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**Thanatourism and the commodification
of war tourism space in ex-Yugoslavia**

Anthony Patrick Johnston

Supervised by Professor Ulf Strohmayr

**School of Geography & Archaeology
Department of Geography,
National University of Ireland, Galway**

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Abstract

Humanity has a long standing fascination with death and disaster. Although dying has been partially sequestered from many western societies, death itself is the one true anthropological constant, encountered by every society through architecture, literature, language, institutions and many other human practices. Our relationships with death have very unique spatial characteristics, brought to life for this thesis by a phenomenon known as ‘thanatourism’. Thanatourism is defined as travel to a site primarily or partially motivated by a desire to encounter death or disaster (Seaton, 1996) and, as a niche tourism practice, it has flourished in recent decades. This growth has variously been attributed to the search for authenticity in tourism, the dedifferentiation of leisure, secularisation, the sequestration of dying from society, and theories of postmodern leisure consumption. This thesis seeks to further strengthen and develop the frameworks used to conceptualise thanatourism by exploring the commodification of war space throughout ex-Yugoslavia.

The 1990s Yugoslav War was the largest conflict in Europe post World War Two. The conflict left deep scars on the landscape; casualties numbered approximately 100,000, mass civilian murder and rape occurred and thousands of shells destroyed the major towns, cities and cultural artefacts. Leaders were indicted for genocide and the mass media kept the conflict at the forefront of Western attention for many years. Following the conflict, Yugoslavia disintegrated into seven Republics (Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia) and the countries were faced with grieving their dead and rebuilding damaged institutions. Although tourists quickly returned to the war damaged regions, many of the returning tourists seek to encounter the sites associated with the conflict. These battlefields, shell pocked buildings and cemeteries quickly evolved from war scars to tourist attractions and this thesis seeks to interrogate the process by which entrepreneurs, policy makers and tourists facilitate the commodification of death and disaster.

The research adopted a critical perspective on the existing methodologies used in thanatourism research and proposes new methods to quantify the

thanatourism experience. Autonomous travel images and representation, embodied in this thesis by travel blogs, offer a potential avenue of exploration into the tourist experience at sites of death and disaster. Primary fieldwork utilised a variety of methods including interviews with tour guides in Vukovar and Dubrovnik, Croatia and Sarajevo and Srebrenica, Bosnia-Herzegovina. This was complemented by an ethnographic study of the war tours at these locations and further positioned against a mixed methods analysis of 237 travel blogs from tourists who visited Sarajevo. The thesis argues that a grand narrative of war, such as the Yugoslav Wars of 1991-1995, can quickly become commodified for tourists who have no prior geographic, religious or demographic reasons for consuming such a tragedy. The thesis tests the various theoretical frameworks used to situate thanatourism, including the discourses of postmodernism, secularisation and Orientalism; resolving that the framework to conceptualise thanatourism is developing and it is a truly multi-disciplinary study with unique spatial characteristics.

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Prologue

Thanatourism is broadly defined as travel to sites associated with death and disaster (Seaton, 1996). Although it is not a new practice, it has only received detailed academic exploration since the early-mid 1990s. My interest in thanatourism in ex-Yugoslavia stemmed from a two week backpacking holiday to the Balkans in July 2004. During this trip I visited Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina with some friends and I quickly fell in love with the region. I was to return five times over the coming seven years, and even upon completing this thesis, I plan to visit many more times in future. During my initial two weeks travelling the region I learned much about the disintegration of Yugoslavia, particularly on a tour to the tunnel museum with Sunny, one of the guides mentioned in later chapters. It was only eight years since the end of the war and it was very much still fresh in local memory and the physical landscape. Battle scars were everywhere. I recall going quiet as we travelled from Dubrovnik to Sarajevo, leaving Croatia's sunny coastline for Sarajevo's shell pocked buildings. We stopped en route in Mostar, just one day after its famous 16th century bridge reopened (following its destruction in 1993). Britain's Prince Charles, Italian singer Pavarotti, UN High Representative Paddy Ashdown and Monty Python actor John Cleese were among the dignitaries present the day before to celebrate its reconstruction. We spent the day near the bridge, trying to cool down in the water, before moving on to Sarajevo.

The damage throughout Sarajevo was striking – we were shocked at the intensity of the shelling, but photographed it as most other tourists seemed to be doing. Our host Sunny took us to a museum called The Tunnel Museum, a privately owned museum which houses the remnants of a supply tunnel used during the siege of Sarajevo – one of the first major signs of commodification of the conflict in the region. The siege in Sarajevo was the longest siege of a capital city in the history of modern warfare. As a tourist in 2004 it was impossible to avoid encountering the war. I did not seek to avoid it however – it had been a major attraction for me. Other tourists did not appear to be actively avoiding the damage either; we signed up for a war tour which was well subscribed with about a dozen tourists, despite an early start. We visited the

tunnel museum, walked through the remaining few metres of the tunnel and watched various videos of media clips from the war. Later we spent some more time in Sarajevo and finally, we left the Balkans for Venice, doing as so many others do, mixing darker sites with established tourist destinations. I did not return for two years but spent time in between reading about Yugoslavia.

One site in particular really interested me. In 1992, Bosnia's national library, based in Sarajevo, was destroyed by repeated shelling by the Serbs in the surrounding mountains. The building went on fire and many original manuscripts were lost, including important texts from Bosnia's cultural revolution. This deliberate attempt to destroy a city's culture was given the 'urbicide' label by Simko (2006). Millions of books burned. At the time of completing this thesis (2011) the library had still not reopened, although the exterior construction work appeared to have advanced since my first visit. The library building had a huge influence on my decision to research thanatourism in ex-Yugoslavia. The shelling of this non-military target seemed absurd and callous. The war tours and the post-conflict landscape were full of messages. It seemed that a 'thanatourist' could learn much more here about conflict resolution than they could somewhere like Auschwitz-Birkenau.

A plaque on the door reads:

'On this place Serbian criminals in the night of 25th-26th August, 1992 set on fire National and University's Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Over 2 millions of books, periodicals and documents vanished in the flame.

Do not forget, remember and warn!'

Although the library does not feature extensively in this thesis it does form a very brief stop on war tour itineraries in Sarajevo. Tour guides point it out from a distance and briefly tell the story of its destruction. News footage in the Tunnel Museum shows its burning. Beyond this however it feels like an off-limit space, more moving than a cemetery even. This was a deliberate attempt to destroy the soul of a people.

There is something very chilling about the plaque. It clearly identifies the perpetrators of the attack, asking Bosnians never to forget the loss. It appears in English as well as Bosnian however (transcribed directly above), which appears to be a clear message to visitors not to forget the pain suffered by the people of Sarajevo during the 1992-1995 siege.



*National Library of Bosnia-Herzegovina,
Sarajevo, 2006*

Moving away from the Balkans, my interest in darker sites is probably much older than my first visit to Sarajevo in 2004. My parents regularly remind me of a visit to the Tower of London when I was four years old, where I marched behind the Beefeaters and asked a London commuter if the devil lived underground in the tube lines. Prior to commencing my Ph.D. I had visited most of the sites associated with the Troubles in Northern Ireland, Ground Zero in New York, the US Holocaust Museum in DC, the Coliseum in Rome and the Anne Frank Haus in Amsterdam. These were among many ‘dark’ sites I had visited in my lifetime. Yet visits to such sites are not unusual and many would visit these places with no self-proclaimed interest in death. At the time I would probably have positioned myself in the same group but upon commencing my

Ph.D. I found that I had much material to draw upon, particularly from Northern Ireland where my family owns an educational tourism business. The sites I had visited are iconic places and would doubtless not have the notoriety they do without the palpable presence of absence. This presence of absence was most striking at many of the sites in ex-Yugoslavia, which was perhaps also one of the influences for approaching this topic.

I did not consider myself some kind of die-hard dark tourist at the outset. I was primarily interested in the geographical and anthropological aspects of these sites, although this was to change. Why do entrepreneurs feel the need to commodify sites of death and disaster? Is it largely through a personal attachment to the site in question? Or is it simply the opportunity to turn tragedy into profit? This is an especially relevant question in the immediate period where scars become fossilised into memorials. Part of this thesis addresses the characteristics of the entrepreneurs who are involved with darker sites, questioning whether they would otherwise be involved in the tourism industry.

From an academic standpoint I first came across the terms ‘thanatourism’ and ‘dark tourism’ in 2006 upon commencing my PhD studies. While I had not been overly familiar with the terms at the time I was familiar with the practice, having visited many of the sites from the major papers.

The research was carried out in a very fluid landscape. During one of my research visits to Sarajevo in 2008, Radovan Karadzic, the political leader of the Bosnian Serbs during the conflict and one of the world’s most wanted men, was arrested in Belgrade, after living under a pseudonym for many years. The Muslim population of Sarajevo rejoiced and there were open celebrations on the street. Some three hundred kilometres away in Belgrade, entrepreneurs were already planning how to make money from the capture. Karadzic’s alternative life as holistic therapy doctor was quickly commodified itself and within months tourists were visiting his old apartment, local pub and bakery. One could even order the same food he used to request in the bakery, and sit in his seat in the pub.

In 2011, within weeks of submitting the final draft of my thesis, Ratko Mladic, the military leader of the Bosnian Serbs and also one of the world's most wanted men, was arrested in Northern Serbia. Since his capture (two months ago at the time of writing) local villagers have considered placing a plaque above the house where he was found, saying '*Ratko Mladic was captured here*' (Beaumont, 2011). Some villagers even want to rename the town after him. This previously unremarkable village could now become a commodified tourist attraction.

The sites I visited held much fascination for me. They regularly threw up surprises and I had many unpredictable encounters and unusual experiences on my travels. I found I quite enjoyed visiting sites associated with the darker sides of humanity, both as spaces in which to contemplate (in)humanity but also as spaces in which to gaze on guides and tourists; to be an ethnographer. While the very worst of humanity created the war in ex-Yugoslavia some of the very best of humanity now manages its legacy and the guides were excellent subjects to gaze upon. The tour guides I met were at once charismatic, charming and humble about their difficult post-conflict role. I found myself intrigued by their entrepreneurial characteristics especially what seemed to be their ability to establish successful businesses in post-conflict landscapes.

The guides' ability to recount their experiences transformed everyday sites into extraordinary locations, where the living could gaze upon the dead. On my first visit to the Balkans in 2004 I found myself joining other tourists, gazing on the dead, captivated by the guides' stories and transported into extraordinary times, brought to life by their narratives. It was the first time I had consciously contemplated 'death' while on holidays. I knew immediately what I wanted to research for my doctorate.

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Research Background

The battlefield, an otherwise undifferentiated terrain, becomes an ideologically encoded landscape through the commemorative function of the 'marker'. As a marker inscribes war onto material soil, it becomes the sight. Without the marker, a battlefield might be indistinguishable from a golf course or a beach. Guided by a system of markers and maps, the tourist/ strategist re-enacts the battle by tracing the tragic space of conflict by foot or by car.

(Keenan, 1994: 148)

Dark tourism, or thanatourism, has become a significant feature of contemporary literature on post-mass tourism and niche tourism. There is a certain anthropological constant to death which makes it a fascinating area of study. Although mediated differently by different societies, religions and institutions, death visits one and all. We hold relationships with our dead not just to achieve closure and effect our separation with the deceased as Harrison (2003) puts it, but also to humanise the ground and world they inhabit. One such relationship which has blossomed as a research interest in recent years is that of dark tourism (Foley and Lennon, 1996), or thanatourism (Seaton, 1996), the preferred term for this thesis. Many of the war sites explored in this thesis are as Keenan notes above, unremarkable everyday places, and include a marketplace, sporting infrastructure, suburban wasteland, places of worship, a water tower, a library and many other daily spaces frequented by the local general public. Yet these sites are popular tourist attractions due to their associations with a horrific conflict in the early 1990s. Such sites form major chunks of some travellers' itineraries in Eastern Europe in general and ex-Yugoslavia in particular. This thesis will explore how entrepreneurs have commodified these spaces and negotiate 'difficult heritage' for those who wish to consume death and disaster.

Thanatourism research has mainly emerged from tourism scholars, geographers and sociologists. It is generally positioned as a niche tourism study which discusses the act of visitation to sites primarily motivated by a desire to encounter death or disaster (Foley & Lennon, 1996). This practice of visiting darker sites has variously been called thanatourism (Seaton, 1996), black spots (Rojek, 1993), morbid tourism (Blom, 2000), heritage that hurts (Uzzell & Ballantyne, 1998) and dissonant heritage (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996), not

to mention ‘dark tourism’ (Foley and Lennon, 1996). The thesis will explore geographical and entrepreneurial concerns with these thanatourism sites. The early 1990s conflict in Yugoslavia will be used to interrogate the spatial relationships held between the living and the dead. This spatial relationship between the living and the dead will be deconstructed by firstly considering the historical development of tourism, moving from the traditional mass holiday to today’s traveller who seeks to differentiate him/ herself with their destination choice. The broad theoretical concerns about space, leisure, consumption and commodification will begin to gradually move towards a narrower focus on thanatourism commodification, constantly interrogating the selling and consumption processes involved at sites of death and disaster.

Death, as the ultimate universality, touches every race and every individual and as such is one of the few elements of human culture which transcend all societies. While it may be commemorated, celebrated or memorialised differently, there is no escaping the notion that death visits everybody. This universality of death strikes a resonance with all cultures which, in many ways, provides a conceptual overview for this thesis. The legacy of our predecessors is present in many aspects of our life, from semantics, memorialisation and artwork (Harrison, 2003) to our final resting places, death rites and practices (Faunce & Fulton, 1958) to the institutions which mediate the lives and deaths of our ancestors (Walter, 2009). In essence, it is difficult to find an area of our lives which has not been permeated by the actions of those who came before us. Harrison notes that there is an ancient Western philosophy which dictates that a *‘knowledge of essence figures as the precondition for making’* (2003:37). A builder must know what a house is before he goes about building it. So too, is death positioned in this thesis. There appears to be a basic premise that before we ‘go about dying’ we need to understand what it is that dying and death actually means. One way we attempt to understand death is by visiting sites which have death as their primary backdrop. Harrison points out a difficult notion about early human practices – our ancestors housed their dead before they housed themselves. The corpse was the first benefiter of a permanent dwelling and the signage to death, manifested by cairns and burial locations, was surrounded by un-housed, wandering hunter-gathers.

Sites associated with death and disaster have received previous attention from geographers, most notably Andrew Charlesworth, whose work on the ecological, film and political-economic landscapes at the Nazi camps at Płaszów and Auschwitz-Birkenau provides critical contextualisation for understanding the fluidity of thanatourism landscapes. Other geographers like Bigley et al (2010) have published on thanatourism in the *Tourism Geographies* journal, Blom (2000) in the *Norwegian Journal Of Geography*, Keil (2005) in *Social and Cultural Geography*, Ashworth (2002) in *International Research In Geographical And Environmental Education* and Kong (1999) in *Australian Geographical Studies*. These scholars position thanatourism as a topic worthy of geographical exploration and they clearly differentiate it from other forms of heritage tourism. Positioning thanatourism as a form of heritage tourism would allow for a greater breadth of literature with which to theorise the subject. Geographers like Dallen Timothy, Brian Graham and Chris Michael Hall have written seminal tourism texts which could be usefully used to deconstruct such a positioning. However, as Seaton notes, '*death is the one heritage that everyone shares and it has been an element of tourism longer than any other form of heritage*' (1996, 234), which essentially suggests that this death tourism phenomenon predates heritage tourism, rendering the wealth of geographical literature on heritage tourism a little less relevant. The majority of thanatourism literature has come directly from tourism scholars which features some geographical themes but is essentially multi-disciplinary in nature. This present thesis draws on some of these multi-disciplinary themes, yet retains a primarily geographic focus on the fluidity of the thanatourism landscapes in question.

Seaton's (1996) and Walter's (2009) positioning of death as the sole anthropological constant requires some focus to be useful as a conceptualisation for the thesis. The notion that the legacy of our ancestors is visible in many aspects of our everyday lives is not a difficult argument to make. Indeed, the notion offered by Harrison that we bury the dead in order to 'humanise' the land is an essential foundation of how death can in turn shape our living practices. To narrow this slightly, a focus is taken on the visual elements of death. Memorialisation, burial, celebration and representation of death take varied forms across cultures but critically, nearly all leave some form of visual

landscape made meaningful for the descendents of the dead. This legacy takes various forms: artwork, rituals, grave identification and many other mediated landscapes of death. When these landscapes are commodified for tourist consumption, a new practice is born, ‘thanatourism’.

Thanatourism research offers an avenue for exploring the spaces mediated for the living and the dead. Walter (2009) suggests that research into thanatourism should focus on the relationship between the living, the dead and the spaces they co-inhabit. He questions the current trend of examining demand and motives and interjects that the fundamental theoretical concerns should not examine motives and demand, but should shift focus to an examination of the relationships held with death by people and places. He proposes the following relationships; *Information, Intercession, Guidance, Care, Remembrance, Education, Entertainment, Memento Mori and Haunting* (Walter 2009: 44-50), all of which act as a comprehensive list of the practices offered by the institutions which mediate between the living and the dead. To explain the list:

Information: pathologists and archaeologists literally use the corpse to benefit state, science or medicine,

Intercession: At religious shrines, the pilgrim prays to Saints to carry prayers from the living to God,

Guidance: Walter offers the example of the reading of a will, spiritualist séances, shrines and others,

Care: The example of conversations at graves is offered by Walter, noting how the living impart news or anecdotes to the dead,

Remembrance: Walter notes the practice of remembrance at graves, noting history, genealogy and others as the institutions which provide structure for remembrance,

Education: Walter points to the use of the dead in the teaching of history – evidenced by mummies, exhibitions, bog bodies and more,

Entertainment: Exhibitions like Gunther Von Hagens’ Body Worlds offer the education function noted above, but also act as entertainment,

Memento Mori: Acting as a reminder of people’s own mortality. These types of symbols have declined in the past, no longer taking a prominent place

in society like in Medieval times. Etlin's work (1984) on such memento mori will be referenced later in the thesis.

Haunting: Walter uses the broad idea that individual or mass death can haunt individuals, or collectively a society. He uses the example of how death can be incorporated into a collective national narrative, a notion explored in several of the sites featured in this present thesis.

This thesis seeks to further contribute to recent conceptual work on thanatourism by proposing a framework with which to research the commodification and experience processes at former sites of death and disaster. The relationships offered by Walter above and other models with which to conceptualise death are used throughout to strengthen the framework surrounding thanatourism research. Specifically, the thesis will focus on the role of private tour guides in the commodification process, using two of the countries of ex-Yugoslavia; Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia in a case study style exploration. As these guides form one of the institutions which mediate between life and death they offer a framework for considering some of the broader sociology of death. Further to this, the examination of the commodification process will be complemented by examining tourists' experiences on various war tours to be documented later.

Kearl (1989) opens his text on the sociology of death by drawing comparisons between the sun and the act of dying. He uses La Rochefoucauld's 17th century idea that one cannot look directly at either death or the sun. The sun is recognised as the bringer of life with death offering a reflection, acting '*as the central dynamism underlying the life, vitality, and social structure of the natural order*' (Kearl, 1989:3). Despite this notion that we cannot face death directly, Kearl points to the prevalence of death in the arts, literature, history, political ideologies and medicine. Death sells newspapers, plays a primary role in modern fiction and is used as a gauge to measure the stability of social structures such as homicide rates or life expectancy. This notion will be referred to later, using Virilio's (2006) premise that death has replaced sex as the basis for spectacle. Kearl notes that we are now in the midst of a renaissance in interest in death, publicly and academically. This observation of an academic

renaissance in studying ‘endings’ may explain the blossoming interest in thanatourism which has occurred in recent years. Since the early 90s dozens of papers have been written on travel to gaze on death and disaster, exploring motivations, experiences and commodification of real and imagined death. However, the interest of academics in thanatourism is not the primary focus of this thesis, although it will be returned to throughout. Rather, the thesis seeks to examine the processes which turn death into a commodity by exploring the experiences between the public and the dead.

This introductory chapter seeks to address two key issues. The first issue involves a broad overview of why thanatourism is a topic worth of geographical exploration and contextualisation. A path will be mapped for the remainder of the thesis of where thanatourism can be positioned conceptually. Secondly, the chapter will outline the background to the disintegration of Yugoslavia, illustrating why it is was chosen as the primary study site for this thesis.

1.2 Thanatourism in geography

This section will begin by positioning tourism as a key geographical theme. Tourism has variously been theorised as a lens with which to understand mobility (Hall et al 2004, Urry, 1990), cultural practices (Culler, 1981), authenticity of place (MacCannell 1973) and more recently proposed as a method with which to deconstruct heritage (Poria et al, 2001, 2003). Authors like Nathan Uriely (2005) have developed the notion that tourism is now a blurred activity and this theme of the dedifferentiation of leisure is a key discourse throughout the literature review. The word ‘tourism’ is subject to a variety of meanings and interpretations: it has been studied by geographers, economists, business scholars, sociologists and anthropologists. Despite the interest from various fields, three key elements are included in most tourism definitions. These state that:

1. Tourism involves travel, a temporary relocation of a person outside their usual environment.
2. Motivation to travel comes from a variety of sources; leisure, education, business, religion or health all have an influence on our travel decisions.

3. Attention is usually placed on tourism infrastructure: without means of transport, accommodation and activities it is difficult to develop a tourism product.

Williams (1998:3)

Efforts have recently been made to further disentangle these elements of the tourism definition. While Urry's *The Tourist Gaze* (1990), which reflects on the rise of mass tourism throughout the 20th century is regularly referenced throughout this thesis, there is an acknowledgement that it is only one piece of a larger tourism literature puzzle. The underlying notion here is that tourism can be used a tool to understand various human practices. Recently, tourism literature has begun to explore niche avenues in great depth, with thanatourism being a particularly blossoming area of study. Other debates have focussed on human practices such as how tourism can contribute to understandings of environmentalism (Hose, 2005), rural development (Cawley & Gilmour, 2008), ethics (Weeden, 2005) and volunteering (Callanan & Thomas, 2005). Niche tourism studies have examined sex tourism (Truong, 1990), adventure tourism (Buckley, 2005) and food tourism (Hall, 2004). Even space tourism has received attention (Duval, 2005), as has virtual tourism (Arnold, 2005). Thanatourism is just one such example of the directions taken by niche tourism academics. Thanatourism and other niche tourism studies have honed in on five key areas; commodification, consumption, tourism impacts, tourist experiences and motivations. The diagram below from Williams (1998:14) illustrates a positioning of how these areas of study can be positioned in niche tourism research. This thesis will explore similar tourism models used in the thanatourism niche which posit the evolution of these sites against other dark, other niche and other mass tourism destinations.

