communicated this could be a regular feature of tourism in B&H.

On one regional conference all of us from Slovenia to Romania talked how beautiful our country is, how hospitable people are and so on. It made me think, is there anything specific to B&H? In B&H, there are 4 religions and all of them are equally important. In most of the countries in the region, only one religion is important and that one gives the meaning to the whole society. But here, all four are important.

I22 276-280 (International Agency)

I mean, we promote what we can sell, but of course we take care that all sides are there. Tourists already know about Mostar Old Bridge, then there is Sarajevo Cathedral, Bey's Mosque, Jewish Haggada, Orthodox Monasteries... all interesting tourism aspects.

I33 118-121 (Tourism Association)

To sum up, regulation of the tourism sector is an important issue in a setting like that of B&H, where the conflict inheritance still colours everyday life. However, tourism risks being misinterpreted. Conversely this is a chance to move forward and shadows the issue of a social and moral catharsis which the country needs.

The findings suggested that the term *phoenix tourism* describes the development tourism in the country after a long-term conflict, looking at this from a different angle by

considering social settings, i.e. conflict reminiscence. One should be careful regarding which sites to include in tourism settings. Those are the sites that have gone through the double burial process. For some sites it was easier, for some others it was more difficult. For instance the bridge in Mostar and Sarajevo Tunnel are ready for tourists. However, there are also unresolved issues with Mostar; a city with two city centres, one Bosniak and one Croat. The Tourism Organisation in Neretva Canton, where the Mostar UNESCO site is situated, is one of the last cantons to establish a tourism office. They used to have two offices; one on the Croatian and one on the Bosniak side of the city. When the central tourism office opened, it was the first instance where Bosnian Croats and Bosniaks cooperated together. The reconstruction of the Mostar Bridge clearly helped the issue. Informants said that relations really progressed. The Mostar Bridge is an example of old Ottoman Architecture, rivalling Medjugorje and thereby creating a balance. At the moment, it is possible to promote Medjugorje, a catholic pilgrimage, to those tourists visiting the bridge and also to sell excursions to Mostar in Medjugorje.

I went to Medjugorje and we negotiated. Oh come on, is it such a big thing to sell an excursion to Mostar?

I32 294-209 Tourism Organisation local

This conflict in B&H did not result in a winner. Therefore it is difficult to interpret what has actually happened there. As already said, a tour guide needs to be morally and socially aware. Some Bosnians from all three nationalities achieved their personal catharsis, but the social catharsis was not accomplished. The school syllabus is not centrally controlled; there are thirteen ministries of education in a country of 3.5 million people.

This was the war, which ended up without a winner and many things are still unresolved in B&H. We need to be very careful. We should stick to the documents and the facts.

I22 post interview (International agency)

The informants argue that the tourists will better comprehend the situation if the interpretations portray personal victories of ordinary citizens, presented as saints and the guardians of a multi ethnic society. They also expressed the belief and hope that this society is in the process of emerging. Setting up relationships between three nationalities in B&H is a “collateral damage” of the development of tourism after the conflict. Further in the text, the researcher presents a “typical” niche tourism products as well as winter ski

holidays which have some resemblance to generic tourism. All of them have characteristics which land themselves to reconciliation and revitalisation. Tour guides are very important. However, except on a local level in Mostar, the certification of the tour guides is not institutionalised and did not take into account specific post-conflict settings.

7.7.2 Theme II: Niche Tourism Products in Bosnian settings

The research shows that both public and private sector in B&H look at the following tourism products; rural, cultural heritage (Sarajevo and Mostar as a generic, other localities as a niche), education, spa, and the winter ski (generic). There are also sub-products, which could be combined with the main products or featured separately, depending on the level of interest and the markets involved. Those sub-products are usually associated with the outdoors; nature and the environment. When considering the outdoor/nature-based activities, the informants agreed that these activities should come under the umbrella of rural tourism, since these are selections of small tourism products which link to each other. However, in B&H there are consolidating tourism products into segments and targeting the appropriate markets due to the lack of strategy. Since a real plan does not exist; progress was made by chance, for instance:

It is not in order. This is all just partially done. Sometimes by private investment, sometimes some international organisation decided to finance something, but this country needs a strategy, for instance which market segment, what kind of tourism...but here it is all without any plan.

I24 138-142 (Chamber of Commerce)

The main problem with the consolidation of B&H's tourism products is that this was not done properly at the beginning. Therefore though these are now established, they are missing some fundamental requirements.

We have tourism products, but they are missing some of the requirements. There are around 12 tourism products highlighted by WTO. We have 8 types of tourism products which can fit in the list of those 12. But the problems are that when it comes to an issue of standardisation, environmental protection, certificates, then we don't fit in that.

I24 73-76 (Chamber of Commerce)

It was already been said that International agencies helped in forming tourism products in B&H. They helped to bridge the aforesaid issues;

They started on their own initiative, but then they reach the point they cannot go further. But I think that we {International Organisation} did some useful things, at least we break that barrier. We linked the guys from Banja Luka and Bihac with Drvar. They now help each other whenever it is necessary and do not need us there anymore. They do it on their own now, but we support if there are any interesting project they would like to initiate. The last one was the certification of the skippers. Through that programme, they met the guys from Tara and Neretva {2 rafting rivers} and now they want to create a project which is called 4 rafting rivers in B&H and they work on it now. People want to learn and work together.

I 22 78-86 (International Agencies)

Regarding other products, the informants agreed with the private sector findings, saying that all the tourism products have a chance of succeeding. However, basic regulations have not been put in place yet. Spasmodic funding from private initiatives or international agencies, are a step in the right direction, but the industry is still unregulated and this creates other sorts of problems, for instance, the intensive and unregulated urbanisation of the Olympic mountains near Sarajevo, as already presented in this section.

The informants mentioned one issue concerning the spa resorts. As well as people visiting the spas for a wellness break, there are also people with physical wounds from the conflict, many of them disabled who go to the spa for the rehabilitation purposes. Informant I24, based on her own experience, was slightly was slightly concerned at those two groups of people, both with different agendas. This is also an issue to consider.

Our spas are a fantastic resource. But we have so many people disabled thanks to the war. It is uncomfortable to confront with this and you just want to cry. I do not think so that the people will be so heartless to come to the spa for a wellness treatment. Probably the medical and recreational part should be separated, but it is still not that easy to do that and we do not have the money for that.

I24 89-93 (Chamber of Commerce)

Although the natural environment is an asset for B&H, the unexploded land mines are detrimental to its chance of developing tourism. People are well aware that there are land mines in B&H, but what is less well known is that the areas where the land mines are located are strictly designated and known to the authorities. This needs to be well communicated to potential markets in a phoenix tourism setting, else it could prove to be a serious setback to B&H chances of tourism development.

I talked to some of my friends from France, interested in travelling, been to Croatia, I said why not go to Bosnia for one of two days and they told me that they read somewhere that there were still landmines and some danger in visiting the country and they decided not to come

I35 167-171 (Tourism Advisor)

Pre-conflict heavy industries do not work with the same capacities anymore. This increased the potential for developing outdoor activities. However, there are certain issues detrimental to such a development. For example even mentioning land mines is enough to stop people thinking about an outdoor based holidays in B&H. Furthermore, tourism products in B&H are not ready because they lack the certificates, standardisation and regulations. If the latter dimension is resolved, that is the start to solve all the others.

7.7.3 Theme III: Tourism markets

The presentation of the findings in this section follows the same structure as that of the private sector (table 7.6) and concentrates on the dimensions which were not previously identified. These are international communities (1996-1999), as the first stage, a break through stage: VFR, backpackers, solidarity markets, diaspora and researchers and then niche tourism markets and generic markets. Except the diaspora and the backpackers, the public sector indicates no other break-through market in B&H. The diaspora is a constant in every post-conflict society and is therefore featured as a specific category.

The post-conflict stage is characterised by the presence of the international community in the country, a presence, which initially kick starts the process of tourism development. However, their numbers in B&H are now decreasing and the country is starting to target “ordinary” tourists.

7.7.3.1 International communities and peacekeeping force

The public sector confirmed the private sector point-of-view regarding the first stage of tourism in B&H. Due to the intensive presence of the international community demand was higher than supply and this resulted in high room rates and the building of new hotels to increase capacities.

In 1999 we had 21 hotels and B&Bs in Sarajevo, now we have 64. And now supply is increasing, demand... I cannot say that it is decreasing, but something like 2001, the troops went home and the fight for tourists began.

I33 155-157 (Tourism Association President)

The first stage after the Dayton Peace Agreement from 1996 until 1999 was the period of reconstruction when all the tourists we had were international associations based in B&H. They paid our hoteliers on relatively high prices and tolerated relatively low standard of service.

I33 149-154

The presence of the international community has constantly been decreasing (for instance 60,000 EUFOR soldiers in 1996, now 2,000, according to EUFOR) and the year 2001 was classified as a breaking point when relations between demand and supply was skewed in favour of demand.

7.7.3.2 Backpackers

To the private sector backpackers represent the first real tourists to come to Sarajevo. The public sector argued that they are still a dominant market segment. They perceive this to be an indicator that tourism sector in B&H is still not capable of receiving other niche tourists. Unfortunately the researcher was not able to research the backpacker tourism segment, because official market statistics cannot reveal the data and second, because such intelligence is not reliable due to the significant number of non-registered tourists. However, from the observations, the researcher could see that most of the tourists on the streets of Sarajevo were backpackers. The public sector argues that backpacker segment will tolerate faults in the delivery of a tourism product, thus explaining large number of the backpackers who visit Sarajevo.

The city [Sarajevo] is full of young tourists, backpackers. I am glad they are here. It is too early to speak about any other tourists.

I23 30-31 (Chamber of Commerce)

Backpackers still dominate the tourism scene in Sarajevo, which indicates that the city is still in the early stages of tourism development. The informants argued that providers should focus on the quality on offer if they want to target other tourist segments.

7.7.3.3 “Real tourists”

As previously said, the year 2000-2001 can be described as a breaking point when the real “fight” for the tourists began. This section presents those tourists in their geo-political context. Two significant segments emerged from these findings; the tourists from former Yugoslavia and tourists from other countries.

Former Yugoslav Market

Most of the issues already mentioned by the private sector, apply to the public sector as well. An important product for former Yugoslavia is winter skiing. This product is competitive in former Yugoslav market, but extends no further from there.

The public sector added some dimensions which illustrate how the former Yugoslav market interacts with tourism in B&H. An important dimension to remember is that is that the markets are nationally divided. On the Jahorina Mountain, an Olympic ski resort situated in Republic Srpska, tourists mostly come from Serbia. Croatians usually visit Blidinje and Kupres, (situated in the Croatian cantons in the Federation).

When we consider our former country, talking about Republic Srpska (RS) most of our tourists are from Serbia of course, followed by Slovenians then Croatians.

I26 121-213 (Tourism Office RS)

In Jahorina for instance, 85% of the tourists are from Serbia.

I24 93 (Chamber of Commerce)

However, this does not mean that they do not visit other parts of B&H. In fact they do, but make their base in that part of B&H related to their own ethnic origins. Exceptions are tourists from Slovenia who chose destinations based only on their own preferences.

Slovenians are great because they do not have any fears and everything is so cheap for them.

I26 215-216 (Tourism Office RS)

The informants concluded that it is important to maintain a positive attitude towards the neighbouring markets. Tourists from former Yugoslavia would still choose to come to B&H for a holiday because it is convenient and price competitive. They know the destination and they can “tolerate” imperfection because they are aware of what the country has been through.

I always say, let's conquer our neighbouring markets first. They have traditionally been our guests. We know them and they know what to expect from us. It is good that we have them to start with.

I24 95-97 (Chamber of Commerce)

The informants expressed their hope to become more competitive in the markets further away than just former Yugoslavia market.

We still do not have any campaigns in Europe, I think we are not ready for that, but we will get there soon.

I26 221-222 (Tourism Organisation RS)

Our neighbours are definitely the most important market, particularly Slovenia and Croatia, but we have to work on attracting others as well.

I22 143-144 (Academia and consultant)

Other European countries

Tourists from other European countries come to B&H. The private sector respondents argued that tourist experiences are extremely positive. Yet the public sector believe that this is not because of the quality of the tourism product on offer, but because these tourists have very low expectations, easily met by B&H.

The foreign tourists' experiences here are usually very positive. Is it because our nature is so lovely, our cultural heritage so overwhelming or simply because their expectations are very low and it so easy for us to satisfy that?

I26 265-267 (Tourism Organisation RS)

The countries where most tourists come from are: Germany, Italy, France, UK, Hungary and Scandinavian countries. The latter's interest stems from B&H diaspora. However, there is inconsistency. One interviewee, who fled B&H for Italy, said that the trade fair in Milan and Italian tourists are the most important market sector. Another interviewee who spent ten years in Germany wants to target the German market.

Germany and Austria are number one. Then we should target Denmark, Holland and Switzerland.

I33 288-289 (Tourism Association)

In my opinion, the tourism fair in Milan is the most important for us, but it is so expensive

I37 91-92 (Advisor – tourism and investments)

It is still not possible to target a specific country segment due to unreliable market intelligence. Market strategies are based on feelings instead of real market research. Tourist officials target markets with which the informants have established personal connections, other than professional.

We don't have the data; our decisions are based on feelings.

I33 167 (Tourism Association)

7.7.3.4 Tourism and nostalgia

The informants highlight that the nostalgia is also an important element for B&H being an attractive destination for the people from former Yugoslavia.

Most of our tourists are from this region, but mostly Slovenians. They like former Yugoslavia and what we offer. They are nostalgic as well.

I32 253-254 (Tourism Office – Regional)

Some people from former Yugoslavia come to B&H retaining the memory of their former country. It is part of human psychology to compare the present with the past. The cult of former Yugoslav president Tito is still present and strong in B&H. This is especially relevant for the former Yugoslav Republics. People come to B&H in order to find part of their past which they do not want to forget. They still remember some of the sites they visited during their school days and the Yugoslav Antifascism inheritance. Most of the World War II battles happened in B&H. The ordinary people in B&H expressed positive feelings regarding President Tito and he was a cult figure in former Yugoslavia. People in other Yugoslav Republics, except certain extreme factions, want to explore the hidden past, forgotten during those turbulent times in the region. In B&H nostalgic sentiments go even further as, according to Bosnians collectively, in former Yugoslavia they lived in peace. Many tourists come from former Yugoslav countries in order to visit the sites which were associated with their former country. Those sites are linked to Bosnia. The constitution of the former country was established in B&H city of Jajce on November 29th 1943. The museums which exhibited the antifascist heritage, were devastated during the conflict. Those sites are now getting refurbished, because as emotions calmed down people became more interested in investigating the past.

Stojcevac is interesting as it was Tito's residence. It was completely destroyed during the war, but there is a lot of interest in investing in that project, due to its historical meaning.

I31 227-229 (Tourism ministry – Federation)

However, some politicians think that it is inappropriate to glorify the past. This was especially highlighted, just after the conflict, when a majority of the people perceived this negatively. They were strictly against evoking it.

Once, at a meeting of our cantonal government I suggested that we should re-open the AVNOJ²⁰ Museum. This was in the year 1999. They told me that I am Yugo-nostalgic and that I am a communist. But it is incredible how many people from former Yugoslav countries are searching for that.

I37 145-150 (Advisor-tourism and investment)

As time passed people forget about the negative memories and evoke only the positive ones. They become nostalgic about the past and as already said, they actually believe that their life was better in former Yugoslavia. These nostalgic sentiments have the potential to become an important tourist magnet. However, these issues can easily be politicised, in particular the issue of Tito's Cave in the mountains near the small town of Drvar, situated in the west B&H. The cave was transformed into a tourism site. The historical background was that German airborne forces attacked Tito's headquarters in Drvar in 1944, almost capturing him. However, the embassy of the international donor agency did not want to participate in this project, saying that it glorifies communism. After explaining that the project was concerned only with tourism not with the politics, that there was a market interested in this tourism product and that the local villages may benefit, the project got the necessary permission to proceed.

Tito is an interesting character when it comes to tourism. But we had some problems with the government authorities and with the embassy of the donor country. We had to explain that we are doing it purely for tourism purposes. I mean this is fine, but it took us ages to get this go ahead. This locality had 5.000 visitors since it opened its doors. You cannot imagine what it means for such a poor rural area.

I32 332-335 (International Agency)

7.7.3.5 Epilogue

It is commonly said that tour operators from other parts of former Yugoslavia manage tourism in B&H in pre-1990 period. However, the informants acknowledged that certain projects in pre-1990's, managed by Bosnians themselves, were better then, compared to how it is done now! For instance, a project created with the requirements of a particular market segment in mind. With the Olympic Games, tourism had started to consolidate;

I had Dutch tourists, an allotment contract created for the Sedra complex, 5 months per year. The whole product was created with the Dutch market in mind.

I42 150-151 (Tourism Association – retired)

²⁰ AVNOJ [stands for Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia]

This is an example of a project making use of marketing intelligence, employing the knowledge acquired in a post Olympic games flare.

B&H cannot have a market strategy without accurate market intelligence. The tourism product needs to be created with target markets in mind. This is a generic characteristic. However, this particular case is also quite a contextual issue, as B&H does not have a market strategy and does not know who the tourists are. Therefore, it is almost impossible to create a product and match it with a targeted market. This dimension is one of the consequences of the complicated, almost chaotic, post-conflict settings.

I mean, of course that you have a tourism product which suits the market you are targeting. French and Dutch are not the same. And not even all the French are the same.

I42 155-157 (Tourism Association - retired)

One can expect on the Neum²¹ seaside to flag some tourists from Germany maybe, but don't expect French tourists to go there...if they come to B&H will be more attracted to cultural tourism. [sic]

I35 110-115 (Tourism Advisor – state)

7.7.4 Theme IV: Tourism image and promotion agents

EU Commission tourism experts agree that although the entities are charged with tourism development, promotion has to be done on a state level. Consequently they suggest tourism strategy and tourism regulations on a state level.

A general framework, an institutional framework of tourism at the level of the state and there is also a need to create a special authority for tourism on a state level, maybe within the Ministry of Foreign Relations, maybe with FIPA, but it has to be on a state level. [sic]

I35 24-27 (Tourism Advisor)

The local decision makers paraphrased the context;

The French government sent us an expert to help us with tourism development. We were advised not to go into promotion regionally.

I21 23-24 (Tourism investment manager)

Confirming the private sector perceptions, the public sector observed that although improving, B&H still suffers from a bad image. This was witnessed at tourism trade fairs with tour operators still asking questions which revealed their negative perceptions of the country.

²¹ B&H seaside resort

If the tour operators at the trade fairs are asking if we are still at war it means that we are not well positioned. It is a signal that we need to do something about it.

I32 278-279 (Tourism Organisation - Regional)

The informants suggested a few strategies to improve the country's tourism image. Firstly, the country needs to promote itself as part of a bigger region.

We should present ourselves as a Balkan or as a Mediterranean region. Herzegovina could present itself as a part of the Mediterranean and Bosnia as a part of the Balkans.

I32 288-289 (Tourism Organisation – Regional)

In the post-conflict settings, the public sector in B&H said that they should be promoting B&H *everywhere* and in every possible way and that tourism promotion needed to be coordinated with the improvement of tourism product.

We should be everywhere, internet, in-flight magazine, TV, all possible means of communication. This needs to be coordinated with strategy to raise the level of tourism services.

I26 256-258 (Tourism Organisation RS)

Moreover, it was suggested that in order to change the perception of B&H, a degree of creativity would be required. The world outside looked at B&H in a different way. The media was again identified as being an important partner in tourism promotion and not just the travel sections in the Sunday supplements. Positive reports about what was going on in B&H produced with an optimistic spin, would assist in the process. Good personal relations with significant people in other countries also needed to be employed. For instance, a bishop from Milan on a visit to Sarajevo and Banja Luka led a group of Italian tour operators.

We are trying to ignite the interest of the tour operators by using an alternative approach. A bishop from Milan, Italy was here. He guided a group of Italian tour operators and we toured around B&H with them. They met domestic ground handlers and the authorities to devise religious and cultural tourism products.

I26 229-232 (Tourism Organisation - RS)

The public sector informants highlighted the role of B&H diplomacy in the area of tourism promotion. One informant recalls a promotional event held in Croatia several years ago, attended by several members of the B&H diplomatic corps.

A few years ago we made our promotion in National Park Plitvice Lakes in Croatia. There were around 30 journalists from 8 countries, there, as well as the B&H ambassador from Croatia and the Croatian consul in B&H. I think that it is important to actively involve our diplomats in tourism promotion, instead of just sending out brochures to tourism contacts.

I37 117-121 (Advisor-Tourism and Investments)

7.7.4.1 Media and sensationalism

This section further presents the role of the media from a public sector perspective. However, the promotion of B&H on CNN did not take that impressive discussion as it was with the private sector, even though the public sector and an international agency were involved in the project.

Sarajevo was prominently featured in the media because of the tragedies which were happening there. However, when the peace process was concluded, Sarajevo was no longer featured, except when there was a story directly related to the conflict. The positive changes, reconstruction, the refugees' return, etc, were rarely featured.

The questions at the trade fairs were strange. Perhaps this was due to the information blockade. That was the time when Sarajevo was perceived in a negative light; all snipers, killings and so on. Then all of a sudden, as soon as a peace agreement was signed, we were not featured in media anymore. Not one report about the reconciliation has ever been featured in the media. Everyone forgot about Sarajevo, they just remember the last images they saw. The media went to more interesting areas, Chechnya, Afghanistan and a like.

I33 32-36 (Tourism Association)

In order to keep in the media spotlight, it is important to create events or tourism products to arouse media interests, and then invite them to visit. The creation of the "wine roads" tourism product was an example of this. The organisers invited tour operators and journalists from Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro, specifically targeted because they were known to have an interest in this type of and because they were already aware of the post-conflict situation in B&H.

We invited tour operators and journalists from the surrounding areas to see if this product [wine roads] was interesting enough for them to feature it. They are going to be our guests for 2 days.

I32 248-250 (Tourism Office – regional)

The informants reported that they got help from international agencies to access journalists from the countries they targeted. For example, German development agency GTZ, helped initiate the contact with the journalists from Germany.

We undertook another project with GTZ, they helped us to realise a familiarisation trip with the journalists from Germany, who reported that the project was fantastic.

I32 (264-265) Tourism Office-regional

Out of all the interviewed representatives from the different levels of tourism associations and organisations, only two respondents believed a more proactive approach should be taken towards the journalists. The researcher got the impression that the public sector was not aware that they should be doing more to initiate contact with the media. With the cessation of conflict, the country is no longer worth reporting about (i.e. from a media perspective, peace is not that interesting as conflict). The Tourism Associations at each level need to employ a more proactive approach regarding the involvement of the media. Informants expressed their passivity regarding this issue. For example;

If journalists want to be affirmative regarding Bosnia, they would not constantly present it as a country which was involved in conflict and write about World War II and so on. On the contrary, they would feature articles about very hospitable people, nice food and multiethnic society.

I42 (351-354) Tourism Association-retired

Where there are events and tourism products, which may provoke the interest of journalists, the tourism offices need to stimulate this interest by employing a more proactive approach.

7.7.4.2 CNN promotion

One informant who was an initiator of the CNN campaign, said that this was just one of a few activities planned to institutionally initiate the process of image change for B&H internationally. The institutions who worked on this initiative were the Federation of B&H Ministry for the Environment and Tourism, Republic Srpska Ministry of Trade and Tourism, Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the state level [tourism department], Chamber of Commerce, Foreign Investment Promotion Agency [FIPA] and USAID. This initiative, as already said, was made not only to promote tourism externally, but most importantly to promote it as a viable economic sector. Therefore government and other public sector institutions were included in the campaign. The other activities included in this initiative

were designing an official logo for B&H and creating a stall to be featured at tourism trade fairs. At World Travel Market (WTM) in November 2007, it got an award for the best featured country presentation. This initiative was directly focused into changing the image of B&H abroad and changing the image of an industry internally. The campaign was officially presented for the first time on September 27th, 2006, the Day of Tourism and had a premiere on the TV show “Tourism Plus” which is broadcast on both public televisions, channels in RS and the Federation. The TV show has a big audience and is a co-production between the entities. Accordingly, it was felt to be the perfect vehicle with which to reach business, ordinary people and governing bodies, in order to promote tourism as a viable sector. Another aim was to promote B&H externally. Previously, B&H was featured on CNN in the early nineties through the conflict. Now in 2006, the country was being featured in a completely different context; by promoting itself for tourism.

7.7.4.3 Epilogue: to wait or not to wait

Both the private and public sector argued that the entity level regulations of the industry slow down the development process with the non-existence of any laws at a state level characterised being the main problem. Development of B&H as a tourist destination is taking much longer than expected because it is difficult to agree on a decision. There has to be a consensus all the time, which is very difficult to achieve. The proposed laws to regulate the tourist sector at a state level, is written in two different versions. The first version proposes all the liabilities are transferred to the state level, while the second version suggests the internal regulations of the tourism industry should remain the responsibility of the entities. Now the question is whether to wait for a good moment to transfer all liabilities from the entities to the state or to implement a law which transfers only the issues regarding promotion internationally to the state level. The findings show that the second suggestion, i.e. a partial transit would be a better solution. Cooperation between the entities would at least be regulated in the sphere where it is the most important at the time of writing and allow more open cooperation. Dependent on results, this cooperation could be extended. Perhaps the next stage could be transferring all liabilities to the state.

B&H state level regulates the following issues: foreign policy, foreign state policy, customs policy, monetary policy, finance (both for the institutions and for the international obligations of B&H), immigration, refugee and asylum regulation, international and inter-entity criminal law, relations with Interpol, establishment and operation of common and

international communication facilities, regulation of inter-entity transportation and air traffic control (OHR 1995). Everything else is controlled by individual entities. In order to pass a decision at state level, the entities first have to reach a consensus (as per the Dayton Agreement). No authority in B&H has the power to make a decision. There are even three state presidents at the same time, one Croatian, one Bosniak and one Serb. The country is regulated nationally. The constitution need to be changed if the country is to go forward. Naturally, this will take time.

The findings suggest that partial solutions may temporarily help. The country is in a crisis and waiting will merely deepen this. The findings show that a few projects, despite being implemented partially, gave good results with any mistakes fixed along the way. This section completes the analysis of tourism development under post-conflict settings. The analysis resulted in a final framework of post-conflict tourism development for areas affected by long-term political conflict, which will be employed as a basis for the discussion chapter.

8. DISCUSSION

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to elaborate upon the issues raised through the findings. The chapter synthesises the narrative data generated from this study with the empirical data generated from the literature, focusing on research aims and objectives. The discussion chapter presents the context of B&H, with some references given to the issues of Northern Ireland which influenced the Bosnian study. The synthesis of those two studies does not lead to generalisation, but to transferability of the contexts, which move the knowledge forward and make qualitative research trustworthy (see methodology chapter). The researcher's framework is a result of interpretive research epistemology, realist ontology and unstructured or semi-structured interviews, overt participant observation is presented in the figure 8.2 further in this chapter.

The research presents tourism in its wider socio-political context, i.e. how wider socio-cultural and geopolitical settings influence tourism in the context of its recovery after a long-term conflict. It is complemented with the concept of typical tourism themes under these complex social and political settings. The most significant is the meeting point between these two perspectives, the issue of war memorabilia sites. As war inheritance, it is a part of the wider socio-cultural and geopolitical context. Tourists show an interest towards the war memorabilia sites. This is the point at where tourism, conflict and current social context meet. The discussion chapter explains tourism development under these complex social settings. Before the discussion, the researcher will present phoenix tourism, the concept under which post-conflict tourism development is explored.