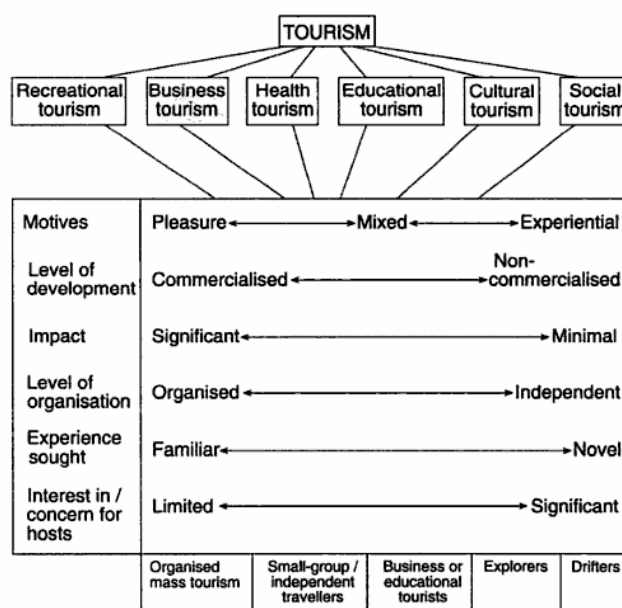


Figure 1.1: *Tourism & Tourists, A Typological Framework*, Williams (1998:14)

Narrowing the focus to define dark tourism, Foley and Lennon wrote that dark tourism (1996) is:

The phenomenon which encompasses the presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real and commodified death and disaster sitesIt is those who visit due to serendipity, the itinerary of tourism companies or the merely curious who happen to be in the vicinity who are, for us, the basis of dark tourismThese visitors may have been motivated to undertake a visit by a desire to experience the reality behind the media images and/or personal association with inhumanity.

Foley and Lennon (1996: 199)

Thousands of these ‘dark tourist’ sites exist and dozens of them have been discussed in depth in academic circles. The most popular examples include the death place of J.F.K. in Dallas (Foley and Lennon, 1996), the location of the battle of Waterloo (Seaton, 1996), Alcatraz and Robben Island prisons (Strange & Kempa, 2003), Princess Diana’s burial location at Althorp (Blom, 2000) and Ground Zero (Lisle, 2004). The most cited example outside Yugoslavia throughout this thesis is the Polish death camp of Auschwitz-Birkenau which has been studied by geographers and tourism scholars alike (Charlesworth & Addis 2002, Miles, 2002). How Holocaust sites like Auschwitz-Birkenau are sold has also received attention from historians like Tim Cole in his 1999 text *Selling the Holocaust*. Recent theoretical work on thanatourism has come in an edited volume from Sharpley & Stone (eds., 2009) which has explored the

phenomenon covers a variety of themes; including positioning the phenomenon within a broader sociology of death (Walter, 2009), secularisation and authenticity (Stone, 2009) and morality (Wight, 2009). Others have positioned (or carried out work which could be used to position) thanatourism under the umbrella of post-modernism (Lennon & Foley, 2000, Muzaini et al, 2007), Orientalism (Seaton, 2009) and discourses exploring the contemplation of death (Walter, 2009, Harrison, 2003, Etlin, 1984). Finally, Wight (2006) has begun to test the rigours of the methodologies employed in thanatourism research.

1.3 Why study thanatourism in ex-Yugoslavia

Many iconic war tourism locations in ex-Yugoslavia are discussed throughout this thesis, primarily the Croatian cities of Dubrovnik and Vukovar and the Bosnian capital Sarajevo and the town of Srebrenica. This multi-site case study allowed for a detailed exploration of the commodification of an event, as opposed to a location, by comparing and contrasting the transformation process of war sites into tourist attractions, scars into memorials and war wounds into cash. Detailed reasons for the selection of each city are offered in the methodology chapter. This chapter will begin by introducing the reader to the tourism industries in these regions in the immediate pre-war period. The disintegration of Yugoslavia will also be woven throughout to help contextualise the scale of the conflict in relation to the selling of the war sites.

Pre-war tourism in Yugoslavia

Initially it must be stated that pre-war Yugoslavia had a relatively strong tourism industry. As far back as the 18th century the country had a reputation for spa tourism, an area which was still advertised in Srebrenica in the 1970s (discussed later). Moving forward to the twentieth century, post-WW2 Yugoslavia began to establish a strong tourism industry which served a wealthy clientele (Allcock, 1991). In 1965 Yugoslavia was visited by 2.6 million foreign tourists (Gosar, 1989:277) and the area was recognised as having development potential. In 1975 the country received 5.8 million visitors (Gosar, 1989:277). Allcock (1991:236), writes that “*stimulated by the need to obtain convertible foreign currency, government bodies and business enterprises at all levels during the late 1960s pursued the expansion of foreign tourism*”. In 1983, Buckley & Witt

(1987) write that tourism receipts for the country totalled \$929million. The bigger picture of course was that tourism was vastly underdeveloped in Eastern Europe as a whole, yet Yugoslavia outstripped its competitors of Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia and was not far behind the Greek market. This socialist country was clearly the exception to the rule, as the central government recognised the industry as a key area for development.

In 1984 Sarajevo hosted the XIV Winter Olympics. At the time these were the largest ever Winter Olympics in terms of athletes and media attention. They were also the first time, and at the time of writing, the only time, the Winter Olympics had been held in a socialist state. Accommodation was in place for 574,000 visitors and \$100 million was raised by TV revenue and sponsorship. In 1985 eight and a half million tourists visited Yugoslavia, generating 50 million bed nights in various forms of accommodation (Gosar, 1989). Only seven European countries generated higher numbers of tourists at the time (France, Spain, Italy, Austria, the UK, FR Germany and Switzerland). The majority of these tourists came from Germany (2.6 million) with other significant numbers coming from Italy (1.1 million), Austria (0.8 million) and Great Britain (0.6 million). Planners at the time predicted that by 1990 the country would receive more than 10million visitors, (Gosar, 1989:277).

However, Gosar acknowledges that these tourists did not spread economic tourist activity throughout the country. Most came because of the Mediterranean Sea and some 90.1% of the bed nights were spent in coastal regions. Therefore, while city tourism and winter sports did have significance at the time, the importance of coastal tourism to Yugoslavia cannot be underestimated. In terms of mobility, Gosar also acknowledges the ease of access to the region, stating that most of the world could easily obtain visas to travel, while most of Europe could travel to and from Yugoslavia using only a driving licence or identity card. Yugoslav citizens also appeared mobile in terms of tourism and in 1988 had a domestic trade of 13 million tourists (Allcock, 1991).



Image 1.1: Yugoslavia 1991,
(Rekacewicz & Marin, 2000)

Vukovar

Yugoslavia was first formed as a kingdom in 1918 and then recreated as a Socialist state in 1945 at the end of World War II. Led by Marshall Tito, the chief architect of Yugoslavia, the Socialist state's constitution established six constituent republics in: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia. Serbia also had two autonomous provinces: Kosovo and Vojvodina. Moving forward to the war period, the disintegration of Yugoslavia began rapidly in 1991. Rising nationalistic feeling in the Republics led Slovenia and Croatia to hold their first free elections in more than 50 years (BBC, 2010) in 1990. In 1991 Slovenia and Croatia declared their independence and the

Yugoslav army immediately intervened in Slovenia. After a short conflict defended by the Slovenes, the Yugoslav army withdrew due to an EU negotiated ceasefire. The conflict caused approximately 100 casualties. Slovenia was quickly recognised by the EU and US, joining the UN in 1992. The situation was much different in Croatia however and, following their declaration of independence, major military conflict broke out. The Yugoslav army quickly intervened and by the end of 1991 had almost one third of Croatian territory under its control. Notable events in the conflict included a three month siege of Vukovar in the North East, in which 260 people were executed at Ovčara and buried in a mass grave. War tourism to the sites associated with this massacre is a key case study in this thesis. Located on the Danube, Vukovar's unique geographical feature means that a diversity of tourists visits the city. The town also features a striking water tower, preserved in its war damaged state, again a study site in this thesis.



Image 1.2: The site of the first bomb in Vukovar, Vukovar, May 2009

Sarajevo

In 1992 the UN increased its involvement in the conflict setting up 4 protected areas. Around the same time Bosnia declared its independence and further conflict broke out there between the Bosnian-Serb population who wished to remain part of Yugoslavia and the Bosnian-Muslim population (Bosniaks) who wished to be part of an independent Bosnia. In 1992 Croatia also became involved in this conflict supporting the Bosnian Croats against the Bosnian Serbs. By 1993 the Bosnian Muslim government was besieged in the capital Sarajevo, surrounded by Bosnian Serb forces who controlled around 70% of Bosnia. Throughout the conflict Sarajevo remained under siege and Simko

(2006) uses Berman's (1986) term, *urbicide* to describe the ethnic cleansing and cultural obliteration attempts undertaken by the Bosnian-Serb army surrounding the city. Up to 500 shells were hitting the city daily and by the end of the conflict major landmarks were destroyed and there were many thousands of civilian casualties. Sarajevo, as the capital city of Bosnia-Herzegovina and one of the most heavily bombed cities in modern warfare is the key case study of this thesis. A number of entrepreneurs have etched out a living guiding tourists around the sites they saw on the news in the early 1990s and the commodification of these sites will be explored throughout. The war has been heavily commodified in the city; many tours exist, many everyday locations have been turned into profitable tourism locations. Local craftsmen even turn old bullets and shells into souvenirs.



Image 1.3: A collection of the bullet pens and other souvenirs made from bullets and shells Sarajevo, May 2011

Srebrenica

A similarly commodified landscape is beginning to emerge in Srebrenica, the site of the largest massacre in Europe since WW2. During the conflict the UN designated the region surrounding the city of Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia a 'safe area'. Believing the city the safest place to be, thousands of Muslims from

the surrounding area immediately descended on Srebrenica, placing huge pressure on local resources and food supplies. The area was protected by UN Canadian and then UN Dutch forces for a number of years before falling to the first sustained Bosnian-Serb military offensive in July 1995. These forces then massacred 8,372 of the town's civilian population, including young children and old men. The massacre became known as ethnic cleansing and trials are still ongoing in the International Criminal Tribunal Court in The Hague, dealing with the perpetrators. The victims of the massacre were buried in mass graves and approximately 5,000 of these have been identified as at May 2010. The town of Srebrenica, the locations of the massacre and other military and memorial points of interest around the town make up the third case study of this thesis. Tourism to Srebrenica connected with the massacre has played an important role in the memorialisation process and many legal and ethical dilemmas have arisen over the role of the state in the presentation of the massacre (Simic, 2009).



Image 1.4: The cemetery at Potočari, Srebrenica, May 2010

Dubrovnik & Others

The research also includes comparative work to sites in other areas of ex-Yugoslavia. War tours run in Dubrovnik which provides excellent contextualisation against the landscape of mass sun seeking tourism on the Adriatic coast. The recent capture (2008) of Radovan Karadzic (the former Bosnian-Serb leader) in Belgrade prompted one tourism agency to run tours of

his hiding locations. The author also visited Pristina in Kosovo to take part in war tours offered in the newly formed Republic. These three cities and their thanatourism associations are referred to throughout the thesis.

Entrepreneurial activity is central to the evolution of war scars in to tourist locations. Tunbridge and Ashworth note (1996: 104, 105) that heritage theorists believe dark sites to be particularly marketable if they were '*notorious... especially cruel, if the historic regime was manifestly unjust, or if those who suffered were famous or especially sympathetic victims*'. There can be no doubt that many of the regions of Yugoslavia fit with Tunbridge and Ashworth's definition of what comprises a highly 'sellable' site of death. The scale of the atrocities in Sarajevo and Srebrenica, where many civilians met their death, received huge attention from the world's media. When researching what many consider such an intangible subject as tourist perceptions of a city, and their experiences with death, it may be appropriate to analyse in some form the role the media plays in marketing a city, whether for its image advantage or detraction. Fifteen years prior to this thesis, the war in Bosnia was one of the first major conflicts to feature intense and in-depth news coverage. Certainly at the time it could not be argued that the sieges in Sarajevo, Srebrenica and Dubrovnik were much other than push factors, keeping tourism of all forms a great distance from the city (save the die-hard dark tourist who will be discussed later). A variety of international and local films published over the coming years such as *Welcome to Sarajevo*, *No Man's Land*, *The Hunting Party* and *Behind Enemy Lines* became well known descriptive fictional accounts of the war and certainly would have kept the connection with conflict fresh in people's minds. Works of fiction and travel diaries such as *Sarajevo Marlboro* also covered the Balkan conflict and became highly-regarded international best-sellers. The role of these images will be deconstructed throughout the thesis, assessing their impact on the relationships held between tourists and the deathscapes they visit. How entrepreneurs go through the process of turning these sites in to viable tourist business will be explored, outlining themes on dissonant heritage, ethics, business and psychology.

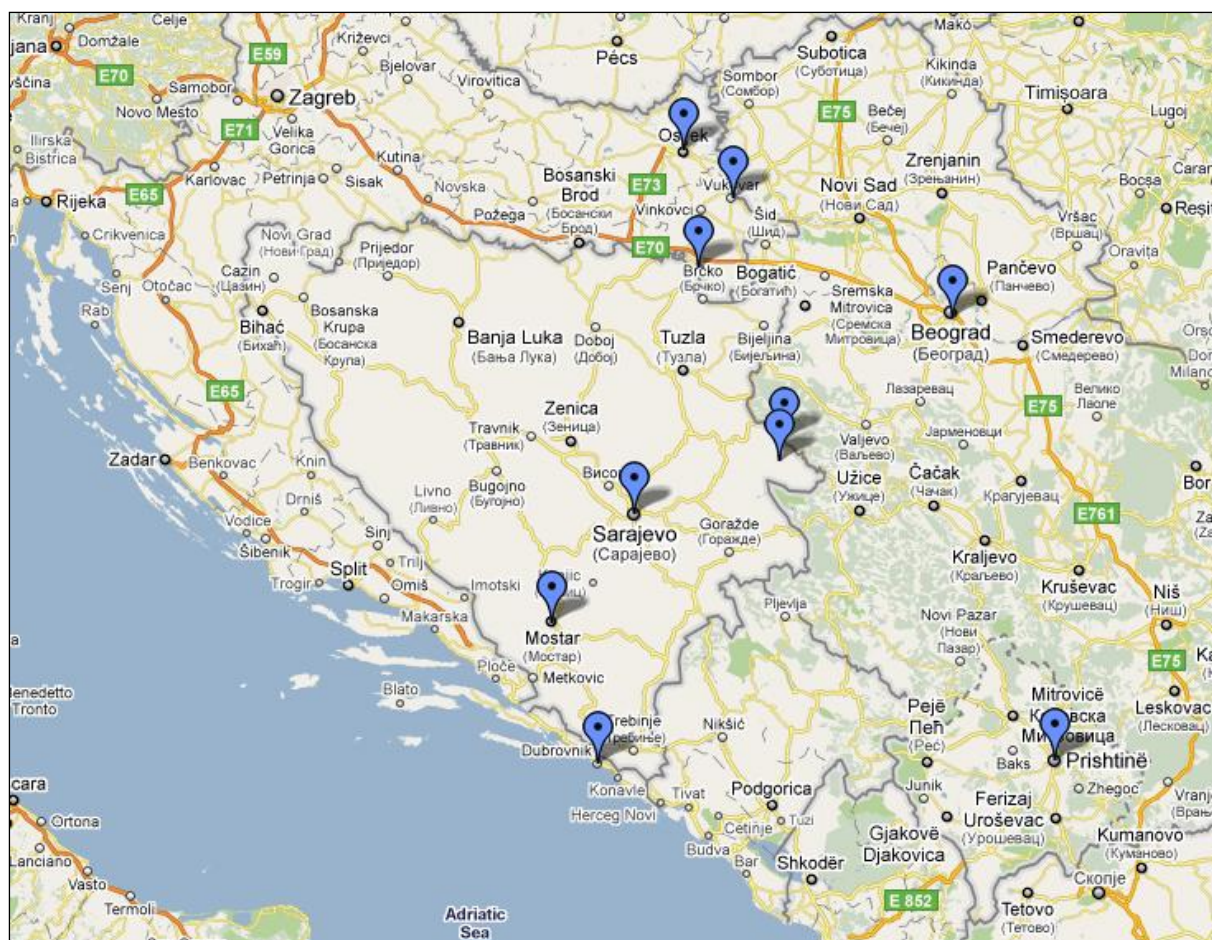


Image 1.5: Tours, memorials and war scar sites visited by the author, Tony Johnston, 2006-2010 (Created on Google Maps)

1.4 A background to war tourism in ex-Yugoslavia

Thanatourism trips to the former countries of Yugoslavia focussed on the 1991 – 1996 conflict are not solely a post-war phenomenon. Evidence suggests that thanatourism ‘products’ were available for consumers as early as 10 months into the war. In October 1992, reports emerged that an Italian travel agent, Massimo Beyerle, was offering war tours to the edge zones of conflict (Fedarko, 1993, Marín, 1993). A group of 12 people could take part in this travel agents tours, at \$25,000 per person, and could visit regions such as Sarajevo, Vukovar or Dubrovnik to see firsthand, history in the making. Other trips on the agent’s itinerary planned for visits to The Lebanon, Somalia and the former Soviet Union. These trips promised to bring tourists into dangerous situations which put the violence and horrors of war into touching distance. Other evidence from the siege period includes the 1993 Sarajevo Survival Guide, published by the

independent Bosnian production company, *FAMA* (meaning *Rumours*). This guidebook opens with the pretext that it is intended to:

be a version of Michelin, taking visitors through the city and instructing them on how to survive without transportation, hotels, taxis, telephones, shops, heating water, information, electricity. It is a chronicle, a guide for survival, a guide for survival, a part of a future archive where wit can still achieve victory over terror.

(Prstojević, 1993)

Further sections in the guidebook detail how to make one USA lunch aid pack feed five people, how to keep fit by running past sniper positions, where to buy petrol (from UNPROFOR or the black market) and how to get a letter out of the Former Yugoslavia to the rest of the world. The guidebook was published in English and the publisher has been quoted as saying that the idea of this ironical guide occurred to him because at the time he began to grow very irritated with journalists who flew to Sarajevo from all over the world in order to subsequently present their ‘*experience of the war*’, (Hötzl 2006).

Research into thanatourism must also involve an examination of the production of signs, the role of tourists as semioticians and the resulting consumption of culture which occurs with any kind of tourism. If one considers an example destination, especially a complex region like the Balkans, the context of the above notion begins to clarify a little. Sarajevo for example has since Ottoman times been a destination for travellers and as a major Balkan transit point it is immediately clear that the city’s past has always been concerned with ‘tourists’ of some description. This creates difficulties in establishing a ‘starting’ point from which to research. For example, the shooting of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in the city in 1914 often attributed with triggering World War 1 placed Sarajevo firmly in the eye of the western media in the early 20th century. The bridge beside where the Archduke was assassinated later became a thanatourism location itself and many visited the site over the last century. This history of thanatourism in Sarajevo itself creates an extra layer with which to consider the commodification of thanatourism space.



*Image 1.6: Archduke Franz Ferdinand and Duchess Sophie waxwork models
Bringing the place to life?
Sarajevo, April 2009*

1.5 Research Objectives

The thesis set out with four primary objectives, under one wider, umbrella-like objective. As thanatourism has not received much attention from geographers, the thesis seeks to position it as a subject worthy of attention in the discipline. Some geographers, like Bigley et al (2010), have very recently directed their attention towards uncovering tourist motivations for visiting war sites. Their paper uses the site of the North/ South Korea border and the de-militarised-zone (DMZ) to answer calls from Stone and Sharpley (2008), Stone (2005) and Smith and Croy (2005) to begin work on identifying motivations to visit dark sites. Other geographers, like Andrew Charlesworth (2004) have deconstructed thanatourism sites from very particular angles, such as the impact of film on visitation, positioning Spielberg's Schindler's List as one of the catalysts for increased Auschwitz visitation and exploring the consequences. However, more broadly speaking, much debate surrounds what we know about thanatourism, ranging from what is an appropriate title for the act of visitation to sites of death and disaster (Seaton and Lennon, 2004) to whether appropriate methodologies are utilised in present research (Wight, 2006) to appropriate theoretical frameworks used to conceptualise the topic (Sharpley & Stone, 2009). Others,

like Walter (2009), argue for the contemplation of death within a broader sociological context, noting that death permeates many aspects of our everyday lives and not just our leisure spaces. Therefore, the broader concern of this thesis is to begin to address these conceptual issues, using four sites in Yugoslavia to narrow the focus to particular sub-themes on thanatourism. In Lennon and Foley's book *Dark Tourism* (2000), they begin to introduce the process undertaken when a site of disaster becomes a tourism attraction. They describe the process, outlining the site's movement from place of atrocity to a grieving space to place of thanatourism. The layers are explored in some detail, yet it is this movement from one to the other with which this thesis is particularly concerned. **Objective one** thus aims to explore the geographical issues which affect the process of a war site becoming a war tourism site.

Objective two seeks to strengthen the theoretical framework used to conceptualise thanatourism research. As noted earlier, several frameworks have been proposed in recent papers and these will be further developed and explored throughout the course of the primary research. Classical literature will be paralleled against recent thanatourism literature to help construct this framework and to explore the notions of Orientalism, secularisation, post-modernism and the sociologies of death.

The **third objective** seeks to establish, against current models, the presence of thanatourism in the countries of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. Although some work has been carried out (Causevic, 2008, Bell, 2009, Simic, 2009) documenting the presence of thanatourism in several areas, there is room for further exploration of the phenomena behind the consumption and commodification of these spaces. The entrepreneurship-tourist experience nexus at these sites is worthy of further attention in particular. Unlike previous research, this thesis approaches the fluidity of thanatourism spaces from a geographical standpoint, considering the practices associated with consuming death against literature on post-modernism, secularisation and Orientalism. As noted in the introduction, the wider anthropological and sociological concerns of deathscapes must also form part of the conceptualisation of thanatourism.