The researcher will elaborate those issues, while addressing research aims and objectives. Research diagram (figure 8.1) illustrates the way in which the researcher conceptualised her work. It notes the themes emerging from the analysis and links them towards research objectives.

The overall aim of this chapter is to give meaning to research findings in the light of the research objectives, with reference to previously elaborated theoretical concepts. The research objectives are:

- Objective I: to explore the influence of conflict inheritance on Butler's (1980) tourism area life cycle (TALC)
- Objective II: to explore the influence of the wider political context on tourism development

- Objective III: to understand the meaning of tourism in the process of reconciliation
- Objective IV: to explore the process of the sacralisation (Maccannell 1999) of the sites which are a direct conflict inheritance, through addressing the issue of management, presentation and interpretation of these sites to tourists
- Objective V: to explore the process of destination re-imagining in the post-conflict settings

The research aim is to explore the process of tourism development in the post-conflict context.

8.2 LITERATURE REVIEW OUTLINE

The table below presents the main issues regarding post-political conflict tourism development, a synopsis of the framework extracted from the literature review. The first important moment in the literature review is the difference made between tourism development after a short-term political conflict, and tourism development after a long-term political conflict. Long-term conflicts are wars and long-term political instability, which can escalate into violence. Short-term implies terrorism. Smith (1998) explains that wars and terrorist attacks are different because of the time component. War is a social phenomenon. It is embedded in the society and it leaves a heritage. Sonmez (1998) distinguishes between the implications of terrorism on tourism on the one hand, and political instability on the other. This is as far as the differentiation can be made. He concludes that the issues depend on political, social and cultural settings rather than on the type of political instability. He calls for more qualitative research in conceptualising tourism development after a conflict, because the conflict is imbedded in the society. The main criticism of the literature review is that the data is either not derived empirically or are the results of testing a hypothesis derived from the literature. It results in, what Habermas (1978) calls, a technical knowledge (see methodology, section 2.5 Knowledge creation), which is just one out of three perceptions on knowledge creation. Understanding and emancipatory knowledge in this context is missing and needs further exploration. The literature review is a result of positivist and quantitative research. It misses the meanings and understands the issues as mechanisms. However, this research understands them as processes, and gives meaning to the issues of tourism development after the conflict. This research understands the post-conflict tourism issues to be processes, or part of one big process, acknowledging the relationships between the issues and their meanings within the process. A qualitative research design is a means of understanding the processes. Furthermore, the study about tourism after a long-term conflict did not acknowledge the visitation of the war memorabilia site in that context, although it is embedded in the process of tourism development. Tourism academia labels it as a “dark tourism”, which by itself has negative connotations (especially within the local communities). Dark tourism is defined as motivated in the death and depravity, for example, Lennon and Foley (1996, 2000, etc), Seaton (1996) Tarlow (2005), etc. As already said, this research deconstructs

the dark tourism concept by pulling out the context of a post-conflict. This research added the visitation of war inheritance sites into a framework of post-conflict tourism.

Table 8.1 Main literature review issues

ISSUE	SUB-THEMES	KEY AUTHORS
Political role of tourism and political involvement	Tourism as a political marionette <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Marcos in the Philippines and Franco in Spain used tourism in order to promote regime - Israel- promoting the common heritage and Jewish identity through tourism 	Richter (1980), (1982), Schneider (1991) Hall (1994) Cohen et al (2002)
	Tourism and healing the wounds of conflict <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Jordan and Israel success - Cyprus – failure 	Kelly (1998) Anastasapolous (1992)
	Travel advisory <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - If the country wants good relationships, it uses travel advisory 	Teye (1986) Sharpley (1994) Smith (1999)
Media	Lack of social responsibility <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Media do not care about the consequences of sensational reporting 	Chomski & Herman 1979
	- Terrorism Vs War reporting	Sonmez 1998
	- Induced vs Organic image	Gunn 1972
	- TV and superficiality Slavonia mistaken for Slovenia	Mihalic 1996
Substitution vs spill-over effect	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Generalisation - Substitution is intraregional, people travel to other regions, spill-over is inter-regional – people travel to a neighbouring country if safe, - more unique products are less substitutable 	Mansfeld 1999 Mihalic 1996 Cavlek 2002
Tourism markets	- Cross-cultural differences	Pizam and Mansfeld 1999
	- Target more experienced vs apprehensive markets	D'Amore and Anunza 1986
	- VFR segment understands the cause and does not restrict itself	Witt and Moore 1992
War tourists	Journalists, aid workers and people who want to get excited by the events	Pitts 1996 Mihalic 1996
War memorabilia	Difference between war and terrorism – war has its social involvement	Smith 1996
Industry response	Tour operators reaction, tourism associations	Cavlek 2002 Grosspietsch 2005
Image formation and re-imaging	Events, new and unique products personal selling, PR	Witt and Moore 1992

8.3 THE PROCESS OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AFTER A LONG TERM POLITICAL CONFLICT: THE EMERGENCE OF THE PHOENIX TOURISM PARADIGM

The literature review conceptualised sites inherited from the conflict under the dark tourism context. It is based on the assumption that the tourists are motivated by an encounter with death and disaster to visit those sites. However, it does not encompass the real meaning of these sites in tourism and the society. Research on dark tourism is weak and fragmented (Dunkley, Morgan and Westwood 2007). It was relatively recently that the theory recognised chronological and spatial differences. Miles (2002) introduces spatial conceptualisation. The “real sites” are “darker” than the commemoration sites. Auschwitz is darker than the Washington DC Holocaust Museum, because it was the site where atrocities happened. This analysis puts so called dark tourism more into context. It is the beginning of the deconstruction of the dark tourism concept.

The researcher bases the phoenix tourism concept on chronological and spatial dimensions. The spatial dimension puts the research into the right social and political settings. The chronological dimension gives meaning to the concept and contextualises it further. The basis of the spatial and chronological paradigm is Bloch’s (1982) Madagascar Merina tribe funeral ritual of a double burial. The chronological dimension is defined as the transformation of feelings through the ritual. In the first stage the feelings are sorrow and sadness. In tourism terms, the houses are ruined, and the bridges are burned. It is still fresh. In the Merina tribe ritual the sorrow is part of the process of the first burial. The person is buried as an individual, with their name as to identify them. It stays like that for a certain period of time. The next stage is the journey, commencing when the bodies are dry and then excavated, and the bones buried again, but now as ancestors and in another location. This journey is a transformation. Emotions are changing. This journey is a phoenix stage of tourism development. It is a bridge, the process which explains the transformation. Through such a journey, emotions are changing. It is not sad any more. It is rising; it is a hope and blessing. Ancestors do not have an individual name. They became heritage through the journey and the rituals, which follow the journey. It is the same with tourism. Through the phoenix stage, war inherited sites are becoming heritage. Unfortunately, the chronological moments are difficult to calculate. They can be estimated through the transferability of the socio-political and cultural settings. In the instance of Bosnia, it is concluded that those moments depend on the conflict intensity, and the

mechanisms of moral and social catharsis. In B&H, the phoenix stage lasts longer because the regulatory system slows down the process of reconciliation.

Phoenix tourism is not just a label to understand the real meaning of war-inherited sites. It is not another label for dark tourism. Phoenix tourism encompasses the processes which follow post-political conflict tourism. It is a transcendental emotion, a transformation between the emotions of sadness and sorrow, to the emotions of transcendentalism and immortality. This energy of rising, re-building and making order is felt by the tourists and by the locals. The stage is named after the mythical bird, the phoenix, rose from the ashes. This is a metaphor of the whole process. War inherited sites are observed under this philosophy and therefore cannot be observed as dark tourism sites. They will simply remain war memorabilia sites and their visitation and interpretation is a part of the phoenix process. The section follows the researcher's phoenix tourism framework, explaining the issues, which characterise the process.

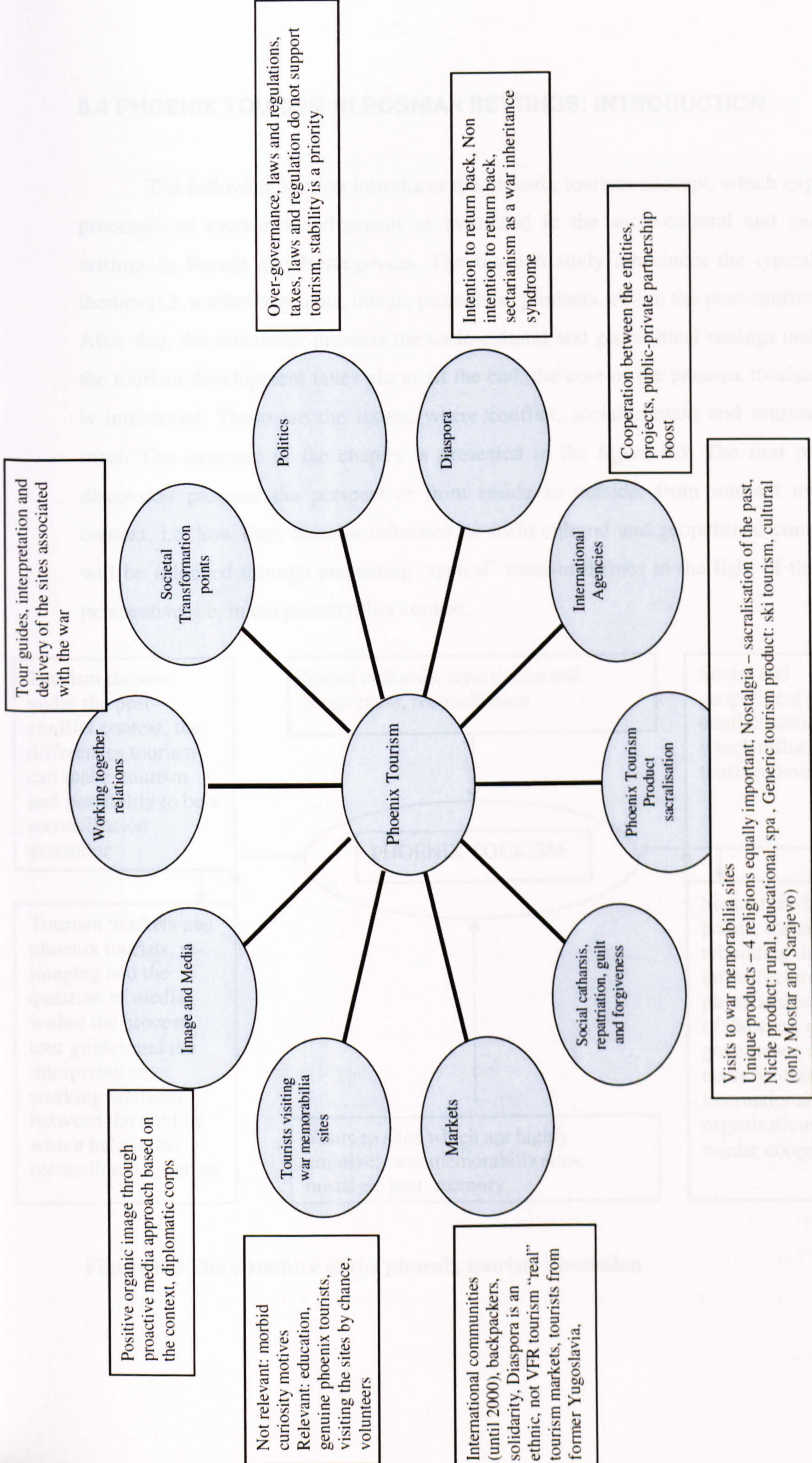


Figure 8.1: Phoenix tourism framework

8.4 PHOENIX TOURISM IN BOSNIAN SETTINGS: INTRODUCTION

The following section introduces the phoenix tourism concept, which explores the processes of tourism development as imbedded in the socio-cultural and geopolitical settings in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Bosnian study introduces the typical tourism themes (i.e. market segments, image, promotion, products, etc) in the post-conflict context. After that, the researcher presents the socio-cultural and geopolitical settings under which the tourism development takes place. At the end, the core of the phoenix tourism concept is introduced. Those are the issues, where conflict, social context and tourism context meet. The structure of the chapter is presented in the figure 8.3. The first part of the discussion presents the perspective from inside to outside, from tourism towards its context, i.e. how does tourism influence its socio-cultural and geopolitical context? This will be achieved through presenting “typical” tourism themes in the light of the phoenix perspective, i.e. in the post conflict context.

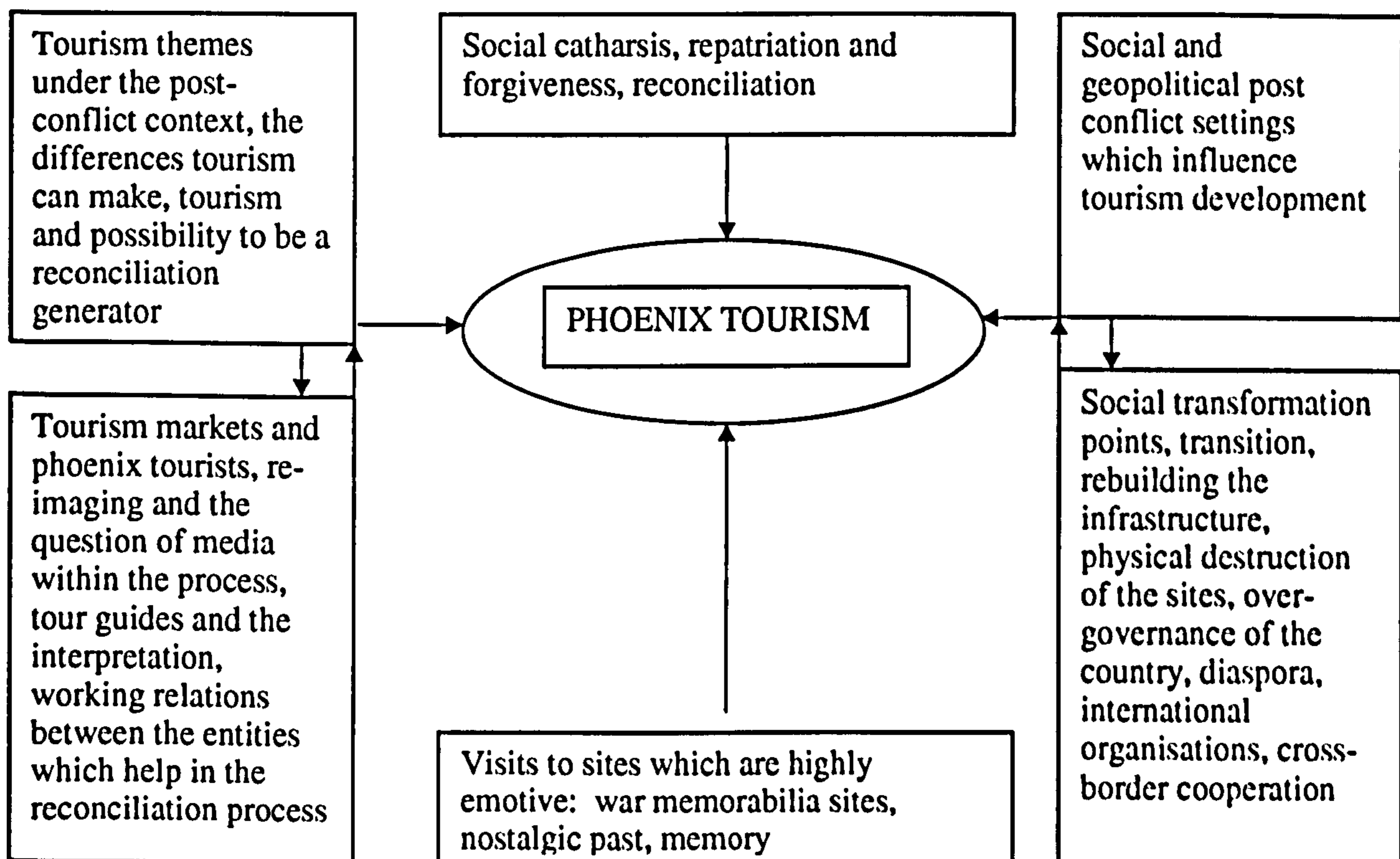


Figure 8.2 The structure of the phoenix tourism discussion

8.4.1 Part I: tourism themes under the post-conflict context

- Objective V: to explore the process of destination re-imaging in the post-conflict settings
- Objective III: to understand the meaning of tourism in the process of reconciliation

8.4.1.1 Media and image: CNN video clip

B&H is promoted on CNN as a tourist destination. A positivist research philosophy would be based on the facts; i.e. the promotion of B&H tourism on CNN. It would then try to measure the effects of this promotion and conclude whether it brought any changes to the image and perceptions of the country. However, in B&H, this was not the most important issue. The real value of this video clip was its promotion of a common identity within the country. Many people in B&H feel almost ashamed of their own country, indeed, it could be said that the country is suffering from an identity crisis. The video clip presents the country in an extremely positive light; so much so that the majority of people in Bosnia were able to forget this, so called identity crisis perceiving the country as a good place to live, highlighting the values which they had forgotten about in the times of misfortune, and be less ashamed of being from B&H. The video clip also promotes B&H's tourism sector internally as a part of the same promotion package as the CNN video clip. Tourism in B&H is not taken seriously, but this video clip aims to change this attitude. At the time of writing, displayed on the sides of the roads, there are billboards on the roads with the messages: *I live from my own work, I live from tourism*, suggesting to people that they can earn a living from tourism, for example: making rafting boat, constructing new roads, selling authentic souvenirs and making bread. It further illustrates the purpose of this campaign. Further, CNN, which used to report about B&H during the war, now features B&H as a tourist destination. This is the phoenix element emerging again.

If the campaign's sole purpose was to bring tourists to B&H, it would not be on CNN, but on National Geographic or similar to target niche tourists. Thus, the first and foremost task of tourism in B&H is to promote the country to its own citizens using "real" promotion to show the country in a more positive light. Another is promotion of the tourism sector.

People in B&H know that the video clip on CNN will not bring any new tourists to B&H. Its main value is in changing perceptions both internally and externally. However, if positivist philosophy had been taken during this research, then the promotion's real value would remain hidden.

Other media issues

Organic image (Gunn 1972), (literature review), plays an important part in presenting a destination whose image has been distorted through conflict and political instability. As said in the literature, (for instance Choi et al 2007), the issue of induced and organic image is no longer valid because of the influence of Internet. It is well known and often stated, that the Internet has changed the way people perceive the world by providing easy access to a vast array of information. Also significant are the global media houses followed by a great majority of people.

Even this researcher possesses the required skills to post a weblog or create a web site to encourage visitors to Sarajevo. However, if no interest in visiting Sarajevo exists, then there would be no demand for such a web site. Even if people were interested in finding information about Sarajevo via the internet, web site created by this researcher would not be easily accessible. It would be positioned very far away, requires a constant updating and know-how to position a web-site on the top.

The issues which the destination needs to feature in order to attract media and boost tourism are generic issues. Every destination which wants to develop tourism, knows that they have to be interesting in order to attract the media. One particular dimension, which characterises the phoenix tourism stage, is passiveness towards the media. Locals tend not to take the initiative and instead adopt a more passive approach. During the conflict, B&H received all the media attention. The conflict was sensational and therefore extremely newsworthy. Very much part of the context of phoenix tourism, the people of B&H still think that the media will come just by themselves. They do not realise that the media will not come if there is only good news to report, unless they are invited and given incentives. The first challenge is to change this passive attitude towards media. They have to approach the media proactively. This is difficult for two reasons. Firstly inexperience in handling the media, and secondly, as already said, their passive attitude towards the media, inherited from the conflict. Of course, once in B&H, the media find it sensational to report about tourism from an area where only thirteen years ago they used to report about sieges, atrocities and killings. However, they have to be motivated to come to the country.

Wall (1996), Buckley and Klemm (1992) believe that hosting events is the best way of bringing tourists back, but they fail to elaborate on what sorts of events would be best? Sarajevo wanted to host the Olympic Games; but they did not win the bid (122). In the phoenix tourism stage, the events to be hosted can be modest, so long as they are interesting to the media. Also it is important that the event is supported locally. The

International Sarajevo Film Festival is an example of such event. It started in 1994, when the city was still under siege. Though the Film Festival at that time was somewhat improvised, it gave the citizens of Sarajevo a sense of hope that it was still possible to carry on, even under such difficult circumstances. Throughout the years the festival has developed into an important film event, the strongest in the region. In this sense, Sarajevo still in the media's eye, and attracts celebrities to visit. This is a good combination of independent cinema production, celebrities (who rank the event highly enough to attend), as an interesting location which has risen from the ashes. The story of Sarajevo is embroidered into the film festival. Festival organisers and Sarajevo citizens engage their emotions and passions, in such a way as to support the event. Citizens want to thank the film festival. It gave them fuel for their minds during the war. This film festival is not a global event, but for a particular niche market only.

The media is not interested in the phoenix stage. Therefore, the destination needs to create a reason the media come and feature the event. Once the media knows that Sarajevo is hosting an event, they will want to report on it. The media find it sensational to feature places like Sarajevo in the context of festivals and tourism. Featuring Sarajevo in a story, unrelated to conflict *per se*, is indeed sensational. In the phoenix stage of tourism, the media needs to be guided to the destination, because it will not find its way to the destination alone.



Figure 8.3: Attracting media in the phoenix tourism context

8.4.2 Tourism markets

- Objective I: to explore the influence of conflict inheritance on Butler's (1980) tourism area life cycle (TALC)

B&H's tourism markets, as a direct consequence of the conflict and taken chronologically, consist of international communities, diaspora, backpackers, phoenix tourists, and niche tourists.

8.4.2.1 International community

Conflict in Bosnia left a large international community. In 1996, there were 60.000 peace keeping forces serving in Bosnia. These were succeeded by a smaller NATO led Stabilisation forces (SFOR), which in 2004 was replaced by the European Peace Keeping Forces (EUFOR). At the time of writing, there are approximately 2.500 of EUFOR personnel still present in Bosnia (www.euforbih.org). Also still present in B&H is the Office of High Representative (OHR) which supervises the transition processes in the country.

Besides the international peace keeping forces and OHR, there are still a number of international agencies and aid donors based in Bosnia (for example USAID, GTZ, JICA, CARE). The total number of individuals who make up the international community in B&H is not known, but this figure is not important for the purposes of this research. It is only important to realise that their numbers have been sharply decreasing since the 2000, five years after the conflict ceased). International communities initiated the post-conflict tourism area life cycle. Although they are presented as the first tourists within the country, they are rarely mentioned in a tourism context. Butler and Baum (1999) recognise the existence of this segment, but their research interest is focused more on the use of the infrastructure remained after the departure of the international forces. The international community began travelling around the country for leisure purposes. Besides being the first tourists, the international community in Bosnia introduced the receptive side of tourism to be developed in Bosnia. Also, the people in B&H become more receptive to the idea of tourism development in their country. Their voice was authoritative. The opinions of the international community were taken seriously so if they considered tourism development to be a viable economic activity for B&H, it was more likely to be taken on board by the authorities. If B&H citizen had said that tourism should be developed it would not be taken seriously. The International community's role was twofold; they were the first tourists and then the first promoters of the tourism sector. According to WTO

guidance (WTO 2006b), troops serving in a foreign country are not tourists, neither are international communities who work in B&H. Yet those same troops, when they are going for a tourism motivated trip within the country, are engaged in real tourism activities.

Tourism started because of a few individuals from abroad who believed that social change and transformation for the better can actually happen through tourism. Their friends and relatives visit them in B&H. They can be mistakenly put together with the Bosnian diaspora, visiting friends and relatives segment (VFR). However, their motives differ from the motives of the Bosnian diaspora (next section). Friends and family of the international community are genuine VFR tourists. Their motives to visit are linked only to their friends and family. The Bosnian diaspora has more complex links; they come to B&H because of the memories, roots and their (lost) identity, presented in the next section.

A few older interviewees questioned whether the international community and VFR should be counted as tourists. They still classify tourism in terms the times before the conflict, i.e. when the motives to visit were linked to rest and relaxation at Yugoslavia's coastal resorts. However, the majority of the interviewees, especially younger ones, saw that the VFR was coming to see their family and friends working in Bosnia, what helped in the transitional period to consolidate and test the tourism products on offer. People were coming to the country even though the marketing strategy to attract them did not exist. Thus the international community and their VFR were the first official tourists. They were an important part of the learning process and tourism consolidation (figure 8.5). The strategies to attract tourists did not exist, but tourists were there anyway. Anyway, it was, therefore, possible to test tourism products in that way. With the international community sharply decreasing, this epoch is gone now. "Real" tourists, in the phoenix stage of tourism consolidation, need to be found.

The main characteristic of the Bosnian refugee exodus is similar to that one of the Lebanese. Bosnians did not expect the conflict to last so long. There had been a conflict in Slovenia in June 1991, which ceased after eleven days. In Bosnia, the exodus started in spring 1992 and they thought that they would be able to return home by the September of that year, the school starting time. Nobody perceived that the displacement would last so

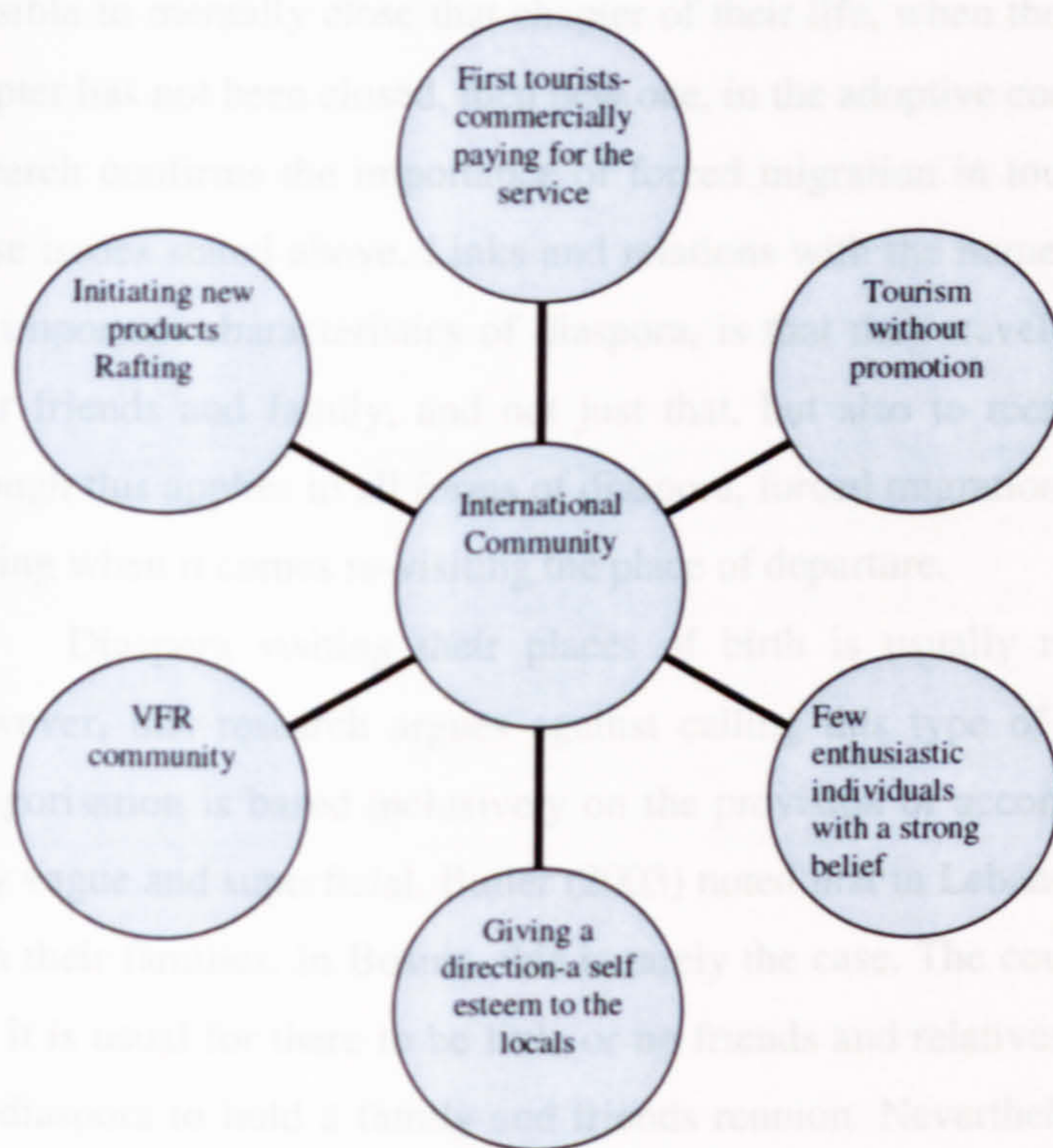


Figure 8.4: International community in B&H

8.4.2.2 Diaspora without any intention to return

The diaspora is another factor related to the consolidation of tourism in B&H following the conflict, and is a second segment to appear. Besides being forced and therefore intensively traumatic, Butler (2003) argued that the Lebanese refugees during the 1975-1990 civil war did not believe that conflict would last that long. Breakey and Craig (2005) noted the same with the reference to the troubles in Northern Ireland. People think that the troubles are going to be short-lived and that it will not be long before they can return to their homes. Permanency of displacement was neither planned nor envisaged. It is the main difference between economic and forced migration.

The main characteristic of the Bosnian refugee exodus is similar to that one of the Lebanese. Bosnians did not expect the conflict to last so long. There had been a conflict in Slovenia in June 1991, which ceased after eleven days. In Bosnia, the exodus started in spring 1992 and they thought that they would be able to return home by the September of that year, the school starting time. Nobody perceived that the displacement would last so

long, or that in some cases it would be permanent. They were not prepared, and it was not possible to mentally close that chapter of their life, when they had lived in Bosnia. If that chapter has not been closed, then new one, in the adoptive country, is difficult to start. This research confirms the importance of forced migration in tourism movements, because of those issues stated above. Links and relations with the home country are retained. One of the important characteristics of diaspora, is that they travel to a particular place to visit their friends and family, and not just that, but also to recall their memories and roots. Though this applies to all forms of diaspora, forced migration generates more emotion and feeling when it comes re-visiting the place of departure.

Diaspora visiting their places of birth is usually referred to as VFR tourism. However, this research argues against calling this type of tourism VFR tourism. This categorisation is based inclusively on the provision of accommodation and appears to be very vague and superficial. Butler (2003) noted that in Lebanon, the diaspora usually stays with their families. In Bosnia, this is rarely the case. The country was ethnically cleansed and it is usual for there to be little or no friends and relatives left. It is more common for the diaspora to hold a family and friends reunion. Nevertheless, they are one of the first groups of tourists coming to the country, a solidarity market. The Bosnian diaspora usually stays in hotels, at least for a considerable part of their holiday. Their main reason for travelling is not exclusively to visit friends and relatives, but also to close a chapter of their lives which was still open, or to visit places which have a special meaning to them. Instead of calling it VFR tourism, this research confirms Butler (2003) and thus calls this type of tourism ethnic tourism.

Although the diaspora are among the first tourists to return after the conflict, they are not always perceived in a positive light. A fraction of the private sector, mostly older males, do not agree with calling the diaspora tourists as they do not have any genuine tourist motives in coming to B&H. Although the attitudes like *why do they come now, Bosnians do not need them...* are still present, these are in the minority. The diaspora spends their entire holiday in the country where they come from they came and are still bonded to that place.

Tourism in post-conflict Bosnia was, until 2001-2002, booming. Although tourism in a conventional sense did not exist, international communities and the diaspora initiated tourism activities. The interviewees noted that it was actually difficult to find a vacancy in Sarajevo and that the rates were rarely less than KM 200 (EUR 100). Tourism was not planned; it was happening by chance. The initial post-conflict settings were in B&H

surprisingly characterised by the presence of tourism activities. Tourists were coming therefore strategies were not considered essential. This stage left Bosnians passive towards tourism. They believed that there was not a lot needing to be done in order to bring in the tourists. However, this quickly changed with international agencies leaving the country. B&H needed to wake up and start fight, this time for the tourists. The first “real” tourists coming to the area after the conflict were the backpackers.²²

8.4.2.3 “Real” tourists (post-international community stage)

The first tourists to travel to places after the end of a conflict are Western backpackers. This research explores their perceptions of these destinations, and their reasons for travelling there, while illustrating their attitudes towards the locals. In this sense, they can be considered to be a “good” and a “bad” role model. Further, in this section, the researcher presents also niche markets.

Backpackers

Alneng (2002) argues that backpackers visiting Vietnam are attracted by the pop-colonial phantasms of Vietnam as a post-conflict society. They live phantasms; they imagine that they are in a war torn country. In Dubrovnik, Croatia, there is a gallery exhibiting war photos (currently photographs of Lebanese – Israel conflict). The images depict conflict as seen through the eyes of the war photographer. This provides an alternative perception, typically portrayed in Hollywood movies, i.e. the baddies are killed and the good guys survive. This exhibition tries to educate that war is not the way it is depicted by Hollywood. That gallery in Dubrovnik is a wake up call for those backpackers coming to post-conflict areas to live out their Hollywood phantasms. Sarajevo was rarely featured in Hollywood movies. However, the conflict was headline news, thus the practice is the same. There are two main criticisms of this behaviour. Backpackers visit B&H to show off to their peers back home they were in a “war torn” area, and to show off their perceived western superiority over Bosnia, a post-conflict country. Regarding the first, this illustrates superficiality. People want to think that B&H is a war torn country and being there provides an ego boost. A tour guide in Bosnia, who was taking care of predominantly “backpacker” tourists, simply said that the main motive for them travelling to Bosnia was

²² The researcher is aware of business travellers. Though they are an important aspect, they are generic category. For the purposes of this research they are included in the same category as the international communities. They are omitted in this research as the research could not identify a context specific issue between business tourists and post-conflict settings.

to get a Bosnian stamp in their passport. They usually enter from the Croatian resorts, where they are actually holidaying. In B&H, they usually pretend to be backpackers.

Regarding the second critique, locals do not like to be perceived as inferior or backwards. The B&H urban population used to have, and still have, very similar lifestyles to that of their tourist counterparts. It is very irritating for them to be approached from a distance and judged as less worthy or primitive. The drink cost less in B&H than in western societies, in the minds of certain tourists the country and the people are less worthy. It seems that B&H provides very convenient ego-boosting exercise for a certain group of tourists. It is close, a short haul destination from Europe. It is considered safe, and can now be combined with some more prominent European destinations. The situation in B&H now, as a platform where people from developed societies can come to boost their egos, hurts the whole society. It also hurts individuals and is felt by the local population. Sometimes they feel unfortunate to have been born there, yet proud to have survived and prospered. Some people may feel less worthy, but the great majority do not entertain such notions. Thus there is a dichotomy of feelings and perceptions. Because of the attitude which certain “backpackers” have towards the locals, the backpackers are considered cheap and unfriendly. Those tourists call themselves backpackers, but they are not genuine, friendly and tolerable as backpackers should be.

Although the previous section expresses a somewhat negative rhetoric towards some backpackers, such behaviour is actually not typical of real backpacker behaviour. There are “backpackers” and backpackers. Real backpackers are the first real tourists, those coming to feel, learn and see, wanting to know and to engage in local activities. They can understand the imperfections which exist, and are usually tolerant of these. B&H is a country full of imperfections. Real backpackers are appreciated by locals, because in the way they signify that war is over and that people are interested in coming to Sarajevo. The young people, who began working in tourism in the late nineties, said that they felt confident working with backpackers because of their youth and their expectations, i.e. they understand that not everything is ready. This is not the case with the “bad” model of “backpackers”.

To a great extent, phoenix destination tourists base their travel on novelty and curiosity. This is a good start, but very perishable. Basing the strategy on novelty and curiosity can help, but, only for a certain period of time. As one of the interviewees said, *what is discovered today cannot be discovered tomorrow*. After this stage, more

substantial and sustainable tourism products are needed. As the tourism area life cycle is evolving, more care needs to be taken when it comes to the tourism conception.

Niche tourists

McEniff (1992) argues that a destination, in the first stages of its development, needs to work on developing niche products. Witt and Moore (1992) confirmed the same for post-conflict settings.

Through the existence of the niche market, the destination goes from the phoenix to the heritage stage. Although their motives are partially connected to the war, and Bosnia as a war torn country, all of them engage in genuine tourism activity. For the current niche tourists, visiting B&H is partially motivated by curiosity and discovery. However, since discovery eventually vanishes (the same area cannot be discovered twice), B&H needs to develop tourism products which would become a permanent characteristic of B&H tourism. Curiosity and discovery will vanish.

Those tourism segments are not inclusive. It is not that backpacker tourists will stop coming to the destination with the rise of generic tourists. As the destination develops, backpackers will develop their own “enclaves”, city areas particularly “friendly” to backpacker tourists. An instance is Kaosan Road in Bangkok, situated very close to the main city attractions, however distinguished by its characteristics which are appealing to the backpackers (for instance the provision of youth hostels).

Currently, backpackers are the main tourism segment in Bosnia. This feature puts tourism in B&H in the earlier stage of Butler’s (1980) life cycle. B&H has the resources to develop outdoor activities. This is a generic characteristic. However, B&H also has a war-inherited issue regarding areas of unexplored land mines. Though the tourist routes go nowhere near these areas and the territories containing the land mines are clearly marked, only the existence of these throws a dark shadow over and slows down every kind of tourism development.

There is a specific presence of tourists from the neighbouring countries. At first glance, they appear to be generic tourists. They certainly have some generic characteristics, but they are not exclusively generic tourists. They are further explored in a section below.

8.4.2.4 Tourists with generic characteristics

Mihalic (1996), Pizam and Mansfeld (1999), Mansfeld and Kliot (1999), and Alipur and Kilic (1999), acknowledged in their research that cultural background

influences the perceptions which tourists have of a country. The neighbouring countries and the countries with a similar past are usually the first visitors. For B&H, former Yugoslav countries are the neighbours and share a similar past. They resemble the characteristics of a mass tourism market. They are familiar with the destination and speak the same language. Also as it was previously considered the same country, there may also be a family and friends connection. This characteristic resembles Plog's (1974) characteristics of psychocentric tourists, who want to stay in familiar destinations, avoiding adventure and local cultures. If the study was done in a positivist manner, this could be a legitimate conclusion about the tourists from former Yugoslavia who visit B&H. They speak the same language and are in neighbouring countries. However, this would be the wrong conclusion at this point. The reasons will be discussed in the following section.

The post-conflict tourism area life cycle is re-constructed in figure 8.5.

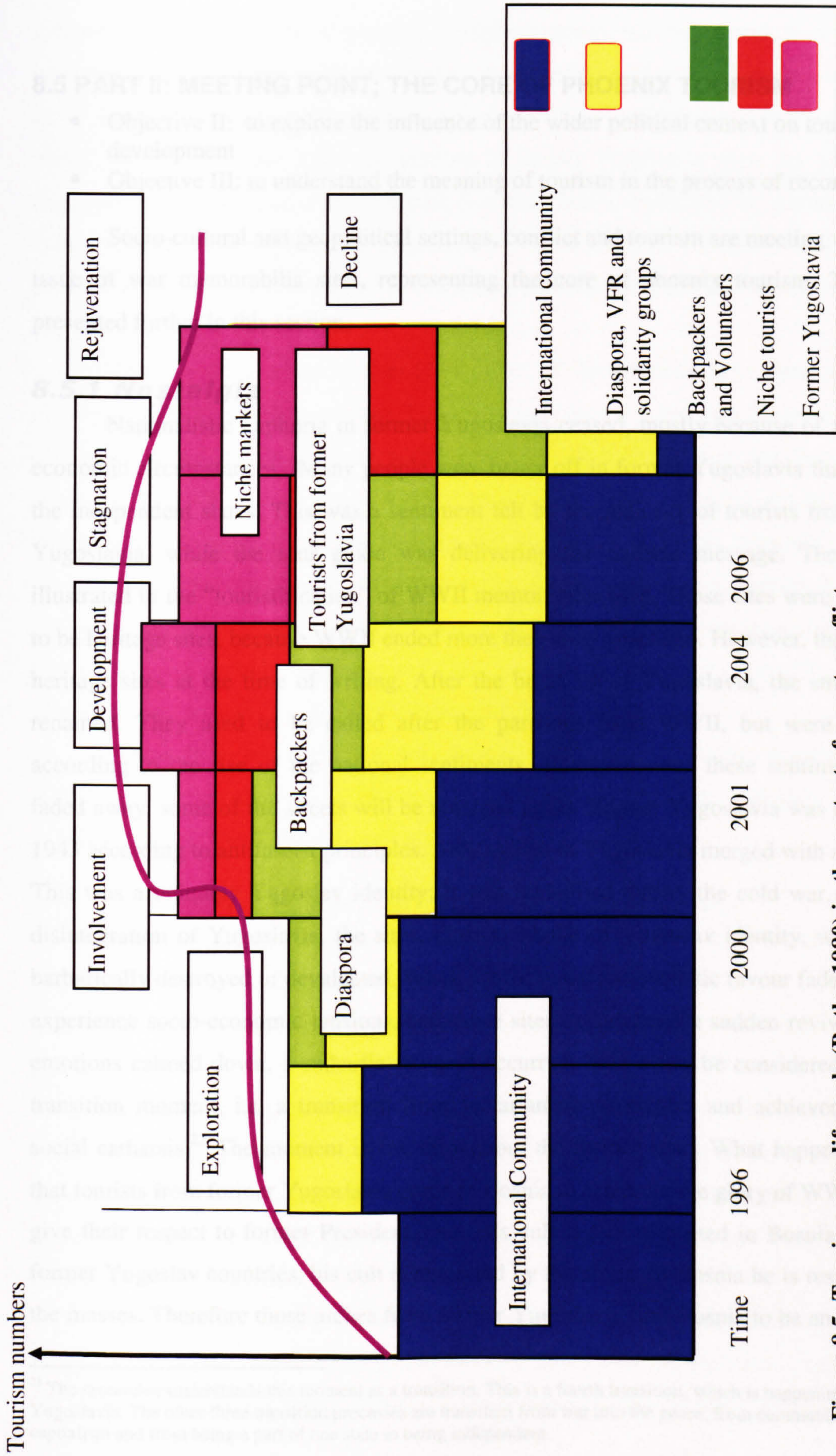


Figure 8.5: Tourism area life cycle (Butler 1980) in the context of a post-conflict

8.5 PART II: MEETING POINT; THE CORE OF PHOENIX TOURISM

- Objective II: to explore the influence of the wider political context on tourism development
- Objective III: to understand the meaning of tourism in the process of reconciliation

Socio-cultural and geopolitical settings, conflict and tourism are meeting within the issue of war memorabilia sites, representing the core of phoenix tourism. These are presented further in this section.

8.5.1 *Nostalgia*

Nationalistic euphoria in former Yugoslavia ceased, mostly because of the socio-economic circumstances. Many people were better off in former Yugoslavia than now in the independent states. This was a sentiment felt by the majority of tourists from former Yugoslavia, while the tour guide was delivering the antiwar message. The issue is illustrated in the “touristification” of WWII memorabilia sites. Those sites were supposed to be heritage sites, because WWII ended more than sixty years ago. However, they are not heritage sites at the time of writing. After the break up of Yugoslavia, the streets were renamed. They used to be called after the partisans from WWII, but were renamed according to the rise of the national sentiments. However, once these sentiments have faded away, some of the streets will be renamed again. Former Yugoslavia was created in 1943 according to antifascist principles. Antifascism in Yugoslavia merged with socialism. This was a uniquely Yugoslav identity; it was non-allied during the cold war. With the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the sites, most symbolic of Yugoslav identity, were either barbarically destroyed or devaluated. When conflicts and nationalistic favour faded, people experience socio-economic tensions, and those sites experienced a sudden revival. When emotions calmed down, a cathartic moment occurred. This could be considered a fourth transition moment, i.e. a transition from sectarianism to respect and achieved through social catharsis.²³ The moment is felt throughout the former state. What happens now is that tourists from former Yugoslavia come to Bosnia to celebrate the glory of WWII and to give their respect to former President Tito. His cult is still respected in Bosnia. In other former Yugoslav countries, his cult is respected by the niche. In Bosnia he is respected by the masses. Therefore those niches from former Yugoslavia find Bosnia to be an attractive

²³ The researcher understands this moment as a transition. This is a fourth transition, which is happening in former Yugoslavia. The other three transition processes are transition from war into the peace, from communism to capitalism and from being a part of one state to being independent.

tourism destination. This is because Bosnia suffered the most and thus nostalgic sentiments are felt more keenly there than in any other part of the former country. So, those niches from former Yugoslavia come, evoking memories of “brotherhood and unity”, the slogan under which generations of former Yugoslavia grew up. This whole segment has a dimension of root tourism (Legrand 2007), trying to find a common past. After everything that happened, people have feelings about their common identity. People are evoking the past because they are not happy with the present, their social settings and social status.

Those motives are similar to the motives of the diaspora. It is about enlivening memories. This is nostalgic tourism. Travelling to Bosnia is a part of a process whereby a connection is made with the past, with something called Yugoslavia and does not exist anymore. In a sense, it becomes mystical and transcendental, evoking the memories of youth and life in peace. Speaking under the rhetoric of so called “dark tourism” it could be said that this also is “dark tourism”, concerned with encounter with a country, which does not exist any more. As “dark tourism” is encounter with death and depravity, this nostalgic tourism can be called “dark tourism”, as Yugoslavia does not exist. This example illustrates the disputability of the “dark tourism” theory.

Nationalistic sentiments are still present in former Yugoslavia; in some parts of B&H they are very much alive. However, they have become a niche. Although the media regularly features them, they are a minority.

8.5.1.1 Generic tourists from former Yugoslavia-ski tourism

Tourists from former Yugoslavia represent a mass tourism market when it comes to Bosnian ski resorts. There are three reasons for this. First one is that it is cheap. The average monthly salaries in the former Yugoslav republics are EUR 780 in Slovenia, EUR 654 in Croatia, EUR 301 in Bosnia and EUR 350 in Serbia, EUR 321 in Montenegro, and EUR 280 in Macedonia. The second concerns ethnic tourism. As it was the same country until 1991, many people who live in other parts of former Yugoslavia come to Bosnia to visit their friends there. The third combines nostalgic elements explained in the section above. The socio-economic dimension, combined with nostalgia, is the most prominent reason for coming to B&H.

A degree of familiarity with the destination, vicinity and speaking the same language, as the motives to come to Bosnia for a holiday can be understood under Plog’s (1974) model of psychocentric tourists. However, these are the elements which are not that

important in exploring the role tourists from former Yugoslavia have in post-conflict tourism development in Bosnia.

8.5.1.2 Sacralisation of the past

- **Objective IV:** to explore the process of the sacralisation (MacCannell 1999) of the sites which are a direct conflict inheritance, through addressing the issue of management, presentation and interpretation of these sites to tourists

These nostalgic sentiments make a tourism attraction out of the past. The process is explained through MacCannell's (1976, 1999) model of sacralisation, previously employed by Seaton's (1999) Waterloo battle sacralisation. This research case presents a common past, which became sacralised through the social catharsis of the former Yugoslav nations. As said in the previous chapter, the moment of the common past is preserved in B&H. MacCannell's (1976, 1999) model was formed on the sacralisation of an object. It could be argued that sacralisation of a non-material phenomenon is not possible through this model. The main part of the sacralisation of the past is the feeling. However, this is also a basis for the sacralisation of the object as well. A historical moment of living together became materialised in a revival of the sites, mainly situated in Bosnia, which were forgotten about during the times of conflict and sectarian emotions. The past is revived and sacralised through visits of memorabilia sites from WWII and socialist Yugoslavia. The table 8.2 presents the application of MacCannell's (1999) model on this instance. Seaton (1999) argued that in sacralising the Waterloo battle, naming and social circumstances have more importance than framing, elevation and enshrinement. For Bosnia, the most important stage concerns social circumstances. Since these influence the stage more than any other of those six stages. They initiate naming, framing and enshrinement. It is the longing for the past. Memory is selective and plays an important part in elevating those sites and times. Seaton (1999) argues about social circumstances, which were crucial for sacralisation and touristification of the Waterloo. Steam engines were invented and the trips became affordable for the middle classes, not only aristocracy. Social circumstances now, allow the perception that former Yugoslavia offered a better quality life.

Waterloo is a battlefield site when the alliance army won a battle against Napoleon in 1815. It applies to Wellington and the united countries. The Bosnian case refers to being free from Nazi occupation. It glorifies Tito, who is again perceived as a positive and noble character in Yugoslav modern history. It glorifies fifty years of unity. In Waterloo there

was a dichotomy between Wellington and Napoleon, in former Yugoslavia it is between Tito and Hitler.

Table 6.2: Sacralisation of the past

SACRALISATION ON PROCESSES	SACRALISATION OF THE PAST	MEANING	EXAMPLE
Naming	What does it mean “naming” when talking about the past? What is named here?	Past is romanticised	Former Yugoslavia freed itself from Nazi occupation, people in former Yugoslavia lived well for fifty years together
Framing & elevation	Putting an object on display—placement on a pedestal or opened up for visitation. Framing is the placing of an official boundary around an object (MacCannell, 1999:44).	Revitalising the heritage from the period of living together	Re-opening museum where former Yugoslavia was founded, re-opening the shrine of Sutjeska battle, Tito’s cave and other material sites
Enshrinement	The point at which the framing material that is used has itself entered the first stage of sacralisation (MacCannell, 1999).	Enshrined material culture	Heritage which is saved; original setting at the meeting, the armchair on which Tito sat during the meeting, original photographs, room setting
Mechanical reproduction	Mechanical reproduction of cultural phenomena, including tourism destinations and attractions, intensifies and elevates, rather than diminishes them, and is an essential condition of their sacralisation	Souvenirs, postcards, media, documentary, talks, meetings	Heritage becomes touristified, sites promoted themselves and attract a certain niche market, interested in evoking the past and learning about the past
Social reproduction	Cultural objects in everyday practice away from the places where they originated (Waterloo Street)		Re-naming, after the break up of former Yugoslavia, the streets changed the names. The names are brought back
Social circumstances	Sight sacralisation creates the disposition to visit a place but does not guarantee it will be visited. Dispositions become action when the social circumstances of motivated travellers, including their financial means and access, are favourable	Social settings, which allow people from former Yugoslavia to come and visit the sites in Bosnia	Some people feel betrayed by their national leaders, right wing politics and promises, feeling of guilt, catharsis, nostalgia, comparison of life now and before

8.5.1.3 Sacralisation of the last conflict sites: the story of the Tunnel and Bridge



Figure 8.6 Sarajevo Tunnel (courtesy of the War Tunnel Museum)

From 1992 until 1995 Sarajevo was besieged. The excavation began in January 1993 and lasted for four months. It was 700 m long and went straight underneath the airport runway (Figure 8.7). People were using the tunnel, to bring supplies and medications into the city. Besides that, it provided people with the stamina, self-esteem and strength to survive. Equally important was fuel for the mind, for instance newly released music albums and movies (that is how Sarajevo Film Festival started, page 297). It was the only passage from the besieged city. It brought back faith. This site is sacralised, because of its positivity, not because of its links with Foley and Lennon's (1996), death and depravity, as would be the case if perceived through the lens of "dark tourism". The tunnel was the link between the besieged city and the world. Through it, people from Sarajevo find their hope and salvation. It was an exit from the besieged city, a passage from "hell" into "heaven". Misery, through hope was converted into salvation. Looking at the site from a social context perspective, the site represents the idea of phoenix tourism.

Phoenix sites are those where the energy of transformation is felt, of which the Sarajevo Tunnel is the flagship. The Tunnel's meaning is a symbol of resistance for the ordinary citizens of Sarajevo. As Cvijanovic (2007), one Sarajevo writer noted, "*living was far more important than surviving*". The tunnel is a symbol of that attitude and forgetting it, would be a form of disrespect. Through self-promotion (page 239) it is now the most visited site in Sarajevo. This happened due to a combination of the framing and social circumstances and because this site was a symbol of freedom and resistance. This site did not follow any of the prescribed strategies to enhance "the visitation". Although very remote and far from other city attractions along unpaved roads, people started flocking there. In actual way, it went through its own, unofficial sacralisation.

The underlying theme here was a struggle of the ordinary Sarajevo citizen. It was not a story of politics, sectarianism, or nationalism, but one of compassion and understanding. People from Serbia and Montenegro came to Sarajevo and visited the tunnel because they themselves could relate to the people of Sarajevo and feel their pain. It brought social catharsis and the beginning of reconciliation. The story of the Tunnel, is now only a memory, but it is a story based on the fight to retain the basic human principles of the ordinary people, i.e. the right to be free. People from Western societies take such basic values for granted. However when they understand what happened to people very-like to themselves, they start appreciating their lives more by process of a catharsis.

In fact, the Bosnian slogan at the 2007 World Travel Market in London was "*the destination is not just a place; it is another way of seeing things*", showing how such cathartic moments are considered to be an inclusive part of Bosnian tourism.

The inheritance from WWII and those from the more recent conflict are in the same phoenix stage. The conflict of the early nineties is chronologically still in the phoenix tourism stage. The inheritance from the WWII was de-sacralised during the transition from communism to capitalism and at the moment, it is rising from the ashes once again. The main characteristic of phoenix tourism is that it is temporal and the time when the phoenix stage starts depends on the current social settings. The Sarajevo Tunnel could immediately be classified as a phoenix site. Mostar became a phoenix destination from the moment when reconstruction of the bridge started. Its opening was MacCannell's (1999) enshrinement stage. Its classification as a UNESCO World Heritage site helped with the process of elevation. Mostar Bridge became a metaphor for the absurdity of the Bosnian war (Glenny 1999) and a symbol of the absurdity of conflict in general. It will remain in the phoenix stage so long as the country itself remains in the phoenix stage. The

bridge will stay in the phoenix stage for a long time since the site symbolises rising from the ashes and the misery caused by wars in general. However, social reconciliation is happening slowly, albeit while the people of Mostar are experiencing personal catharsis; social catharsis is still not happening. However, the area is regenerated, moving towards better times and tourism helps in those processes.

Srebrenica is not in the phoenix stage because particular issue relating to the site has still to be concluded. The war criminals have still to be brought to justice. Also there is the issue of the many corpses which may never be found or identified. The influence of sectarian sentiments and power exercising is also a fact. Women who returned to Srebrenica are scared. The place is not ready for tourism, not even for the commemoration. Srebrenica is still in the Bloch's (1982) first stage overwhelmed with the sorrow. It will stay like that until wider social circumstances allow change; i.e. until both the war criminals and corpses are found. Tour guides do not want to take tourists to Srebrenica because the place is not ready to cope with it. Tourists are a symbol of a phoenix stage. However, Srebrenica is not at this stage and therefore it is not conducive to tourism development. Visitors can come to learn and understand; but usually only journalists and researchers, not phoenix tourists. As one of the tour said, *"Srebrenica is an emotion. Once there, it is only possible to sit, have a coffee, contemplate and write poems"*.