Finally, as a **fourth objective**, the thesis seeks to develop new ways of approaching thanatourism research. Dunkley (2007:100) proposes that a ‘hot approach’ is needed to explore sensitive sites. She thus uses auto-ethnographic methods, rejecting the cool, calm approach often desired by social science researchers concerned about their positionality. This thesis considers this approach and others, acknowledging that thanatourism, or dark tourism to use the more loaded term (Seaton and Lennon, 2004), is a sensitive subject and it is difficult to subject it to the norms of social science research. The thesis thus proposes new angles for research in the area, proposing the usefulness of travel blogs in decoding the tourist experience at sites of death and disaster.

1.6 Outline of forthcoming chapters

The thesis is organised into seven chapters. **Chapter one**, as an introduction, has outlined the upcoming themes which will be explored, positioning tourism, and specifically thanatourism, as a valid geographical area of concern. The chapter has also outlined the reasons for exploring the consumption of death in the region of ex-Yugoslavia. **Chapter two** will further explore the broader geographical concerns relevant to the study of thanatourism. These include an examination of its positioning as a fundamentally postmodern activity, the concept of ‘othering’ and Orientalism in relation to consuming death, secularisation and the search for new moral spaces and the broader sociological concerns regarding the dedifferentiation of death in our leisure and everyday activities. **Chapter three** narrows the focus to examine specifically the literature on dark tourism and thanatourism which has emerged since the terms were coined (Foley and Lennon, 1996 and Seaton, 1996). This chapter disseminates some of the key models which have been proposed by the major authors in the field. **Chapter four** identifies the key methodological concerns associated with carrying out niche tourism research. The chapter discusses the methodologies used in recent research, proposing where they could be improved and suggesting new methodological methods which would be used in future thanatourism research. **Chapters five and six** present the key analysis from the fieldwork carried out by the author in the four case study sites. Chapter five focuses primarily on the commodification of sites associated with war while chapter six examines the phenomenon from the tourist perspective, exploring their

motivations and experiences at sites of thanatourism. Chapter five uses a range of discourse analysis methods and interview data gathered in Dubrovnik, Sarajevo, Srebrenica and Vukovar to explore how the commodification process can be deconstructed. The penultimate chapter furthers these themes by utilising travel blogs as a key resource in understanding the experiences of the modern day thanatourist. Both chapters five and six mix primary fieldwork analysis with examples and key theoretical concerns from the literature. Finally, the thesis concludes with an outlook for thanatourism (**Chapter seven**), questioning what the future holds for thanatourism guides and entrepreneurs, dark tourists and thanatourism literature?.

Chapter Two

Contextualising Thanatourism

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will begin to contextualise thanatourism within various theoretical frameworks. These theoretical frameworks have emerged from recent works in thanatourism which have attempted to move away from a case-study style analysis of why thanatourism sites exist. This broader work has instead focussed on the positioning of the consumption of death at spaces of leisure, attempting to explore our interactions and experiences with institutions of death. Several conceptualisations have been offered for examination, including secularisation (Stone, 2009), post-modernism (Lennon and Foley, 2000, Muzaini et al, 2007, Tarlow, 2005), Orientalism (Seaton, 2009) and a broader sociology of death (Walter, 2009). These conceptualisations will be scrutinised within this chapter, with an exploration of the merits of considering thanatourism within these inherently geographical frameworks. As noted in the introductory chapter, the major authors contributing to thanatourism research have not been geographers, and the most cited works have emerged from tourism scholars (Seaton, Foley, Lennon, Dann, Beech), sociologists like Chris Rojek and planner such as Tunbridge and Ashworth. While all of these authors discuss essentially geographic themes in their work, thanatourism has rarely been approached from a purely geographical angle. This literature review will thus review the key scholarly texts in the thanatourism niche by positioning them against classical geographical and other theorists.

The chapter is organised into a dissemination of these theories listed above, with a critical analysis of why thanatourism is worthy of consideration within their confines (or not, as the case may be). The chapter seeks to broadly position how we can, or could, accurately conceptualise thanatourism in geographical research. A crucial element of this objective is to delve into the reasons offered by thanatourism scholars on why thanatourism has a weak theoretical framework and why the overlaps between different social sciences have created a fragmented body of literature without clear direction. Further to this, this chapter (and the proceeding one) seek to clearly define thanatourism, both by deconstructing the elements of the definitions offered by past authors and coupling these with geographical (and other) literature related to tourist gaze notions. This chapter therefore only seeks to begin to position thanatourism

within broad geographical confines. Chapter Three will further develop this positioning by explicitly examining the ever-growing body of case study style thanatourism research which has blossomed over the past two decades. These papers include sub-themes on thanatourism, including methodological issues, examinations of motivations for travel, the dark tourist experience, commodification of sites and other relevant themes. However, while these papers all contribute to our knowledge of thanatourism, they rarely delve deeply into the conceptual positioning of the act of consuming death as a leisure-travel activity. This chapter seeks to address this positioning (i.e., broadly assessing where thanatourism should be positioned), while the next chapter will narrow the focus to the sub themes documented above and their relevance to this study.

This introductory section of the chapter will conclude by outlining some of the key theoretical positions used to locate thanatourism. These include post-modernism, secularisation, a sociology of death and Orientalism. The first comprehensive work on dark tourism was written in 2000 by Lennon & Foley, who theorised dark tourism as being an ‘intimation of post-modernity’ (Lennon & Foley, 2000:11). As this was the first theoretical consideration of where thanatourism should be positioned an examination of the characteristics of thanatourism in conjunction with the characteristics of what it means to be ‘post-modern’ seems an appropriate place to begin. Lennon and Foley are among several authors (Tarlow, 2005, Muzaini et al, 2007) who have posited thanatourism as having inherently post-modern characteristics and their work will also be considered to further contextualise this theoretical framework.

As a somewhat fractured area of study, thanatourism authors have always been careful to position post-modernism as sharing characteristics with consuming death without deeply examining the development of tourist deathscapes within the philosophical paradigms of post-modernism. These characteristics have variously included; doubts about the project of modernity (Lennon and Foley, 2000), the privileging of the ‘visual’ over authenticity and aim of universal appeal (Muzaini et al, 2007) and as a type of ‘postmodern hyperreality’ in which ‘real is made fake’ (Tarlow, 2005:53). This fracturing of the debate on why post-modernism is relevant to thanatourism scholars will be investigated, and

elements of this discussion permeate the further discussions on thanatopsis, secularisation and Orientalism. These sections will include discussions on nostalgia and romanticism, replication and duplication, dedifferentiation and the rise in spectacle.

Tourism has been well theorised over the last number of decades, and although these theories are beneficial to thanatourism research, they are generally not fully applicable. As authors like Uriely (2005) have previously noted, there is a blurring between everyday activities and tourism in today's world, and as there is no greater universality than death, an examination of thanatourism literature must also include multi-disciplinary theorists who have examined the sociology of death, processes of memorialisation, representation, the role of the media in consumption and countless others. The characteristics of post-modernity noted above will thus be investigated by examining the historical development of tourism space within the framework of modernity and post modernity, but also within the broader literature related to the consumption of deathscapes. The use of post-modernism as an umbrella term creates an argument which can appear misleadingly temporal - and this notion will be disentangled as much as possible by introducing a spatial aspect to the debate. This will draw on the theories of Zukin, Uriely, Urry and Rojek and various other authors who discuss tourism geographies and other notions concerned with the commodification of western recreation and leisure spaces. This development of tourism space and the development of tourists themselves will be examined, illustrated by example, to show the new quest of tourists to redefine themselves through their holiday activities. The changing role of tourism space will be presented, analysed within the context of tourism geographies to explore how spaces are changing as are our inter-relationships with them. Finally, to conclude this discussion on space within the postmodernism framework, the dedifferentiation of leisure, increased geographical mobility and the search for authenticity will be investigated to allow for a reflection of the rise of thanatourism against other niche and mass tourism activities.

Moving somewhat away from an exploration of the nexus between postmodernism and thanatourism spaces, the chapter will begin to consider the

development of thanatourism within the context of secularisation. The chapter will argue that the development of thanatourism is deeply connected to a search for new moral spaces. As many seek understanding of mortality in new ways, new moral spaces develop and these spaces often have unique thanatourism qualities. This section on secularisation will be explored using contemporary literature on thanatourism. The declining power of the church has been mentioned as a key element in the rise in our interest in the dominion of the dead and our fascination with the legacy left by our departure from the earth.

Thirdly, the chapter will investigate the idea that thanatourism can be positioned within a conceptual framework related to Orientalism. Little has been written on this idea, although Seaton (2009) has recently begun the debate on why it merits attention. This chapter does not seek to enter into philosophical debates on Said's work on the 'other', instead it aims to recognise the fundamental aspects of the notion of the 'other' and to consider if these could be used to broadly reflect the practice of consuming leisure spaces of death.

The final sections of the chapter will contextualise the rise in thanatourism within a variety of multi-disciplinary theories. This will include a discussion on the contemplation of fatality, or thanatopsis, both historically and in modern times. Some of the work of the key authors in this field, including Harrison and Etlin, will be analysed, very much taking into account Walter's observations that as death is universal, perhaps it is better to focus on our relationship with death in general rather than specifically focussing on how or why we consume death at sites of leisure. From this point onwards, the broader sociology of death permeates the discursive elements throughout the thesis, in particular in the second empirical chapter which will examine the tourist experience in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. Moving away from this sociology of death discussion slightly, further key geographical themes will be explored in this section, including the theme of memorialisation, which draws on geographers like Dydia De Lyser, the concept of the rise in spectacle, drawing from the work of Paul Virilio and his *Museum of Accidents*. This will present another angle on the rise in thanatopsis, particularly examining the argument that death has replaced sex in recent years as the media's primary focus. The section will conclude with an

exploration of the concepts of nostalgia and romanticism and of the concepts of replication and duplication of space, time and processes, drawing from the work of Andrew Charlesworth. This will help to position and contextualise thanatourism as a tourist gaze worthy of study within a variety of theoretical frameworks.

2.2 Postmodernism in the geography of tourism

Before the element of post-modernism is tackled, some basic historical context must be provided on both tourism as a practice and how tourist space and time have evolved over the last century. As tourism is often mobilised by theorists as a lens through which to view and make sense of other areas of our life, its value as a research tool must be fully understood before delving into modernity and postmodernity in thanatourism. As previously noted in the introduction, several authors position the act of visiting a site associated with death or disaster as having inherently post modern characteristics, but this notion needs to be explored in more detail by considering the work of the different theorists on space, modernity and tourism. In particular this section will discuss space in the context of tourism, focussing on how and why a space, or a practice in a space, be considered as either modern or post-modern.

This chapter seeks to introduce the term ‘thanagazing’. Tourism is not a particularly new human practice and neither is gazing on, or consuming death. When tourism is used as a vehicle to consume or gaze on death, a new practice is born: thanatourism. Consequently tourism needs to be situated correctly as a practice itself if we are to understand thanatourism. It is particularly important that thanatourism studies should begin to pay serious attention to the situation of tourism within a broader tourism spectrum. Despite the growing interest in issues of motivations, theoretical frameworks and broader societal gazes on death, the provision of thanatourism spaces offers the opportunity to merge leisure with travel, just as any other niche tourism does. A history of tourism would not sufficiently answer this call: as Walton (2005: 12) notes, history is repeatedly rewritten to suit the dominant issues and changing agendas of the period. The author does not wish to dwell on such clichés, and, although historical examples of thanatourism are offered throughout the thesis, these exist

generally to illustrate particular spatial issues, rather than offer a linear development of society's interest with using leisure time to consume death.

However, an expectation remains to explore the wider reasons for positioning contemporary tourism within a post-modernism framework. These reasons are explored, particularly in a spatial context throughout this chapter but also with regular reference to historical developments which may contribute to understanding the rationale for this positioning. These developments are focussed on the broader theoretical concerns associated with tourism: mobility, modernity, spectacle, and commodification – beginning with authenticity, given that a) it is regularly positioned as a driver for the consumption of death (Muzaini et al, 2007, Stone, 2006, Seaton, 2009, Wilson, 2008) and b) authenticity offers a route to exploring both spatial and period characteristics of tourism practices. The other themes to be discussed do not follow a linear pattern – there is little merit in further utilising history as the chief vehicle for documenting the evolution of tourism – this has been done several times. A historical look at tourism, focussed particularly on thanatourism literature would be of limited use for several reasons; including because of a lack of academic literature exploring the theme. More importantly however, delving into historical thanatourism experiences offers more by way of illustrating a particular spatial argument than by offering a rationale for the development of thanatourism. Infamous examples are chosen because of their well known characteristics and not because of their location in the past. Thus, throughout the thesis, many historical examples are offered from the late-modern period (such as *The Titanic*, WW1 and WW2) to illustrate particular spatial arguments rather than argue for a linear development of thanatourism. Slightly earlier late-modern examples are woven throughout the thesis, particularly from Tony Seaton's work on Waterloo (1996) and Mark Twain's (1869) Mediterranean Victorian cruise. Richard Etlin's work (1984) on the Parisian cemetery offers a contextualisation of early modernity's relationship with the corpse. Moving further back historical examples (notably the Coliseum and Pompeii) offer an illustration of thanatourism from the early Christian period. Although the history of tourism would appear to be a well theorised area of study – and thus could offer a framework for studying thanatourism - little critical thought has been

offered to interrogate the terms and processes used for this history (Walter, 2005), rendering such histories less relevant for conceptualising thanatourism. The author does not believe offering an agenda which proposes a historical examination of the thanatourism sites as being overly relevant- indeed, thanatourism has been positioned as being an intimation of post-modernism (Lennon & Foley, 2000). This is a notion interrogated throughout this present thesis as it is difficult to position thanatourism as holding more (or less) features of any one time period than another. Essentially, thanatourism has many peculiar qualities (spectacle, authenticity, death as the ‘other’, secularisation, etc) which are arguably best tackled independently.

Uriely (1997) begins to disentangle the framework used to conceptualise post-modern tourism. Early debate took the approach, writes Uriely, that tourism was a symptom of modern excess – an approach reflected by Boorstin’s (1964) positioning of tourism as a superficial and largely trivial activity. MacCannell’s 1973 paper of course, offered the opposite – tourism was now beginning to emerge as a meaningful quest for the authentic. Both are critiqued by Uriely – they share a modernist form of analysis, viewing societies as totalities. This homogenised difference was also challenged by Cohen (1979) who acknowledged the desire for difference sought by some tourists - which ultimately resulted in a positioning of contemporary tourism in the 1980s and 1990s as a postmodern activity. Postmodern tourism was then generally situated as either ‘simulational’ or ‘other’ types of experiences. ‘Simulational’ experiences refer to the hyper-real and contrived attraction: Disney World offering the best illustration. ‘Other’ experiences refer to the real; a search for the authentic. Both experiences, writes Uriely, would seem to reflect the earlier positioning of tourism within Boorstin’s framework or MacCannell’s conceptualisation. These are of course opposites – leaving Uriely (1997: 983) to resolve that ‘*On the contrary, postmodern tourism is characterised by the multiplicity of tourist motivations, experiences, and environments*’, a chaotic resolution.

This section on postmodernism in the geographies of tourism continues with a spatial focus, examining discourses related to how places and leisure

environments have changed over time, with a particular focus on authenticity. This may seem an unusual route into positioning thanatourism but it offers the opportunity to trace the development of the inauthentic landscape regularly used as a parallel by tourism authors. To begin therefore, Zukin (1991) introduces a discussion of space by tracking how places, particularly the urban environment, have changed over time. Picking this up in the post-war period, Zukin writes that a variety of deindustrialisation processes in many western societies changed not only the landscape, but also the people which inhabited them. Service economies created new and desirable landscapes; the places which flourished were connected to real estate, entertainment, banking and transport. Tourism began to emerge as a ‘mass’ activity and spaces to accommodate the new mobile working class began to emerge to accommodate them. In the late industrial period, these spaces, which had never been in existence before, began to dominate many mediated landscapes. Tourism infrastructure in the UK began to develop rapidly and cities like Blackpool, Morecambe and Brighton (Urry, 1990) quickly became synonymous with holidays. These seaside resorts possessed a pier, a tower (or other dominating man-made object), a park or funfair and a very direct aim of selling themselves as a leisure space. These places contained a highly concentrated landscape of attraction and associations with nature; of course embodied through the sea and the sun (Urry, 1990:35). Such tourist resorts began to emerge around much of the westernised world, with Miami offering the most appropriate comparison from the American situation. Zukin writes that the evolution here moved through different stages of development, going from an exclusive resort to post WW2 development as a cheaper vacation destination to a Latin micro metropolis. During this development a postmodern synergy emerged between landscape and vernacular; Zukin positions Miami as a city full of ‘*imported*’, ‘*exploited*’ and ‘*ruined*’ styles of architecture. She writes how Miami and other cities such as Los Angeles are impossible to view from the perspective of modern cities (Chicago, NY, San Fran, etc) with their false facades, pink flamingos and a landscape ‘*explicitly produced for visual consumption*’ (1991:219).

The pinnacles of this landscape are of course the theme parks of Disneyland (California) and Disney World (Florida). Without doubt these parks provide the

most striking examples of this synergy between landscape and vernacular. The imaginary landscape created by Walt Disney and his team of architects and ‘*imagineers*’ provided users with an ‘*illicit mobility*’, ‘*a promise of security from the vernacular*’ [and an] ‘*escape from the modern world*’... ‘*of subdivision and mass construction*’ (Zukin, 1991:224, 226, 227). This newly mapped image, designed primarily or initially for visual consumption, gave the powerless an imaginary landscape with which to realise their desires. This, Zukin writes, is evidenced by the media key articles which positioned Walt Disney as one of ‘*America’s Best*’ and one of the people who changed Los Angeles. Zukin continues by placing the Disney landscape as a model for providing a product or cultural good a surrounding narrative framework. This model has been adopted by museums and other selling places. Cultural values become recognised in economic produce, and vice versa as the economic potential of cultural goods comes to the fore. Ironically, says Zukin, the market orientated landscape generates a sense of place for the visitor or user. This notion of mediation in space between producer and consumer can apply to consumer products, art galleries, museums, ‘*natural*’ landscapes and arguably others. Later in this section thanatourism sites will be positioned as one such example, whereby just as movie studios were once elevated to the status of cultural monuments and tourist Meccas, so too now are sites which commodify death or disaster. These sites now (but also *again*) recognise the economic potential of death.

Zukin’s work clearly highlights the creation of a new type of fantasy architecture. Although Disney World is clearly the most striking example, she writes that this new form of the vernacular can be found in a whole range of public and private spaces. She describes ‘*roadside postmodernism*’, using the examples of fast food restaurants with exaggerated features, such as being built in the shape of a hamburger. As traditional, cultural and probably economic restraints also are overthrown, a new expectation emerged among the population, often resulting in a fantasy architecture. In Miami and Los Angeles, Zukin tells us that these usually featured exaggerated ocean front villas with an overtly Mediterranean style, Art Deco hotels and minimalist modern houses. This architecture all contributes to what Zukin (1991:241, 242) calls the ‘*postmodern city*’, a place where ‘*the built environment mediates between*

nature and artifice, between resort and city, between local and global investment. Yet it conveys a sense of place.' This environment is lush with buildings which call attention to themselves in a strikingly unreal, yet '*curiously familiar*' landscape which audiences find so exciting. Zukin summarises by noting that although this fantasy landscape attracts, there is a underlying cultural problem in the nexus between landscape, power and weakness. This problem is inherently cultural and Zukin links the market economy, capitalism and people's attempts to escape from capitalism by using imagined spaces and fantasy architecture as their vehicle.

Two points can be considered from Zukin's work – one is that consumers utilise post modern fantasy landscapes such as Disney World to escape from the banality of everyday life. Secondly, it could be argued that consumers now wish to escape from this very fantasy land and use niche tourism destinations such as thanatourism sites as the method for so doing. The lack of authenticity in postmodern spaces has created a yearning for authentic places and processes. This escapism notion is a point also picked up by Stone (2009) who uses the vehicle of dark tourism to denote a means of escape. He quotes Best and Kellner (2001:6) who write that our present day society '*is in a midst of a tempestuous period of transition and metamorphosis, propelled principally by transmutations in science, technology and capitalism*', moving on to hint that we use tourism experiences to escape such landscapes. Zukin's work may seem an unusual entry point into a discussion of the commodification of death and disaster in touristic form - the pink flamingos of Florida and the imagined world created by Disney could not be located much further (in consumption terms) from the pinnacles of darkness offered by the bleak battlefield sites, mass graves, concentration camps and war re-enactments sought by the thanatourist. Yet sometimes a practice is best explored by reflecting upon its opposite. If the false facades of Zukin's landscapes of power are positioned as a gaze upon the inauthentic, can 'thanagazing' be positioned as the opposite; i.e. a gaze on that which is real and, in many ways, the ultimate 'back area'? In essence, thanatourism could provide an avenue with which to question the inauthentic landscapes of modernity. With an increased interest in tourism, increased mobility for travellers and increased commodification of all tourist landscapes,

many people seem to be going out of their way to look for an authentic experience. The question biggest question is what is authenticity. Authenticity is something that seems real or genuine and what could be more real than death. People are unsatisfied the landscapes discussed by Zukin and see it as fake. Authenticity has an image of being “unspoilt”, either culturally, spiritually or naturally. Thanatourism, although now heavily commodified, may at least give the impression of being an authentic experience, offering contact with a back area rarely seen in a society where death has been medicalised out of sight.