8.5.1.4 Tourists visiting war memorabilia sites

- Objective III: to understand the meaning of tourism in the process of reconciliation
- Objective IV: to explore the process of the sacralisation (Maccannell 1999) of the sites which are a direct conflict inheritance, through addressing the issue of management, presentation and interpretation of these sites to tourists

This research will not attempt to use dark tourism paradigm explain the motives for visiting post-conflict destinations. Rather this research will highlight those dimensions, which did not get the attention they deserve should they be conceptualised under dark tourism. Local communities perceive a dark tourist to be a person who gets a morbid interest in visiting the sites where atrocities took place (page 108). Other tourists visiting war memorabilia sites are perceived as "real" tourists, with genuine interest in history and understanding. This research differentiates between genuine dark or war tourists, genuine phoenix tourists and accidental phoenix tourists.

Genuine war tourists

So called war “tourists” (Pitts 1986), are “tourists” attracted by the excitement of seeing the war, or being close to a site where recent atrocities have happened. They are aroused by morbid curiosity, and attracted by death and deprivation. Lennon and Seaton (2004) employ the term *schadenfreunde*, i.e. those who are enjoying somebody else’s suffering. This research is, as already acknowledged, aware of those beliefs, but those tourists are unimportant for the phoenix tourism stage due to the following reasons; for the first time this research will assign some importance to quantity. Although the motives those tourists have are very strong, sensational, and almost exhibitionist, the number of the travelling to fulfil that desire is insignificant. During the fieldwork, the researcher did not come across any tourists motivated by morbid curiosity. It seems they visit at the same time of conflict or possible straight after conflict has ended. In B&H, twelve years have passed since the ceasefire thus chronology plays an important part here. Bosnia is, overall, in a phoenix stage and as such does not interest dark and war tourists. If the number of morbidly curious tourists were higher, it is highly unlikely that they would be tolerated, thus they would have only an insignificant influence on the process of tourism development. It is only the dark tourism concept which gives them significance. The concept of dark tourism developed mainly put of morbid curiosity, but the majority of tourists visiting war memorabilia sites do not have such morbid motives, and therefore, the whole theory is weak.

Genuine phoenix tourists and edutourists

Genuine phoenix tourists are motivated either by research and education or by personal catharsis. They want to learn and understand what happened. These are the individual researchers or school groups, who have prior knowledge of the places. However, it is also important for their learning curve that they actually visit the place. Locals do not perceive these tourists as dark tourists. Another sub-group come to discover themselves and achieve a personal catharsis. They come on a quest of the meaning of life in general and to add meaning to their own life and existence. This motive is a part of the post-modern and new age quests of self-discovery and spiritual enhancement. As one of the tour guides said, they are become better people once they learn to appreciate their own life more and not to take for granted the values of freedom, life and bread. While this is not always a prime motive, once people visit such places they feel the energy which emanates from these places and want to be a part of it. It is felt throughout the place, but

concentrated at the sites, which have gone through the phoenix transformation, or which symbolise a transformation by themselves (Sarajevo Tunnel). This is the reason why these sites are the most visited.

Such motives for travelling are common to the developed western world, and not just to specific sites; this is about entire destinations (Sarajevo, Mostar). Although not always visible and observed, those moments are sensed by every visitor to Sarajevo. The ruined bridge is visible and rebuilt one is visible too. However, the energy associated with the renovation, the whole passage, the links between destroying and rebuilding, does not exist in tourism research, because it is not materially visible. The ruined site would be a “dark tourist” attraction, the re-built one a cultural tourist attraction. However, those two sites are meaningless if observed separately. Their real meaning is signified through the process of rebuilding and enhancing. Recognition of such moments are important for further tourism development.

Accidental phoenix tourists

These are the third group of tourists visiting post-conflict destinations. These are tourists who come to Sarajevo in order to enjoy outdoor activities, to visit friends and family or to conduct the business. The motives for them visiting Sarajevo are not concerned with the war or with any of the elements of phoenix tourism and the quest for transcendentalism. However, the general city’s tour through Sarajevo, is always merged into a conflict-themed tour, because it includes a talk about the last conflict as well. Thus, energy associated with such sites, i.e. that of the phoenix and rising from the ashes, is felt regardless of the reasons why these tourists have come to Sarajevo.

Changing trends in tourism?

“Responsible tourism in the west is massive”, argues Il. Some tourists deliberately chose to stay in locally-owned properties and visit the sites where the money goes straight to the local people. Bosnia is a country dominated by family business and local providers. In this way money goes straight to the people who are providing the service. Findings show that this fact can be a promotion strategy, though the country still lacks laws and regulations to support whether these or any other ideas. Tourism in B&H can be presented to a niche markets as tourism which is responsible by its nature. How to do so, however, is a matter for further research. People are aware that they should help, thereby fulfilling a part of their life that feels empty. People volunteer much more than previously (McGhee

2005). The Google search engine marked 20 million visits to the volunteer tourism sites in 2006. This research, however, did not set out to address the motives for volunteering. However, there will always be a niche willing to do something good and in that sense fulfil something what is missing in their everyday western life.

The volunteer projects would not have a significant impact on the national economy, but they could certainly make a difference to particular localities, and might be an alternative income to the poor, shattered and remote villages. According to Wearing (2001) volunteer tourism is sometimes the most reliable source of income for the remote villages in which the volunteer projects take place. Such interactions can result in long-term benefits for host communities and their environments as well as the participating volunteers, grounded in human interactions between the hosts and the volunteers and the social settings in which it takes place.

The researcher would like to recommend as a redevelopment strategy volunteer project initiatives, which would be tourism-themed, for instance, revitalising rural areas through tourism, environmental protection, etc. At the moment, volunteer projects are usually expensive for the volunteer, for instance, a two-week volunteer project on animal rehabilitation in Posadas, Argentina, costs £695 plus flights and insurance (<http://statravel.i-to-i.com>). Although there are volunteer projects in the developed world, most take place in third world countries. The costs rise because of the airfare (McGhee 2005). Thus B&H has a competitive advantage as a destination for Europeans. It is only a two-hour flight from London, but still somehow mysterious and undiscovered. Although situated in Europe, a triple transition, (war–peace, workers’ self-management-capitalism, dependence–sovereignty), has left the country in the state which could appeal to potential volunteers.

8.5.1.5 Phoenix tourists: conclusion

Some tourists come to Sarajevo in order to exercise their superiority (see findings, page 230 and 246). Alneng (2002) illustrates a similar situation in the case of Vietnam. This position asks the question; *what is tourism?* It can be observed purely as a political act, showing western superiority over the others. In this host–guest relation, the guest is seen to be superior to the hosts. Tourism as a sector is perceived as totally innocent and apolitical. Western societies own tourism and it is their right to use it as they want. Therefore, in such ways tourism becomes a political tool in disguise. On the other side, there are the locals to be considered. In Bosnia and Northern Ireland, living under siege

and conflict made the locals appreciate other things in life, not just the money which tourists could bring to their country. In other words, it is rather difficult to buy their point of view. They learned to appreciate freedom and recognise injustice when they see it. The laws and the regulations in post-conflict areas are not entirely tourism friendly. They slow down the process of tourism development. At first, it appears to be a negative phenomenon, but these laws and regulations have a positive dimension too. The process is slow, but this enables contemplating on the decisions, as too quick development may also be very detrimental (page 184).

Phoenix tourists want to feel that they are doing something good. This brings them to a point of personal catharsis in some ways even similar to the religion. People feel that it is not enough to merely attend religious ceremonies and services. In order to become better, they need to become better participants (Sharpley and Stone forthcoming). This research confirms this point. Religion is individualised and people want to attach meaning to it by themselves, thus it becomes more transcendental. In their quest many will go to phoenix tourism destinations, because they want to make a positive impact on the places they visit. Those are the genuine phoenix tourists. However, they do need to be targeted, and the destination needs to be promoted as such. People visiting these destinations will feel warmth and energy rising from this sites, even in Sarajevo when they see a graveyard, which was previously a football stadium. These are the graves of civilian citizens of Sarajevo. They symbolise that war per se, does not bring any good. People see those war-related sites and became overwhelmed with antiwar sentiments. The overall message is that war does not bring any good. These then are the genuine phoenix tourists experiencing their cathartic purification. Table 8.3 outlines the tourists visiting war sites as seen by this research and as seen by a standard academia.

Many people travel because they seek understanding, and spiritual enhancement. They travel because they want to get food for their soul, perhaps because they cannot get this through institutionalised religion now. Therefore again, tourism needs to be included in the generic quests for understanding social phenomenon. It needs emancipation in generic social science research. It can achieve that through including more of a disciplinary knowledge in tourism research. However, the current status of tourism research rarely sees the issues and the phenomena which cannot be immediately quantified and is based on extradisciplinary. This is a challenge to overcome. This knowledge creation moment is presented in methodology chapter.

Table 8.3 War site tourists

War sites tourists	Understood by the locals	Understood by tourism academia
Real dark tourists	Tourists whose main visitation motive is a morbid curiosity and excitement, an adrenalin rush, and Schadenfreuden - enjoyment in the suffering of the others	Tourists who are coming to war sites are understood to be dark tourists. Foley and Lennon (2004) recently made a distinction between the “real dark tourists” and those by chance, this is so far the only distinction made
Phoenix tourists	<p>People visiting the destinations where atrocities happened. They want to feel the energy of the awakening and rising from the ashes. They relate it to their own lives. They want to find meaning in life, they do not believe that they will achieve that through for example Sunday mass, but would rather approach these transcendental questions individually. People who are pacifist by nature, against war in every sense, and want to see what war, a great evil can do to the people.</p> <p>Fair trade phoenix tourists – want to go to the place to help the community</p> <p>Volunteers – the community of people who by being active in the process, actively shaping and taking part in the process of development, are an active part of the phoenix stage</p>	This category does not exist in dark tourism concept
Accidental phoenix tourists	People come to Sarajevo and join the city tour. They come to Sarajevo because of other reasons, but they join the tour	This is a separate category in dark tourist motives
Education Journalists, researchers	The ones who want to understand what happened not because of their private motives, or because they need to go through self-discovery, but because they want to understand and to learn. This is identified as an important niche. Those were the people who initiated community tourism in Belfast	This category does not have its permanent place in dark tourism typology.

8.5.2 Tour guide: leader, mentor and maddrich

- Objective IV: to explore the process of the sacralisation (Maccannell 1999) of the sites which are a direct conflict inheritance, through addressing the issue of management, presentation and interpretation of these sites to tourists

In the phoenix tourism stage, delivery and interpretation of a tour by the guides, plays an important part. According to Cohen E. (1985), tour guides are either mentors or leaders. Leaders provide exclusive access to the site, while mentors facilitates feelings and emotions. A mentor edifies the party through social mediation and culture brokerage (Cohen 1985:10). E. H. Cohen et al (2002) add a third tour guiding type, a maddrich, embedded in Israeli culture, characterised not only by informality, but also by the depth of their knowledge, which goes beyond the actual tour guiding experience. Maddrichs are students, recruited to deliver tours to the children of the Jewish Diaspora. The tour provokes an attachment to the land of Israeli and Jewish heritage (page 40).

While a phoenix tourism guide is considered to be a path-finder, mentor and maddrich too, the tour guide is merely a leader providing an inclusive access to the site. It is very often the case that when tourism product is in the stage of its formation, some basic parts of the product are missing, eg. signs to guide tourists to the site. For example, the Sarajevo Tunnel can be reached only if it is organised by a tour guide or if tourists arrive there by taxi. Signs which would give the directions to the Tunnel, are missing. The tunnel is far from the main tourist routes and the site is not sacralised; it is not framed and enshrined. It needs to be found and this is that role of the tour guide (as path-finder).

The role of a tour guide as a mentor is an important characteristic of phoenix tourism since tours are a balancing act between feelings and facts. The tour guide makes sure that the group understands yet still feels comfortable. They provide a bridge between the tour and the tourists and in this way build trust. During the phoenix stage, tourists are, as already said, mostly motivated by curiosity. On the other hand, they are hesitant to ask questions. They want to remain politically sensitive and do not know what might offend (and how far they can go). Thus, the tour guide is there to break the ice. A tour guide involved in phoenix tourism does not focus solely on facts, but on meanings and tries to make the group members feel comfortable. At that point, characteristics of the maddrich tour guide emerge. A professional spontaneity emerges. A phoenix tourism tour guide can therefore be a professional maddrich.

A precondition of phoenix tourism, especially on sites inherited from the last conflict, is important that the tour delivers a positive message. That the facts are a necessity goes without saying, but mediation between the emotions and the facts is skill which every tour guide should possess. The same itineraries may differ substantially in context, i.e. the facts are the same, but their presentation changes. Feelings are always there, so are carefully handled by a mentor, who assures professionalism and a spiritual connection between the place and the tourists.

The third characteristic of phoenix tourism tour guiding relates to a maddrich. At first, it appears that the maddrich, emphasising only Jewish sentiments, would seem incompatible with the phoenix tourism guide. A maddrich uses Jewish sentiments as the focus. However, they also have a political connotations and it would seem that tourism is being used as a channel. This appears incompatible with the ethos of a phoenix tourism tour guide, for whom politicising should have no meaning. However, a phoenix tourism tour guide uses similar “techniques” as the maddrich tour guide, in order to promote an antiwar sentiment. A maddrich promotes Jewish sentiments. A phoenix tourism guide promotes antiwar sentiments. The tour guide does not like to talk about the conflict. However, once started, it is not easy to stop. There is an element of intimacy. There is an element of maddrichism, as the tour guide slips into informality.

The tour guide shows and talks about the atrocities that have happened, focusing on antiwar sentiment. The tour ends with a general thesis that war is stupid and does no good, but this is personal, not political. Dealing with situations, which are politically and personally delicate, is not covered on any tour guide course in B&H. The tour guide needs to balance formality and informality, intimacy and professionalism, yet has to deliver both. Here are some of the recommendations for a phoenix tourism tour guide. First, this kind of tourism requires smaller groups, simply because the pain of the site and the intensity of the emotions is lost if the group is big and any understanding would be trivialised. Having only a small number of people on the tour results in a better understanding of the issues and a more intimate atmosphere (in which the tour guide can engage in helping tourists to find personal meaning, not just the universal one). Second, the tour guide is not allowed to lie. Social repatriation, forgiveness and catharsis are on a very low level in Bosnia (Cehajic et al forthcoming). Therefore it is of a great importance that the guide has gone through moments of forgiveness, repatriation and catharsis, on a personal level utilising the universal law of humanity, where the war is presented as a social phenomenon, which never brings a winner and cannot be justified at least from the point of view of the

common people. Tourism is in that sense a strong political act. Tour guides are told that they can interpret conflict and politics in the way they feel is best, but that they are not allowed to lie (page 213, 237). Thus they focus on a very context-specific antiwar message. The tour guide gives an account of B&H civilians. The great majority of them were far better off before the war than they are now (page 215). Through this, the tour guide places the antiwar sentiments to the front. The tour is delivered from the perspective of ordinary citizens, not the politicians, and in this way the understanding is better and the tourists experience catharsis.

A phoenix tourism tour guide is a path-finder, a mentor and to a certain extent, a maddrich. The requirement to be a tour guide in a post-conflict society is to have undergone a personal catharsis (since social and collective repatriation may not have yet happened).

8.6 PART III: SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT

8.6.1 Transition process

- Objective II: to explore the influence of the wider political context on tourism development

Political “regulations” of any post-conflict country are very context specific. Political “regulations” are a means of ordering relationships within the country. Although they have rarely been addressed in tourism centric studies, they have a large impact on tourism development. This research finds them to be one of the key elements of phoenix tourism. As said before, there are several different transition processes relevant to B&H. Besides already mentioned war-peace, communism (worker’s self management)-capitalism, and dependence-sovereignty, at the end there is the fourth transition, the direct outcome of this research, the transition from heavy nationalism to forgiveness and reconciliation. This chapter will first present the transition from the former Yugoslav republic to the independent state illustrated in the emerging tourism sector. Inheritance has an important implication for post-conflict tourism. Any issues from the past should be well researched and observed before tourism planning commences.

B&H did not have any tourism importance to former Yugoslavia while the Medjugorje pilgrimage and the Winter Olympics of 1984 influenced tourism development in Bosnia, mass tourism could only be developed in former Yugoslavia. This was the

philosophy of the country. Winter Olympics was a mass tourism event which was the only reason why winter ski sports developed in B&H. In the late 1980s, B&H tourism was in its development stage (Butler 1980), but war put an end to its potential development. The tourism area life cycle needed to start again. The tourism infrastructure was almost completely destroyed, yet still something positive came out of it (page 161). The old mass tourism hotels were destroyed. Instead of these, new, smaller ones, which suited to the niche tourists, were built.

8.6.2 Towards democracy

In Bosnia, people were given all the rights, but not the responsibilities. Thus balance is lost and the laws and regulations cannot function properly in such a socio-political setting. The transition towards peace prioritised the consolidation of stability. It was envisaged that all other requirements would become apparent in due course, however, this has yet to happen. Tourism is one sector which is struggling with the post-conflict regulations. A country's transition towards capitalism is made precisely through Washington Consensus Model (page 147) The model has not worked well in former Yugoslav countries (Stojanov 2004) with its system of workers' self-management (a semi-market economy). The Washington Consensus could not envisage a quadruple transition, as characterised by B&H. In B&H, state governance needs to support its industrial development more than was envisaged by the Dayton Agreement and the Washington Consensus. Economic development is one of the conditions for democracy in B&H. As seen in the previous chapter, socio-economic conditions have an impact on the reconciliation process. In B&H, there are 45% unemployed, according to official statistics. Many of those 45% work, but in the black market as their employers prefer not to pay taxes on them and in that way the state keeps a short-term social balance (page 189). As soon as regulations are changed in order to support economic development, it will enhance democracy and democratic society in the country.

In the case of tourism the private sector is actually backing up the public one, although the development of the private sector is still in its infancy. In B&H, the private sector, which is still not well developed, is the engine for tourism development and actually gives support to the public sector. This is an illustration of just how sad the social settings in B&H actually are.

8.6.3 Dayton Agreement

The Dayton agreement, signed in December 1995, was only supposed to be a temporary solution, nowadays it still regulates every aspect of the country, including tourism. It cannot support either economic development or reconciliation, therefore the country is stuck somewhere in between.

Bosnia and Herzegovina consists of one Republic, one Federation and one District. The Federation is further divided into ten cantons, depending on whether Croats, Bosniaks or both are the majority. The state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Federation of B&H, Republic Srpska the Brcko District, and each canton have their own set of governments all of whom make decisions and are charged with certain responsibilities. The administration costs involved in such an arrangement are too high. Many interviewees reported that it was easier to work in the RS, where there are less administrative barriers. Also, there are no cantons in RS. It illustrates the challenges devising regulations based on conflict inheritance. Socio-political settings are an important factor in tourism development. Furthermore, every interviewee argued that the Dayton Agreement framework does not support tourism development. Entities have all the power, and the central government has a rather nominal function. It is difficult to establish who is actually accountable for the decisions made. In fact, no one is accountable. There is a lot of duplication. With such a government structure, the state cannot function normally. The tourism sector is affected by the complex socio-political settings in the country. The challenges the country goes through, can be illustrated by looking at tourism sector development. The Dayton Agreement, charged entity level governments (Republic Srpska and Federation of B&H) to regulate tourism. The findings argue that B&H should be promoted as one country in order to enhance its image and thereby tourism. However, the structural organisation does not allow this to be done because as tourism is regulated on the entity level, without any regulations on the state level. It complicates the process of tourism development in the country. The central Tourism Association is weak and powerless, while the entities are strong. They do not want to give up their competences. Also, the interviews and observations showed that development is slow also due to individual egos. It was a story profoundly similar to that of some Mediterranean and South American countries (Padilla 2004, Jaquette 1994, Jelin 1990, etc). As soon as it was realised that the main problem lay in macho culture and ego exercise, the country started to go further. Instead of having one minister of education, this country has fourteen. Out of the sixteen ministers in the Federation government, there are fifteen male and one female (www.fbihvlada.gov.ba)

and all the cantonal presidents are males (<http://www.fbihvlada.gov.ba>). All of the ministers exercise a certain amount of power and influence while trying to undermine the power of the central one. The Dayton Agreement regulated the national quota, but did not highlight the gender distribution. Unfortunately, this research could not go in depth into this problematic. This is certainly a discourse for further research. This ego power exercise is costing this country dearly. Entities have more power than the country itself and under such political and social settings it is difficult for tourism to succeed. This research, does not argue for an autocratic central regime, but for stronger central power.

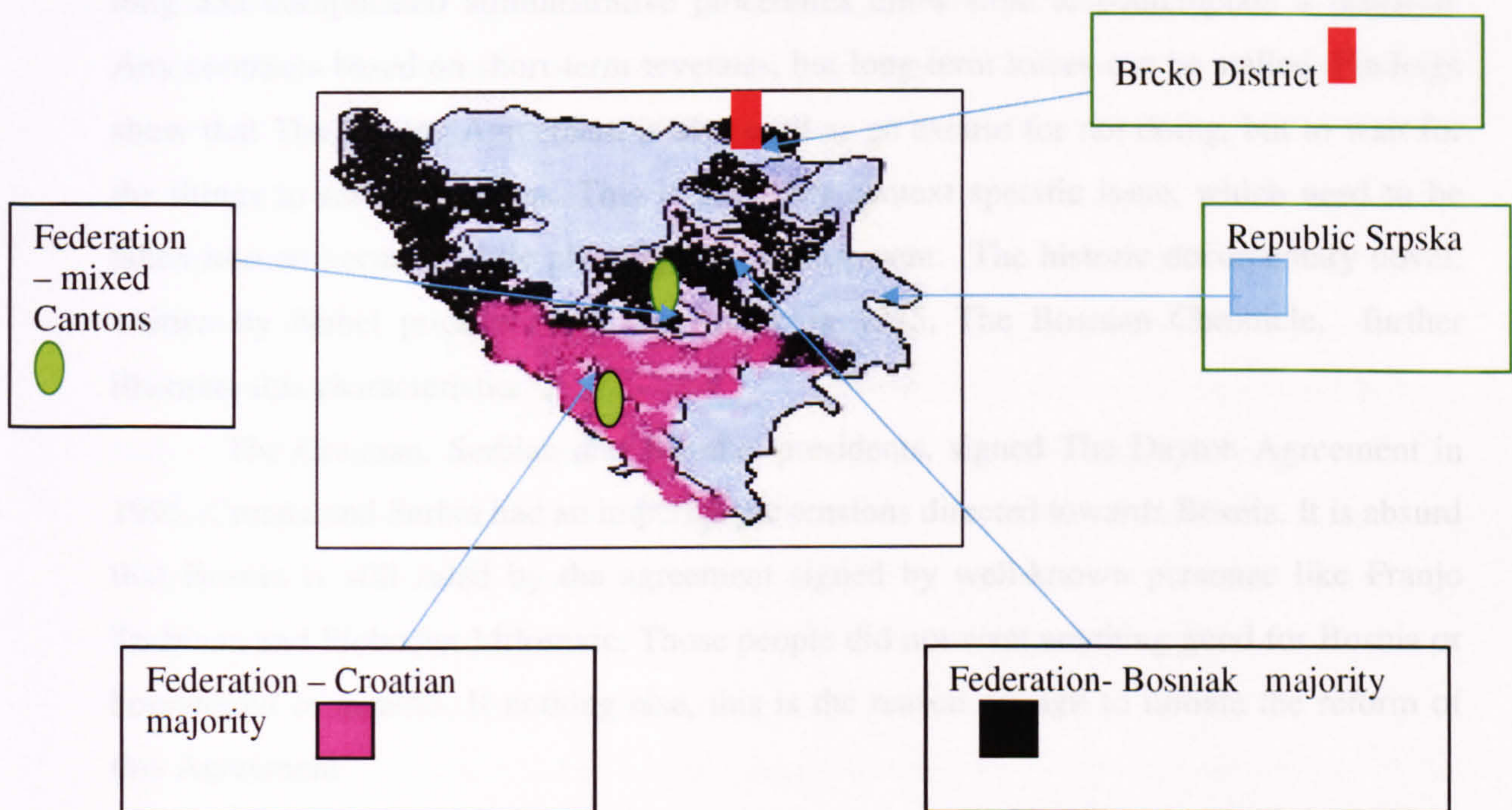


Figure 8.7: B&H political structure

Regulations and laws are one of the dimensions of the phoenix stage. Its responsiveness towards the needs of the population determines the success of the transition process from war to peace. The Dayton Agreement created a country, divided into three levels of authority, fourteen governments and a multitude of borders. It is a bureaucratic monster, which spends 75% of the country's GDP. An issue between the laws and regulations on the one hand and tourism development on the other mirrors the condition in which this country operates. All the interviewees mentioned that the country's internal borders (unnatural and too many of them), were the main problem for tourism development. The Dayton Agreement was based on the borders. The modality for cooperation between political units was not envisaged. However, cooperation is important

in tourism (page 172). For tourism to further development, it would need to break down the divisions and institutional barriers, which exist.

To conclude, the Dayton Peace Agreement framework did not envisage that tourism should be planned from the level of the state. This was wrong from the beginning, as tourism itself needs cooperation and collaboration in order to succeed. These research findings argue that the first stage would be to obtain a law which would give more power to the state especially regard to the tourism process. Fortunately, there are some “positive” aspects of this slow process. The “positive” aspect of the Dayton Agreement is that those long and complicated administrative procedures allow time to contemplate a decision. Any contracts based on short-term revenues, but long-term losses can be stalled. Findings show that The Dayton Agreement is also used as an excuse for not doing, but to wait for the things to sort themselves. This is also very context specific issue, which need to be taken into an account while planning the development. The historic documentary novel, written by Nobel price winner, Ivo Andric in 1945, *The Bosnian Chronicle*, further illustrate this characteristic.

The Croatian, Serbian and Bosnian presidents, signed The Dayton Agreement in 1995. Croatia and Serbia had an imperialistic tensions directed towards Bosnia. It is absurd that Bosnia is still ruled by the agreement signed by well-known personae like Franjo Tudjman and Slobodan Milosevic. Those people did not want anything good for Bosnia or humankind in general. If nothing else, this is the reason enough to initiate the reform of this Agreement.

8.6.4 Need for forgiveness

- Objective III: to understand the meaning of tourism in the process of reconciliation

Just after the conflict ceased, drawing up on the borders consolidated the peace. Amir (1969) argues that reconciliation and changes in perception can happen if the conflicted groups can identify with a common goal or a common feature. Hewstone et al (2004), Nadler et al (2004) identify out-group trust as the positive precursor for intergroup reconciliation. In Bosnia, people are distanced from each other. Thus, they are divided, and the way the country is formed politically, facilitates such division. Cehajic et al (forthcoming) argued that quality contact between divided ethnicities increases acknowledgement and forgiveness, which is the core of the process of reconciliation. Quality contact can be achieved through focusing on common goals, and increases through

the process of common identification. In Northern Ireland, quality contact was increased through the community tourism projects and increased through common identification (working class, prisoners, unemployment).

This research has recognised that the tourism sector can initiate quality contact. However, this is not easy to initiate when the legal system in a country is based on division. B&H is now in a situation whereby it would experience difficulties to develop further unless reconciliation is achieved, and in fact seems in no hurry whatsoever to rectify this. The fact that it has not reconciled yet slows down every attempt at development. The findings show that the main reason for slow reconciliation and the lack of trust between different ethnic groups is attributed to the system of education in the country, presented further in this section.