In more recent years, authors on dark tourism regularly position the practice of visiting darker sites as being postmodern, yet rarely is this explored in any depth. From an early position in their book *Dark Tourism*, Lennon and Foley (2000:11) state that it is not their intention to enter into philosophical debate regarding the use of the term. Rather, they wish to *‘recognise the significant aspects of post-modernity which are taken to broadly represent its main features. If these features amount to late capitalism, or late modernity, then so be it’*. This lack of depth creates a confusing context for thanatourism; can the act be considered fully postmodern without exploration of what that consists? Is there perhaps a more appropriate framework with which to consider the topic? Many thanatourism papers make an early acknowledgment that travel to witness death has ancient roots and is not a new practice per-se. One of the earlier papers on the subject by Seaton (1996) discusses the Battle of Waterloo and the onslaught of visitors who came to watch the battle from surrounding hills. Such an example highlights the fluidity of thanatourist sites; the visitor of 1815 will have had very different motives from the 21st century visitor. This makes the postmodern connection somewhat problematic as it introduces a temporal element. However, this is not to state that thanatourism isn’t worthy of contextualisation within such a theoretical framework or further consideration at least. Indeed, the enormous growth in travel to grief sites in recent years remains (which incidentally coincides with growth in other niche tourism areas) needs contextualisation and there are many parallels in postmodernism literature which appear to provide suitable reflection material. Consider Parry’s 1970s traveller for example. This traveller wanted to ‘keep up with the Joneses’ and initially he spent his time seeking the sun so as not to be left-out. As time went on, he

became more educated and more knowledgeable about destinations. These destinations became fragmented, leisure permeated more aspects of his life and his mobility increased. This was partly his choice, but also a product of his environment and where and what was available to consume. Likewise, motivations for travel became more complex and as Muzaini et al write (2007:28), tourists became involved in a quest for visual landscapes upon which to gaze. In turn, this created a segmented market with each visitor bringing their own experiences and thus aims and expectations. These new and more diverse expectations, like the expectations described by Zukin and Urry, have implications for the way a landscape is produced and consumed, particularly in terms of the visual. Muzaini et al (2007) write that operators at sites of thanatourism cater to these new demands in a way which wasn't carried out before. Previously historical depth took precedence over the visual and the experience but the demand for spectacle and experiential tours has diluted the need for accuracy and validity. This is a point which will be returned to later when notions of replication and duplication will be discussed.

Making this temporal changing of space relevant to tourism; there is a body of literature considering much of post-mass tourism within the remit of postmodernism. Munt (1994), writes that the mid 80s tourism literature started to develop the notions and arguments of postmodernism, as evidenced by a continuous move away from mass tourism to '*postmodern tourism*'. This type of tourism placed an emphasis on visiting niche destinations, especially non western destinations, perceived authentic locations, spaces where contact with indigenous cultures is possible, and '*other*' destinations (Light, 2000^{1&2}, Tarlow, 2005). There are many references in the literature which place thanatourism firmly in the context of post-modernism. This chapter will try to uncover the various authors' motives and rationale for so doing. Discussing Auschwitz for example;

This spot reaches the pinnacle of European dark tourism. Here in this small Polish town, the victims are counted by millions. Now history reaches the surreal and mixes with it to become post-modern madness. Just as in Europe's battlegrounds or at its monuments, the past gives way to the present. The visitor may photograph grounds and buildings that have known the agony of death, but modern visitors see only life.
(Tarlow, 2004:48)

Characteristics of postmodernity which may be relevant to increasing numbers at sites Auschwitz-Birkenau will be discussed throughout the thesis, but briefly to summarise; they include the role of the media in increasing awareness of a site, the dedifferentiation of leisure, the search for perceived authenticity and the role of spectacle and the mundane at a site.

As earlier noted, one example of work within thanatourism literature presenting thanatourism as ‘postmodern’ is Muzaini et al (2007). Here four characteristics of thanatourism are presented which the authors believe render it an intimation of post modernity. Initially they discuss the dedifferentiation of leisure, noting how scholars such as Uriely (2005) believe that a blurring has occurred between the everyday and the tourist experience. Uriely observes this dedifferentiation and contrasts the conceptual differences between modern tourism theory and tourism theory today. Earlier forms of tourism, he writes, generally referred to a quest for the unusual and different, where the tourist could gain temporary relief from their work and cares. This temporary respite in time and space gave the tourist an opportunity to reflect on their own lives and societies from a different perspective. Uriely writes that this notion has been challenged since the early 1990s when the notion of postmodern tourism began to develop, particularly in Urry’s *The Tourist Gaze*, (1990). Attractions and experiences which were once exclusive to tourism activity could now be enjoyed at home via the mass media, simulated environments in local theme parks or shopping centres and visual displays for example. Visa versa: activities which previously were not considered tourism now became part of the tourist routine and Uriely points to the work of Munt (1994:104) who notes the intellectualisation and professionalisation of tourism and its invasive nature into other spaces. Uriely offers examples of tourism (or leisure spaces) appearing in the workplace as gymnasia, spas and manufactured natural landscapes appear for the benefit of staff. In addition this blurring of tourist spaces also features discussion on the characterisation of tourists and the multiplicity of experiences they seek, thus moving away from the homogenised portrayal of the tourist as a general type (Uriely, 2005:204). The blurring of tourism spaces and the invasion of tourism into non-leisure spaces highlights the temporality of tourism. Sites are fluid, as

are the motivations of those who visit them. The block travel experienced in the 'poor weeks' and the package holidays of the modern period no longer represent the tourist of today who may take more weekend breaks and travel.

Muzaini et al (2007) continue on the characterisation of thanatourism as a form of postmodern tourism by examining the notion of the visual and the mundane. The tourist of today seeks the spectacular and sensational but also the everyday. Muzaini et al (2007) translates this idea by writing that at war sites for example, the dark tourist seeks to learn about the conflict by examining the grand strategies and pictures of the battle but also how the war affected the average person, i.e., the local people and the ordinary soldiers. This notion may emerge from a desire to identify with the war and to feel a sense of proximity and belonging with everyday survivors and victims (Blom, 2000). This helps visitors to be present both physically and psychologically at the site, which Muzaini et al write may be part of a postmodernist desire to feel a certain familiarity with death or disaster. Although popular culture has increased familiarity with destinations, it has yet to obliterate the need some tourists feel to experience the war or disaster in terms of place (even if the situations are now different) and in time (by creating itineraries when the war is still happening). Muzaini et al write that this helps the tourist to affirm the validity of the global knowledge of war by visiting the local.

Thirdly, Muzaini et al write that the postmodern tourist possesses a greater ability to form their own opinions than the regular mass tourist, which helps them to construct their own individual journeys of self discovery. *'Influenced by knowledge that they may have acquired beforehand, tourists are thus seen as possessive of an 'agency' to be critical.'* (Muzaini et al, 2007:31). However this notion presents difficulties as clearly the places that people visit are commodified (or not) by a complex history of interacting motives and events. This Muzaini et al note in their last point which acknowledges the recognition among postmodern tourists that they are not time-travellers when they visit historical sites. *'They cannot evade their position as outsiders'* (2007:31) and increasingly must accept inauthentic and highly commodified sites which probably suffer from a fading connection to the past. Although thanatourism

sites may suffer from a dilution of history, visitation to places of suffering appears to represent one of Urry's gazes. Places of thanatourism have become attractive for the post-mass tourist who wish to gaze upon sites of death and disaster by visiting the local (Lennon & Foley, 2000), to learn about local knowledge about a site and arguably also to satisfy voyeuristic tendencies. Finally it must be stated that this desire for thanatopsis will be presented as a significant driver of cultural remaking and commodification of thanatourism sites.

One could argue that positioning thanatourism solely as a feature in the landscape of post-modernity simply does not work. The all-encompassing nature of death makes positioning thanatourism as being more or less a feature of a particular time-period than another, a somewhat uneasy marriage. Human curiosity with death is as old as humanity itself and not particularly post-modern at all. If anything, disengaged and disenchanted youth of the post-modern period do not care for religion and mortality like their predecessors at all. In theory this should create a youth who are less likely to be interested in visiting sites of death and disaster. Yet this young generation is not disengaged with thanatourism sites. The author's travels around WW2 sites, Northern Ireland Troubles heritage and the sites in Yugoslavia gathered much observational evidence of today's youth heavily engaged with consuming and experiencing the darker sides of humanity. The author met many post-mass tourists who commented on their destination choice and desire to interrogate the failings of humanity at Auschwitz-Birkenau, Wannsee and other locations. Doubtless these tourists would not position themselves as acting in a 'post-modern' way as what would be worse for the non-conformist than following what is currently the in-vogue thing to do on holidays. Herein lies the one element of thanatourism which can be seen as reflecting the features of post-modernity: the impact of the media on the consumption of deathscapes. Rather than dedicate a specific section of this chapter to the relationship of the mass media with thanatourism, the topic will be flavoured throughout the thesis. Unsurprisingly death is an easy target for a spectacle driven media and thanatourism fits nicely as the bulls-eye. As noted throughout the thesis there are dozens of newspaper articles which specifically use the term thanatourism and have destination guides which feature

elements of death and disaster, rather than sun and sand. Dark tourism authors like Stone and Lennon are regularly quoted in these pieces.

Aside from news articles, several full length, nonfiction pieces of travel writing have emerged in recent years for public consumption. One such example of a popular text is P.J. O'Rourke's *Holidays in Hell*. Written in 1988, *Holidays in Hell* sees O'Rourke visit some of the world's most dangerous places, all in the name of pleasure. He visits Seoul during a riotous election, communist Poland, at-war Lebanon and mid-Troubles Northern Ireland. A similar example was written in 2008 by Andrew Mueller, a rock journalist visiting the world's most troubled places. Mueller's book *I Wouldn't Start From Here: The 21st Century And Where It All Went Wrong*, visits similar locations and follows a similar pattern to O'Rourke's. However, for the more discerning reader Mueller invokes a deeper exploration of the political events leading up to the origins of the wars in question. Among other locations, Mueller visits Srebrenica, Belgrade, Kosovo and Gaza, always questioning why humans seem so prone to pluck war from the jaws of peace. Mueller is not the only one to question this recently in the mass media: a television documentary dedicated to the topic was produced in 2005 by Barna Alper, a Canadian company. This documentary, entitled *Dark Tourism* visits some heavily commodified tourism sites around the globe, including some of Sarajevo's war sites. The programme mixes narration with interviews with guides, park owners and tourists. Sites visited include Sarajevo, Karosta Port Naval Prison, Cambodia (where visitors can fire an AK47 or throw a live hand grenade), The Wolf's Lair (Hitler's eastern bunker) in Poland and Grūtas Park (known as Stalin World) in Lithuania. This hour long documentary condenses many of the academic themes on thanatourism in an easy to consume format. However, the breadth of appeal of reading about dark places in a tourism context fully emerged in late 2010, shortly before the submission of this thesis, with the publication of *The Dark Tourist: Sightseeing in the World's Most Unlikely Holiday Destinations* by well known British comedian and journalist Dom Joly. In *The Dark Tourist* Joly visits Beirut, North Korea, Iran and Chernobyl.

Returning to academic contextualisation of thanatourism, the theme of dedifferentiation arises at several points in the upcoming empirical chapters. Dedifferentiation and its relationship with thanatourism has been positioned as reflecting features of post-modernity and the nexus between post-modernity, the media, dedifferentiation and death will be interrogated next. As the notion has been considered before in theoretical explorations of thanatourism (Muzaini et al, 2007), the implications will be briefly considered here. The themes of replication and duplication can be usefully positioned against a backdrop of the dedifferentiation of leisure, as can a consumption of death. Lash (1990) and Rojek (1993) are two of the key authors on de-differentiation, and both arrive at the general consensus that everything is now feasible as a leisure activity. Many of these activities take place in largely ‘inauthentic’ back areas. Andrejevic’s book (2003) on reality TV for example could be used to examine dedifferentiation, where mundane routines for the celebrity become entertainment for the consumer at home. Examples in tourism which could be considered dedifferentiation of leisure, might include the four Digger World theme parks in the UK, where visitors ‘*have the opportunity to ride in, and drive, different types of construction machinery including Dumper Trucks, Mini Diggers and Giant Diggers*’. The opportunity to use heavy machinery for leisure purposes like at Digger World illustrates the emergence of back areas as attractive to the post-mass tourist. The Karosta Naval Port Prison in Liepaja, Latvia is another example of both a back area and of the de-differentiation of leisure. At this former military prison, which closed as a prison in 1997, tourists can pay to be treated like former inmates of the prison on a variety of tours, including an overnight stay.

To the admirers of especially extreme adventures a night show is offered. You will be able to live the part of a prisoner on a dismal night.

Karosta Naval Port Prison, (2009)

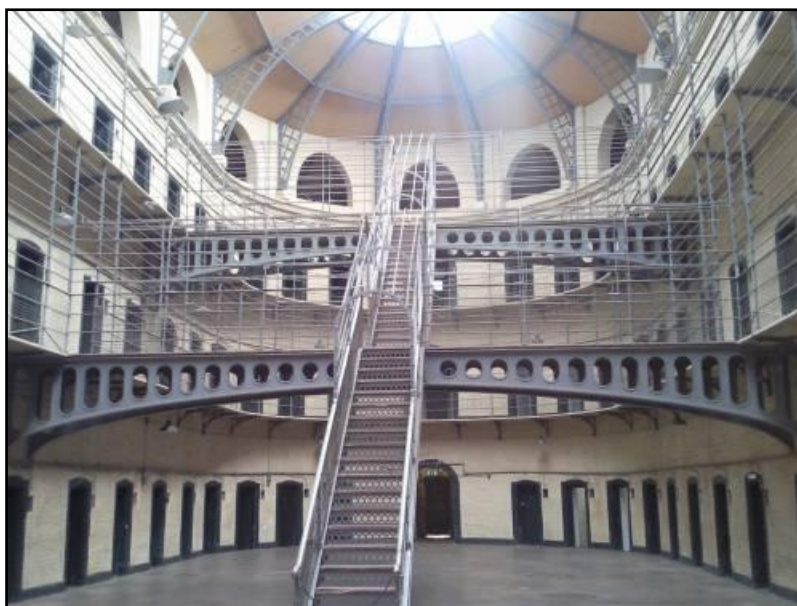


Image 2.1 – Kilmainham Gaol,
Dublin, May 2009

This type of dedifferentiated tourism activity could be considered as a form of spectacle, it appears that some tourism sites attempt to replicate the darker sides of humanity and represent them to tourists. Virilio's paper (2006) on The Museum of Accidents tells us that since the 1990s approximately 70% of large disasters (>\$35m) are man-made as opposed to natural catastrophes. Our industrialised societies have, far from promoting quietude, '*developed disquiet and major risk, and this even so if we leave out of account the recent proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.*' (2006:255). These disasters often become dark tourist sites themselves and this commodification process must be explored further. Virilio hints that television is to blame (or thank?) for this increase in the rise in spectacle, writing that '*Where the broadcasting of horror is concerned, television has, since the end of the last century, been the (live) site of a constant raising of the stakeswe are now seeing the sudden synchronisation of emotions*'. This showcasing of death and mortality, and the resulting rise in thanatopsis, writes Virilio, has replaced the media's previous obsession with sexual liberation and it now reflects and entices more on '*repulsion than on seduction*'; '*death will have replaced sex and the serial killer the Latin lover*', (2006:257) which provides the basis for the rise in spectacle.

This changing shift in voyeurism from sex to death in the media gave Virilio's idea of creating a museum of accidents the basis to come to fruition in 2002. The 'museum' involved a photographic display of hundreds of images, movies and webcams showcased international accidents at the Fondation Cartier Pour l'Art Contemporain in Paris for some 6 months. Virilio's work skilfully explores the media's role in the presentation of accidents and this will be developed throughout the thesis to examine links between these representations and the rise in thanatourism. Again elements of post-modernism are presented in Virilio's work on the accident as he questions the role of progress, and mainly technological progress, when he writes: *'All museology requires a museography, and the question of the presentation of the harm done by progress has not received any kind of answer: it therefore falls to us, as a primordial element of the project (establishing a museum of accidents), to provide one'* (2006:259). Virilio's premise is that if the accident is a result of the speed of progress in the twentieth century, we have reached a point where a need has emerged to commodify and analyse these incidents. But the commodification of death is certainly nothing new and a more critical approach is needed in its theoretical positioning.

One of our pleasantest visits was to Père Lachaise, the national buying-ground of France, the honoured resting-place of some of her greatest and best children, the last home of scores of illustrious men and women who were born to no titles, but achieved fame by their own energy and their own genius. It is a solemn city of winding streets and of winding miniature temples and mansions of the dead gleaming white from out a wilderness of foliage and fresh flowers. Not every city is so well peopled as this, or has so ample an area within its walls. Few places exist in any city that are so exquisite in design, so rich in art, so costly in material, so graceful, so beautiful.

(Twain, 1869:89)

The above section explores the intimations of post-modernity visualised by Lennon and Foley. However, their positioning lacks depth, which they acknowledge. Although Lennon and Foley position dark tourism as a feature of post-modern tourism, travel to sites associated with death and disaster is certainly nothing new, as highlighted repeatedly throughout the thesis by Mark Twain's representations of thanatourism from 1869. Seaton's work on Waterloo (1996) is the prime example of historical thanatourism in early modernity. Visits to cemeteries are well documented in Victorian times, as noted by the Twain

quote above and Etlin (1984). Twain's observations on the Coliseum point out the obvious selling of death in earlier times again. The idea that thanatopsis is a reaction inspired by the failures of modernity is thus inherently problematic.

Indeed, considering Stone's work (2009) on secularisation, graveyards could be presented as no longer inspiring the solemnity they used to. Death is arguably not contemplated as much at such spaces as it was in earlier time. Yet many cemeteries continue to attract large crowds, albeit if these crowds engage in different rituals and practices. Perhaps Walter's suggestion (2009) that we would have more to learn from studying interactions and experiences at these sites is worthy of exploration. Père Lachaise Cemetery in Paris is perhaps the most cited example, with tourists regularly visiting the graves of composers Bizet and Chopin, Jim Morrison of The Doors, literary author Oscar Wilde and singer Edith Piaf among many others. Tensions regularly arise in the graveyard, particularly between the descendents of the less famous people interred there and those who visit and occasionally deface the graves with directions to sections of the graveyard, usually towards Jim Morrison's grave.

In Ireland, Glasnevin Cemetery is a major tourist attraction. Glasnevin contains the graves of political leaders Daniel O'Connell, Charles Stewart Parnell, Michael Collins, Eamonn DeValera and Arthur Griffith and literary figures Constance Markiewicz, Brendan Behan and Christy Brown. The cemetery (Glasnevin Cemetery, 2008) has its own website which allows for an almost 'virtual thanatourism' by guiding the visitor around the cemetery, the architecture and ongoing projects. One of these projects, the Glasnevin Heritage Project, has produced two recent publications of interest to the 'dark tourist'. The first publication, *Glasnevin Cemetery - An Historic Walk* became the basis for the current walking tours of the cemetery, while the second, *Death And Design In Victorian Glasnevin* provided an examination of death, burial and commemoration in Victorian Irish society, again an example of the diminishing barriers of the sacred and profane. Other examples of cemeteries operating as sites of spectacle include the UK's Cemetery of the Year Awards 2008 (U.K. Cemetery Awards, 2008). These awards were established in 1997 'to encourage and reward high standards amongst the nation's cemeteries and to raise public

awareness of the importance of cemeteries, which can house a wealth of historical, ecological and sociological information.’ The award ceremonies include awards for different sizes of cemetery, cemetery design and maintenance, freedom of choice (in relation to tombs), crematoria and green burial sites. Other sections include awards for involving the community, pet burial sites and best memorial. Again, these new ways of viewing cemeteries highlights their changing role from sacred places to places of spectacle. Lennon and Foley (2000) posit this as dedifferentiation: the notion that in post-modern culture almost any activity could be pursued for leisure purposes.

The basis for the rise in spectacle in tourism is worthy of further exploration, particularly in the context of death and disaster heritage. The work of contemporary tourist writers helps to shed some light on this question, particularly by examining the work of those who study how places are commodified and sold. Edensor (2001) in particular writes about those who help to commodify tourist sites, noting that tourist spectacles are often contextualised by professional interpreters of customised travel. These guides help tourists to come to conclusions, albeit that they are rarely their own. The series of signage, including information boards, guidebooks, maps, plaques and memorials present the tourist with a discourse which gives the tourist a visual boundary of significant elements at a site. Coupling this with a tourist guide, whether public or private and the role of semiotics becomes evident in the tourist’s journey. These staged spectacles and information pathways inevitably draw the tourist, reducing disorientation and pointing them towards objects they may have familiarity with from the media, guidebooks and other agents of inorganic image formation. The signage directs tourists to act in a particular way and the implication of this writes Edensor (2001:74) is that you will not enjoy your activity as much if you do not follow a particular course of action. This direction of activities is of course dependent on the tourist’s own experiences which also affects their performances in particular tourist spaces. Edensor explores this notion by examining guidebook recommendations for what to do in Florence, noting the Rough Guide’s advice that to ‘*to enjoy a visit fully it’s best to ration yourself to a couple of big sights each day*’ (Buckley et al., 1991:43 in Edensor, 2001:74). This and other similar pieces of advice imply that the tourist will miss

out if he/ she does not act in a particular way. Of course this notion also applies to thanatourism sites, where guidebooks appear to make particular efforts to advise on decorum and gazes. Writing on Auschwitz for example, the tourist is told to *'make sure you receive your allotted time - some guides tell you to wander around Birkenau by yourself and to make your own way back to Auschwitz....In some ways, Birkenau is even more shocking than Auschwitz and there are far fewer tourists'* (Masters, 2007:570). Discourse like this will be explored in the guidebooks related to the Balkans, with particular discussion on the commodification of war sites and directed gazes on conflict.

The Glasnevin Cemetery Walking Tour discussed earlier, while an excellent example of the rise of spectacle in tourism, also illustrates the new boundaries enjoyed by research into thanatopsis and thanatourism. Could future research into contemplations of death consider virtual dark tourism, where consumers can consume both real and sated versions of death without actual visitation to the site? The role of the media is often discussed in relation to influencing thanatourism through repetition and duplication, but this role is ever changing and now the media is allowing real time access to the dark event itself. In late 2008, a teenager's suicide was watched by many as the event was streamed on free to air internet television. The suicide was committed by a 19 year old from Florida who overdosed on anti-depressants. Over the several hours' long suicide, viewers both encouraged and discouraged the teenager to continue the act. After many hours viewing the teenager's overdose, the police were finally notified and acted to stop the broadcast (Steller, 2008). However, this was not the first time an internet suicide had taken place. Five years prior to this a young man from Arizona overdosed on drugs while broadcasting the act to a dozen chat room friends. The chatroom friends reportedly encouraged the man to commit the act, with one urging him to *'...eat more. I wanna see if you survive or just black out.'* (Craig, 2003). In Britain last year, a man hanged himself while chatting online and webcasting, encouraged by one viewer to *'type on the keyboard if you're dead please? W****r! He can't even kill himself properly. Who does he think he is, Saddam Hussein?'* (Goldby, 2007). Televised euthanasia has also occurred. In late 2008 many newspapers and other media outlets reported that an assisted suicide in Switzerland would be shown live on

SKY Television. The suicide was carried out by a retired professor, Craig Ewert from the UK, who did not want to spend the rest of his days in a *‘living tomb’*, (Luft, 2007). The Guardian’s review called the programme ‘a sober and clear-headed look at how these decisions were reached,’ while Ewert’s widow claimed that she hoped the documentary would *‘help to alleviate the terror of death’*.