This political division based on the Dayton Agreement also hides a problem of socio-economic division (page 201). Bosnia is a poor country and people have barely enough on which to survive. People will cooperate with someone they can trust otherwise they are afraid that they will lose what little they have. The socio-economic settings in B&H have created a lack of trust between the people. Political borders supported this trend. The media is focused on the political division, but this only hides the real socio-economic dimension, which actually enables a political one. If people do not know each other, they do not trust each other and cannot cooperate. Only quality contacts can reverse the trend. The legal system in the country does not support such contacts.

This research shows that tourism needs to be further implemented as part of the process of building peace and reconciliation between the partitioned states. However, tourism is not understood as a serious activity. This is not only because of the nature of tourism itself, but also because of the focus of tourism research is to do with business not the social and cultural settings. As long as this remains the case, it will be difficult to include tourism as part of any wider tool for peace and reconciliation. As already noted in Amir (1969), and Kelly (1998), tourism needs favourable social settings to be able to deliver peace and reconciliation.

This research concludes that the favourable social settings in Bosnia and Herzegovina do exist in the tourism sector, although they are hidden and endangered. Those people, who are still in Bosnia, used to work together before the conflict and they still remember that time. However, Bosnia now is divided. The problem is that the education system is not controlled centrally and there is a real danger that people are being educated according to the ethnicity, not in unified way, not cooperation. What pupils learn

at school depends on their geographical location and ethnicity. Thirteen different histories are learned in B&H schools. Further from that, people do not know each other, as they live divided. The relationships are lacking the trust. In that situation, it is difficult to initiate cooperation. However, there is a lack of trust among younger people. This is the most worrying aspect. At the time of writing, people in Bosnia are ready to cooperate. This moment needs to be included in tourism development and indirectly in the process of reconciliation. The reconciliation process needs to be implemented as soon as possible. If it does not happen, it creates an opportunity-cost emerging from not being able to cooperate. Under these circumstances, the country will not go further.

There are a few reasons why tourism is important part of the reconciliation process. Tourism in B&H is also successful because of its outdoor attractions. Rivers and mountains are not easily divided. Natural borders are still stronger than the political ones. It is difficult to achieve tourism product if there is no cooperation. People who work in tourism at the moment used to work together before the war. They try to educate (informally) the younger generations, by implying that those “others” are not so bad. Tourism creates less division, because it facilitates contacts between people. If the system would support tourism, those positive issues could emerge.

International agencies recognised these issues and created projects to initiate quality contact and create reconciliation.

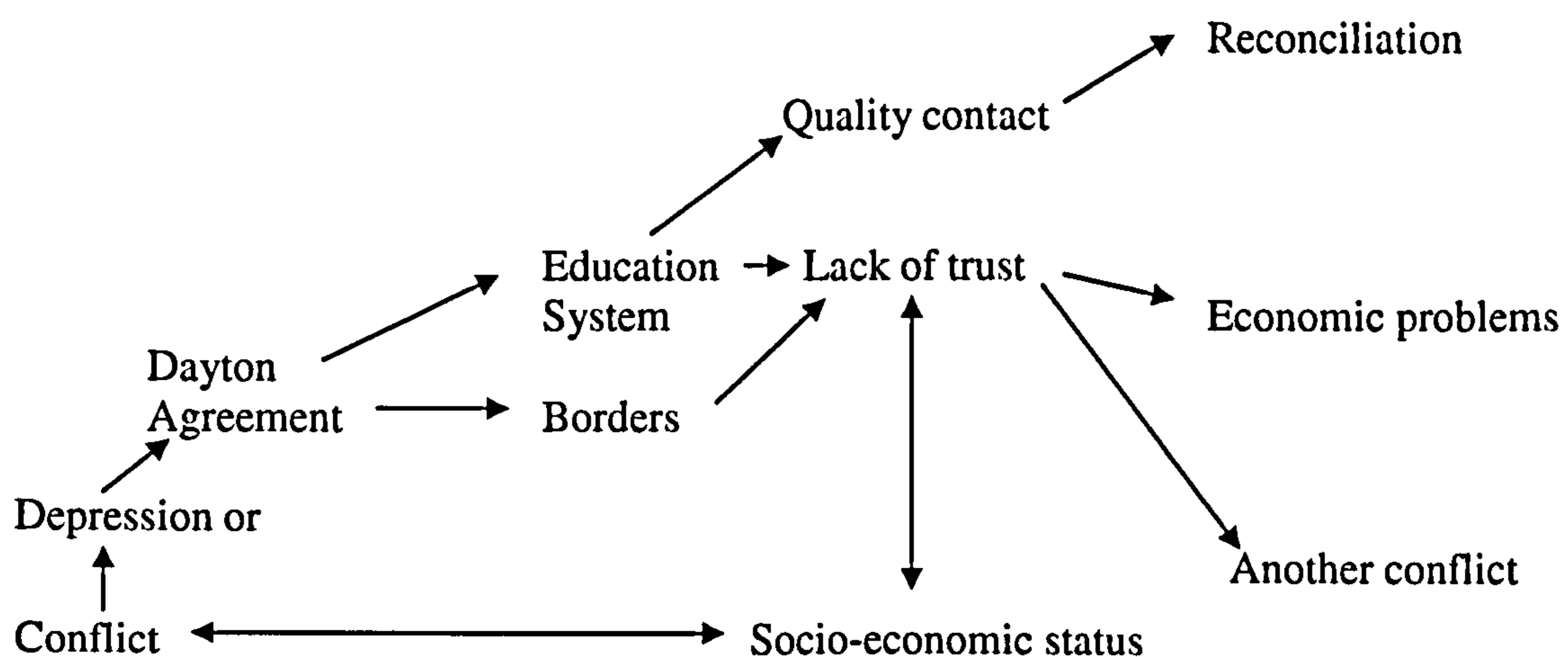


Figure 8.8: Vicious circle of division

8.6.4.1 International organisations

Although rarely researched in any tourism context, international agencies are one of the most prominent characteristics of the post-conflict setting. International agencies present an opportunity for tourism development. However, their engagement with tourism is only a stage for them to achieve another task, one more crucial for the development of the country and an ingredient for a successful war-peace transition process. Through tourism projects, a degree of reconciliation is achieved.

International agencies are allowed to work with the people in Bosnia, regardless of their nationality. The influence of international agencies on tourism development in B&H in the post-conflict period cannot be omitted. A transition, aggression, conflict, war, destruction, traumas, etc. left the country in a condition that first the visible wounds needed to be sorted (Selwyn and Karkut 2007). As this stage ended, reconciliation projects became important. Their tourism projects are geared towards economic development, but unintentionally, manage to connect and reconcile B&H citizens. This has more importance than economic development, as real economic development is based on reconciliation. At the time of writing, USAID for instance, got a grant for a new tourism project. Those projects are sometimes slow, sometimes not effective enough, but reconciliation is achieved. Reconciliation has to be inscribed as one of the objectives of those projects. International agencies can work with both entities, and they can work with all three nationalities in Bosnia. Projects, which are made along the lines of reconciliation, achieve results. The tourism community should use this moment to make people from different ethnical groups in B&H work together. This is the way in which the quality contacts are created. First, people are recruited, according to their professional qualification and experiences. Second, people from different nationalities can work together. A quality contact based on the common aim (Cehajic et al forthcoming), is possible. These are the prerequisites for the recovery process. An instance of this was a USAID- administered project, for four rafting rivers, which included the Vrbas and Tara, rivers in Republic Srpska and the Neretva and Una, rivers in the Federation. A quality contact was established. Data from the field shows that it brought positive results to tourism as well as in the process of reconciliation. A new tourism product "Four Rafting Rivers in B&H" is created. It is a commercially successful project, which achieved reconciliation among the people who worked on the project. One can argue that economic success is an outcome of reconciliation, which has happened through divided communities working together.

International associations channel funds towards the NGOs, which are not profitable. It is difficult to find a reliable partner within the private sector (findings, page 170). Money given to the NGOs is spent, but a return on investments is not possible. JICA (Japanese) did work in rural Bosnian areas in order to establish rural tourism destinations there. However, as soon as the project was over, JICA did not follow it up with any activities, which would be important in establishing those places (I24). A link between JICA and a local NGO was established, but the further link between the local NGO and private sector was omitted. Establishing a link between NGOs and the private sector is highlighted as an important part of this process.

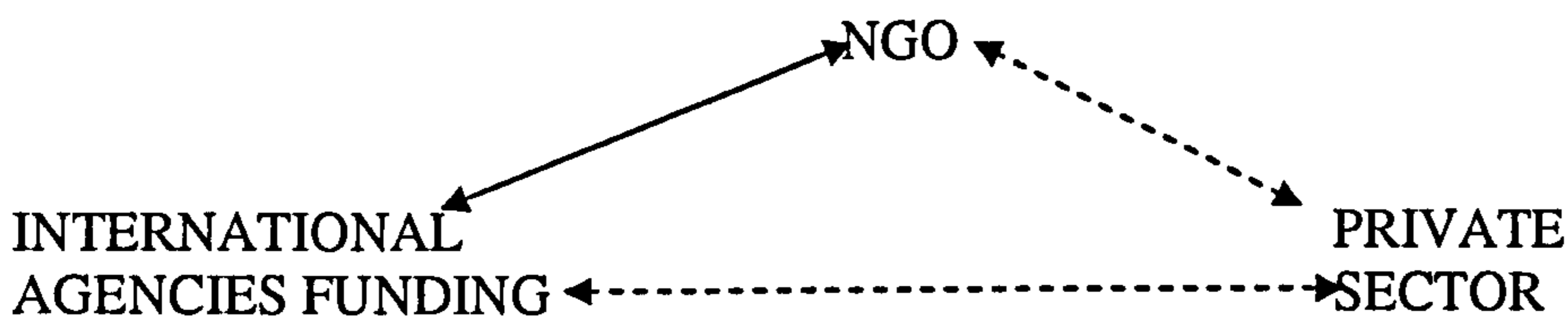


Figure 8.9 Relationships between the sectors in the project administered by international agencies

As explained above, economic benefits were rarely achieved through these projects. One of the reasons was that the link between the NGOs and the private sector, which would facilitate economic development, was not well established. However, that which was achieved, i.e. reconciliation, was unintentional. It happened via the quality contacts established during work on the projects being administered by the international agencies. It was the most valuable outcome of those projects, even though reconciliation was not inscribed into those projects. The question now is whether reconciliation would happen even more if it was inscribed into current project or it can only be achieved doing it “covert”.

Tourism is recognised as a sector, with a much better starting position than any other sector, at least when it comes to reconciliation. Bosnia today is not in a position to convey good collaborative relationships between the people of different nationalities. International agencies can make this happen if a project was good.

Despite this, the success of an international agency is not assessed by the parameter of the reconciliation, nor the quality of a project. The most important measure is the

amount of money given. Every report is written in a way which shows that the money has been well spent and has made a difference (Appendix X). This research calls for different assessment criteria, criteria which are not easily quantified, but which can help in creating better relationships between a divided people. In other words, projects, which include reconciliation, understanding and the building of trust, through quality relationships. Tourism is identified as the most suitable sector.

8.6.5 Geo-political dimension of co-operation

- Objective II: to explore the influence of the wider political context on tourism development
- Objective III: to understand the meaning of tourism in the process of reconciliation

8.6.5.1 West Balkan tourism region

The findings show that it would be advisable to realise a regional tourism promotion. West Balkan includes all former Yugoslav countries. Except for the Croatian Mediterranean Coast, West Balkan countries are in the phoenix stage of tourism, trying to create a competitive tourism product by emphasising phoenix characteristics, such as rising, building, peace, future, etc. Although the Croatian coastal resorts are in a mature mass tourism stage, being included in a West Balkan could diversify and rejuvenate the tourism product. However, it is again left for the future research regarding the identity of Croatia, i.e. does it want to be grouped as a part of Balkan countries?

These countries are all different, but at the same time they are all stigmatised with the same conflict inheritance. The message is that West Balkan is rising from the ashes, the wars are over. This is a phoenix tourism stage, the tourist itineraries themed with phoenix elements stated above. This issue was neglected in tourism academia and consultancy plans. Emotions do not exist in the business world in which tourism is studied. This is a consequence of a tourism research, which sometimes focuses only on tourism, forgetting about the social settings under which tourism needs to operate and which influence the way tourism is developing. However, it is a part of the context, not its centre. Maybe this is one of the reasons why theory on post-conflict tourism development is so weak.

8.6.5.2 Cooperation with Croatia: the importance of reconciliation

Co-operation with Croatia illustrates the importance of the reconciliation process. However, co-operation in a similar vein to that envisaged by Tourism Ireland (page 123), is not possible in the case of B&H and Croatia, firstly, because of product difference.

Ireland and NI are geographically a unit, each offering a very similar tourism product. Croatia is primarily a summer sun mass tourism destination, while Bosnia is a mass tourism destination only in relation to winter holidays, but it is a niche tourism destination by its characteristics. Although those two products are different, they complement each other. Co-operation between Bosnia and Croatia is possible on the level of a single project. It cannot be centrally controlled. Besides product differences, war inheritance is another reason for tourism cooperation between Bosnia and Croatia to be based on a single project. This research shows that it is crucial to understand the total socio-political and cultural context in managing post-conflict tourism. In the Herzegovina region, Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Bosniacs were in conflict for a certain period of time. Bosnian Serbs shelled Dubrovnik. Co-operation in that region is slow, not only because of the product differences, but because of the war inheritance. In order for the project to start, common ground needs to be found first. Nevertheless, the findings illustrate healthy co-operation between the North West Bosnian region and National Park Plitvice Lakes in Croatia. This cooperation is institutionalised; a result of people who found common ground, mutual interests and began working together. This co-operation was relatively easy to establish because this part of Bosnia and Croatia were an alliance during the last conflict i.e. again it is the conflict inheritance, which influences tourism development. Thus war inheritance has a strong impact on tourism. In Herzegovina region, the co-operation may work if it were based on agreements between the agencies from RS and Dubrovnik. For example, when it comes to a border crossing, tourists are likely to encounter problems (page 174). The customs officers say that they are permitted to halt the group under broadly defined rights of discretion. Therefore, co-operation should not be forced. It can endanger the perception of the country.

Customs officers from Croatia, knowing that tourists go to Republic Srpska will not be happy and can use their rights of discretion. Tourists do not comprehend what is happening, and they are frightened and confused. The tour guide has to reassure the tourists and bring back trust. A relationship between Dubrovnik, Republic Srpska and the City of Mostar in B&H is still not in its phoenix stage because of their conflict inheritance. This is still the case within society in general. In-group identification is promoted instead of the formation of a common identity and favourable inter-group changes. So far, only in the tourism sector it has been possible to have an inter-group project, despite the difficult socio-political context.

The Belfast case shows that it is possible to find a common identity based on tourism grounds. It is up to Bosnia to try to do this as well. In Belfast, a common identity was identified with prisoners of war. In Mostar, Dubrovnik and Trebinje, a common identity is still not identifiable. Potentially, a common identity could be based on the socio-economical characteristics; people need dinner on the table. Most people were better off before the conflict. The issue of there being no winner further complicates the issue, creating a fertile ground for further speculation.

One needs to be careful. The border-crossing encounter is just a small instance, but one which could seriously influence co-operation. The border crossing may be the place where tourists obtain their first impression of B&H, therefore its significance should not be underestimated. Thus the conflict inheritance plays a significant role on co-operation between Croatia and B&H. A social cathartic experience is needed in order for the cooperation to become healthy. Therefore, cross-border co-operation needs to start in the areas whose common identities can be easily identified, for instance, NP Plitvice and northwest Bosnia, which were in alliance during the conflict.



Figure 8.10 Cross-border cooperation between Croatia and B&H

8.6.5.3 Inclusion of the diaspora in tourism development

Potentially, the diaspora can assist in tourism development, especially as part of marketing strategy. A modality for their inclusion needs to be found. In the case of Bosnia, the diaspora might have nationalistic sentiments, which is a danger to the country in the process of reconciliation. Therefore, the first part of the modality is to identify the diaspora, which can be included. The research shows that the diaspora originating from the bigger urban areas in B&H and mixed marriages (34% before the conflict), would be able to help tourism development.

This research identified that the diaspora may be looked upon not only as a potential tourism market, but also as a part of official marketing strategy. The modality for their inclusion is yet to be found and is for further research.

The research found that tourism could assist as a factor in the process of assimilation and repatriation, i.e. B&H is not just a holiday destination for its diaspora, since it was estimated that since the Dayton Agreement, around 1,000,000 displaced persons returned to B&H. One of the main issues in the exodus of Bosnian refugees was that it was a military strategy in order to inhibit the area with political allies (Crisp 2003). Others were moved or removed. Some of those moved by force decided to go back. However, the environment is still hostile. Some Bosniacs and Croats who lived in the part of B&H, which is now Republic Srpska, managed to return back their own properties. Some of them immediately sold them up, and settled in the Federation. They can now be considered internally dispersed. The Bosnian government has the Ministry of Displaced Persons and Refugees on the entity level and the Ministry of Refugees and Human Rights on a state level. Ministries do not deal with tourism, nor do they have any links with Tourism Ministries. The Ministry on the level of the state is charged with asylum seekers from other countries coming to B&H. The Ministries on the entity levels are charged with B&H repatriated citizens. Their work is to secure basic human requirements for a safe return to the country. How to use the skills obtained by those people while abroad is not envisaged by any of state or entity ministries and institution. Those skills do not need to be employed in tourism, but the modality for them to be employed should be found. This research concludes that international aid agencies have the power to find the modality and help in addressing this issue.

As already said in the findings chapter, many of those repatriated citizens, while in exile, learned the language of their adoptive country, eg. Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian.

However, it is an issue now, how and in which ways, those language skills can be employed for tourism purposes. The most obvious way would be tour-guiding jobs. The skill of being fluent in an unusual European language could create a certain competitive advantage. If tourism related skills are identified, the project needs to then be linked to the marketing strategies. The most responsive in this case could be the Nordic countries, where a great majority of repatriated citizens were, and some still are. However, these are just some preliminary ideas and the whole issue needs further research.

8.7 CONCLUSION

What are wars today? The best way to understand them is to compare them to historic battles. Seaton (1999) elaborated the relationship between historic battles and tourism on the settings of the Waterloo battle. Civilians were not killed and the winner was known straight after the battle. “Modern” conflicts target civilians as part of their military strategy (Crisp 2003). However, after such conflict everything is blurred and no clear winner emerges. It is difficult for reconciliation to take place in the areas where atrocities have happened, where the civilians were deliberately targeted and where the winner is not known.

The tourism academia conceptualise war and recent conflict related sites as one of several themes under the whole dark tourism paradigm. This research, however, moves away from this tourism centric conceptualisation. It is not possible to apply the “one size fits all” dark tourism approach, which categorises the sites in the isolation of their socio-cultural context. Therefore this research places war memorabilia sites into the framework of phoenix tourism. Bosnia and Herzegovina is a phoenix destination and the Sarajevo Tunnel is a phoenix site, a metaphor of rising from the ashes. It invokes memories of the bravery, which saved the city from catastrophe. Another phoenix site is Mostar with its UNESCO, which was targeted and destroyed in 1993, and rebuilt in 2004.

Tourism theory sees only the destroyed site and labels this as dark tourism. Tourism theory also sees the rebuilt site and labels this as cultural tourism. Both are right and wrong at the same time. The researcher is inclined to call both those inscriptions wrong. This research sees the links. Thus it is not the destroyed bridge, or even the new bridge, but the story behind and the processes which led to the rebuilding of the bridge which give it significance. The destroyed Bridge does not have any meaning. The rebuilt

one does not have any meaning either. The story, the connection, the link, and the process, give meaning. This is phoenix tourism.

Srebrenica is not a phoenix site. It needs time. It needs respect. It needs silence. It needs talk. It needs people to come and to see and to talk about that in their own communities. It needs people, but not tourists. Tourists can come as the memorial centre is created. It is usually only journalists who visit. Tourism can wait, at least until the last corpses are found and the war criminals are caught and sentenced. The Sarajevo tunnel is another story. It is remote and only organised tour groups and buses go there. Individuals need to get there by taxi. What would happen if all of a sudden, this region becomes commodified? Would it lose on its authenticity if commercial activities were operating within the area? Would the locals view commercialisation in the same way as the locals in Belfast see the red buses? Should this happen it would announce the end of the phoenix stage in Sarajevo.

Phoenix tourism is not a tourism product or another name for dark tourism. It involves actual process, the energy attached to finding the uniqueness and beauty of five different religions in a radius of a few hundred yards, of seeing the bridge in Mostar rebuilt and reconstructed, of listening to the stories about the tunnel. These are the feelings, which phoenix tourism encapsulates. Dark tourism is, on the other hand, a concept, which has emerged from a developed western society perspective and associated academic discourse. With respect to the academic discourse, the study finds the concept of *phoenix tourism* to be more appropriate in the process of destination development after conflict. This research employs the term phoenix tourism as an umbrella term in defining the process of tourism development after long-term political conflict attributable to the energy involved in rebuilding and re-energising, and then, coming back to normality. This research defines phoenix tourism as a process of destination regeneration, rehabilitation, re-imaging and revitalisation in a post-conflict context. Other terms associated with phoenix tourism include phoenix destinations, phoenix sites and phoenix tourists. This research has deconstructed the dark tourism concept. It has pulled out “modern” post-conflict sites and created a phoenix tourism framework. Those sites are a core concept of the phoenix tourism framework. Phoenix tourism does not perceive the site per se, as the case of dark tourism. Phoenix tourism is a war memorabilia site as part of the phoenix destination. Phoenix destinations are rising. They are in the process of coming back to real life. This is an energy which is felt and which colours the development process. The accent will

remain on war memorabilia sites as these are where the effects of the change and effort can be witnessed.

9. CONCLUSION

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this chapter is to review to what degree this study has achieved its aim and objectives. The chapter further provides the research with an overview, bringing together the arguments and synthesising conclusions through outlining the methodological approaches to the research, and addressing the aim and the objectives of the research. Further, broader contributions to knowledge and the study limitations, will be addressed. The study concludes with an outline of points for future research.

9.2 METHODOLOGICAL OUTLINE

Despite much research on post-conflict tourism re-development and dark tourism, little is known about the actual context and meanings. Dark tourism is researched in, as Franklin (2007) calls it, a tourism centric manner. However, war memorabilia sites do not function in this imaginary dark tourism box. They are part of the societal, cultural and political context of a particular place.

Creating knowledge from one single perspective leads to knowledge saturation. The study therefore adopts critical theory, which creates an emancipatory knowledge (Habermas 1978), and gives voice to the themes and issues usually overlooked and marginalised in tourism academia, such as the voice of the native researcher, the peripheral destination and societal context. The research confronts the voices of academic orthodoxy by focusing on the creation of knowledge which addresses understanding, meaning and emancipation. Those less heard voices enrich the existing theory by providing an insight into the process from a different perspective. This study recovered some of those marginalised perspectives through the qualitative interviews conducted with tourism decision makers from both the private and public sector, and overt participant observations of the tours in Sarajevo and Mostar. The reader may ask why the researcher maps out the voices of the decision makers as the marginalised voices. Therefore in the next section, the researcher explains the context in which these voices are indeed marginalised. The first is in relation to tourism development in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The country faces prejudices from their former Yugoslav neighbours, who say that people in Bosnia are not capable of delivering tourism, that regardless of how important decision makers they are, or what resources they have, they are not capable of delivering a tourism product. A similar situation occurred with the working class communities in Belfast. Bosnia and its people have been marginalised. Bosnia is known for its bloodshed and conflict, which

have left its people lagging behind. Yet, Bosnia has always been marginalised in tourism terms and peripheral in geopolitical terms. According to Bec-Neumann (2006), this part of the world has been peripheral for centuries. It was on the periphery of the Ottoman Empire, the Habsburg Monarchy, and then Fascism. Thereafter there was a periphery of communism and more recently it is on the periphery of the EU. Thus the psychology of periphery is formed. For centuries, Bosnians have been regarded as peripheral and less important, (i.e. always left behind). Bosnia is situated in the heart of Europe, but it is not a member of the EU. People feel ashamed that they allowed conflict to happen and which put them in the situation which they are in at the moment. This is the dominant context of periphery and marginalisation. Further, the marginalised issue is one personally felt by the researcher and which colours her personal reflection. The researcher is from former Yugoslavia. Many researchers from the “other” countries come to the developed ones to undertake research. They usually adopt the dominant orthodoxies, while marginalising their own personal background. This research finds this to be an opportunity cost. So many insights are thrown away. So much criticality is wasted. As already said by Hussey and Hussey (1997), natural sciences research focuses on those issues which are external to the researcher. The researcher is excluded from the context. Social sciences research focuses on human actions and behaviours. Therefore, it is not possible to exclude the researcher from that context. To do so, endangers Guba and Lincoln’s (1984) trustworthiness.

Interviews were the main method of exploration. However, those issues which could not be explored by interviewing required participant observation (e.g. the issues concerned with the war memorabilia sites). Through participant observation, the researcher could find the meaning of the interview discourses. As an enhancer of trustworthiness (Guba and Lincoln 1984), this study argues personal reflection as a part of the methodological approach and employs thematic data analysis. An analysis of these interviews and observations yields explanations which complicate and sometimes even challenge, widely held assumptions about dark tourism and post-conflict tourism context. Through the study in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is explained that the concept of dark tourism should not be applied to conflict memorabilia sites because it does not capture the actual social context. The Sarajevo Secret Tunnel should not be conceptualised as a category of dark tourism. The Sarajevo Secret Tunnel is a part of the political, social and cultural context of Sarajevo.

The analysis yielded a phoenix tourism framework, constructed through the application of Maurice Bloch’s (1982) double burial concept. The concept explained the

process of the transformation from negativity, darkness, death and sorrow to positivity, light, rebirth and respect by means of enlightenment, transcendentalism, spiritualism and even a hint of mysticism, felt through the metaphor of rising from the ashes. Dark tourism sees only the ruins. Cultural tourism sees only the rebuilt and renovated sites. Both concepts do not have any significant meaning. Phoenix tourism sees the process of the transformation and of rising from the ashes. Phoenix tourism gives meaning. Through the phoenix tourism framework, the researcher approached the data, addressed the aims and reached the objectives.

9.3 MAJOR FINDINGS: ADDRESSING THE AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The aim and the objectives were addressed through the thematic analysis and phenomenological approach to the study. Thematic analysis was considered to be the most appropriate analysis method for addressing the research aim and objectives. It allowed synergy to occur between the methods employed and the issues explored, and helped these issues to be addressed in a more holistic way. A brief account of the main research findings will be presented here, in relation to the research aim and objectives. The data analysis resulted in a conceptual framework (table 9.1), through which the research objectives were addressed.