Further developing on the place of technology in the contemplation of death, Harrison writes that no amount of advanced technological innovation or progress in biomedical science which prolongs life indefinitely can absolve us from the moment of mortality.

Endless prolongation of life does not lead to absolution. Mortality is absolved only by dying. The destruction of place that is occurring almost everywhere at present, and that has been occurring for some time now, is linked in part to an anxious and even more frenzied flight from death.

(Harrison, 2003:32)

Considering this passage in terms of what Harrison writes earlier, that we are not fully modern as we *‘settle our debts merely by ignoring them,’* it appears as if he believes that our aim is to defeat mortality by a combination of both ignoring it and of using technology to prolong life. This is ultimately not possible however, as while life may be prolonged, death will still exist and thus does thanatopsis. Despite this disavowing of the inevitability of death, it is clear that technology plays a role in thanatopsis beyond that of biomedical science and there are many such examples of this throughout the literature. Plastination for example, the process used by the various body exhibitions to preserve human corpses for display, would not be possible were it not for recent advances in technology. Likewise, virtual thanatourism could not exist in its current form without technology and the media. Other examples, such as when technology fails spectacularly, like in the Lennon and Foley (2000) cited case of the Titanic, often results in a dark tourism spectacle. Furthermore, audio visual displays which feature in the rise in spectacle debate rely largely on technology. The list could go on to include discussion on memorialisation, mobility and replication.

The author therefore posits the notion that technology facilitates the consumption of thanatourism more than it camouflages thanatopsis.

Moving away from technology and back to the manifestations of tragic events themselves, some journalists have documented the rise in spectacle in the context of the media and thanatourism. An excellent recent example is the creation of a border-crossing theme park in central Mexico. This park is described as extreme adventure tourism and entails:

...a five-hour trek that goes well past midnight. Residents pay to walk in mud past their ankles, balance on ledges – in pitch black – that drop steeply, and sprint across corn fields, kicking up dirt and rocks as they run from fake US border patrol officers dressed in camouflage.

(Llana, 2008)

The tour began in 2006 and has since attracted over 3000 visitors, each paying \$125. Various motivations exist for taking part writes Llana, including curiosity, desire for adventure and empathy with past émigrés. One such visitor Llana interviews tells us that there is an educational value to all of this. *'We get so immersed in our lives that we forget how much other people suffer,'* says Estrada, from Mexico City, who came with eight family members this time, including her 12-year-old son. *'I don't want this to just be fun for him. I want him to take home the message.'* Two other, lighter hearted, points also emerge from the article. Llana discusses whether this theme park and spectacle could actually be used for training purposes for those wishing to enter the United States, which is an argument rejected by the town's municipal leader. The park, he says, is a replica attempt of the Mexican-US border, but a long way from the real thing. The second observation which Llana makes is that many returning Mexicans who worked in the construction industry in Las Vegas may have returned with entrepreneurial ideas on themed tourism.

A final example for this section on the rise in spectacle occurs in Seaton & Lennon (2004), who discuss the work carried out by Professor Gunther Von Hagens in recent years. Von Hagens tours the world with plastinated bodies in his Body Worlds exhibition. This show displays human corpses to the general public and Von Hagens has also carried out televised and public autopsies, which have generally had large, but controversial receptions. Plastinated bodies

preserve the corpse and the Body Worlds exhibition carries the preserved bodies of both humans and other mammals. This exhibition has toured the UK, North America and continental Europe. Von Hagens has said that his grand goal is the founding of a '*Museum of Man*' where exhibits of human anatomy can be permanently shown (Daily Planet, 2007). In 2002, Von Hagens, despite interest from the London Metropolitan Police, carried out the first public autopsy in the UK in several hundred years. The autopsy was subsequently broadcast and the show received 130 complaints, but was ruled to be neither sensationalist nor in breach of broadcasting rules. Another similar show, *Bodies, The Exhibition* (2008) also tours internationally and describes its work as allowing the visitor to '*...Take the opportunity to peer inside yourself, to better understand how your elaborate and fascinating body works, and how you can become a more informed participant in your own health care.*'



Image 2.2 Von Hagen's Body World's Exhibition
(Body Worlds, <http://www.bodyworlds.com/en.html>, 2010)

2.3 Secularisation and New Moral Spaces

Moving away from postmodernity, this next section will expand on the commodification of thanatourism sites by examining the notion of secularisation contributing to a new search for moral spaces. In particular the anxieties felt by those who visit thanatourism sites (and the moral quandaries which ensue) will be explored to assess if this is a potentially valid reason for increases in thanatourism site visitation. Stone (2009) writes that this is a topical debate in modern travel media, where authors, and particularly journalists, report steadily on thanatourism and the moral concerns of providing and visiting these sites. The media has paid particular attention to the development of thanatourism sites over the past decade. There are dozens of articles across many newspapers dealing with the topic. Although these articles often sensationalise thanatourism,

the media allows thanatourism to be considered within a particular environment and framework, generally positing dark tourists as thrill seekers or adventure tourists looking for something different. The journalists discussing it thus help to give the sites a resurgent meaning and Stone (2009) explores a variety of these articles in an attempt to theorise how an increasingly secular society has cultivated an isolation process for the now morally confused individual. One such example to be considered is the former site of the World Trade Centre at Ground Zero in New York. Stone discusses the work of a journalist at the site who notes that the *'hustle of commerce hawking to the crush of sightseers has prompted some to call it September 11 World.'* (Blair, NY Times, 2002 in Stone, 2009). This theme park styling of site of the Twin Towers is also picked up on by Lisle (2004), who notes the voyeuristic tendencies of those who visited the site in the early days, transforming it from a space of mediation where sympathisers who wished to touch the real, themselves inadvertently turned it into one of New York's most prominent tourist attractions. Arguing the case for further thanatourism research, Lisle continues by writing that sites like the World Trade Centre force us *'to confront difficult questions about how we locate, interpret and consume sites of disaster.'* Indeed journalists seem to have picked up on these questions and notions and in recent years have begun to explore the developing thanatourism spaces, often providing their own explanations for why tourists visit these sites. Bennet (2008) writes that the travellers who visit these sites are *'smug, not ethical'* and visit the thanatourism location *'undiminished by boycotts, wars, climate change and anything else that consistency, decency and good taste can throw at them'*. Vuk (2009) asks similar questions of herself as she visits the sites associated with the Khmer Rouge and Choeung Ek, wondering why she is *'deriving ghoulish pleasure from sites associated with death or suffering'* and if she is really just another *'trauma tourist drawn to the sideshow of the macabre'*.

Stone (2009) begins to explore this emerging narrative of moral panic. Although he acknowledges that much of the commentary emerging in the media may originate from a primarily bourgeois press, he counters that in recent years there has simply been too much coverage to ignore. Many of these comments have been superficial, selective and based on hunches, he writes, although given the

contentious nature of the practice of thanatourism, they were inevitable. This commentary needs to be contextualised within academic work on morality – particularly by examining secularisation and individualism. Stone (2009) writes that in modern times we have witnessed an increasing secularisation of moral society. This has resulted in new questions about morality, mortality and the spaces and times in which we reside; with thanatourism and discussions about commodification and interpretation of dissonant heritage sites offering vast opportunity for contemporary discourse on new moral spaces. He continues by describing how in western societies politicians in recent years have adopted a politics of fear, quoting several UK examples of politicians planning to mend communities and society. This task of moral policing of society is built upon *‘individuals’ sense of moral confusion and ineptitude*’ (Stone, 2009:61). As a consequence individuals have turned to new spaces to seek answers to their moral confusion: in contemporary society secular values have helped to detach the individual from any sense of obligation towards religious institutions. Stone hints that this has created a spiritual wilderness and that the processes of individualisation and secularisation have created a (Western) people who are mostly reliant on themselves for moral instruction. The result of this of course is that new spaces and non-traditional institutions are sought by the ‘confused’ who need a new medium from which to draw moral meanings.

Needless to say, the growth of pilgrimage in modern society is not solely reflective of secularisation. Travel did of course operate beforehand as a moral space in which individuals and communities sought meaning through the act of travel. Stone describes how in the growth in pilgrimage visitors often repudiate against organised religion. He writes that it is ideal to consider dark tourism within the work of Emile Durkheim, particularly the notion of collective effervescence. He argues that people visiting dark tourism spaces can experience an emotional rush of energy and a social binding which influences and informs their discourses about morality. As these spaces are generally considered as spaces which are filled with moral ambiguities, Stone writes that people attending these sites are generally trying to comprehend the moment of mortality. E.g., for those visiting Ground Zero, do they consider the final moments of those in the World Trade Centre? (Memorials left in the visitors’

centre and the notes on the walls would suggest they do). Individuals attempt to seek moral meanings from new spaces, thus constructing a '*new moral order mediated by collectivities of embodied individuals who are emotionally engaged with their social world*' (Stone, 2009:60). This idea of collective effervescence and the embodiment process helps to illustrate how dark tourists attempt to engage with newly energised and revitalised space. Stone contends that these people, (i.e. thanatourists), suffering from secularisation, have the opportunity at sites of dark tourism to re-engage with their mortality by using the backdrop of tragedy or political conflict. These revitalised spaces can be either positively or negatively revitalised. Of course, this notion must be questioned more deeply. Is there really genuine moral panic at dark tourism sites? Or is this a media phenomenon? Stone argues that the sites represent morality so that mortality can be communicated. However, for many dark tourists, visiting these sites and the range of emotions they display upon visiting is simply conforming to the culture of what is expected of them at a site. Despite this, most commentary on thanatourism, as noted above, seems to posit that thanatourism is to be viewed as a '*vessel to expel our own miseries*' (Halley, 2004). But can it also be used as a lens to perceive secularisation? In western societies does increasing distance from the church result in a spiritual desert? If so, this interior emptiness and the recognition of secularisation of religion could account for the rise in thanatourism. The now isolated individual needs to seek meaning and solace in a new world and thus, new moral spaces are created.

2.4 Thanatopsis and a sociology of death

Rojek opens his chapter on Fatal Attractions with the lines;

'Fatality is a striking feature in the landscape of postmodernism. The excremental culture which Kroker and Cook (1986) and Baudrillard (1990) negotiate, is choking with mass produced commodities, simulated images and self-negating utopias. Meaning has been replaced with spectacle and sensation dominates value. What evidence is there in contemporary leisure forms to support this assertion.'
(Rojek, 1999:195)

Rojek's opening comments to this subchapter add an extra element to considering thanatourism within the ever-shifting boundaries of a sociology of death, almost offering a notion that an interest in fatality itself is a concept

worthy of consideration. If we consider the ‘*too dark*’ tourist (Pickard 2007:124), i.e., those who visit sites which are still warzones, are not yet ready to accommodate visitors or who travel to witness death itself, there is certainly a compelling argument that the context of post-modernism is an appropriate one with which to consider this extreme thanatourism. This extreme thanatourist, influenced by the media and themselves commoditising spaces of disaster, perhaps has more in common with post-modernity than the more commonly cited examples of almost mass thanatourism. The argument will be presented that the extreme thanatourist wishes to touch the raw history, rather than to encourage monuments to do their memory work for them. It appears from the literature that the function of the monument is to bring witnesses closer to memories and/or guilt they never had (Heynen, 1999). But perhaps tourists don’t want to visit sites and monuments where the meaning has been buried by constructed realities, or by religious and/ or political agendas. Perhaps the interest is purely in viewing the scars of war, the realities of tragedy or the horrors of death itself. Again this raises questions about authenticity, especially in terms of preservation – at what point does a preserved bullet hole or shell mark become a monument to the event. The author suggests that once a decision is made to preserve a scar it almost ceases to be a scar and becomes a monument to the past, a notion discussed later in the chapter.

As noted previously, thanatourism is often posited as an act synonymous with the post modern culture, (Lennon & Foley, 2000, Muzaini et al, 2007, Dunkley, 2007). Post mass-tourism travel to witness death, disaster and destruction has various spatial characteristics which lend itself to consideration within the remit of post-modernism. However, this postmodernist consideration is somewhat misleading as one could envisage a temporal element to this type of travel, which many authors are careful to acknowledge is inaccurate. Lennon and Foley (2000) for example write that since ancient times the general population have had an obsession with destruction and actual and representations of death. Considering early religious rituals, the Coliseum, public executions, hangings, more recent warfare (Waterloo for example, see Seaton, 1999) and the architecture of death it quickly becomes evident that to overstate the temporal relationship between thanatourism and post-modernism would be disingenuous.

For many years people have contemplated and travelled to witness death in a variety of situations. This argument is picked up by Etlin (1984) who discusses the architecture of death in 18th century Paris. He notes the chilling images of the *memento mori* for example, which served to remind the Christian population of their own mortality. These *memento mori*, and specifically in Etlin's work, ornate Parisian cemeteries laden with images of death, inhabited the public spaces of the city from the end of the 14th century. These spaces had an ancillary function of shocking the viewers into appreciations of the universality of death. Etlin notes the *danse macabre*, the late-medieval allegory on death which visually reinforced the physical, universal and complete aspects of death. This allegory, usually presented as a gothic painting, included people from all ranks of society and vibrantly illustrated the fragility of life. Its origins in sermons were represented in art in the coming decades, the earliest appearing in Paris on Rue de la Ferronnerie in 1424. This occurred at the same time as a change in burial practices which involved burying the cadaver until decomposition was complete and then exhuming the bones and displaying them in the charniers. This provides an argument that death inhabited some of the same public spaces as the general population, teaching them '*a vivid lesson about mortality*' (Etlin, 1984:5). Etlin writes that a fascination with the mysteries of life and death continued, particularly in the field of anatomy where partially dissected bodies '*served as an occasion for frightful speculations on death*' (1984:5). However, as time progressed new burial practices emerged and the architecture of cemeteries changed. Death began to become obscured from public view and people no longer lived in the intimate company of such imagery and representations. New locations for cemeteries represented both a physical and spiritual void between the living and the deceased. This point is picked up by Stone (2009) who notes that today, exhibitions like Gunther Von Hagen's Body Worlds, help the public to overcome their taboos with death, removing the disenchantment which transpired in the modern period. Post-modern spaces like the various body exhibitions increasingly allow for the commodification of death and its consumption.

Stone examines the origins of the modern taboo with death, resolving that the negation of religious values in everyday life meant also a secularisation of death.

Experiences and meanings moved from public space to the individual's private life, serving to '*both reduce massively the scope of the sacred and to leave increasing numbers of individuals alone with the task of establishing and maintaining values to guide them and make sense of their daily lives*' (Stone, 2009:27). This idea of the individual gaining control over their own spiritual guidance is explored by Stone using the work of Giddens (1991), who discusses ontological security, or the idea that a range of institutions help us to bracket out of our everyday lives questions about existence and the social frameworks which direct our very being. Death therefore only becomes associated with '*fateful moments and marginal situations, whereby individuals have to confront problems which society has attempted to conceal from public consciousness*' (Stone, 2009:28). Miles (2002) offers further depth to this notion of a 'pure' contemplation of death. Thanatourism he writes, has a scale. There is a difference between sites *associated with* death and disaster and sites *of* death and disaster. Using Auschwitz as an example he writes that visits to sites associated with death and disaster can be characterised as dark tourism. Auschwitz is regularly cited as a dark tourism site example throughout this thesis. The site is without doubt the pinnacle of dark tourism; few experiences can match the depth of despair felt by many visitors to the death camp. Although authors have hinted at the 'Disneyfication' of the camp, those who visit can often be seen leaving pale and in tears. Could this be because of the sheer numbers of the dead? The author proposes that it is certainly a factor. Yet Auschwitz's position as a death camp needs further investigation. The camp itself is not just a normal location where death happened. Hundreds of thousands of Jews were transported there with the sole intention of killing them. By its very nature it is thus an exceptionally abnormal place. The synonymous nature of a town's name with death is particularly problematic for residents (Bowlby, 2010). While Srebrenica or other sites of massacre also have strong semantic relationships with death, they do not reach the same pinnacle for one simple reason. The camp of Auschwitz and its very existence was primarily to administer death (although acknowledging labour and other activities). The other locations were everyday spaces, utilised to carry out whatever tragedy unfolded, giving them a different geographical dimension when compared to others. This is particularly relevant in Yugoslavia where the topological nature

of some sites greatly affects their positioning in the thanatourism ‘market’. This type of dark tourism enjoys a locational authenticity which other inorganic sites, like the Holocaust Museum in DC, cannot compete with. This spatial element can prove critical in the presentation of death; even if as Miles (2002) writes it has no particular temporal advantage over the inauthentic museum. The pure dark tourism sites evoke unparalleled emotion simply through their name and location and for such ‘attractions’ to be successful they must engender a degree of empathy between the tourist and victim. Miles continues by noting that these sites do not need memorialisation. *‘Why construct a monument at a former extermination camp? Is not the historical site itself a monument?’* (Spielmann in Miles, 2002:1176). Of course this type of memorialisation is particularly evident at sites of death and disaster in general, and the quote from Hilde Heynen below illustrates to some degree the rationale behind our ‘obsession’ with memorialisation everything.

The logic of ‘monumentalisation’ intended to commemorate, or to radiate power, indeed belongs to the nineteenth century grand narrative of modernity, to the narrative of progress and enlightenment. In this logic monuments contribute to people’s sense of history and of belonging. Newly built monuments corroborate the world view of the dominant class, by carving in stone their interpretation of their historical and cultural identity.

(Heynen, 1999:375)

Stone (2009:43) writes that those interested in thanatopsis are now beginning to explore the spaces in which death is contemplated, i.e., *‘where the dead share the world with the living’*. He notes the work of Harrison (2003:39) who discusses our memorialisation of the dead. *‘To inhabit the world humanly’*, Harrison writes, *‘one must be a creature of legacy. That explains why the living housed the dead before they housed themselves. They placed them in graves, coffins, urns – in any case they placed them in something that we call their resting place so that their legacies could be retrieved and their afterlives perpetuated.’* This notion of legacy is certainly evident at many thanatourism sites. Elvis Presley, for example, through a myriad of processes of replication and duplication, almost ‘lives on’ at Graceland. John F Kennedy’s life in the United States leaves a solid legacy for tourists at the JFK museum in Boston, as does his death and final moments in Dallas, Texas and the various sites

associated with his shooting. Commodification of Michael Jackson's death also began within days of his passing, Wilkening (2009). Post-conflict regions also leave a lasting legacy for future generations of locals and tourists. The memorialised landscape which is emerging in the Balkans post 1996 certainly highlights the legacy of the war. World War 2 legacy is extensively covered in the literature and as mentioned many times in this thesis features themes of death and rational planning (Auschwitz), the failings of liberal democracy (at places associated with Nazi party origins), the misuse of technology (Hiroshima and Nagasaki) and many more which have left a lasting legacy of conflict and tragedy on the landscape. Other examples in the dark tourism literature explore the legacy of communism (Light, 2000), prison heritage legacy (Strange and Kempa, 2003) and many other themes. Harrison (2003) explores this concept of legacy somewhat further and throughout his book, based on the notion that:

'...Our basic human institutions – religion, matrimony, and burial, if one goes along with Giambattista Vico, but also law, language, literature, and whatever else relies on the transmission of legacy – are authored, always and from the very start, by those who came before. The awareness of death that defines human nature is inseparable from – indeed it arises from – our awareness that we are not self authored, that we follow in the footsteps of the dead. Everywhere one looks across the spectrum of human cultures one finds the foundational authority of the predecessor. Nonhuman species obey only the law of vitality, but humanity in its distinctive features is through and through necrocratic.'

(Harrison, 2003:IX)

This notion of legacy having intrinsic links with death is worthy of further exploration. To begin, it appears in the literature that one of the principal reasons for the existence of the monument lies in function as a legacy preserver. Heynen, (1999:369) writes that monuments serve a somewhat paradoxical function – on one hand they are currently attracting ever more visitors, but conversely these visitors no longer grasp the real meaning of the monument as a connector to the past. This has resulted in a changing role of the monument. Heynen continues by noting that the role of the museum has also changed: no longer is it a preserver of history, perused solely by the elite who wish to gaze on their legacy and relive their history. Now the museum, through the rise of spectacle has become a mass medium, communicating instant entertainment to an inherently amnesia blighted audience. This collective forgetting, writes

Lippard (1999:119) is perhaps the '*ultimate tragedy*', and historical tours, billed as educational fun attempt to counter this onset of amnesia. The difficulty in this amnesia lies in assessing the power of what remains at a particular landscape. Lippard questions, for example, whether a well restored torture chamber holds more value than a poignant ruin. A difficult question to address, and one which will doubtless invoke themes of authenticity and spectacle in its consideration. This question of restoration can easily be considered in terms of the countries of the former Yugoslavia. Do tourists wish to visit scars or monuments? Do they wish to touch the raw history? Or do they prefer monuments to do their memory work for them? And indeed, when does a preserved scar turn the corner and in itself become a monument?

Discourses on landscapes of memory may provide an extra vehicle with which to explore dark tourism. When a memorialised landscape moves a significant 'distance' from the original event (in terms of time), can the memorial features of the landscape begin to facilitate the arrival of dark tourism? The battlefields of World War I and World War II provide opportunity to interrogate this notion (without ignoring the presence of entrepreneurial activity at these sites – such as the tours offered by Battlefield Tours (<http://www.battlefieldtours.org.uk/>)). The heavily memorialised landscape of World War I, particularly in Northern France and Belgium, is a major attraction to tourists visiting the region. The Somme and Flanders attract military enthusiasts engaged in 'field-walking', gathering shells and battlefield souvenirs. At Verdun, where over 300,000 lost their lives, this is not permitted and warning information on tourism websites discourages visitors from pursuing this activity. However, maps, battlefield pamphlets, guidebooks and guides exist to facilitate first time visitors to the site, where they essentially walk on a mass grave.

Landscapes of memory cannot fully explain the presence of dark tourism but the literature on the subject can certainly contribute to the framework. Battlefield tourism is popular even in the heat of the battle – Seaton's paper on Waterloo, mentioned earlier, illustrates this, as will later evidence from Yugoslavia – but as time passes and the site becomes temporally distant, the 'attractiveness' of the site may move from having spectacle value to having remembrance or

memorialisation attributes. Memory discourses therefore serve a useful purpose and this is a well explored area in terms of landscape (see Heynen, 1999, Winter, 1998, Gold & Gold, 2003). Landscapes of memory have also been recently examined from a thanatourism perspective, with papers from Dunkley et al (2011) exploring tourism to World War I trenches at the Somme and Ypres and Hyde and Harman's (2011) paper examining secular pilgrimages to the Gallipoli battlefields. Dunkley et al discuss visitor motivations to visit WWI sites, resolving that the personal life-histories of the tourist greatly influence the tourist experience at the site. Recognition of the subjective ways of seeing plays a central role and tourists visit battlefields for reasons ranging from entertainment to cultural education. Hyde and Harman's paper explores a similar theme: identifying motives for one case of secular pilgrimage (Gallipoli), also resolving that '*the distinct variations in motives of Australians, New Zealanders, British and other nationalities for a visit to the Gallipoli battlefields confirms that each brings to the site differing preconceptions of what the site means to them*' (2011: 7). Hyde and Harman also acknowledge that while motives can be tied to important values, some journeys are more meaningful than others.

However, rather than dwelling on the motivational and experience discourses, this section proposes to further develop the memory-death-tourism nexus by examining lesser known sites – those which are absent from memory. There are few thanatourism sites, if indeed any, which have not been memorialised in some way. The word tourism seems to indicate some form of commodification. Perhaps looking at forgotten sites, i.e. those which simply disappeared from public consciousness can provide clues as to the role of memorialisation in dark tourism. Parry (2009) proposes a hierarchy of dark tourism, questioning why many tragic events are left un-memorialised. The question arises from the flawed premise that death or disaster will automatically be adopted into public consciousness. Parry uses the example of under-memorialised World War 2 sites – many of which have horrific histories, yet remain relatively unmarked and unknown on the tourism landscape. There is no reason why these sites should indeed be considered tourist attractions, other than when placed alongside other sites of death and disaster, they are little known by the public. The first site Parry discusses is entitled Buschmannshof, located in Voerde, Germany.

Referring to a 1968 work by William Manchester, Parry tells how Buschmannshof was a ‘concentration camp’ during the war, yet unlike Birkenau, Dachau or Sachsenhausen, it contained no fences, walls, guards or barbwire stakes. This is because all the inmates were infants under the age of two years, all extremely weak and malnourished. Buschmannshof guarded several hundred infants during the war, almost all of whom were born to Eastern European workers. These migrants worked as slave labourers for a small factory, owned by the Krupp family. The captive children were poorly cared for and in excess of 100 died from ‘general weakness’, ‘malnutrition’ and ‘undernourishment’ (Manchester 1968:562, 563, 566). Although there was no evidence of torture or deliberate policies of extermination, the end result was the same – nameless death, just as at Auschwitz, Sachsenhausen or Dachau.

Yet, the site of Buschmannshof, at which the most vulnerable were held, contains no memorial and has little reference in the literature. It is not memorialised and not visited by dark tourists. This short case study does not seek to question if there should be interpretation at Buschmannshof but rather seeks to speculate at why some sites seem to be forgotten and absent from the tourist landscape. If such a site had been adopted into the public memory could there now be a state museum, as at Auschwitz, albeit on a much smaller scale? Would this museum be visited by tourists? The lack of a memorial and interpretation at this site means it is difficult for tourists to know it exists, let alone to find its location, history or current role.

Manchester visited the site in 1968 to find it totally unmarked and it was only by carrying out detailed research into the Nuremburg Trials that he began to piece together the story. He estimates that over 100 infants died in this camp during the war, all of whom were buried in a nearby cemetery at Waldrfriederhof. In 1968 Manchester visited the infants’ graves, finding that they were in a bad state of repair after only 23 years. He estimated that in another decade (by 1978) the graves would have disappeared entirely. In addition he notes that as the Allies closed in towards the end of the war, any surviving infants (it is not known how many) were placed on a train to Thuringia, 200 miles from the hostilities, where they were never heard of again. When the mothers returned to the camp after the

war's end, they found the unpainted barracks deserted. Many heinous crimes were committed at concentration camps during World War II, and many of these crimes are part of the national memory. The author spent much time searching through the literature for other references to the Children of the Buschmannshof without any success. Local tourism officials could not provide any clues and it appears that there is no memorial at the site. It is clear that the history of the Buschmannshof has not been prioritised and has more or less disappeared from the public memory. Yet, in a tourism context, why do some sites suffer such a fate with their horrible histories sliding away from public view?

Parry continues by noting equally 'non commemorated' atrocities on the side of the Allies. In July 1940, shortly after France had signed an armistice with Germany, Britain attacked French naval positions in French Algeria. The British did not want the French fleet to end up as part of the German navy, which it felt could potentially happen as a result of the armistice. After some communication and misinterpretation much of the French fleet was destroyed by the British, killing 1,297 naval staff in the process. Again, this piece of inconvenient history seems to be less commemorated than the major battles and losses of life of WW2. The dead were buried in Algeria, and although the cemetery was cared for by the Algerian Army up until the early 1990s, the uprising meant that the graves at the port of Mers-el-Kebir are now vandalised. There is relatively little by way of memorialisation.

Other examples of a lack of commemoration of World War II events exist in maritime history. Parry notes how if questioned on maritime disasters and loss of life at sea, people generally use the Titanic as a reference point, despite much larger numbers perishing in other disasters. The German ships which were torpedoed by the Russian army were all carrying huge numbers of passengers. The Steuben, The Goya and the Wilhelm Gustloff liners lost 4,500, 6,000 and approx 9,000 people between them. The wreckage of The Steuben has only recently been visited and like the incidents at Mers-El-Kebir is 'heritage that hurts', (Uzzell & Ballantyne, 1998). An exhibition dealing with the loss of life among the German refugee population opened in Berlin in 2006 and was met with criticism, as it "relativised the history of the World War II" (Moore, 2006).

Three other sites which are arguably lesser known than the main 'tourist attractions' of World War II are the villages of Oradour Sur Glane in France, Sant'Anna di Stazzema in Italy and Lidice in the Czech Republic. All three villages were destroyed by SS forces during the war, killing civilian populations of 642, 560 and 192 people respectively. Although there is memorialisation at these sites it could be argued that they do not feature in mainstream public consciousness on World War II. The concentration camp of Maly Trostenets in Belarus provides a final example of under commemoration. Nothing remains of the camp other than a row of trees planted by the camp's inmates, yet it was originally estimated that somewhere between 200,000 and half a million were exterminated here. The Yad Vashem resource centre in Israel has now revised this figure to approximately 65,000, with 200,000 people being killed in the Trostinets area. The camp was completely destroyed as the Germans pulled out. Although a small memorial exists here (and plans to redevelop the site with visitor facilities in the future do exist), it is unlikely it will ever feature in public consciousness to the degree of Sachsenhausen or Auschwitz. Likewise Bogdanovka (Romania), Jasenovac (Croatia) and Sajmište (Croatia) are probably less well known than Dachau, Bergen Belsen and Buchenwald despite relatively similar numbers perishing in all three. Various reasons exist for this absence in the public consciousness, yet the end result is the same in dark tourism terms – far fewer visitors.

The questions above highlight many of the issues in contemporary dark tourism research. Heynen's paper, noted earlier, although focussing on architecture and its use in identity creation, inadvertently helps to answer some of these questions. The increasing desire to visit thanatourism sites which has occurred in recent years may be connected to the creation of monuments. Lippard (1999) discusses the creation of memorials at sites of tragic tourism, analysing their impacts on tourists (both actual and potential). She writes that more visitors each year visit the sites associated with the Holocaust than died in the Holocaust itself, with 900,000 annually visiting Dachau, 750,000 visiting Auschwitz, 600,000 visiting the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam and 1.25 million visiting Yad Vashem in Jerusalem. These numbers appear to have increased since Lippard's 1999 piece, breaking the million barrier (1,002,902) at the Anne

Frank House in 2007 (Anne Frank Museum Amsterdam, 2008) and at Auschwitz (1.1 million in 2008 - Auschwitz State Museum, 2009). It is difficult to highlight this increase without questioning the reasons. Did increased mobility, greater wealth and lower airfares all play a part in a similar way to the growth of mass tourism?

Lippard (1999:120) continues her discussion on monuments by noting that scholarly debates centre around '*what to focus on, what degree of realism is palatable or offensive, (and) who gets the last say about the wording on the markers*'. These arguments should be considered in terms of the monument's location, actual and intended audiences, ownership, commitment and agenda. Lippard notes that these very techniques and considerations often result in the memorial doing more to hide the past than to preserve it. Charlesworth & Addis (2002:231) use the example of concentration camp photography, highlighting that we may have black and white images in our mind when we consider the Holocaust. Recent attempts have been made to correct this, and also to make it part of our present with photographic displays of Dachau in '*cheerful sunlight*' (Lippard, 1999:121). Charlesworth & Addis also notes the similar dissonance we might experience when considering the ghastly images of the Holocaust. Primo Levi, the famous writer survivor of Auschwitz wrote on his return about the '*barrenness of the landscape*' (Levi in Charlesworth & Addis 2002:231), which obviously contrasts starkly to Levene's questioning whether a prisoner could see a '*dandelion's spring bloom and see that weed's vivid green and yellow colour?*' (Levene in Charlesworth 2002:231). Lippard continues this discussion, writing that encouraging monuments to do our memory work for us is fraught with difficult. They serve (1999:128) as '*reliquaries, repositories for the memories we prefer not to carry around with us*'. However, this is arguably one of three functions for the modern monument. In addition to carrying out our memory work for us, the second function of monuments is to help in the grieving process. Lippard writes that by allowing the victim to exorcise the memories of the tragic event, monuments can help to give closure to the survivors. She talks about the burying of a friend and how the ritual can offer '*periodic catharsis*', although she contends that such rituals are, for obvious reasons, not suitable at all dark tourism sites. This function of the monument

deserves further exploration and will be returned to at a later point in the thesis. In the meantime it is necessary to focus on the tourist function of the monument, particularly examining those at dark tourism sites. Monuments such as these, as they move further from the original event in both time, space and meaning, can begin to attract the dark tourist and facilitate the rise in spectacle. Often this spectacle is relished by those with voyeuristic tendencies as many museums and monuments memorialise tragic events, such as conflict, crime, social issues and natural catastrophes, (Lippard, 1999).

This interest in death and legacy has been covered by other writers. Harrison (2003) takes a particular interest in the sea, with his first chapter in *The Dominion of the Dead* focussing almost entirely on the sea and representations of tragedy at sea in both fictional and non-fictional literature. In particular, he uses the sea to provide a unique geographical contextualisation of humanity's desire to leave an earthly legacy for future generations. The sea, Harrison writes (2003:11, 12), has an '*...irresponsibility, [a] refusal or inability to respond to human appeal*'. The sea is unearthly – whereas the earth '*...rewards backbreaking labour with generous harvests, or gives us the ground on which to build our destinies, commemorate our achievements and honour our dead.*' The sea, on the other hand, is '*dumb to human petition and defies any and all humanisation*'. He notes that the sea, in its vastness, does not allow for markers to the dead. Erasure of the dead is total: not only will the dead disappear and be absorbed, the site of the disappearance will remain unmarkable. Perhaps this signals why there such strong interests remain in maritime folklore and tragedies such as the sinking of the Titanic or the Marie Celeste, both of which will be returned to later. This inability to carry out the commemorative process as one would on land, or to in some way mark the site and passing creates an unceasing grief. Harrison continues by writing, '*There are no gravestones on the sea. History and memory ground themselves on inscription, but this element is uninscribable. It closes over rather than keeps the place of its dead, while its unbounded grave remains humanly unmarked.*' (Harrison, 2003:12). The very notion of a fluidity in tourism sites can be countered solely by the landscape of the sea, which by its very nature features little change. It is the one place where humanity finds it difficult to leave a permanent legacy.

Lennon and Foley (2000) discuss the rise in spectacle throughout their book on dark tourism, particularly focussing on repetition and duplication. They use the example of the Stephen Spielberg film, *Schindler's List*, which tells the story of a German who saved the lives of 1300 Jews in Krakow during World War 2. When creating the film, Spielberg not only recreated the Płaszów forced labour camp outside Krakow as a film set, but he also recreated the deportation from the ghettos to Auschwitz-Birkenau, filming outside the Birkenau gates for a number of days. The film uses a classic plot, there is a clear passing of time and obviously only limited coverage can be given to the broader Holocaust issues. This classic Hollywood narrative, write Foley and Lennon, is necessary for effect and market appeal. This reconstruction and the potential repetition which can occur for 'Schindler tourists' therefore creates a flawed narrative of the Holocaust as the events being interpreted are somewhat trivialised. It is obviously beyond the remit of one film to present and tackle the larger genocide question, yet it is impossible to ignore the effect of the repetition created by films like *Schindler's List*. This repetition through the media constructs a new reality for many of the viewers or consumers and when this is considered in terms of dark tourism, it can have a significant impact on the destination marketing image of a particular place. Similar instances of repetition and duplication may have occurred in Bosnia-Herzegovina through media coverage of the Balkan War. This duplication will be discussed in Chapters Five and Six but briefly, examples could include the regular news reports and abundance of film created documenting the conflict. This argument will be tested and further explored later in the thesis.



Image 2.3: Auschwitz,
Main Entrance, December 2008

Some academic work also focuses on the dangers of repetition and duplication in the retelling of historical events. Again, *Schindler's List* is one of the more discussed examples. Using the previously relatively anonymous district of Płaszów and the 1993 Spielberg film, Charlesworth (2004) comments that memory of places like the forced labour camp at Płaszów often need a deliberate act of memory to ensure their commemoration and place in the public consciousness. Płaszów, before *Schindler's List* was used by locals as a green area in a suburban part of Krakow. Post *Schindler's List* the place gained much more international recognition and quickly became a busy tourist destination, attracting what Foley and Lennon (2000) call, '*Schindler Tourists*'. The landscape of the labour camp was not exactly replicated for the film and thus Charlesworth observes that confusion is caused for tourists who see the space in regular use by the local community. This notion prompts Charlesworth (2004:296) to refer to Wollaston (1996), who asks '*Will what is remembered of the Holocaust in the future depend as much, if not more, upon popular culture than it will upon museums such as Auschwitz?*' Could future generations believe Hitler died in a Parisian cinema? (as told by Tarantino in *Inglourious Basterds*, 2008). Charlesworth's work directly discusses the licences taken by Spielberg in his recreations of the Holocaust in Poland, particularly examining the topographical representations of Płaszów and reconstructions of buildings in the labour camp. These licences create a memory for the film viewer which

although not real may not necessarily prompt any questions about the authenticity of the film set or location. Visitors to the site are thus surprised when confronted with a different topographical layout.



*Image 2.4 Train tracks at Auschwitz-Birkenau,
July 2010*

Similar examples of repetition confusing the consumer or tourist also exist and it is appropriate to present a selection here for consideration. A classic example in the public memory is the maritime mystery of the *Mary Celeste*. The ship, the *Mary Celeste*, was found abandoned off the coast of Portugal in late 1872 by crew members of the *Dei Gratia* ship. The *Celeste* was transporting industrial alcohol from New York to Genoa when some difficulty occurred and the crew abandoned or otherwise left the ship. When the crew of the *Dei Gratia* found the ship, the sextant and other navigational instruments were gone, the lifeboat had been launched and there were several feet of water in the hold. Although the ship was still thoroughly seaworthy and was towed back to Gibraltar there was no obvious explanation for the disappearance of the crew. Over the next few years various enquiries were made about what could have happened to the crew of the *Mary Celeste* and several theories arose. Accusations of piracy were launched against the crew of the *Dei Gratia* and accusations of insurance fraud for supernumeraries were launched against both captains. The story may have been forgotten about at this stage if not for Sir Arthur Conan Doyle who in 1884 published a fictional short story account of the events. In Doyle's version the now named *Marie Celeste* was found in water so calm that a bobbin of silk was found upright on a sewing machine, one sole survivor existed and had details of

the ship's final days before meeting the *Deo Gratia*. This work of fiction was called *J. Habakuk Jephson's Statement* and over the years was gradually adopted into public memory. The story appeared again in popular writing in the future, perhaps most notably in James Joyce's *Ulysses* in 1918-20.

No particular point about misrepresentation is being made here: fictional accounts are often popularised and become preferred to accurate versions of a story. But several key points emerge for the tourist. There is much confusion for one about the location of the event – many believe it to have occurred in the Bermuda Triangle and this spatial differentiation is obviously vital in tourism marketing, albeit that as an ocean site there is nothing in particular to see. As noted earlier by Harrison, the sea contains no gravestones and upon it we cannot inscribe our legacy. However, in stating that there is nothing in particular to see again prompts consideration of the dedifferentiation of leisure. Marcel (2003) for example, writes that one charter company offers cruises to where the Titanic lies on the bottom of the ocean. The second point to note is that the Doyle's narrative illustrates that a blend of popular fiction with historical information can quite easily become the universally accepted account of the event, a debate covered by Charlesworth (2004).

Consideration of the Mary Celeste tale could be well complimented by examining the traditional 'wild-west' ghost town in the United States. There are hundreds of such places dotted around the country, towns now exclusively for tourism and genuinely abandoned mining villages which have no further purpose. Examples include the town of Oatman, Arizona, which is billed as a living ghost-town, Bodie, California, which has some 200,000 visitors annually (DeLyser, 1999) and Calico in California, which features civil war re-enactments and the town is a popular tourist destination. Calico's website (2009) describes the town as living on as '*one of the few original Old West mining camps. One-third of Calico's original structures still stand; the remaining buildings have been carefully reconstructed to capture the Old West spirit. Walk Main Street and experience the life of the townspeople; see the blacksmith shop, the old school house, and do a little gold panning of your own.*' Western style

weddings are available for the visitor, as are school group tours, heritage events and Christmas celebrations.

A second example, Oatman in Arizona, has a population of approximately 100 people, down from its highest of 4,000 and also features a range of activities which the tourists may associate with ghost towns. These include women in 1890s dress, donkeys walking through the street and a range of gunfighters. The town originally was a gold mine but as the mines dried up the town's population dwindled. Currently it operates as a successful tourist town with a functioning hotel, saloon and ghost-rider gunfighters and is ideally located for tourists on the famous Route 66. Through the use of landscape and artefacts, the town managers create an authentic feeling for the visitor, who undoubtedly will be familiar with such towns and images from western movies and literature. Some academic work has studied the paradox of searching for authenticity at ghost-towns. DeLyser, 1999, who studied the town of Bodie, California, hints that what tourists desire and what they find are two different things. Certainly it is evident that towns like Calico, Oatman and Bodie cater for and accommodate mass tourism, an irony considering the consumer is visiting a 'ghost' town, often considered a niche destination. Dann's paper on *The Dark Side of Tourism* (1998) also mentions several example ghost towns like Tombstone, Arizona which now welcome the mass tourist. Camp sites, restaurants, bars and large visitor numbers represent the mass tourist's desire for a departure to the 'film set' style ghost town produced by the various tourism authorities. Nonetheless, there is also evidence that a sub-set of ghost-town 'hunters' also exist; people who avoid the mass tourism sites like Calico and venture, literally off-the-beaten-track, to find abandoned mining towns in many of the western and southern states and this could give further rise to research on authenticity debates in such places.

To conclude the discussion on replication and duplication, it must be noted that replicating original features of a site is often highly problematic for a number of reasons. Initially, local concerns often take precedence over the desire to commodify a site. Dissonant heritage, a term used by Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996), to describe the difficulties which occur at a site when there is a lack of

congruence in time or space between people and their heritage. This dissonance is predominant at sites commemorating atrocity heritage, where locals may want to ‘forget’ the past, victims may wish to use the event to foster group cohesion or place identity while perpetrators may feel guilt, or as Tunbridge and Ashworth note (1996) may wish the site to be publicised as this was the original intent of the atrocity.

Young (2008:50-67) again uses the example of Auschwitz with which to consider dissonant heritage. The WW2 Nazi extermination camp was responsible for the death of between 1million and 1.4 million people, the majority of whom were Jewish (Cole, 1999:107). In addition approximately 75,000 Poles, 21,000 Gypsies, 15,000 Soviet prisoners of war and 10-15,000 other nationalities perished at the camp. The site has been subject to contestation between different nationalities and creeds, mainly concerned with collective memory. Young writes that in 1995 a Polish government survey found that only 8% of Poles associated Auschwitz-Birkenau with the martyrdom of the Jews (Young, 2009:53). This was largely due to the State’s suppression of Holocaust history, as the survey on Auschwitz itself appeared to generate a collective grief among Polish citizens. Young writes that this of course is understandable considering the ‘*devastation inflicted upon Poland*’ (Young, 2009:53). This figure on Auschwitz-Birkenau-Jewish association had increased by 30% in the year 2000. Cole (1999) also picks up on this argument of contested memories and competing meanings of place at Auschwitz, as he particularly considers the dissonance between Polish-Catholic and Jewish claims to the site. The location of a Carmelite Convent at the perimeter of the grounds of the camp caused particular controversy. The establishing of a church of the Blessed Virgin Mary Queen of Poland in a former administrative building at Auschwitz was greeted with reaction (Cole 1999:103). Cole calls this the ‘*Catholicising*’ of Auschwitz and as an example of this he points to Catholic tourist pilgrimages to the cell of Father Maximilian Kolbe, a priest who offered himself for execution in place of another. The visit of Pope John Paul 2 to the site in 1979 was further evidence of this process, an attempt writes Cole to provide a spiritual meaning to what was nothing more than mass, racially motivated killing.

Moving more specifically towards the role of signage and dissonance heritage at dark tourism sites, Macdonald (2006) explores how encoded landscapes are packaged for tourists at sites with difficult histories. Macdonald discusses how tour guides at the former Nazi Party Rally Grounds in Nuremberg are faced with the task of mediating heritage and presenting contemporary representations of Nazi past which is obviously highly political. Guides at these grounds encourage preferred readings of the landscape, closing off inappropriate readings when asked certain questions by tourist groups. Macdonald uses the example of '*façade peeling*', (2006:129) and discusses the dissonance which arises in appreciation of the grandeur of some Nazi architecture. Guides at one site, Congress Hill, are directed to steer tourists towards questioning what type of material was used during building. This prompts discussion of the use of concentration camp workers for quarrying and the Nazi ambition to leave a legacy in stone. In this way, writes Macdonald, visitors' own opinions are elicited and the reality behind the façade is revealed.