Table 9.1: Researcher's framework

Themes	Sub-themes
Post-conflict political settings influencing tourism	
Societal transformation-starting points	Inherited conditions; Transition (war-peace, dependent-independent, workers' self management → capitalism); Physical tourism infrastructure; Human capital
Politics	Over-governance; Laws and regulations; Tourism Laws and Taxes, Dayton Agreement
Networking	Cross-border co-operation, Entities relations
Diaspora	Intention to return back to B&H; Non intention to return back
International agencies	Public-private partnership, Projects, Cooperation between the entities
Tourism themes in post-conflict settings	
Phoenix Tourism Product	Visits to war memorabilia sites; Unique products → 4 religions equally important; Nostalgia → sacralisation of the past; Niche products; Generic tourism product: ski tourism; cultural (only Mostar and Sarajevo)
Influence of social catharsis and repatriation → intergroup guilt and forgiveness	Tour guides; interpretation and delivery of the sites associated with the war
Markets	International communities (until 2000) backpackers; solidarity; research; Diaspora; New → tourism markets → tourists from former Yugoslavia; tourists from all the other countries; volunteers
Tourists visiting war memorabilia sites	Motivated by morbid curiosity; education and research motivated; genuine phoenix tourists; visiting the sites → by chance
Image and media	Forming a positive organic image through proactive media approach; Corps diplomatie and tourism

9.3.1 OBJECTIVE 1: to explore the influence of conflict inheritance on Butler's (1980) tourism area life cycle (TALC)

The first objective explores the influence of the conflict inheritance on the tourism area life cycle. In order to reach this particular objective, Butler's (1980) tourism area life cycle is employed. Butler's TALC model is understood in this research as a way of thinking, it is not a prescribed model. The meaning of Butler's model is not to find out at which point in the cycle the area lies at the moment, but to understand and conceptualise the context of that area holistically. The research objective is addressed through the following themes: pre-conflict inheritance, tourism markets, and the regeneration process. The research argues that the stage which tourism was at before a conflict has an impact on tourism development afterwards. Bosnian tourism before the conflict was in its development stage (Butler 1980). The Olympic Games organised in 1984 in Sarajevo, gave a feeling of euphoria and self-esteem to Bosnians, because hitherto in former Yugoslavia, tourism was only ever a feature of the Croatian coast. For Bosnians tourism is a prestigious activity, not for them. Organising the Olympic Games in Sarajevo helped Bosnia's social self-esteem but further, the understanding of tourism in Bosnia is still linked to mass tourism, tour operators and the like. There are still a lot of self-esteem issues present which need to be taken into account when conceptualising tourism development.

Tourism markets are also a significant issue here. There is an assumption that tourism starts from stage zero after a long-term conflict. This research shows that, on the contrary, tourism is very much "alive" straight after the conflict. For instance, there are many international community representatives, journalists and aid workers in residence in B&H as well as their VFR segments coming to visit them. Also many conferences and meetings were held in Sarajevo straight afterwards. This first stage helps in conceptualising tourism, testing what tourists like and what their points of interest are. On the other hand, during this stage, Bosnians became passive towards tourism. Yet, there are tourists despite the non-existence of a tourism strategy. However, as time passes by and the country is stabilised, there are fewer and fewer international agencies in Bosnia. Bosnians need to start thinking more seriously about tourism, make strategies and plan what to do with all these capacities they have recently developed. Bosnians, as mentioned already, are very much into building new tourism capacities. This is again part of the pre-

conflict inheritance. For Bosnians, “thinking more seriously about tourism” means building accommodation capacities. At the moment, the “urbanisation” of the Olympic Mountains around Sarajevo is taking place. However, thinking only about the building sites and not about the roads and infrastructure is not sustainable in the long-run. Sarajevo has a unique competitive advantage. It is a Bosnian capital city situated only a few kilometres away from the Olympic Mountains. This characteristic attracts a niche market who would like to ski, but who also enjoy the urban life. These tourists can and should be accommodated in Sarajevo. This would alleviate seasonality in Sarajevo and stop uncontrolled urbanisation in the mountains.

9.3.2 OBJECTIVE 2: to explore the influence of the wider political context on tourism development

Political settings and their influence on tourism development are described through the themes of over-governance, laws and regulations, which are a direct conflict inheritance. Such conflict inheritance issues are seminal in understanding the process of tourism development in the post-conflict settings. Furthermore, it focuses on societal transformation points, for instance, the transitions, the destruction of physical infrastructure and the human resources.

All the interviewees argued that the Dayton Agreement created too many borders and made co-operation on many matters almost impossible. The Agreement was very helpful in stopping the conflict, but on the matter of enhancing societal development, it cannot assist. On the other hand, people are willing to co-operate when it comes to tourism, but it is problematic due to the different laws which exist in the Republic Srpska and the Federation. First the modality for cooperation needs to be envisaged. This takes time and differs from case to case. People in Bosnia find international agencies helpful in this context, as they can connect through them. The Dayton Agreement is based on borders, but the borders are unnatural. Societal development urges trust, understanding and cooperation and the breaking down of borders between people.

The issue of politics is very prominent in every social setting. In post-conflict settings, it is even more important to take politics into account when thinking of tourism. Northern Ireland findings argued that it was very important that all the political parties supported tourism development. In a politically loaded setting, every other combination will be labelled as sectarianism. In Bosnia, politics is even more important to take into

consideration. People are not employed according to their expertise and skills, but firstly by whether they are Bosnian Serb, Croat or Bosniak. This is the price which has to be paid in order to preserve the peace. The workforce has to be balanced. The number of employed Croats, Serbs and Bosniaks has to be regulated as per the Dayton Agreement.

The problem is that a lot of time and effort is spent on politics and politicising and so less time is available for real projects. However, the difference between tourism and other sectors is that people in tourism are less concerned with the borders. They really want to, and are motivated to work together. This leads to the third objective, to explore tourism's role in the process of post-conflict reconciliation, and the relationships between tourism, reconciliation and politics.

9.3.3 OBJECTIVE 3: to understand the meaning of tourism in the process of reconciliation

Tourism's role in the process of post-conflict reconciliation focuses on working relationships between the parties previously in conflict. It focuses on aspects such as reconciliation, catharsis, guilt, forgiveness, and repatriation. It focuses on the international agencies identified as being the intermediary in these processes. This is one of the main features of this research. One challenge imposed on the process of reconciliation concerns education. So far, it appears that the older generation have less prejudices, and less barriers than the younger ones. The reason is that they went to school in former Yugoslavia where the history being taught was the same, whether learned in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia, Montenegro, Kosovo or Macedonia. Now, in Bosnia alone, there are twelve different versions of history being taught which in effect deepens the borders. Education is not centrally controlled and in some parts of Bosnia, where more nationalistic governments are in power, the history being taught to the pupils is that their neighbours are their enemies. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to plan any development. The topic of reconciliation is very important and will be discussed further when relating to the broader contribution to knowledge section.

9.3.4. OBJECTIVE 4: to explore the process of the sacralisation MacCannell (1999) of the sites which are a direct conflict inheritance through addressing the issue of management, presentation, and interpretation of these sites to tourists

This objective is core in exploring the process of post-conflict development. On one side, there is tourism and presentation of war memorabilia sites for tourism purposes. On the other side, there is the post-conflict context. Post-conflict settings and dark tourism meet at this point and are at the core of the phoenix tourism context. This objective was presented through the themes of tour guiding, changing trends in tourism, sacralisation of the last conflict and WWII sites, and the motives of tourists who visit war memorabilia sites.

The research argues that tour guiding in a post-conflict setting is rather challenging. It should deal with the politically unresolved issues and is much more than dark tourism. The difference between this conflict and historical battles is that in this conflict civilians are targeted and a winner does not exist. The tour guide has an enormous burden to carry. In Northern Ireland, these issues were partly addressed at tour-guiding seminars. In Bosnia, people try to do their best to address these issues before the tour guide is certified. Due to the issue of politicisation and inefficiency, Bosnia still does not have a body to which tour guides would be accountable. However, despite this, certain steps forward have been made in the city of Mostar albeit on a local level. The only requirement for a tour guide is that they have experienced a personal catharsis of forgiveness, reconciliation and repatriation. Furthermore, a tour guide can present a tour in whichever way they chose, the only stipulation is that it is forbidden to tell untruths. Tour guides show a clear anti-war sentiment and send an antiwar message to the world. Anti-war sentiment is orthodoxy, similar to the maddrich tour guiding in Israel (Cohen E. F. 2002 et al), where the story is told under the orthodoxy of Jewish sentiments. Similar to a maddrich tour guide who puts an emphasis on Jewish sentiments, a phoenix tour guide puts an emphasis on anti-war sentiments by relating the events which happened to their effect on ordinary people.

Further, though it appears that trends in tourism have changed, this is not the case. Rather, with all the injustice in the world broadcast in the media, and a Western Europe trend towards atheism and agnosticism increasing (Sharpley and Stone forthcoming), some people do not believe that they will find salvation through institutionalised religion.

Instead, they travel, trying to find meaning to their lives. Sometimes a part of that journey deals with catharsis, and listening to the anti-war messages being given.

A place like Srebrenica is not ready for tourism. The case is unfinished, war criminals have not yet been on trial and the place is still steeped in sorrow. However, Mostar Bridge and the Sarajevo Secret Tunnel have already been sacralised. They are both in the phoenix stage, rising from the ashes. The same can be said of WWII memorabilia sites. During the epidemic of nationalistic sentiments in former Yugoslavia, these were completely desacralised. Now, as the nationalistic sentiments have mostly faded, they are rising from the ashes. As previously said, the destroyed Mostar Bridge by itself does not have meaning. The rebuilt Mostar Bridge by itself does not have meaning either. It is the process of rising, re-constructing and rebuilding the energy felt at that moment which has meaning and which is felt through the streets of Mostar. This is phoenix tourism, with Bloch's (1982) double burial concept arguing that Srebrenica is in the first burial stage and advising patience. Sarajevo and Mostar are rising from the ashes. This is the phoenix tourism stage. Furthermore, it is not just that phoenix tourism is felt only on the sites which are direct conflict inheritance. Even tourists coming for, for example a rafting holiday, feel that energy of rising, which is the base for phoenix tourism.

9.3.5 OBJECTIVE 5: to explore the process of destination re-imaging in the post-conflict settings

The last objective explored tourism development through the context of tourism promotion. How can a post-conflict country be promoted in its tourism context? The focus here is on the media. The areas of conflict were constantly featured on the media for the duration of conflict. Afterwards though, the media rarely features stories of post-conflict development. They have lost interest it seems. Along these lines, the discussion on the media and tourism is explored. The decision makers in Bosnia are used to the media being inherently interested in featuring Bosnia. They were interested in Bosnia when it was at war. Now, they need to be invited to come and feature those issues connected to peace. It is also the case that the media is actually interested in featuring a place which was at war in a tourism context. However, first they have to know that there is something interesting to feature. The passivity of decision makers is identified as an issue here and why the CNN video-clip was so important. However, the CNN video had even more implications internally, on marketing tourism as a viable sector in the Bosnian economy.

siege, it has moved forward. Bosnia cannot move forward. Therefore, if the feelings are not acknowledged honestly, the strategy fails to achieve its aims and objectives as it is made on the premise that nothing has happened, or its intention is to calculate only the economic losses. Real losses cannot be calculated. Such an approach to Bosnia will not work. Feelings are honest, they are there and although they do not fit into any of the actual tourism models, this is no reason not to feature them.

Addressing the objectives achieves the aim of the research, to explore the process of tourism development in areas after a long-term political conflict.

9.4 PHOENIX TOURISM: RESEARCH CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

A tourism-centric approach (Franklin 2007), might have functioned well in a Riviera-type destination of thirty years ago. Tourism development in a post-conflict context needs to move away from such a tourism-centric discourse.

The contribution to knowledge is set around the creation of understanding and emancipatory knowledge. It is achieved through the methodological approach to research. Researchers have already acknowledged that the dark tourism concept is overly comprehensive (Stone 2006, Dunkley 2007, Sharpley and Stone forthcoming), and based on theoretically weak foundations. Previous studies examined war memorabilia sites as part of a dark tourism context. The researcher has deconstructed the dark tourism concept and argued that war memorabilia sites should be researched in their own settings, i.e. not in the settings of dark tourism. In that way the study contributes to the dark tourism debate.

The main theoretical contribution of the thesis is the phoenix tourism concept, which utilised Bloch's (1982) double burial concept. Phoenix tourism is another way of looking at the process of tourism development in a post-conflict context. The research has further extended a broad destination development theory by applying the phoenix tourism concept to a TALC model (Butler 1980), explaining the area life cycle in the context of a post-conflict and used MacCannell's (1999) model of sacralisation in exploring the de-sacralised communist past and WWII and its revival.

The aim of this research was to explore the processes, and to identify the significant issues affecting tourism following a long-term, major political conflict like the political conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Through addressing the research objectives, this research developed phoenix tourism concept. It represents an original contribution to the knowledge. In the post-conflict social settings of Bosnia and Herzegovina, tourism

development is usually understood only as an economic enhancer. This study introduced the phoenix tourism concept, explaining to the reader that the process of post-conflict tourism development goes far beyond economic enhancement and technical knowledge (Habermas 1968), putting it in the context of rising, re-building and reconciliation. It creates awareness and draws attention to these other characteristics of post-conflict tourism. Phoenix tourism goes along with the creation of emancipatory knowledge, i.e. emancipating these other characteristics of a post-conflict tourism development. Therefore, this part of the research quest resulted in the inevitability of the “dark tourism” theory deconstruction (dark tourism has already been characterised as too complex and comprehensive (Stone 2005, Dunkley 2007)). The research suggests conceptualising war inherited sites, taking them out of the imaginary tourism context and putting them back into their real contexts and, thus, giving them their real meanings.

The main characteristic of phoenix tourism is that it is not a permanent label, but one stage in the process by which a conflict becomes a genuine tourism heritage. Phoenix tourism is not just another tourism sub-group or another tourism niche. Phoenix tourism has an expiry date. It is one of the stages in the process of post-conflict tourism development. Its main characteristic is its dynamics.

Phoenix tourism is a state of mind. Tourism theory sees only the destroyed site and labels this as dark tourism. Phoenix tourism is the state of mind which argues that the ruined Mostar bridge alone is not important. It is the state of mind which argues that the renovated Mostar bridge is not important either. It is a state of mind which understands that the dynamics of that change, the process of re-building that bridge gives the meaning. The story, the connection, the link, and the process, give meaning. This is phoenix tourism.

If tourism *per se* is put in the centre of the story, phoenix tourism is going to be put on the margins and result instead in dark tourism or cultural tourism sites. Dark and cultural tourism are tourism sub-groups, which could not depict the process happening in this particular social setting well. Conceptualisation of the War Tunnel under the context of dark tourism is not that important for the concept of phoenix tourism. It is the post-conflict Sarajevo tourism settings which give the meaning to the site, i.e. this is not tourism *per se* which gives meaning to the site, but the social settings of post-conflict Sarajevo.

Phoenix tourism is, as already stated, a state of mind. It compensates the presence of the international agencies trying to make the connections between unnaturally divided society and make a shortcuts in this rather bureaucratic state. Phoenix tourism is, as the

interviewees call it, *an underground movement*, which is trying to connect people who live in different entities, but still want to work together, but which the official channels do not make possible. Phoenix tourism is a hope which is emerging through connecting different ethnicities working on tourism projects. Phoenix tourism is Sarajevo Film Festival, which developed during the siege and continues to inspire. Phoenix tourism involves the actual process, the energy attached to finding the uniqueness and beauty of five different religions in a radius of a few hundred yards, of seeing the bridge in Mostar rebuilt and reconstructed, of listening to the stories about the tunnel. These are the feelings which phoenix tourism encapsulates. This research employs the term phoenix tourism as an umbrella term in defining the process of tourism development after long-term political conflict, attributable to the energy involved in rebuilding and re-energising, and then, returning to normality. This research defines phoenix tourism as a process of destination regeneration, rehabilitation, re-imagining and revitalisation in a post-conflict context. Other terms associated with phoenix tourism include phoenix destinations, phoenix sites and phoenix tourists.

Phoenix tourism stage is a necessity in understanding post-conflict tourism development. As already noted, there is a difference between conceptualising historic battlefields and these modern wars. Historic battlefields were between the different armies. Today's conflicts target civilians. For historic battles, the phoenix tourism stage is less important. Armed soldiers were killed because they were in the different armies. They were armed and they knew why they are going to war. An important difference between the Bosnian conflict and historic battles is that in the Bosnian conflict, the main victims were unarmed civilians. They were killed just because of their different backgrounds. This is the reason for the necessity for phoenix tourism. A society cannot rise again immediately. Paraphrasing the Ministry of Tourism in Bosnian Federation,

The possibilities for tourism develop in this country are huge. At the same time, the wounds of the conflict are still visible in this society. It puts a shadow on all those prospects; it is overwhelmed by the evil that happened here. People are still healing the wounds. You cannot just say, oh stop it now, let's start from the beginning. Many people, who did not experience it, make detrimental mistakes

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It is not possible to force people to start developing tourism as if nothing has happened. It is not that easy to forget. A society needs some time to rise from the ashes. That time is phoenix tourism.

Phoenix tourism adds the elements of emotion and transcendentalism to the hard and exact tourism planning research. A Bosnian tourism slogan presented at the World Travel Market (WTM) stated that, *the destination is not the place, but another way of seeing the world*, the beginning of applying that philosophy in tourism planning.

9.5 MAIN RESEARCH CONCEPTS: CATHARSIS, RECONCILIATION AND PHOENIX TOURISM

Six things, Aristotle said, are necessary for a tragedy: plot, character, diction, thought, spectacle, and melody...The main character or tragic hero should be neither supremely good nor supremely bad: he should be a person of rank who is basically good, but comes to grief through some great error (*humantia*) (Kenny 1979). A woman may have the kind of goodness necessary to be a tragic heroine, and even a slave may be a tragic subject. Every one of the *dramatis personae* should possess some good features; what ever they do should be in character... This can be compared to tour guiding in Bosnia.

This study has studied tourism. However, the researcher needed to emphasise the politics and to devote entire themes to the politics. This is due to the fact that politics is an indispensable part of everyday life in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The reader should understand that. Therefore the politicisation of everyday life in Bosnia and Herzegovina provides the background to this tragedy. Bosnia appears not to be ready for any potential development. Borders between the people have been unnaturally created. It is difficult to begin any kind of economic development if social development is not taking place. Cehajic et al (forthcoming) argue that the low levels of reconciliation in Bosnia are due to the resistance to acknowledging past wrongdoings and the protection of war criminals. Promoting intergroup contact favours beneficial changes (e.g. encourages return process, and abolishment of entities), and decreases ingroup identification, by promoting a common identity (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000).

Tourism sees the natural borders, not the politically created ones. Bosnia and Herzegovina is still one country, but divided into two entities. One does not need a passport to go from one entity into another, but one would rarely need to go into another entity; one is frightened. The researcher herself felt that way. Reflecting on the interviews

conducted in both NI and Bosnia, this is a particular reason why tourism is the most suitable context with which to begin the process of reconciliation. It is not easy to divide rivers or mountain. Tourism operates within a surrounding of natural borders. The rivers still flow through both entities. Natural borders are still stronger. As such, it forces cooperation and in that direction, enhances a common identity. Further, the research illustrated the lack of trust at the beginning of the projects, though as a project developed, the trust grew stronger. Therefore, this research argues that tourism needs to have its place, not only as an economic enhancer, but as a political tool because it is positively correlated to common identity and trust.

Tourism is usually recognised as an economic generator. However, if reconciliation is not happening, it is difficult to achieve much economic development as cooperation is blocked. Tourism can enhance the reconciliation process as it enhances a common identity. The CNN video clip had the enhancement of a common identity as part of its “secret agenda”. Furthermore, Hewstone et al. (2004) identified empathy and trust as positive precursors for intergroup forgiveness. This research illustrated that trust is created through tourism-related projects, i.e. quality contacts between people from different nationalities, disseminated through working on the same projects. However, people are still vulnerable. Certain situations could easily be attributed to sectarianism, even though the cause of the problem was not sectarianism, but lack of trust. People lost these connections and now do not know each other. The problem had a social and existential character. Instead of trying to build that trust and change those perceptions, lack of trust dominated and it easily slipped into sectarianism. As that first barrier was put aside, the project became successful. This is identified as being a more important contribution than any economic trend. Furthermore, it is difficult to develop tourism if a common identity and trust are not in place. Therefore it appears that reconciliation is a precursor for economic development as well. This is the core of phoenix tourism as noted above.

Catharsis is identified as an important aspect of tourism in Bosnia. Catharsis cannot be measured. Catharsis just happens. Catharsis is a feature of phoenix tourism. Therefore, the story is understood and the message received through the narration of tragedies which were (and still are) happening to the ordinary citizens of Bosnia, i.e. not through the politicians and the elite, but to those to whom the tourists can relate. Therefore the feelings involved in the catharsis need to be highlighted as one of the prime features of tourism in Bosnia. Catharsis is purification. Purification is a positive moment. It influences tourists’ understanding of the philosophy of life in general. In the places where tragedies recently

happened, not talking about those emotions is detrimental. Biles, Loyd and Logan (1999) and Alneng (2002), note that initially the Vietnam National Administration of Tourism focused on promoting the unique culture of Vietnam. It was neither planned nor envisaged how to deal with the war heritage. However, the tourists were interested in exploring the war. The main “attraction”, Cu Chi tunnel (Henderson 2000, Florence and Storey 2001) became “Vietnam’s answer to Disneyland (Alneng 2002: 474). The researcher has to compare the Cu Chi Tunnel and the Sarajevo Secret Tunnel. They are both the most visited sites. A tunnel is somehow a mystical phenomenon. What is waiting on the other side of the tunnel? These examples show that war memorabilia sites need to be understood. Denial is forbidden because it leads to Disneyfication (Ritzer 2004) of the war.

As already noted, war tours and general city tours in Sarajevo are very similar. Therefore dark tourism, which deals genuinely with war memorabilia sites, appears to be without meaning. War is a part of every city tour and history is a part of every war tour. Dark tourism as a category does not make any sense. The Sarajevo Secret Tunnel should not be taken out of the destination and explained in the imaginary world of dark tourism, as a Disneyfication of the past. It is still too early and too disrespectful to do that.

Post-conflict tourism also has an educational character. As Alneng (2002) noted, Hollywood movies tend to trivialise war and the atrocities committed on innocent people. Hollywood movies usually present war as a battle between the good guys and the evil ones, where the good guys always win. War is unfortunately different. Guided tours in post-conflict settings need to show that war does not bring any good to the ordinary people. They are either killed, or displaced. This research shows that feelings are an important part of every visitation to Bosnia. Neglecting them causes again, the disneyfication of war.

As an answer to manage tourism in post-conflict settings, there is the concept of phoenix tourism. Phoenix tourism is understood as a stage. It is a temporal category, a passage from war memorabilia seen and felt in its sorrow towards the same war memorabilia, which transforms itself into the social heritage. There is a huge social involvement in this process. The process is temporal. It is like the journey, taken by the Merina tribe from Madagascar, a so-called double burial process. The time from one burial to another is a joyful journey overwhelmed with blessings and hope. The whole journey is sacred. After the journey is done, there are certain rituals and then the feasts which last for several days. After the rituals, the dead individuals became ancestors; they lose their individual names and become a common heritage, i.e. the ancestors. This is the analogy for

the phoenix tourism paradigm. Phoenix tourism is that journey from sorrow to pride, through hope and happiness. An important ingredient of phoenix tourism is cathartic experience. Besides happening among the tourists, catharsis is also happening through reconciliation, the emotions of guilt and forgiveness. It enhances trust and a common identity, for without these it is difficult to move forward. Through the catharsis, i.e. purification process, a person is supposed to become better. The same applies to the hosts and the guests. They make the entire society rise from the ashes.

This research has given voice to those people not usually heard in tourism, and revealed social class struggles, periphery struggles, prejudices and lack of self-esteem. Through tourism lens, the political context is revealed as well. The main conclusion for Bosnia is that the country can go no further unless social reconciliation is achieved. The relationships involved in working together bring forth this reconciliation. This is only seen in tourism and therefore tourism is an important factor in this process. Further implications of this research place tourism in the middle of a social and political discourse. However, tourism is entirely marginalised among generic social science or political discourse. Previous studies (Hall, C. M. 1994) argued that this subordinate tourism position is a product of academic snobbery. However, this research argues that tourism's marginalised position has to do more with a tourism centric approach (Franklin 2007). This research argues for the positioning of tourism as part of a social science discourse. In order to achieve that, a certain amount of attention needs to be given to the socio-historical context. At the very least, the historical events need to be correct. Otherwise more generic social science researchers will not take tourism research into serious consideration. The final argument of this section is that the governments, the international agencies and the local authorities, should look at tourism in broader generic terms, not only as a tool for enhancing the economy.

This research concluded with the phoenix tourism framework. The framework is a particular result of Bosnian settings. Phoenix tourism is not an exact model. It is a way of thinking.

9.6 FURTHER RESEARCH AND RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

The research has already noted in the text certain elements which need further research consideration. Here, they are presented together.

Research in this field has been locked under dark tourism and tourism-centric post-conflict tourism development. This research has opened the doors to perceive those two discourses under a phoenix tourism framework. The researcher would like to employ the phoenix tourism framework further in some similar contexts, for instance utilising the hospitality social lens framework (Lashley, Lynch and Morrison 2007) to analyse the host-guest relationship under those specific post-conflict contexts. The hospitality social lens argues that hospitality should not be considered as a hospitality management and hospitality industry. Hospitality is a generic social phenomenon, whose understanding needs an increasingly multidisciplinary approach. The hospitality social lens features nine themes focused on the host/guest dichotomy. Those themes (Lashley et al 2007) are presented in a table below.

Table 9.2: Hospitality a social lens (Lashley et al 2007)

Host/guest transaction	In certain cases, the role of the authority is accepted by the hosts, in certain, the role of the authority is not accepted
Inclusion/exclusions	Certain strangers are welcomed and transformed into the guests, certain strangers are not welcomed
Socio-cultural dimensions	Certain norms are constructed through the relationship between the hosts and the guests and the socio-cultural contexts under which the relationship takes place
Laws	Standards and principles, norms and obligations defined through the social and cultural settings
Performance	Symbolism of meanings, authenticity and staged authenticity, depicted through the host/guest transaction
Domestic discourse	Domestic settings, gender issues, and practices observed through the transaction between the host and the guest
Politics of Space	Boundaries, which denote inclusion and exclusion, domestic and commercial discourses
Types and sites	Forms and locations and their role in experiencing the host/guest transactions as the core of the hospitality
Commerce	Commercial hospitality is only one among the other social dimensions of the host/guest transaction

There are three particular relationships in the post-conflict settings, where implementation of the hospitality social lens would be particularly useful in extending the knowledge related to the post-conflict setting and the roles of the hosts and the guests within. First there is the transaction between the diaspora as the old hosts and the new hosts (Causevic & Lynch forthcoming), the second is the relationships between backpacker and phoenix tourists as the guests and their attitudes towards the hosts. Finally

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there is the relationship between the tour guides as the hosts and the guests on the tours. The Lashley et al (2007) framework is particularly useful in mapping these relationships because it approaches the host guest transactions from a broader perspective, understanding the transaction as a social phenomenon. This approach appears to be useful in mapping the diaspora, due to the transformative roles of the hosts and the guests. Orthodox hospitality research does not question the diaspora's role in tourism. When utilising a commercial understanding of the phenomenon, the diaspora are the guests. Through the social phenomenon relationship, their identity should not be mapped in that one-dimensional host-guest dichotomy (Causevic and Lynch forthcoming). Furthermore, the diaspora who decided to come back to their "home country" is a topic for further research, i.e. the skills they obtained while in exile, ways to employ these skills in their "home countries", eg. foreign languages, and an understanding of those markets where Bosnian refugees were during exile.

This research also highlighted the role which backpackers as tourists have in opening up the destination and conditionally identified a good and a bad model. A suggestion for further research is to conceptualise their roles in the post-conflict settings through a hospitality social lens framework. The phoenix tourism framework added a niche market consisting of tourists motivated by new age quests who would be interested in coming to the areas after a political conflict. The host-guest relationship is marginalised in social science research. Further research about the phoenix niche segment as guests and the phoenix tourism community as hosts should be further researched through the framework of the hospitality social lens. Also, it would be very valuable to further develop more studies about backpacker tourists. This study identified two different types of backpacker tourists in post-conflict settings, one was making an extremely positive contribution, and the other feeding their egos by proving the dominance of their cultural values over a post-conflict society. The relationship between both backpacker guest models and hosts should also be further explored. The same hospitality social lens model could be further implemented by focusing on the relationship between the tour guide as a host and phoenix tourists as guests. It would be interesting to conduct research about the tour guides *per se* in phoenix destinations.

Furthermore, the researcher would like to apply the phoenix tourism framework and this way of thinking in certain other geo-political and natural contexts, for instance, natural disasters. Second, the researcher would like to apply the phoenix tourism

framework in different social settings, by applying phoenix tourism not as a prescribed model, but as a way of thinking, for instance in the context of Palestine-Israel.

Thus, the tourism sector appears to be highly suitable for facilitating good working relationships, and acting as a base or a generator for the process of social catharsis, repatriation and reconciliation. This is also an interesting theme, which could be explored further. The study provides evidence that, without social catharsis, forgiveness and reconciliation, it is difficult for a country to move forward. The researcher advises an interdisciplinary study of social anthropology and social psychology during moments of reconciliation and the possible role of tourism as part of the process. Creating tourism projects which would achieve quality contacts and enhance trust and establish a common identity, need a joint approach from social psychology and anthropology in the area of tourism.

Further, this research also noted gender issues. Gender issues, power and macho culture have been researched in the settings of South America. However, research in the Balkans is less prominent, even though there is much material to research, eg. in light of the ongoing study on gender issues in South-Eastern Europe in the domain of tourism and hospitality (Ateljevic and Hall D. 2007).

Does Croatia identify itself with the Balkans in the scope of tourism? This study recommendation is to develop the West Balkan itinerary, however, a question for further research is about the identity, i.e. under which circumstances would Croatia like to be perceived as a Balkan country?

This research discussed the relationships between the tourists in the post-conflict settings, their beliefs and ways of seeing the world. The researcher would like to take this research further through a much longer and more in-depth ethnographic study. The researcher would like to deepen knowledge and understanding of this discourse utilising a critical theory approach.

This research is dichotomous. It started by utilising a strong masculine energy in terms of planning, exactness, darkness, death, and war. However, it ended up utilising a strong feminine energy of rebirth, phoenix, rising, feelings and emotions.

Although the researcher put considerable effort into this research, certain research limitations emerged. If the researcher were doing the same study now, a critical theory discourse would appear more prominently. This PhD was a journey, a learning curve. Throughout the journey the research transformed itself from being positivist, into becoming interpretivist and adopting a critical theory approach. The methodological

approach to the study was crucial for the emergence and justification of those new insights in context. Therefore it would be valuable to adopt this methodological approach in other discourses in the social science study of tourism.

9.7 EPILOGUE

Although a number of researchers oppose reflexivity (Maton 2003, Lynch 2000), the next section argues for the importance of personal reflection and why this researcher's account is far from being, as Maton (2003) calls it, a narcissistic one.

The first reason is that besides dialecticism, interdisciplinarity and criticality (see methodology chapter), reflexivity is the fourth pillar upon which Horkheimer's critical theory research paradigm lies. The task of the reflexive research approach is to bring the researcher's voice into the process of theory building (Fynlaysson 2001), for instance Ateljevic's personal reflection (Hall and Ateljevic 2007) managed to enrich theory by inscribing personal reflections into the links between the macho gaze and Croatian nationalism embodied into the relationships between gender and tourism. Dunkley (2007), while researching a thanatourism experience, embodied her own reflexive account acknowledging herself as a part of the thanatourism subculture she was researching, and in that way enriching the study by bringing her own voice into the process of creating theory. In my research, personal reflection built my own voice into a theory of a post-conflict tourism development in Bosnia and Herzegovina, resulting in the phoenix tourism concept.

According to Reinhartz (1997), being a researcher is just one of our identities while doing a fieldwork. This research focus was tourism development in post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina. While doing the research, I was Bosnian, I was Croatian, I was a Bosnian forced migrant with an experience and expertise in working in tourism sector, experienced political conflict, a displaced Bosnian female facing prejudice by being Bosnian and female, losing identity, and finding identity. Each of these identities had an impact on the research. I was a part of the settings I was exploring. The first reflexive moment was felt in Northern Ireland, when I realised that the interviewees just wanted to talk about the conflict as they did not feel ashamed in front of a researcher *who went through all that* and in that sense, in order for the research to be trustworthy, the researcher should reflect on that moment. While doing the research in Northern Ireland, being a Croatian and Bosnian who understood because of my own personal account, shaped the interviews in Northern Ireland.

Further in Bosnia, I went to Banja Luka, the centre of Republic Srpska. This is the city where I was born, but forced to leave because I was of the “wrong” ethnical background. I went to Banja Luka again in order to complete my field study. While in Banja Luka, I felt surreal. I knew the place, but I did not know the names of the streets and I did not have any friends left there. Although we are all scattered around the globe, most of the people from old Banja Luka reside now in Croatia, Sweden and the USA. I was born in Banja Luka, but not in this Banja Luka as I have seen during my field study. My city does not exist anymore. I am from Banja Luka, but the one which ceased to exist in 1992. I was there again, in that new Banja Luka, doing the research. I was frightened of my own emotions and I forced myself to put on an identity of the researcher while I was there. People who live in Banja Luka now, those I interviewed, knew that I came from Banja Luka originally. They knew that I do not live in Banja Luka anymore because I was forced to leave. While I was doing interviews in Banja Luka, conflict was rarely mentioned to me. Interviews started with tourism, but then, it was linked to social problems and how difficult it is to live in Banja Luka at the moment. Was it just because they wanted me not to feel sorry for not living in Banja Luka? Nobody talked about conflict in Banja Luka, due to social catharsis being at a very low level there. A reflexive approach helped me to understand my own experience and its meaning to this study. Furthermore, it gave me the right to interpret what it means (Ellis 1991) facing prejudice because of being from the “wrong” ethnic background.

The researcher’s personal account was reflected upon and built into a theory, which resulted in phoenix tourism paradigm. Through the researcher’s reflexive approach, the paradigm of phoenix tourism emerged.

Lynch (2000) argues that embodying reflexivity inside the research is inherently potent and destructive and undermines the truth. However, this is valid criticism not just for reflexivity, but for all research approaches, i.e. if they are not done properly, they are actually destructive. Reflexivity is never the only tool in building new theories. It is incorporated into other techniques in order to enrich the research with one more voice and make the theory stronger. Pels (2000:17) argues that reflexivity is “*one step up*” in order to tie the story back to the narrator and display the performative, projective relationship between the spokesperson and that which is spoken for.

Not allowing or acknowledging the existence of the researcher, but talking all the time about the phoenix tourism concept which actually emerged through personal reflection would undermine the validity of the research. It is easier for the reader to

understand that phoenix tourism is the result of the actions and emotions felt and experienced by both the researcher and by those researched. The researcher herself is a part of the post-conflict generic and tourism specific Bosnian story. The researcher is exactly what the research was about. Therefore this research, as noted above, is far from being, as Maton (2002) calls it, a narcissistic account. On the contrary, it enriches the research with a valuable component of a self, which is a part of the post-conflict context of Bosnia. Emotions are an important part of phoenix tourism. Through interpreting the researcher's own emotions, the emotions of others are well understood and inscribed into theory (Ellis 1991). The researcher's voice becomes a part of the research, and, as Jamal and Hollingshead (2001) argue, the researcher's voice is one of many in interpretive research and therefore needs to be acknowledged.

In this research the subjectivity of the researcher is openly acknowledged and brought into the process of constructing the phoenix tourism paradigm. Reflexivity is a part of critical theory and as such, it needs to be inscribed into a research. The aim of critical theory is to create an emancipatory knowledge by giving the voice to the marginalised ones (Habermas 1968). The researcher's personal reflection is an important part of that process.

Research about post-conflict tourism has usually been very objective and neutral and the voice of the researcher was rarely heard (Tribe 2007, Ateljevic and Hall 2007). Talking about post-conflict tourism urges emotions to be inscribed into a theory. Emotions exist, they are felt and experienced by all participants in these settings, they are a part of the story and need to be inscribed into it. The reflexive approach is a tool to do it.

The researcher would like to conclude that phoenix tourism would not have been able to be created if the personal account had not been inscribed into a theory.

The researcher pictures this research as an empty jar. First, she put big stones inside. Looking at the jar, the researcher first thought that it was full. The researcher was wrong. That jar was not full. She then added some sand into the jar and filled the gaps between the stones. Again, the jar seemed completely full. The jar was not completely full. The researcher realised that she needed to pour some water inside. The stones represent the interviews, the sand represents the participant observations and the water is the researcher herself. She gave meaning to the research.

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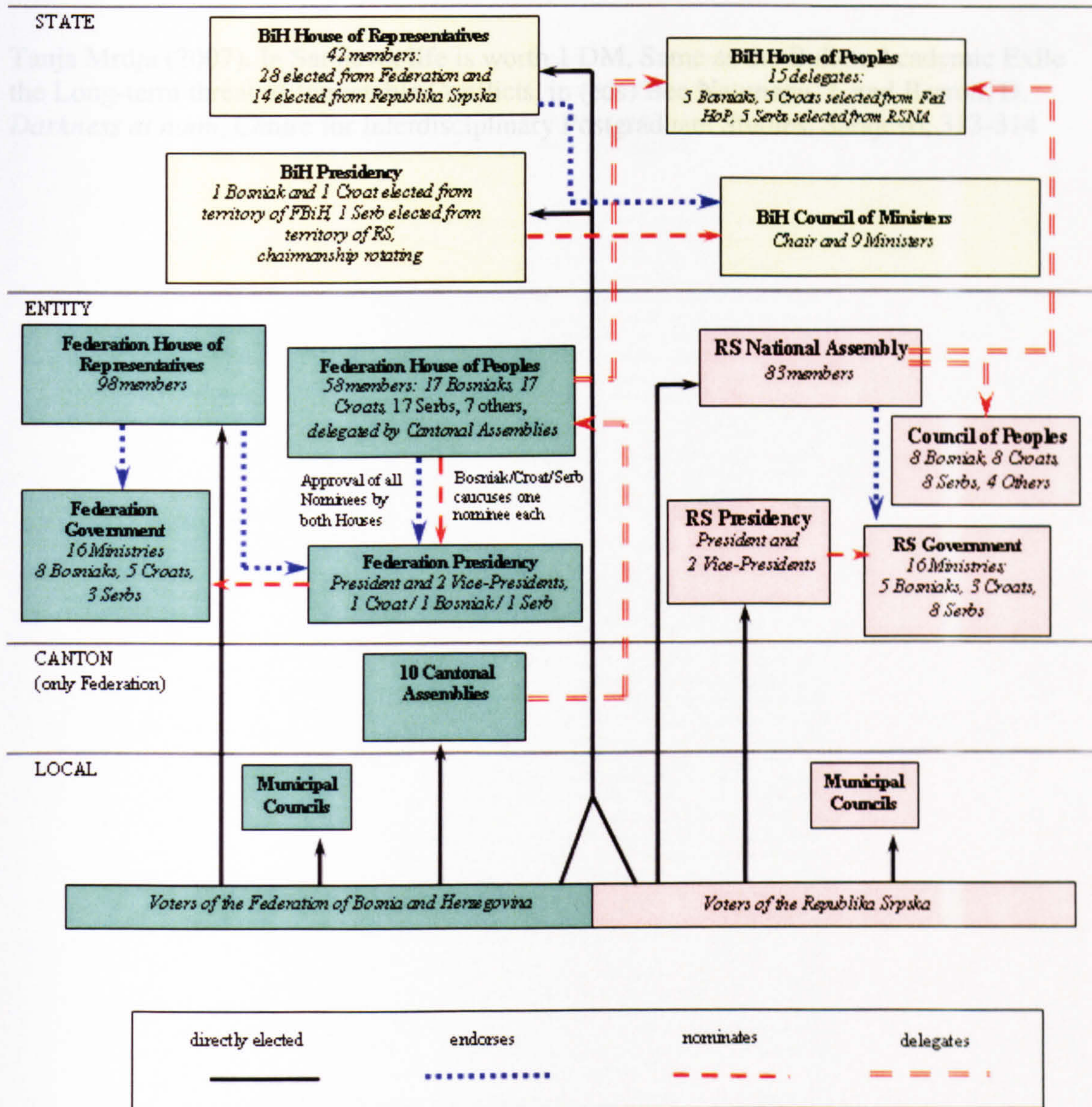
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

BiH's Legislative and Executive Bodies



APPENDIX II

Personal reflection

Tanja Mrdja (2007), In Sarajevo, life is worth 1 DM, Same as the Bullet: Academic Exile the Long-term threat of Intractable Conflicts, in (eds) Bec Neumann, J. and Barron, D. *Darkness at noon*, Centre for Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Studies, Sarajevo, 313-314

Tanja Mrda

In Sarajevo, life is worth 1 DM, Same as the Bullet: Academic Exile the Long-term Threat of Intractable Conflicts", Afterward to Janja Beč's, "Archipelago Atlantis". Dan Bar-On

Dan Bar-On's analysis of Professor Beč's study of the 'brain drain' in Bosnia is still very significant and relevant topic in this country. So many young, educated people leave Bosnia, hoping to find better future somewhere else. People who are supposed to be Bosnia's future leaders will rather struggle abroad and give up the collective feeling of belonging, as Dan Bar-On puts it, than stay home. I am an example of this. Fear from instability and another war, escape from poverty and all the memories made me go to Paris and study there. Returning home was unthinkable for so many years. It is strange that I preferred living abroad, where I could not find a job because I am Bosnian to going back to Bosnia where everything would be so much easier. The fact that I left could even be considered positive. Nonetheless, when I realize that all of my friends and close family left as well I come to wonder, who is there to stay? If we all leave in hope of better future abroad how will this country ever function properly?

It is these questions that made me consider the possibility of returning. Yet, let me point out, that I, as so many other friends who share my experience, came to try to live here. We came with the hope to be able to stay, but also with equal readiness to leave again the moment our previous fears start haunting us again. But

is this really so hard to comprehend? What are the questions I have to deal with if I was to stay? How do I bring a Muslim man to my Serbian father? Should I just simply ask every man I meet what religion are you? Or how do I deal with unspoken prejudices, with implicit and explicit constant comments, you Serbs, the Aggressors... How many times is it really a joke? It could be, yet I am not laughing. And although I do completely support Dan Bar-On's argument that all of us in the Serbian society need to take the collective responsibility for our role as perpetrators in the recent war, nonetheless the fact remains that some did not take any part in the war and should not be discriminated on the basis of their ethnicity. One may wonder why I take this argument. My answer lies in the belief that it is in this way that we are continuing the circle of violence instead of creating a space for free and healthy dialogue. What are my alternatives to this problem? Moving to Banja Luka? But there is no one left there. What are my real choices? Do I really get to choose? Others choose for me, I am Serbian, but as such it is not easy to live in the capital of Bosnia and struggle constantly. The events that took place during the war were recent, thus, all the people in my generation have personal memories, and the aggression sometimes felt by other people is not a silenced fact but still fresh memory vivid in people's minds.

I do not have the willpower of Azmi Bishara, the only Palestinian in the Israeli Knesset. I do not want to fight my whole life; I want peace and security guaranteed. But, on the other hand, how will I ever live it, if I and all the other young and educated people from Bosnia leave? Perhaps it is the time we, young people of Bosnia, turn to the famous John F. Kennedy sentence: *Ask not what your country can do for you - ask what you can do for your country.*

APPENDIX III

The letter received from Belfast Tourism and Convention Bureau

Dear Senija

I've been forwarded your email from Gerry Lennon, CEO of BVCB. I can try and be of some help if that helps? I'm relatively free all week that you are in Belfast - please get back to me regarding an interview.

Can I suggest that you also contact the following organisations - they might provide a closer insight in to community development links with tourism and they are 'on the ground'.....

Feirste Failte Thiar, Welcome to West Belfast - XXX ([redacted]

[redacted] XXX@wbpb.org

Shankill Tourism / Greater Shankill Partership - XXX [redacted]

[redacted] walking tours of the city. Local guides have been trained up to do local tours of their neighbourhoods - [redacted] / info@[redacted]

I look forward to hearing from you in due course. Kind regards, XXX

APPENDIX IV

Example of the email sent to the potential interviewee; Initial contact

Ok, lets meet on Thursday the 28th at my office at 11 am. its radnicka bb,
looking forward to chatting with you. peace ☺

Quoting Senija Causevic <senija.causevic@strath.ac.uk>:

> Dear Tim,
>
> Here is Senija, a PhD student who is doing a field study in Bosnia on
> the process of tourism development in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We met
> briefly on my way to Lukomir last week (which was an amazing trip in
> every sense). I simply cannot conclude my research without talking to
> you. Also, there are some issues which confuse me a bit regarding the
> whole process. I am staying in Sarajevo until October 2nd. Please,
> whenever you have a little bit of time, I would really really
> appreciate if it is possible to have a meeting with you. This is my
> email and my mobile is 062220066, whichever you prefer.
> I am looking forward to hearing soon from you.

> Many thanks, Senija

>
> _____
>
> From: Tim Clancy [<mailto:tim@greenvisions.ba>]
> Sent: uto 18/07/2006 13:00
> To: Senija Causevic
> Subject: Re: research about tourism development in Bosnia and
Herzegovina

>
>
> Dear Senija,
> thanks for contacting me. i would be glad to meet and work with you
on
> your doctoral research - particularly if it will have a positive and
> lasting effect on tourism development here. We are making quite a few
> key mistakes that i'm afraid we won't be able to fix if we don't react
> in time. Sometime in September would be a good time to meet. Let me
> know how things progress and good luck with your studies!! peace ☺

> Senija Causevic wrote:

>> Dear Tim,
>>
>> I am writing this letter to look on your kindly
>> assistance on a doctoral research "Tourism development in the areas
>> after a long-term political turmoil: the case study of Bosnia and
>> Herzegovina" which looks upon the process of tourism development in
>> the areas after a long-term political turmoil, which I am doing at
>> the University of Strathclyde in Glasgow. I was in contact with Ms
>> [redacted] from Tourism Association and also with Mr
>> [redacted] from Nasi Dani and they both told me the same; my research
>> would be useless without talking to you.
>> There is only little previous work that has been carried out on the

>> subject of tourism development in areas recovering from a long-term
>> political instability and it seems that this research will be able
>> to fill in some of the knowledge gaps. The final outcome of this
>> study is expected to be a design of a model for tourism development
>> in the countries after a long - term political turmoil. I piloted my
>> research in Northern Ireland and now I am getting into this vital
>> stage.

>>

>> To collect all the vital information for the study, I am writing to
>> the organisations and individuals involved in tourism development in
>> Bosnia and Herzegovina. Whenever I try to find out some news about
>> tourism in B&H or I try to google it, whenever I read about tourism
>> in Bosnia and Herzegovina, your are always associated with it and
>> your name is always there. If I just put [REDACTED] in a search
>> engine, there is plenty of useful articles about what you are doing
>> for Bosnia. I feel that without your assistance, it would be useless
>> to do anything regarding this research. I read the article in Nasi
>> Dani what you wrote about G8 protest here in Edinburgh. I was also
>> there and felt the same. I would like to kindly request a meeting
>> with you in order to draw on your knowledge and experience in order
>> to plan and manage tourism development in Bosnia and Herzegovina. I
>> would be in touch with you in the near future to discuss the
>> possibilities of an earlier appointment. If you would like to know
>> the outcomes of the analysis, I would be very happy to provide it to
>> you. Nor organisations nor individuals will be named without
>> previous consent. The research is purely academic. Should you
>> require more information about the research, please contact me. I
>> would be very happy to provide it to you.

>>

>> I would like to thank you for considering a possible interview and
>> helping me with the research. I plan to come to Sarajevo at the end
>> of August 2006 and to stay in Sarajevo until early October 2006 in
>> order to do my field work. Please contact me if you would be able to
>> meet with me.

>>

>>

>>

>> Thanks a lot on your kind assistance. I am looking forward to
>> hearing from you soon.

>>

>>

>>

>> Kind regards from Glasgow

>>

>>

>>

>> Senija

>>

>>

>>

APPENDIX V

Interview Transcript- Interviewee I7

1. I am quite enthusiastic about it
2. **So, you started in Bosnia in 2005**
3. Yes, we started 2 years ago with a project of city breaks in Sarajevo, and we
4. didn't do much within the country because we weren't sure about what was
5. there to offer and now after our check we increased our product
6. we put together three itineraries, one is in conjunction with Croatia and 2 just
7. Bosnia...and now obviously British Airways is flying there so it will be
8. easier for people to go and start
9. they are starting with the flights to Sarajevo at the end of March
10. there would be a direct flight from Gatwick to Sarajevo 3 times a week
11. **Was it a problem because you had to go through Prague?**
12. Yes, now that is not possible anymore because Check Airlines don't fly to
13. Sarajevo anymore, they withdrew from the routes. There is now only Malev,
14. Lufthansa, Austrian Airlines and British Airways now.
15. **You started with the city breaks in Sarajevo, how was the response?**
16. Hm, I don't think people really knew much about the destination apart from
17. the fact that it was a very unusual thing, very new product and I think in
18. general when I went there and the feedback I received...people were very
19. surprised of finding what they found ... very well, positive surprise
20. I think that people really did not know what to expect from it and
21. thinking of it, I found it very oriental and that really surprised me, I don't
22. know why, probably because it is very different, Muslim heritage within
23. Europe and being so close ... so I don't know, response was quite good
24. there is only one factor...the flights are quite expensive so there is not the
25. cheapest city break weekend, but there is obviously interested people
26. along with curious people interested in the destinations and so
27. **Who is the market?**
28. I am not sure, because it is a rolling factor and might change slightly
29. now that we got new product and bigger range, but I think broadly it was for
30. individuals and mostly...I don't know...lots of researchers, teachers or
31. within the education or literature, but even couples who want to explore
32. something different, they were into the Balkans, but not into Bosnia
33. and wanted to see something similar, but new...so that was the start
34. **How big the groups were?**
35. We didn't really do groups, just the individuals...we do some groups, but only
36. to certain areas and Bosnia wasn't one of these, it is a limited part of our
37. products, but it is, we will try to go bigger with this, but just because as it
38. is now, ...we try to encourage slightly bigger groups as then it would be a lot
39. cheaper than if only one or two are travelling, but we have a demand when
40. only a few people are travelling, especially those who are researching the
41. destination and want to go there ... they often travel by themselves, they go by
42. themselves...or couples as well

43. So, it's been...

44. **Those people who are travelling to Bosnia, in general, where they people**

45. **who used to travel with Regent before, or**

46. Hm, that is often the case, we had regular clients who try most of our products

47. because its different and unusual and they trust us in finding a good

48. Destination. But there are also some new inquiries, new sublets who

49. approached us so it is a combination I think of marketing and loyalty to the

50. company and trust. For instance, we were the first t have the flights to Cuba

51. before anybody could go in

52. **How did you get it?**

53. Well, it must be our director, he is a real sailor, he must have been very open

54. minded and educated and he always tries to open up, especially ex Soviet

55. block ... all are now our main destinations really and all those as a matter of

56. speaking...difficult countries...Albania, or even Bosnia after recent past is

57. quite an unusual destination...so it was also their personal interest to do

58. what they did, new countries, new destinations

59. in that time, there was a small number of companies which could access those

60. areas...even China many years ago ...we start organising tours to explore

61. when no one else could get there. And it is all connected to the passion for

62. the area ... people were committed to what they are selling, to what they are

63. doing...at the end of the day, this is a very small company so each and

64. everyone has a drive and is very passionate about our destinations, that's an

65. important point for the company actually happened to be

66. **so it is more or less a sort of cultural tourism**

67. Oh yes, heritage sites and this is again a part of the story of our company

68. has always been very much in promoting the culture of the place

69. culture is an extensive word, it also means meeting the locals and that's

70. why we used to use as much public transport as possible

71. to get tourists more into travellers and encourage the contact with local

72. communities and what people are used to

73. cultural sites and historical heritage, arts and local festivals, everything what

74. destination can offer really...it is not a sort of package holidays in a sense that

75. we plan everything...I think that it can be don, but we try to encourage

76. discerning traveller

77. **places in Bosnia...what do you think about the infrastructure and hotels,**

78. **how are u managing that**

79. it is a bit difficult and we know that and we make sure that the clients know

80. that when we fly over there it will take a bit longer because it in a stage

81. of forming industry, it is not that developed

82. so of course, infrastructure come along the same lines ... in Bosnia...it is

83. not too bad, I mean it is a limited offer, it is not like Croatia, but it is a

84. good environment in a sense of standard of what we sell so that is very

85. important for ourselves and our clients

86. **How did you get in contact with hotels and other service providers?**

87. Well, we mainly use and trust Green Visions, they are our ground agent and

88. they arrange everything for us

89. of course, Andrea and myself went to visit the country and we could see

90. with our eyes what we want and what our clients would want, what is there to

91. offer...it is a bit of a

92. its a bit of a mixture of efforts, big role ids for agents to have us, to

93. recommend things so they know what are the best things, they are our ground
94. agent, in charge of transfers, everything, excursions, transports, accommodation
95. everything really. Instead of us doing it directly with the hotels...it is still in
96. a very beginning so we prefer to use agents, it works out very well
97. you went on fam trip around Bosnia...what do you think about tour
98. guiding? What is your opinion on efficiency and quality of the tours?
99. Well, we experienced, we went on two tours around the country, Thierry
100. brought us on the first round of the trip and then we changed in
101. Sarajevo...
102. we spent a couple of days by ourselves to explore and then we went
103. with
104. another guide so...it worked really well, excellent. Especially the first
105. half
106. we had so much information not only about the country, but about the
107. history
108. and what it went through they helped us to understand more about
109. what we
110. have seen and what we
111. came across...for me it all worked...very very interesting
112. second part, it was more in the northern part of the country...it was
113. good, a
114. guide performed well...we had no problems and complaints
115. do you have a local guide within the destination?
116. It depends on what the clients want.
117. if the clients want to be mainly independent and see the cities by
118. themselves
119. it is usually that we hire a car and there is a driver provided
120. he is a tour guide as well.
121. when we are visiting many places, that guy is going to explain how it
122. was
123. how it became better, to inform the folk about it. It is about talk
124. but yes, there will be an official guided tour as well, yes, but it is not
125. the core
126. why did you include especially those cities apart from Sarajevo?
127. Well because we are trying to make the best perspective of a country
128. as
129. possible...it was a matter of image, offering in the beginning a city
130. break
131. then it goes more within the country itself, it is a matter of trust, first to
132. see
133. the major sites, which also means natural landscape and heritage
134. basically. So it means driving through areas which are the best places
135. we are trying to include smaller places, not well known which people
136. would not normally visit because they are not aware of a beauty and
137. history of
138. some particular interest, so we are including places like Jajce or Prusac,
139. smaller towns, which probably wouldn't be included in a Tour.
140. Obviously we
141. try and this is our first step into this product. Obviously it works as we
142. are

143. offering much much more. The interest is there, people are there and
144. they are
145. calling for information. I sold the first Bosnian bookings the other day,
146. two
147. with highlights of a country, one tour is only 5 days, shorter version
148. with the
149. main sites when people do not have that much time as nine days
150. there is an interest and I am quite pleased because we put much effort
151. in it,
152. in Bosnia
153. **do you advertise it at all?**
154. Sure, we advertise normally in the papers and we choose some of our
155. products
156. to be highlighted. So Bosnia is because I am quite impressed with it
157. and it
158. is quite important to advertise and speak and it is always going up,
159. some
160. specialist papers, travel journalists...they always ask to write about
161. some new
162. and interesting destinations and that is the main on advertising
163. **Journalists**
164. yes, that's true, they usually approach us. If we do, then obviously we
165. need
166. to provide them with all the information and that is the possibility.
167. Otherwise
168. we just place adverts in the newspapers
169. **do you get any incentive from the official tourism bodies, for**
170. **instance**
171. **Bosnian tourist association?**
172. Hm...no, not at the moment. Help has been offered in terms of
173. information
174. but now we need more in the direction to put it all together, we need
175. more
176. information on activities and festivals already existing. We do not have
177. any information about so definitely need some help but at the moment
178. we are
179. not having that, not as much as we would like to.it would make it
180. easier for us to sell the destination 20.19
181. ...it would be a bit easier for us if people could give us some
182. information to
183. sell the destination as best to our knowledge as possible
200.**mostly you are cooperating with Green Visions and rely on their**
201.**knowledge, but not that much with someone who represents an official**
202.**tourism organisation**
203.**we are not aware of many companies of this kind**
204.**People are very friendly and we did not find many differences in that**
205.**sense**
206.**and I must say we are not aware of any work of any institutional organisation**
207.**and they probably do not realise what you are looking for**
208.**Bosnia is divided into 2 entities**

209. Yes

210. You are featuring both

211. Yes absolutely and we always put Bosnia and Herzegovina in our itinerary,

212. definitely yes. We put it as one country in our itinerary...as Bosnia and

213. Herzegovina

214. When guides are explaining about the war and what have happened, how

215. Do you find that?

216. They are surprisingly open about it, everybody really is quite happy to talk

217. about it really, even the most personal ones, I was very impressed, very

218. touched by this. I thought I would be perceived as an intruder in people's

219. lives ... I find that...that they want to share their experience with you

220. it is amazing, I was really really amazed. Sometimes really touching stories

221. you hear, really. It was really important to understand

222. how it was living in that time, and that is how we understand what war in

223. Bosnia was really about. Even in other places, it obviously carries a history

224. so I find it very good that people are happy to talk more then tourists can see

225. with their eyes and giving a real insight to what has happened

226. tourists are really interested in finding out what had happened

227. I think that...with this particular country, that goes together with tourism,

228. people should be aware that something big happened and repercussions

229. are still visible on the people and on the places, on the country itself

230. so I think there should be an awareness of everybody

231. Some people do not stress it very much, they prefer to ...not to think about

232. that ...but I don't think that this is a country really of this kind

233. it doesn't, it is not something like Spain or Croatia...oh lets just relax

234. by the beach and forget about everything else...they don't want to get

235. involved in the culture or in the story of the country and that's fine

236. in Bosnia I think it is quite different in itself, it brings along

237. It is a part of the history, it brings it all together

238. Are u combining it with Croatia

239.?