Remaining with World War 2 but moving towards a different problem in heritage conservation and presentation, Keil (2005) notes the impossibilities of preserving Holocaust sites in their original condition. The camps of Auschwitz-Birkenau for example are full of buildings and materials which were never intended to last past their useful life, and certainly not for sixty years. This has resulted in a tourist landscape which although resembles the original, has many non-original features, including new roofs and guttering added on the barracks, rebuilt railways spurs, rusted barb wire which has been restrung and repainted stencilled notices which had begun to fade. In addition the crematoria and gas chambers are sinking into the ground. Keil notes that all of this is part of the process of deciding what should be preserved. This process he writes (2005:490) began after the war, with a conscious decision not to raze everything to the ground, but instead '*to preserve the ruins, to let the remains speak for themselves, to become a monument*'. This preservation of scars has been discussed earlier in this chapter and as Keil writes, while they offer an approach to the traumatic history of a place [in his case Auschwitz], they do not allow it to be seen. Keil concludes his paper by noting that while this process of replication at Auschwitz is necessary, the general discourse acknowledges that memorial

sites never stand still. Tourists to Auschwitz are stepping outside of their general routine, just as they do elsewhere, but ultimately are just on holiday and Auschwitz-Birkenau is probably one of several stops on their itineraries.

Finally, when one considers replication, duplication and representation, many tangents emerge. Even a site's physical ecology can provide challenges. Difficulties exist particularly in managing tourism sites that have an ecological heritage – particularly in the debate over whether a site should be preserved in its original state or not. Again, the issue of fluidity of tourism sites arises: in this case one does not need to look through particular lenses when exploring how a site is (or was) viewed. At many sites the evolution of the site's physical structure from natural elements can prove problematic. Charlesworth & Addis (2002) discussing Birkenau for example, note that the SS originally planted rows of sapling poplars to screen the gas chambers from view. Today, these poplars are large maturing trees. If efforts were made to restore the camp to its original condition, should these now vast trees be replaced with new saplings? Likewise Charlesworth & Addis note that with visitor numbers to the site so high, it would be impossible to recreate the muddy conditions experienced by the camp's inmates in the 1940s. Similarly, ecological succession at the Krakow camp of Płaszów hides archaeological remains of the former camp at this site, prompting debate for Charlesworth & Addis about how this should be managed so that '*the historical evidence of the Płaszów site be conserved and visitor experience of the site be enhanced*' (2002:237).

2.5 Orientalism

We have had enough of Spain at Gibraltar for the present. Tangier is the spot we have been longing for all the time. Elsewhere we have found foreign-looking things and foreign-looking people, but always with things and people intermixed that we were familiar with before, and so the novelty of the situation lost a deal of its force. We wanted something thoroughly and uncompromisingly foreign – foreign from top to bottom – foreign from centre to circumference – foreign inside and outside and all around – nothing anywhere to dilute its foreignness – nothing to remind us of any other people or any other land under the sun. An lo! In Tangier we have found it.

(Twain, 1869:47)

Orientalism has a long history in tourism research. Indeed the very term originated to describe contact with Eastern cultures made by travellers to the Orient. These travellers sought an exotic other and to consume new cultures; as Seaton (2009:76) writes, '*all manner of differences*'. Travellers witnessed bizarre culture and practices, observed physical differences and after returning from their travels, represented their experiences in books and graphics. From this, the term 'the other' was born and used to depict those not like us. Othering became a central focus in tourism research, useful as a lens with which to theorise the desire to encounter, and experiences with, those from other cultures. One such example is Behdad's much cited (1994) work on tourism and the Orient. In this text he notes that the late nineteenth-century European travellers to the Middle East arrived too late, having missed the authentic experience once offered by the East. He thus uses Orientalism as a discourse with which to analyse the experience of these travellers, focussing on nostalgia among other discourses. The travellers he describes, who arrived in the post-colonial period, missed the authentic experience and were left instead among a landscape which witnessed colonial dissolution. They yearned for what they had missed, albeit that it was gone for good.

More broadly, Behdad sees Orientalism as a complex field of practices which has maintained its position as a discourse of dominance by relying on fragmented ideas and Eurocentric caricatures of the East. His work illustrates that Orientalism is useful as a discourse with which to explore tourism. He points to the nostalgia experienced by the 'late' travellers who missed the authentic Oriental experience and how this resulted in a nostalgia for the other. Without delving deeply into Orientalism, Said's highly influential work (1979) questions the assumptions made by Western cultures towards the East, critiquing the prejudices held against Arab and Islamic peoples. Said uses many key influential figures to exemplify his position that post-colonial society has viewed the East as the 'other' and inferior. The ideas from Said's work have been taken up and used to theorise tourism, particularly in the positioning of the traveller as the dominant, colonial figure. Seaton (2009) notes this usefulness but stresses that the real value of the discourse to tourism research has not yet fulfilled its potential. He positions the Other as having potential power in

broader research, particularly having huge scope in the sociologies of death. He notes that manifestations of the ‘other’ only happen when one individual or group does not have a familiar reference point within their own culture. Death is the only anthropological constant which transcends these boundaries. We all experience death once in our lives - it is a one off for everyone. With tourism however, repetition is possible – one could consume death daily if one so pleased, even if one responds to it differently emotionally, religiously, ritually or symbolically.

The otherness of death resists and escapes these processes of erosion because it can never be known to the living. Along with birth and marriage, it is one of the three great rites of passage, but the one that none can consciously experience. Thus, it sustains its mystery, one that simultaneously repels and attracts.’

(Seaton, 2009:84)

Another consideration of positioning thanatourism within Orientalism involves examining the concepts of nostalgia and romanticism. The early European travellers who wished to encounter the ‘other’ and the East gazed on a romantic landscape, with their desires for the unusual stimulated by contact with and imaginations of primitive peoples and practices. A wide variety of stimulants attracted these tourists, from experiential elements such as smell, taste, landscape to more nuanced representations of the ‘strange’ such as engaging with cultural practices, temporary religious events or encounters with different performances of culture. The later traveller, who was already more familiar with these ‘others’ from his/ her readings of earlier travellers experienced a nostalgia for the authentic experience. Boym (2001:8) in particular has done some work on this, writing that:

Nostalgia is not merely an expression of local and longing, but a new understanding of time and space that made the divisions of ‘local’ and ‘universal’ possible.....[it is the] ‘mourning for the impossibility of a mythical return, for the loss of an enchanted worlds with clear borders and values.

(Boym, 2001:8)

Borders and values may arguably be clearer at many dark tourism sites, but does this create a motivation for nostalgic thanatourists? Dann and Potter (2001)

write that tourists are either yearning for a simpler past, or a past which they did not experience, but perceive (or remember?) as being more ‘alive’. History has become a commodity for sale and in Foley and Lennon’s work, this deliberate commodification represents an intimation of post-modernism. The commodification process in terms of nostalgia and romanticism will be examined presently but it must first be stated that the ‘tag’ of post-modernism on dark tourism may not be all it seems. This must be questioned more deeply, as although there is evidence of commodification for cash at many sites, there are many places inspiring thanatopsis which do not necessarily need to feature commercial aspects. Although nostalgic emotions may be present the lack of commodification is directly in opposition to Lennon and Foley’s positionality on dark tourism. Take Arlington National Cemetery for example. Although evidence of commodification is abundant here, with guided tours, representations in the media and classical examples of exploitation, it is certainly possible to visit the site isolated from these aspects of commercial activity. Motivations among visitors will clearly vary wildly at such a site, and the historian, military veteran, school tour, war movie fanatic and casual tourist will all have their own reasons for visiting. Thus the author feels that to place a blanket title of post-modernism on a dark tourism site ignores both the complex motivations of the visiting individual and the layered histories of the site itself. This will be discussed at the end of the chapter.

Another way to consider the notion of nostalgia in dark tourism is to state that the media and cultural objects, acting as files of representation lend moral meaning to sites, thus increasing desire among tourists to visit them. As mentioned earlier when discussing *Schindler’s List*, thanatourism to previously anonymous sites can receive a major boost when turned into popular literature or fiction. In terms of the Yugoslav disintegration there are many examples of the media romanticising war. The Serbian film *Lepa Sela Lepo Gore* is a strong example as it focuses on the evolving pre-war friendship between 2 young boys, one a Bosnian, one a Serb. The Oscar winning Tanovic film, *No Man’s Land* is a second example, although illustrating the horrors of war, hinting at the potential of cooperation. Finally, the 2007 film *The Hunting Party* uses a classic Hollywood narrative as an unarmed reported catches the world’s most wanted

criminal, assumed to be a fictional version of indicted war criminal Ratko Mladic. In later chapters the notions of romanticising war and the nostalgia experienced by thanatourists. The value of travel blogs and how they could act in the same way the writings of the early 19th century travellers will also be explored, deconstructing their value as files of representation of conflict in the cases of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter began to disentangle some of the broader theoretical ideas which have been used to conceptualise thanatourism. The key theoretical literature used to conceptualise thanatourism has been identified and its value assessed as a means of understanding the commodification and consumption of death for tourists purposes. The key element of this discussion interrogated the notion that dark tourism is an intimation of post-modernity (Lennon & Foley, 2000), a somewhat problematic conceptualisation to carry forward. While there are certainly elements of post-modernity reflected in the act of consuming death, they are in reality no more than reflections. Sharing characteristics may make for good bedfellows but there are conceptual problems which make the consideration of thanatourism as a post modern activity simply too problematic. While the de-differentiation of leisure, the doubts about religion, government and establishment and their relationship to post-modernism have not been lost on other authors in the field; the positioning of thanatourism as post-modern has not been thoroughly conceptually tested. Yuill (2003), discussing Rojek's (1993) work on black spots, writes that modernity diminished the barriers between the sacred and profane. As the public began to question these barriers and the failings in modernity, new tourism practices began to emerge (within the analysis of Lennon and Foley). But, as thanatourism has existed for many millennia, this makes it conceptually difficult to position thanatourism as post-modern. Undoubtedly they share characteristics, particularly if one deconstructs motives for the commodification or consumption of particular sites of thanatopsis. However, a case study approach to creating a conceptual framework may be problematic. These sites may illustrate the shared characteristics but they will do little more. They do not provide a conceptual overview of where the fascination we have with death and disaster has come from. Doubts about the

wider project of modernity may have influenced thanatourism spaces and even created some and they may have even acted as catalysts, fuelling demand to consume them. Scientific advances, European Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution all reduced the independence of the individual on the church and thus religious barriers are often used as an example in much of the literature, and some of this work by Stone (2009) was explored throughout the chapter. For Lennon and Foley (2000:20), the sinking of the Titanic represented the '*failure of 'infallible' science and technology*', the Jewish Holocaust represented a misuse of '*rational planning and technological innovation*' and the Kennedy assassination impacted on meditations upon liberal democracy. However to position all this as being inherently post-modern seems overly simplistic, especially as it is difficult to move away from the notion that death was heavily consumed by society pre-modernity. Authors point to the Coliseum, Parisian abattoirs, the battle of Waterloo and others to illustrate this point.

The aspects of modernity, (or more so the consequences when failures occurred), of course has had an impact on the rise of thanatourism and perhaps focus is better directed to explaining the growth than to rationalise the origins. When modernity failed, disappointment, anxiety and doubt followed. Lennon and Foley (2000) use several examples of this, the church, liberal democracy and scientific failures noted above and attempts have been made to disentangle this notion. Additionally, the authors discuss failures in humanity and rationality, making particular reference to World War 2. For many writers, World War 2 is one of the strongest examples of a link between tourists acting in a 'post-modern way' and thanatopsis; work on thanatourism discussing World War II related themes includes Cole's *Selling the Holocaust* (1996), Beech's paper on Buchenwald (2000), Yuill's thesis on the Holocaust Museum, Houston (2003) and Foley and Lennon's paper on the Washington DC Holocaust Museum (1999), which is also probably the most generally cited example in thanatourism literature. World War II and the events which should have been '*morally inconceivable, politically impossible and economically unsustainable*' (Lennon and Foley, 2000:22) seemed to reach out to people's consciousness and several authors link modern visits to these sites with empathy on behalf of the tourist (Yuill, 2003, Cole, 1996). Moving away from the Holocaust sites to the battlefield sites of World War 2, Lennon and Foley hint at the use of modern

technology to create the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs as being something which left people horrified and aghast at the misuse of technology, leaving them to contemplate modernity in a new light. The failings of the international community and political institutions such as the League of Nations in dealing with the rise of Nazi Germany left others meditating on the fallacies of liberal democracy. With annual visitor numbers at Anne Frank's House, Auschwitz-Birkenau and the United States Holocaust Museum in the hundreds of thousands each year it is clear that many still reflect on these sites and axioms like: *'Of course all this happened a long time ago and nothing like that could ever happen again. Not in this day and age.'* (Boyne, 2006:240).

Secondly, the chapter examined Stone's positioning that thanatourism can be conceptualised within a broad remit of secularisation. He engages with the philosophies of Durkheim to understand the *'effervescent propulsion towards actions productive of either social cohesion or dissolution'* (Stone, 2009:63). This gathering of social groups, and the collective energy they feel, is one way to understand the experiences. Essentially Stone queries if the sites themselves can be placed within a broader framework of emotion and morality. An interrogation of the negation of religion and dwindling moral influences in Western society is another thesis however, and one tackled from a different angle by Brown (2009). Stone's main argument is that the experiences these individuals extract from their collective positioning at sites can in turn allow embodiment of the self.

Thirdly, the chapter looked at a much broader positioning of death within historical and contemporary societies. Walter (2009) proposes that an examination of thanatourism should be contextualised against the experiences we already hold in our lives with the dead. He points to the wide range of experiences, detailed in chapter one, and the variety of institutions which mediate between the living and the dead. Death, being the one anthropological constant, permeates all cultures and many of the institutions which structure our existence. Although these interactions may take different forms, their universality of existence is a useful way to compare how society holds a relationship with death. Thanatourism must be considered against our wider

sociological relationship with death, as there already many reference points for how we interact with and experience sites and themes associated with passing on. This gaze on death, whether as a form of tourism or not, allows for a broader perspective of how we interact with this one universality. Tourism provides a lens with which to further decode the relationships we hold with death, and as thanatourism is a popular activity, it has been theorised as an avenue for exploring the issues.

Finally, the chapter considered the usefulness of Orientalism as a discourse for exploring thanatourism research. Limited work has been carried out in this area but it appears to hold certain values which merit further exploration. Certainly aspects of ‘othering’ are highly visible at the deathscapes used to define thanatourism and likewise at the sites used in this research. Subthemes of nostalgia are also recurring at many of the sites, particularly where the nexus between death, the past and simpler times is prevalent. The usefulness of this way of conceptualising thanatourism is not yet fully developed, yet as more research emerges utilising the other as a theoretical framework, the more refined the process will become. A critical approach must also be taken however, as although there are some obvious ways to utilise Orientalism in this discourse, the researcher must be careful to acknowledge the breadth of the theory and question how it can be rigorously applied to all elements of thanatourism research. This notion of Orientalism is developed in *Chapter Four* of this thesis with an interrogation of Western travel writing methods about the Orient.

Considering the four broad theoretical concerns addressed in this chapter, it is proposed that this broader societal gaze on death provides the best opportunity for examining the commodification and consumption of thanatourism spaces. However, there are certain merits to the notions on secularisation and post-modernism which will be referred to in the coming chapters. Additionally, the use of the ‘other’ as a means of positioning death provides an excellent framework with which to theorise thanatourism. The next chapter will begin to develop some of the theories above by creating a theoretical framework which could be used in future thanatourism research. The contemporary literature on thanatourism will be explored in depth, examining some of the models which

have been used in past research, including models which have been proposed by a variety of authors in the academic, travel writing and journalism fields. These models will be analysed to test if they hold rigorous academic merit. This range of literature and models will help to further contextualise thanatourism, especially within the diverse range of tourism gazes which are receiving much academic attention. Niche tourism and the new horizons in tourism research will be explored and theories and examples used throughout.

Chapter Three

Situating Thanatourism

3.1 Introduction

Then there's the squalor. This hasn't changed since 1867, but tourists once tried to avoid it. Now they seek it out. Modern tourists have to see the squalor so they can tell everyone back home how it changed their perspective on life. Describing squalor, if done with sufficient indignation, makes friends and relatives morally obliged to listen to your boring vacation stories. (Squalor is conveniently available, at reasonable prices, in Latin America.)

(O'Rourke, 1988:7)

Chapter two began to position thanatourism within a broad geographical contextualisation. Avenues used to theorise thanatourism and leisure deathscapes include Orientalism, secularisation, post-modernism and a broad sociology of death. The universality of death and its positioning as the one anthropological constant is a useful way of conceptualising our relationship with spaces of death and provides clues to understanding the commodification of death and also our experiences at sites of death. The breadth of possibilities of how we can understand this relationship is limitless, indeed the list proposed by Walter (2009) in Chapter One illustrates the scope of issues we can consider. This chapter will start with a similar breadth, but a breadth focussed on the wider positioning of thanatourism within other niche forms of travel. These include issues related to post-mass travel and how thanatourism can be contextualised against the new motilities experienced by today's discerning niche tourist. Moving forward, the chapter will narrow to focus on thanatourism, recognising that although a theoretical framework has been proposed to conceptualise the practice, the consumption of death and disaster is fragmented and there are a variety of sub-themes which cannot be easily typecast. Particular areas on this list have been examined by authors interested in thanatourism and the sociology of death. This chapter will begin to examine some of the specific themes which regularly arise in the thanatourism literature, including commodification, motivations, experiences and consumption. Themes like dissonant heritage, the guide as mediator, landscape ecology and the role of films will be given due consideration. The breadth of case-studies will be outlined, with examples ranging from the North-South Korea DMZ to the Nazi death camp in Oświęcim to genocide in Rwanda. These case studies have generally been created with an aim of designing new ways of modelling

thanatourism. A variety of models have been proposed and these models will be utilised to position thanatourism activities against others. The chapter will begin by considering these models as they provide a useful way of considering the experiential side of thanatourism and how we interact with deathscapes. The chapter will also attempt to better define thanatourism, considering the terms used and what they encompass. ‘Dark tourism’ (Lennon & Foley, 2000), ‘thanatourism’ (Seaton, 1996), ‘black spots’ (Rojek 1993), ‘atrocities heritage’ (Beech, 2000) and ‘morbid tourism’ (Blom, 2000) are all terms used to define what is quickly becoming one of the most popular topics of the post-mass tourism research arena. Academic tourism research has seen a seismic shift over the past twenty years as increasingly niches are carved out and studies become more specialised. As noted above these niches are limited only by the imaginations of the authors researching them: there remains huge scope for exploring how we interact with death, particularly in a leisure context.

Thanatourism research can be positioned against the broader movement away from mass tourism in recent decades. Some of this recent research has focussed on this move, examining how thanatourism offers an escape from the mundane and instead seeks the unusual. Niche tourism studies generally examine the demand for the increasingly broad, complex and layered range of destinations frequented by the post-mass tourists. This research has included the darker type noted above, but also much work has been carried out on the backpacker market, volunteer tourism, eco-tourism, film tourism, senior tourism, health tourism, and even space tourism. Many of these and others are discussed in Singh’s 2004 book, *New Horizons in Tourism* and Novelli’s *Niche Tourism* (2005). These books highlight the diversity of the tourism industry, tourism literature and the novel adventures sought by many of today’s tourists. Singh’s book dedicates a section specifically to thanatourism, entitled ‘*The Macabre in Tourism*’ which discusses several sites which will be explored later with an examination of the terms used to describe them. Terms such as those above - and the overall concept of post-mass tourism - have been explored to deal with the rapid transformations in the industry and the resulting ever-increasing interest in tourist motivations. Discourse dealing with the darker sites discussed by the leading authors, has created a new area of tourism research, and one which

invariably invokes many themes of modernity in its progress. The chaotic nature of the relationship between tourists and sites of war must be better understood. Are motivations purely thanatouristic or do places of war attract so called '*ego-tourists*' (Scheyvens, 2001) or the 'post-modern tourist' who uses their holiday type and destination to differentiate themselves from the mass tourist (Hall & Page, 2006).

The chapter also includes a mini case study on Inveraray Jail, a tourist attraction located in a small village on the west coast of Scotland. The case study, written from a first person perspective, is intended to complement the theoretical notions offered in chapters two and three, by illustrating the complexities involved in designing and managing a tourist jail. The jail poses many questions about interpretation and the marketing of death, complementing many of the ideas throughout chapters two and three on the commodification of death. Furthermore, the case study uncovers some themes associated with experiencing a thanatourist attraction; particularly the notion that the tourist experience is highly personal, informed by life-histories and very subjective. The case study also offers a personal perspective on the thanatourism experience, drawing on the notion that we see and sense as individuals and that thanatourists are not a homogenised group. This theme of life-experiences is developed throughout the chapter, with references to Dunkley's thesis (2007, 2011) that thanatourism sites are gateways to emotion for tourists, reflecting attributes normally associated with pilgrimage literature.

The destinations studied in the later empirical chapters could not fall overly close to being considered mass tourism destinations. Dubrovnik aside, the cities of Sarajevo, Srebrenica and Vukovar are not comparable to many of the major European city break destinations like Paris, Florence, Barcelona or Berlin. Indeed, positioning Sarajevo against their competitors further East it is still difficult to position it as a major city break. Prague, Budapest or Krakow for example all appear to have more developed international linkage to selling themselves as a short-break destination. It is therefore a fair assumption that at least some of Sarajevo's tourists at the moment are what Hall et al refers to as 'post-modern tourists'. Separate geographical issues also face Vukovar (located

on the Danube and thus a cruise ship port) and Srebrenica (socially and spatially peripheral), especially related to mobility and these will be discussed in the later empirical chapters.

As stated in previous chapters, the term thanatourism is preferred to ‘dark tourism’ for this thesis as it focuses more on the death-commodification-consumption nexus than on the labelling the motivations of the individual. There are certain connotations with using the word ‘dark’ which mean ‘dark tourism’ is a somewhat laden term. This difference, although relatively minor, will be explored later in this chapter. Initially, it will be vital to properly situate thanatourism as part of the broader tourism field, where it fits in and when and how the notion emerged. Secondly, the chapter will deconstruct the term thanatourism and examine definitions of the notion, clearly delineating what it encompasses but also where gaps lie in the literature. Thirdly, the chapter will conclude by outlining how these gaps could be addressed with the proposed case studies. Further research questions for the thesis will begin to emerge in relation to media reports, film and the range of official images produced by the tourist board.