240. Yes, in our brochures we actually have a tour called *a journey through*

241. *Dalmatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina* and that includes the sites from

242. Dalmatia like Dubrovnik and Split and from there travelling intensively

243. through Bosnia. The accent is on Bosnia and Herzegovina, other two

244. Croatian cities and the coastline which complement the tour, we often

245. combine it as it goes with the other countries like Macedonia and other

246. neighbouring countries it is often a good thing that you can combine it

247. What is it now, when you are trying to sell Bosnia as a destination

248. what is actual image of Bosnia?

249. Well, I can only speak for myself, after what I saw and I always talk to people

250. based on my experience...for me it was an amazing experience...different

251. combination of things, I was impressed by the funniness of the people and

252. beauty of the country so...a big historical past, great culture and artistic

253. heritage and people I find really amazing. I was really touched by the

254. welcoming I was receiving from people and I think this is my image of

255. Bosnia. And also there is a diversity. Bosnia and Herzegovina is so different

256. and also the Republic of Srpska is there so you go throught the territories

257. and there is another language, not language, I mean alphabet...the signs...

258. it is just very different from everything I have visited. I really liked it.

259. and it all goes back to the history and I think this is all very fascinating
260. there are not that many countries nowadays with such a diversity and
261. so many customs

262. What is the worst you experienced about Bosnia?

263. Hmm... it can be a stupid silly thing like smoke that is present

264. everywhere. People are quite aware of this especially in this country. They

265. don't like to have a meal in the place which is covered in a smoke ... this is

266. something to think about definitely. People know and are aware of this

267. there are areas where smoking is quite an unusual habit... so that's fine.

268. That's something they shouldn't like very much. I am a smoker, but I do not

269. like to have it lots around, and a silly thing like that... otherwise, I don't know

270. I think it is still in the beginning of tourism development perhaps it is not as

271. easy to find the information, the hotels are not as tourists are used to

272. it can be a bit of a slow process and sometimes it is hard for us to

273. communicate well about what the clients want and it was supposed to be like

274. that... just that... I do not recall many negative points which we could not

275. easily overcome

276. but you said, it is not that easy to find information about Bosnia

277. no, not at all

278. what about the journalists, is it possible to find those interested? You

279. put an article in the travel section in for instance Guardian and that...

280. Yes it depends, for instance if they are commissioned to write a section about

281. Bosnia, then they will approach operators specialised in the country and try to

282. get it all together. Yes, they would write articles

283. The articles are in more specialised magazines or in newspapers

284. even in the main national papers really. It depends on the book commissions

285. it can be a specialised paper or normal newspaper

286. which one you think you have more from?

287. in specialised papers, readers usually know what it is all about. They know

288. more about the country, but it is a good advertisement for us as they get to

289. know that we specialised in it. In the national papers it is good as it brings

290. the destination into the light

291. how do you see the development of the product in a foreseeable future?

292. in next couple of years...

293. well it all depends how people see our product ... there is interest obviously

294. and we are trying to promote it as much as it is possible

295. but this all can change from year to year so

296. it is not necessarily that if there is not much response this year that we will

297. be dropping it next. There is a bit of a cycling thing in the interest in

298. destinations, but what I can think ... there will obviously be a growth

299. in itineraries and if there is an interest we can still expand our itinerary

300. and it is not necessarily on-off on brochures or the websites... people ask

301. Different things, and that's how we develop new products...

302. its hard to say how it would be and obviously I can only speak how it is now

303. as 2007 has just started. We have increased immensely last year's product

304. this year. I can only think in that direction, but obviously it is still early to say

305. So you have already extended a product from Sarajevo to those small

306. places. Accent is on cultural products or nature, or something else?

307. It is maybe on cultural. The cultural sites. It includes experiences, I mean

308. a visit to Lukomir for instance. That is not much of cultural things to see

309. there is more of a cultural things to live, to go in a constant Bosnian culture
310. basically... so what people are like, get our 1st hand experience
311. so I would say that there is a cultural accent but obviously that includes
312. natural resources because that is just what culture is ... that is what the
313. country can offer in every corner, it is a bit hard to miss
314. sightseeing is focusing more on the cultural sites. We make sure that we
315. explain that we can offer anything. I mean if people want to add some
316. activities... that's fine, because we can do that, there would be an extra in a
317. trip. Doesn't have to be an extra, that's what our clients want and we can do it
318. **this is like a niche market**
319. hm, I don't know. I guess it could be called like that especially in the
320. beginning. Obviously it is not a mass tourism destination and its particularly
321. interesting to some of the niche markets, those with an interest in cultural
322. things or seeing this part of Europe which is a bit of an unusual or less easier
323. to find by themselves or less easy to find the operators who are there
324. **what is the response from the market? What are the thoughts from**
325. **people who were in Bosnia?**
326. for instance, we had those clients who went and we got a positive feedback
327. from them, they were pleased with what they found and experienced so it
328. is obviously quite positive as a starting point
329. hopefully we will send more and more people and we will have more general
330. vision of what they think
331. **do you know roughly how many people have been**
332. I don't have the exact figure, but it can be easily found out. I am not very
333. good in numbers and statistics so ... I really and honestly do not know
334. **from your own experience and what the tourists have told you... what**
335. **would be the highlights of the tours**
336. hm, it is a bit difficult to say really. So far we have mainly had city breaks
337. people knew what to find, but I think mainly it would be Travnik, Mostar and
338. Sarajevo, these were three main... no ... especially Sarajevo and Mostar
339. these are the highlights
340. **this whole issue of war and those happenings, you have to include it**
341. We offer an opportunity for people to see so we offer a tour which includes
342. some war sites if they want and they can choose if they want to gather that
343. information or they would rather like to go and see it by themselves
344. but it depends on what people are more interesting in, like activities
345. such as skiing or walking then we have to say
346. also we have to be sure that we have said to them that they should not go by
347. themselves that much because obviously there are still land mines and that is
348. something consciously and responsibly we have to say in order not to put a
349. negative vibe on the country, just to give them information that it is the
350. truth and obviously that is how the things are at the moment so ...
351. but this is nothing what really affect the tours negatively at all because people
352. always take guides and drivers and it is difficult to find anyone who would
353. like to go completely by themselves and we do not encourage it in this stage
354. **what about the seasonality?**
355. we feature Bosnia all year round, almost all our destinations are all year round
356. products, especially because we are focusing on cultural
357. but obviously there are some reserves, if they would like to go to the
358. mountains like to go to Lukomir, just to make sure that they know

359.that it is not the easiest thing to do in winter because it is not accessible
360.there are certain areas where we have to be seasonal because of weather
361.conditions, but if they are happy, if they know and still want to go than that's
362.fine and they just have to adapt so that is fine
363.we do not put any seasons to any of our tours in Bosnia
364.Is there anything else what I did not ask you, but what is important?
365.Not sure really, I think that we covered most of it, I cannot think of anything
366.else, really
367....oh yes. Regarding our new route London – Sarajevo. It is a chance for us to
368.advertise. Media likes new routs and if we will be able to put a story behind
369.and story about the destination, it would be great. So ...

APPENDIX VI

International Monetary Fund (IMF) report

THE STATE OF THE STATISTICS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

**Office of the Resident Representative
International Monetary Fund
Bosnia and Herzegovina
Tel: (++387 33) 668 167, Fax (++387 33) 659 096 Chart 1: Assessment of data
consistency Press Statement No. 01/08**

**FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
February 18, 2008**

Macroeconomic Statistics in Bosnia and Herzegovina: How Do They Measure-Up?

Accurate and reliable economic statistics are indispensable to designing economic policies that sustain strong economic growth and employment.

To assist its member countries improve their economic policies the IMF undertakes assessments of national statistics against international standards and codes. Seventy five such country assessments have been published to date.

An assessment of Bosnia and Herzegovina's (BiH) economic statistics was recently published. The detailed results of the assessment can be found at <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/cat/longres.cfm?sk=21648.0>

The key findings of the assessment are as follows:

High degree of professionalism: the staffs of the statistical agencies and the central bank in BiH conduct their duties with a high degree of professionalism. They nevertheless operate in a difficult environment which undermines their ability to produce reliable statistics (see below). The statistical system is dysfunctional: a cohesive statistical program with clear priorities supported by the BiH statistical agencies does not exist. The Statistical Council is ineffective in providing guidance for the development of a national statistical program. Many of the provisions of the State Law on Statistics are not implemented, reflecting a lack of effective cooperation among the statistical agencies.

Data weaknesses hamper economic monitoring: significant methodological weaknesses exist in most of BiH's macroeconomic datasets, and consistency across datasets is weak (see chart 1). Significant shortcomings exist in the source data used to compile economic statistics. BiH ranks close to the bottom in comparison with other counties in this regard (see chart 2). The lack of reliable source data seriously undermines the analytical

usefulness of BiH's economic statistics and hampers the conduct of effective surveillance of the economy.

Users' needs not being met: BiH's economic statistics are disseminated to the public in a timely manner but they are not always provided in a user-friendly format. A survey of users of BiH statistics revealed that they find the quality of BiH statistics to be worse than that of statistics disseminated by neighboring countries.

An action plan for addressing these weaknesses was discussed with the authorities and is elaborated as part of the main report available at the above mentioned IMF Web address.

International Monetary Fund Office of the Resident Representative, BiH

APPENDIX VII

Economy indicators for B&H

Basic Economy Indicators in Bosnia and Herzegovina (KM 1,- = EUR 0.5,-)

Basic Indicators		
Indicator	Data	Period
Population of BiH	3.842.762	estimated (6.30.2006.)
Livebirths in BiH	34.033	2006
Deaths in BiH	33.221	2006
Consumer Price Index (CPI)	100,40	II-2008 / I-2008
Gross Domestic Product (GDP) millions of KM	19.121	2006
Gross domestic product per capita (GDP/C) in KM	4.960	2006
Average net wages in KM	677	I-2008
Average net wages in KM	630	2007
Unemployment rate by ILO definition (LFS)	29,00	2007
Export in thousands of KM	5.936.895	2007
Export in thousands of KM	1.031.484	(I-II) 2008
Import in thousands of KM	13.898.709	2007
Import in thousands of KM	2.304.963	(I-II) 2008
Vanjsko trgovinski bilans in thousands of KM	- 7.961.814	2007
Vanjsko trgovinski bilans in thousands of KM	- 1.273.479	(I-II) 2008

Agency for statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina

<http://www.bhas.ba/eng/default.asp?Pripadnost=1&mode=dark>

BiH economic data

	2001	2002	2003
Imports (\$ billion)	3,116	3,933	4,776
Exports (\$ billion)	1,073	1,011	1,373
Trade deficit (\$ billion)	-2,043	-2,922	-3,403
Import/export coverage	34,45%	25,70%	28,74%
GDP per capita (\$)	1.263	1.466	1.845
Unemployment rate	39,20%	40,90%	42,50%

Source: BiH Chamber of Commerce (2005)

BiH economic data

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APPENDIX VIII

The organisation of the tourism sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina

THE LEVEL OF THE STATE		
Institution	Mission	
<p>Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Relations – the department for managing natural resources</p> <p>French Government sent an expert to help in making a strategy development on the national level, but the department does not employ anyone directly in charge for tourism.</p>	<p>-foreign trade politics, tariffs, contracts, bilateral and multilateral agreements in the field of the economic relations, business environment, competitiveness, consumer protection</p>	<p>Coordinating the entities governments and defining the politics and regulations in the following sectors: agriculture, energy, environment protection, tourism</p>
<p>Bosnia and Herzegovina Chamber of Commerce – a section for tourism and hotel management</p>	<p>The representative of the tourism and hotel industries private sector interests in economic politics and sector ministries</p>	<p>UNWTO and EU regulations and tourism methodologies, consulting and informing,</p>
<p>The Association of Travel Agents B&H (UTAB&H), professional association voluntary in its character</p>	<p>Developing and representing the members</p>	<p>Regulations and legal framework</p>
<p>The Association of Hotels and Restaurants (UHiRB&H), professional association voluntary in its character</p>	<p>Developing hotel sector in B&H</p>	<p>Regulations and legal framework</p>
<p>Tourism Association of B&H, professional association formed by Ministry of Trade and Tourism Republika Srpska, B&H Federation Tourism Organisation, Entity level: Chamber of Commerce</p>	<p>Positioning tourism product</p>	<p>Financed through the donations, formed in order to enhance the presentation of the country internationally</p>

ENTITY LEVEL

ENTITY LEVEL INSTITUTIONS		
Institution	Mission	
Federation Ministry of the Environment and Tourism, Ministry of Trade and Tourism Republika Srpska	Development and the functioning of the tourism and hospitality within the Federation	Suggesting tourism politics and its development, laws and regulations and controlling their implementation and organisation of the research, tourism statistics, bilateral and multilateral cooperation, investment
B&H Federation Tourism Organisation (BHFTO) ¹	Promotion of tourism within the Federation, promoting the interest of private and public tourism sector and people involved in tourism sector and indirectly connected to tourism (i. e. environment, agriculture, transport)	Research and development, marketing and promotion plans, tourist information systems, coordination of cantonal level of tourism organisations, tourism representations abroad, multinational and regional promotion, cooperation with tourism associations internationally, etc.
Tourism Organisation Republic Srpska (TORS) ²	Promotion and the development of tourism sector in Republic Srpska	Tourist information, promotion of RS tourism both domestically and internationally, analysis, cooperation with tourism associations in other countries, international and regional tourist organisations
Chamber of Commerce in the Federation of B&H and Chamber of Commerce in Republic Srpska	Professional association with the aim to consult and provide the information to its members and representing their interests	International trade fairs organisations, conferences, etc., developing business relations and dialogue within the entity, country and internationally, permanent education of its members, boosting the moral and business ethics

¹ This is an unprofitable organisation. According to B&H Federation Ministry of Environment and Tourism, it is a public institution which is financed by: tourism taxes (20% of it), tourism organisation's members, B&H Federation budget, donations

² unprofitable association, financing: Tourism taxes (30%), budget RS, Tourism taxes (not yet implemented), donations, publishing (books, tour guides, souvenirs)

Canton and regional level		
Institution	Mission	
Ministry of the economics: sector for trade, hospitality and tourism	Legal framework for the development of trade relationships and free movement of the services and goods	(See federal and RSlevel)
Chamber of commerce: cantonal level: association for tourism and hospitality	Represents the interests of its members	(See federal and RS level)
Canton level Tourism organisations and assistance associations in tourism centres Tourism organisations in more developed tourism centres in Republic Srpska	Development, research and tourism promotion	(See federal and RS tourism organisation level)

Srebrenica

APPENDIX IX

SARAJEVO ROSE



A Sarajevo rose - the characteristic pattern of a mortar impact on a footpath. Whenever a mortar killed more than three people the scar that the mortar shell left of the ground is filled in with red resin. These scars look like roses, thus the name. Unfortunately Sarajevo Roses are everywhere. One do not have to walk far to find them.

Srebrenica is a town not just written, by both Serbs and Bosnians from outside and it has never been written in people in Srebrenica.

The energy in Srebrenica is tremendous, it is a great place for artists and poets. They just sit, drink coffee, and write sad poems and lyrics. Paradox violence, Srebrenica as a place for writing poems.

Talking about Srebrenica over wine, there is a spring of a SPA, thermal spring water, it is hot, which actually cures many diseases, but now it just flows and flows. Srebrenica is a town of pain and tremendous pain, it hurts so much that it is not possible to feel it anymore. Who are the people who are coming to Srebrenica as "tourists"? They are mostly journalists. This year, there were only journalists. It is a joke that there are tourists who actually want to go there. It's a joke. There were three groups of people in July and one in August. All of them were journalists. Writing reports about the place and events.

Srebrenica

It is a city which is left on its own for the whole year. Only in July, when it is the anniversary of the genocide, it is that something is happening there. Then there is the funeral of all the victims identified in a period from the last anniversary. It is not easy to see the women who are fainting a several times during the ceremony. It is not easy. And then, it all come to the place as it used to be. In Srebrenica it is the worst. All the villages around, there are Bosniak or Serbian villages. They are together just Serbs or just Bosniak. But in Srebrenica, they are house to house and it is not easy. They live next to each other, they are mixed, their houses are mixed, but their lives are separated. They do not talk to each other, they just pass by. It is a hell; it is difficult, definitely not easy. 800 raped women, they could not do the abortion as they were held in concentration camp until they needed to carry on with the pregnancy. It is all in Srebrenica. There is a pizzeria, which is now a pub, it is called Venera and it is Serbian owned place. It is surrounded by Muslim owned restaurants and places alike. Police in Srebrenica is Serbian, they drink only in Venera. Kids go to school. Bosniak kids go to school which is completely into Serbian culture. Mothers who lost their beloved ones are sending their kids to those schools and it is not easy as well. Serbs there are quiet. They do not talk, but when they go to Bratunac, a town next by, they start shouting. There are about 4000 Bosniaks and 1000 Serbs living in Srebrenica. Russians bought a coal mine and now there are Serbs from Srebrenica who might be able to work there.

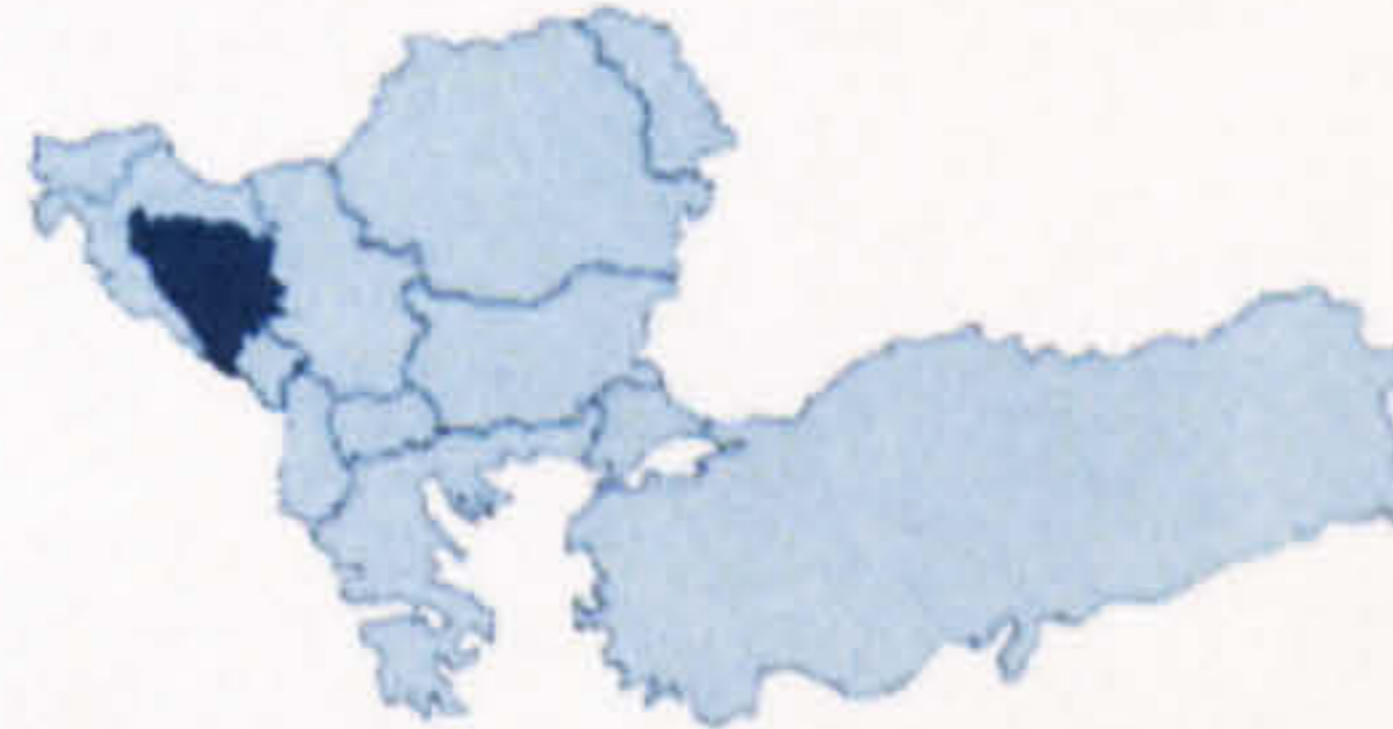
People from Srebrenica, they are receiving humanitarian aid, but they are not happy. They receive it, but they are thinking how stupid it is that they have to take it. They feel humiliated. Also there is a lot of aid which was supposed to be delivered to Srebrenica, but it was just stolen, by both Serbs and Bosniaks from outside and it has never been given to people in Srebrenica.

The energy in Srebrenica is tremendous; it is a great place for artists and poets. They just sit, drink coffee and write sad poems and lyrics. Paradox sentence, Srebrenica as a place for writing poems.

Talking about Srebrenica even more, there is a spring off a SPA, thermal spring water, a SPA; which actually cures many diseases, but now it just flows and flows. Srebrenica, a city, a town of pain and tremendous pain, it hurts so much that it is not possible to feel it anymore. Who are the people who are coming to Srebrenica as "tourists"? They are mostly journalists. This year, there were only journalists. It is a joke that there are tourists who actually want to go there. It's a joke. There were three groups of people in July and one in August. All of them were journalists. Writing reports about the place and events.

APPENDIX X

An example of the study conducted in Bosnia and Herzegovina



I. Economic overview

1.1. General economic indicators

Indicators	2002	2003	2004	2005
1. GDP, EUR mln	5,957	6,290	7,495	8,052
2. GDP per capita, EUR	1,556	1,642	1,950	2,095
3. Real GDP growth rate, %	5.5	3.0	6.0	7.4 ¹
4. Industrial production growth rate, %				
Federation BiH	9.2	4.8	13.2	6.1
RS	-2.5	5.7	9.7	19.8
5. Annual inflation rate, %				
Federation BiH	-0.2	0.2	-0.3	3.0 ²
RS	1.7	1.8	1.9	5.2 ²
6. Annual unemployment rate, %	40.9	42.0	43.2	31.3 ³
7. Balance of current account, EUR mln	-1,319	-1,539	-1,544	-1,695
8. Average monthly gross salary, EUR	337	367	382	408
9. Average monthly net salary, EUR	228	247	257	275
10. Interest rate on long-term loans (capital assets), %	10.59	9.18	8.23	7.70
11. Interest rate on short-term loans to companies, %	12.07	10.54	9.92	9.03
12. Interest rate on demand deposits, %	1.44	0.96	0.54	0.45
13. Gross external debt stock, EUR mln, end of period	2,193	2,052	2,061	2,192
14. Foreign exchange reserves, EUR mln, end of period	1,260	1,422	1,768	2,145
15. Exchange rate of BAM for 1 EUR, fixed since 2000	1.95583	1.95583	1.95583	1.95583

Source: Central Bank of BiH, Statistical Office of BiH, Federal Office of Statistics, Institute for Statistics RS, Ministry of Finance and Treasury BiH

Notes: ¹ Nominal growth rate
² Retail price indexes
³ The Labour Force Survey was for the first time carried out in April 2006, as an annual survey

1.2. Foreign trade

1.2.1. Foreign trade regime and major regulations

Foreign trade regime of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) has been largely adjusted to the concept and system of the WTO principles. The current Law on Foreign Trade Policy (LFTP) entered into force in October 1997. The Law on Custom's Tariff (December 2004) is the major trade policy instrument. Products are incorporated in the Harmonised System of Tariff Nomenclature.

1.2.2. Customs regime

Bosnia and Herzegovina has had an observer status at the WTO since July 1999 and follows its policies on customs protection. LFTP and The Law on Customs Policy (December 2004) regulates the basic elements of the system for protection of the economy of BiH, the rights and obligations of all operators in the customs clearance procedures of goods and passengers, the customs territory, the customs line, the customs frontier zone, the customs supervision, the customs clearance procedures and other institutes that regulate the Customs protection system.

No customs duties are charged on tools, measuring instruments and devices, service vehicles, and equipment sent to a company by a foreign legal person with whom a contract regarding agency, consignment stock, or services has been signed for the purpose of performing services within the framework of the concluded contract, pursuant to LFTP.

Natural and legal persons may perform services, without fee, for humanitarian, scientific, educational, cultural, health, social, sport, religious and other non-commercial purposes upon approval issued by the competent Ministry pursuant to conditions stipulated by the Council of Ministers.

The Law on Custom's Tariff establishes the customs duties rates. Tariffs are prescribed in accordance with obligations taken by international agreements and rules. The tariff rates range between 0% and 15%.

1.2.3. Exports and imports

Trade volume, EUR mln	2002	2003	2004	2005
Exports	1,068	1,242	1,540	1,934
Imports	4,037	4,277	4,818	5,715

Source: Agency for Statistics of BiH

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