3.2 New horizons in tourism & niche tourism

Like many other tourism definitions, exploring or attempting to define a relatively new term like thanatourism requires a context. While this was somewhat provided in the previous chapter, scope remains to position thanatourism against other forms of niche tourism research. Even by condensing the work of the leading authors in the field, it is difficult to situate thanatourism as a unique stand alone paradigm. Depth and tone are required to fully appreciate the emergence of this fascinating term, which inevitably requires at least a brief chronology of tourism research to situate the phenomenon in today’s world. Arguably the most defining work on travel and recreation in the past two decades, Urry’s *The Tourist Gaze* (1990), addresses the evolution of modern tourism in a historical, yet sociologically sensitive way and, it is texts like this which will be key for understanding the emergence of the post-mass tourist market in Bosnia-Herzegovina. *The Tourist Gaze* presents a deconstruction of the relationships between the tourist, their destination, the

characteristics of being ‘modern’ and the notion of a contrast with the non-tourist, in a clear progressive manner which can certainly be used to consider the evolution of Sarajevo’s now fledgling industry. Considering the notion of thanatourism as a tourism gaze in itself opens many possibilities for interpreting the concept. Seaton’s first paper on thanatourism (1996) documents historical accounts of thanatourism, ranging from the Dance of Death in the Middle Ages to thanatopic presentations in 18th century Christian societies to the early 20th century Chamber of Horrors in Madame Tussaud’s, London. The different gazes described range from personal pilgrimage, to religious trips, displays of nationalism to the purest form of thanatourism; *‘travel motivated exclusively by fascination with death in itself, irrespective of the person or persons involved’*, (Seaton, 1996:234). This form of thanatourism is rarely concerned with the individual and instead focuses on the methods or scale of death itself. It is the purest example of thanatourism and will be explored throughout this chapter.

Recent years have seen sustained geographical interest in niche tourism. Tourism itself is often positioned as the world’s largest industry and thus niche aspects would seem deserving of serious academic attention. The growth in the niche tourism can be attribute to the three vehicles which have traditionally been positioned as facilitating tourism; transport, communications and increased leisure time. Rapid changes in these areas over the last few decades have resulted in greater passenger mobility, more discerning travellers and a hunger to consume that which is new and different. Aspects of conspicuous consumption (Veblen, 1899), such as the lavish spending on travel mainly for the purpose of displaying income or wealth may also help to explain the rise in niche tourism pursuits. Robinson (foreword in Novelli, 2004) writes that *‘If one strips away much of the hardware of tourism and travel we find that the human imagination is at its core’* – this imagination can now be facilitated by budget flights, increased destination promotion and knowledge and increased leisure time.

Niche tourism thus exists as a counter point to the established term mass tourism. It is almost easier to define by what it is not and it implies a sophisticated set of practices which define and distinguish tourists. The rejection

of Fordist principles where tourists readily buy into established mass tourism structures is offered by Novelli & Robinson (2004) and these tourists would ‘probably argue themselves out of the ‘mass tourism’ category despite engaging in inclusive tours as they like to see themselves as ‘individuals’ even though they are engaging in ‘mass practices’ (2004:4). In 2004, Singh et al released a book entitled *New Horizons in Tourism*, a fascinating examination of the spirit of adventure which has seized many of today’s travellers. In the introduction, Singh writes that travellers now ‘*seek impossible destinations offering strange practices in unusual habitats*’. (Singh, 2004:1) But are these travellers really a new phenomenon? Certainly in terms of thanatourism there is evidence to suggest that travel to sites associated with death or disaster is an ancient practice and various authors in the field discuss travel to Madame Tussaud’s in the 19th century (Seaton and Lennon, 2004) and the battlefield at Waterloo (Seaton, 1996). Other examples include visitors to the Coliseum in early Rome or visitors to public executions around 17th and 18th century Europe.

The “new tourism” notion is one which has exploded in recent times with a wealth of study examining the different facets it encompasses. Examples include sex tourism, eco tourism, space tourism, backpacking tourism, volunteer tourism, gastronomic tourism, sport tourism and exploration tourism; the list is potentially endless. Many books and papers published discuss these individually or collectively. *Niche Tourism* (Novelli, M., Ed., 2005) complements *New Horizons in Tourism*, examining some of the above topics in a multi-disciplinary fashion. Studies range from examinations of genealogy tourism to tribal tourism to research tourism. These new tourisms indicate a shift away from traditional mass tourism and package holidays. New tourism gazes have thus been constructed and the increasing diversity of holidays often intellectualised with deeper searches for authenticity. Many new methodologies are proposed for tackling such topics and this thesis acknowledges and will later discuss in some depth the methodologies which have appeared to study these new horizons. Firstly it is important to fully define thanatourism and situate the concept within the post-mass tourism field.

3.3 Typologies of thanatourism

Thanatourism research has become one of the most topical areas of post-mass tourism research over the past decade (Seaton & Lennon, 2004). Thanatourism has been defined as *‘travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death’* (Seaton, 1996:240). Dark tourism was a term first coined by Foley and Lennon (1996), in an article discussing visitors to the site of J.F.K’s assassination. This article and a book later the same year, became two of the major pieces associated with research in the field, although earlier work by Rojek (1993) on black spots must be acknowledged and will be discussed later in this section. Extensive work carried out in the area has included study on locations ranging from Waterloo (Seaton, 1996), to WWII associated sites such as Auschwitz (Charlesworth, 1994) and the Holocaust Museum (Lennon and Foley 2000) to Alcatraz and Robben Island (Strange and Kempa, 2003) to communism heritage tourism in Romania (Light 2000) and the site of JFK’s assassination (Foley and Lennon, 1996). This diverse, yet incomprehensive list, illustrates the broad horizons of what has become one of the most covered themes in literature on how tourism research has developed new boundaries. Thanatourism has also grasped the attention of the media and many articles have been written on its sub-topics, including; the ethical dilemmas of thanatourism, interpretation at sites, visitor motivations, memorialising and more. Research groups such as the Dark Tourism Forum (<http://www.dark-tourism.org.uk>) and undergraduate modules such as those offered by the University of Central Lancaster are further evidence of the increased attention this phenomenon has attracted in recent times.

Although variations exist within the definitions of thanatourism, this section will attempt to define the concept and move towards an understanding which can be used throughout this thesis. Collating the work of the major authors in the field will be pivotal to this research, as although the term is a relatively new one, thanatourism has received substantial attention in the last decade. The origins of the term will be explored and its evolution and expansion over the last decade analysed to help create an understanding for this project.

As mentioned above, dark tourism was a term first coined by Foley and Lennon (1996), who wrote that;

Dark tourism is positioned at the cross-roads of the recent history of inhuman acts and the representation of these in news and film media. Interpretations of such events and their commercial development or exploitation are central to consideration of this area. Dark Tourism is the term adopted by the authors for these phenomena (Holocaust museum and J.F.K. assassination location visits) which encompass the presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real and commodified death and disaster sites. These visitors may have been motivated to undertake a visit by a desire to experience the reality behind the media images and/or by a personal association with inhumanity.

(Foley & Lennon, 1996:198)

Four key observations must be drawn from the above definition, and these notions will be explored going forward in the context of more recent definitions, the work of other authors and the confines of this particular project. The four points to be noted from the above definition include 1) the observation that it is a recent history of inhuman acts which will be explored, 2) the question posed that interpretation is central to the commercial exploitation of the site, 3) the role of the media and imagery in visitor motivation and 4) that the site will introduce some doubts or anxieties about modernity for the tourist. Although the theoretical underpinning of framing thanatourism within a framework of post-modernity was discussed in the previous chapter, this chapter will begin to deconstruct the further elements of Foley and Lennon's definition.

The same year as Foley and Lennon's paper on dark tourism, Seaton coined the term *thanatourism*, which he defined as;

...travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death, particularly, but not exclusively, violent death, which may, to a varying degree be activated by the person-specific features of those whose deaths are its focal objects.

(Seaton, 1996:240)

This definition is interesting as it expands somewhat on Foley and Lennon's work on dark tourism by placing more emphasis on the motivation of the visitor, particularly if the scale of death or destruction is especially intense or violent.

Seaton (1996) proposes a continuum of thanatourism, illustrated below, and his observation that the dark tourist wishes to understand or encounter the tragedy associated with the site is especially important. Unlike Foley and Lennon's work, Seaton switches the emphasis from the presentation and interpretation of the site itself to the behavioural features of the tourist, a key concern of this thesis.

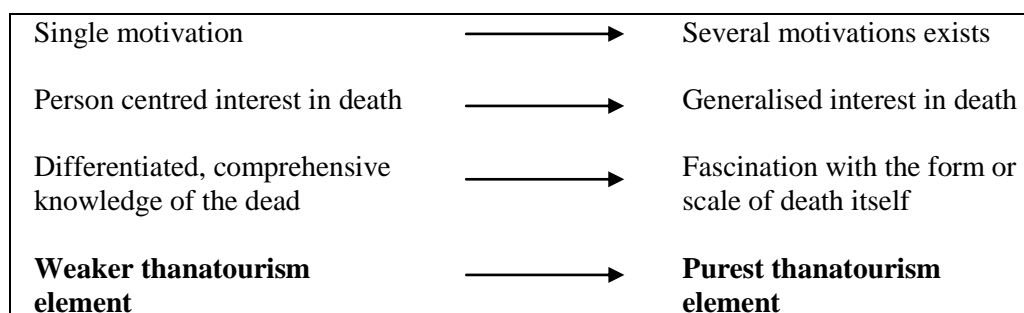


Fig 3.1 Thanatourism continuum of intensity (Seaton 1996)

Seaton further develops the definition of thanatourism, writing that five types of tourism based on death or disaster exist;

1. *Travel to watch death,*
2. *Travel to sites after death has occurred,*
3. *Travel to internment sites and memorials*
4. *Travel to re-enactments,*
5. *Travel to synthetic sites at which evidence of the dead has been assembled*

(listed by Yuill, 2004:12)

This list seeks to categorise those who visit sites of death and disaster further and assists this research in providing a potential list of motivational properties for the dark tourist in ex-Yugoslavia. Initially it must be observed that each category is not exclusive, i.e., a visitor may have more than one of the above motivational phenomena persuading them to visit a site. Visiting Auschwitz could primarily be considered in terms of category 2 above (visitation of a site after death has occurred) but the memorials (plaques, monuments, etc) and synthetic elements of the site (such as the photographs and videos) may also be strong motivating factors for the visitor. Tours which may invoke similar emotions to an Auschwitz visit are available in Sarajevo. At least five war tour companies operate in the city, transporting visitors to several of the major sites associated with the Balkan War. These include visits to city cemeteries, the

siege tunnel (a tunnel which was used to smuggle supplies into the city during the siege), the Holiday Inn (the iconic hotel used by journalists during the conflict), Sniper Alley and various sniper positions around the city. Considering Sarajevo in terms of the list developed by Seaton, it could certainly be argued that the war tours cover almost all of the above categories (with the exception of watching death itself) and it would be difficult to identify one in particular as the primary motivating factor for a visit to the city. This will be discussed later in the thesis.

It is also interesting to briefly consider the semantics behind the various names for darker tourism activities. 'Dark tourism' is a somewhat laden term and posits the act of visiting sites associated with death and disaster as having dark characteristics. Of course the dark sites considered in this thesis encompass a multitude of shades of darkness, from almost humorous interpretation at sites like Inveraray Jail for example, to the pinnacle of darkness at Auschwitz-Birkenau. This comment does not intend to belittle the suffering of those at the 'lighter' sites. Indeed the pictures and mini case-study of Inveraray Jail in this thesis (at the end of Chapter 3) illustrate the gruesome suffering experienced by the inmates. However, the modern day representations of this suffering and the humour employed by the signage, advertising materials and acting staff of the jail do raise questions about the experiences of visitors to the jail. Do they leave horrified or entertained? Essentially, what may be dark for one may be a fun-filled-fear-factory for another (Stone, 2006). The term thanatourism is preferred here for this reason, it appears less laden than dark tourism. Seaton (1996), who coined the term with less implications, states that thanatourism focuses more on behavioural elements. A site is a thanatourist destination only if the tourist wishes to visit it to encounter death. It is thus defined by the tourist's motivation rather than the discrete features of the site itself. Secondly, Seaton writes that thanatourism is not an absolute and exists across a continuum of intensity which can position single or group motivations and a person-centred or generalised interest in death.

Seaton's grounding paper on thanatourism outlines his choice of the '*thana*' prefix to tourism. He begins by documenting the classic 1827 De Quincey essay

‘On Murder Considered as One of the Fine Arts’, an article which Seaton writes develops a premise which closely resembles the principles of dark tourism. A morally repugnant act becomes of interest to spectators; in De Quincey’s case, murder, as an art, has performance characteristics which can be praised like any other. His essay documents a fictional group, *‘The Society of Connoisseurs in Murder’*. Seaton seeks to delve into the philosophical and historical roots through which such a shocking society could have been formed. He begins with a consideration of thanatopsis, defined by as a *‘contemplation of death’*, Seaton (1996:235), yet broadened to encompass the contemplation of death, the stimuli which generates the contemplations and the reflective practices produced by encounters with death.

Expanding on Seaton’s continuum of intensity above, Stone (2006) and the Lonely Planet Bluelist (Pickard, 2007) propose similar spectrums of dark tourism. Pickard’s special section on dark tourism in the Lonely Planet Bluelist suggests a five point ‘darkometer’ which ranges from *‘opaque’* to *‘too dark’*. The points on the scale argue that there are fundamental differences between ‘dark’ destinations and the motivations for visiting them. For example point 1 on the scale, the opaque tourist likes to visit museums where *‘evidence of death has been assembled.....By definition you’re just about a dark tourist, but then so are most people’*, (Pickard, 2007:126). Point 3 on the scale however is perhaps more aligned with some of the sites written about in recent academic papers. The ‘die-hard dark’ tourist in the middle of the scale goes to *‘memorials and internment sites – monuments to death and graveyards like Rwanda’s Gisozi Genocide Memorial.’* They take their *‘dark seriously’*. At point 5 on Lonely Planet’s scale is the tourist who is *‘too dark’*. These people visit places which have not yet recovered from catastrophe. They also visit public executions and torture. In Lonely Planet’s view *‘neither of them have any justification’*. (Pickard, 2007:127). A variety of authors have also attempted to define thanatourism by proposing a typology of sites associated with death or disaster which have become commodified for tourism. These are summarised in table format below and will be examined throughout the chapter.

Fig 3.2: The main thanatourism typologies (summarised by Dunkley 2007)

Seaton (1996) Five broad categories	Dann (1998) Five-fold model	Ashworth (2004) Six adjectival tourisms	Tarlow's (2005) Seven categories	Sharpley's (2005) Shades of grey tourism
1. Witnessing public enactments of death. 2. Witnessing sites of mass & individual deaths after they have occurred. 3. Witnessing internment sites of, and memorials to the dead 4. Witnessing the material evidence & representations of death, in locations unconnected with their occurrence 5. Witnessing re-enactments of death.	1. Perilous places 2. Houses of horror 3. Fields of fatality 4. Tours of torment 5. Themed thanos.	1. War tourism 2. Battlefield tourism 3. Disaster tourism 4. Killing-fields tourism 5. Hot spots tourism 6. Atrocity heritage tourism	1. A pretext to understanding our own age 2. Romanticism 3. Barbarism 4. Part of national identity 5. Sign of decadence 6. Mystical experience 7. Spiritual experience	1. Pale tourism 2. Grey tourism supply 3. Grey tourism demand 4. Black tourism

Stone (2006) further develops the ideas on scale of darkness by proposing a dark tourism spectrum which sets out the perceived product features of thanatourism. The paper discusses the range of thanatourism sites, starting with the darkest, which Stone writes are generally sites of suffering and death. Usually only a short time has passed since the tragic event and tourists to the site perceive it to be authentic. Commodification of the site may be education oriented and will probably involve a high political ideology. At the other end of the scale is the lightest type of dark tourist. Stone writes that there is a crucial difference in the sites visited by these people: the sites are associated with death rather than actual sites of death. At these sites, a longer period of time has passed since the events which they commemorate. A stronger emphasis is placed on the entertainment value of the site and thus visitors may perceive it to be inauthentic. Sites at this side of the spectrum usually also have a higher tourism infrastructure than the darkest sites, which may not cater to the everyday needs of the tourist. Miles (2002) also touches on this idea, writing that the Holocaust Museum in Washington DC provides historical contextualisation for the

holocaust. In contrast places like the Oświęcim museum of Auschwitz-Birkenau focus on death itself, placing emphasis on the scale and horrific methods of mass murder. This argument places Auschwitz-Birkenau near the darkest end of the spectrum while the Holocaust Museum focuses more on interpretation, audio-visuals and historical contextualisation. Again this seeks to place different thanatourism sites into categories which Dunkley expands on by proposing an umbrella of thanatourism:

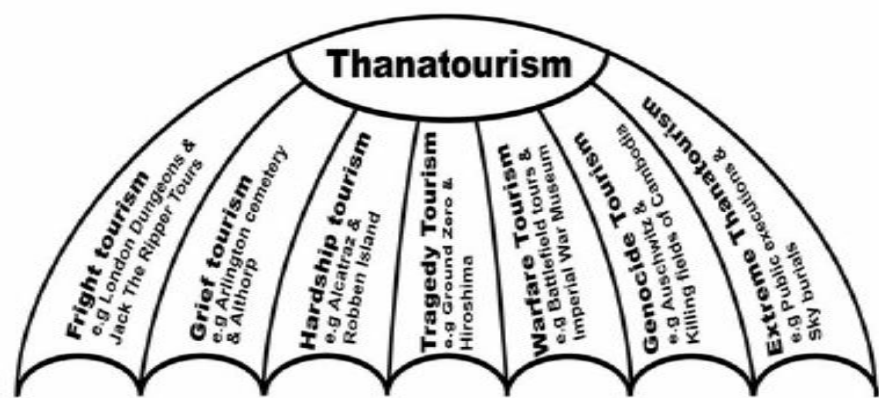


Fig 3.3: Thanatourism Umbrella (Dunkley, 2007)

Fright Tourism	Grief Tourism	Hardship Tourism	Tragedy Tourism	Warfare Tourism	Genocide Tourism	Extreme Tourism
						
Loch Ness Monster, 2010	Srebrenica, 2010	Kilmainham Jail, 2009	Ground Zero, 2006	Commando Memorial, 2010	Auschwitz-Birkenau, 2008	Body Worlds 2008

Image 3.1: Thanatourism sites visited by the author (2006-2010)

The above image illustrates a sample of Dunkley’s umbrella of thanatourism sites visited by the author. The image intends to convey the breadth of themes which have been encompassed by those writing about dark tourism and the efforts made by the author to sample the various flavours of thanatourism typologies as understood in the literature. This image is not intended to be comprehensive but just to simply act as a visual representation of the scope of commodified death, fright and disaster. A further illustration of this scope is provided below with a table of the major works on thanatourism over the past two decades. This chronological table illustrates the breadth of topics, timing

and places of publication of the major papers. This serves as a useful visual trace on the evolution of thanatourism research over the past two decades. While not as comprehensive as the bibliography the table acts as a mini-literature review of some of the major themes

Author	Site	Methodology	Theme	Year	Journal
Rojek	'Fatal attractions'	Desk research	Thanatourism (defining)	1993	Book chapter
Tunbridge & Ashworth	Multi	Multi	Dissonant heritage	1996	Book
Seaton	Non-specific	Ethnography	Thanatourism (defining)	1996	International Journal Of Heritage Studies
Foley and Lennon	J.F.K. Dallas	Ethnography	Thanatourism (defining)	1996	International Journal Of Heritage Studies
Seaton	Waterloo	Discourse analysis	Commodifying death	1999	Annals of Tourism Research
Kong	Cemeteries	Review paper	Commodifying death	1999	Australian Geographical Studies
DeLyser	Bodie Ghost Town, California	Ethnography	Commodifying death & Authenticity	1999	The Annals of the Association of American Geographers
Lennon and Foley	Multi	Multi	Case studies	2000	Book
Beech	Buchenwald	Desk research	Representation	2000	Managing Leisure
Siegenthaler	Hiroshima	Guidebook analysis & ethnography	Representation	2002	Annals of Tourism Research
Ashworth	Kazimierz (Krakow)	Ethnography	Dissonant heritage	2002	International Research in Geographical and Environmental Education
Charlesworth	Plaszow and Auschwitz	Ethnography	Memorialisation and Ecology	2002	Landscape Research
Miles	Auschwitz	Review paper	Representation	2002	Annals of Tourism Research
Strange & Kempa	Alcatraz & Robben Island	Ethnography	Theoretical	2003	Annals of Tourism Research
Lisle	Ground Zero	Discourse analysis	Dissonant heritage	2004	Journal For Cultural Research
Charlesworth	Plaszow	Ethnography	Representation	2004	Cultural Geographies
Macdonald	Nuremburg	Ethnography	Dissonant heritage	2006	Tourist Studies
Wight	Non-specific	Review paper	Methodologies	2006	Journal of Vacation Marketing
Stone	Non-specific	Review paper	Theory	2006	Tourism
Muzaini et al	Fort Siloso, Signapore	Ethnography	Post-modernism	2007	Journal Of Tourism And Cultural Change
McDowell and Graham	The Maze, Belfast	Discourse analysis	Dissonant Heritage	2007	Cultural Geographies
Stone & Sharpley	Non-specific	Theoretical	Thanatourism (defining)	2008	Annals of Tourism Research
Stenning et al	Oświęcim-Auschwitz	Ethnography	Dissonant heritage	2008	Geoforum
Stone and Sharpley	Multi	Multi	Thanatourism (defining)	2009	Book
Logan & Reeves	Multi	Multi	Dissonant heritage	2009	Book

Fig 3.4: The major papers on thanatourism (1990 - 2009)

3.4 Thanatourism and Yugoslavia

The section above begins to position thanatourism in the post-mass tourism field and to examine some of the theoretical work emerging in the discipline. This section will now begin to position some of this theory in ex-Yugoslavia. Several unanswered questions from recent papers on thanatourism will be highlighted with propositions on how to tackle the gaps in later chapters.

It could be argued that much of the work on thanatourism has considered 20th century wars and sites of disaster, some examining the Holocaust Museum in Washington DC as material or symbolic representation of death (Foley and Lennon 1999 & Lennon & Foley, 2000, Kazalarska 1998, Yuill 2003). Other work examines travel to see sites of mass deaths such as Auschwitz (Keil 2005, Miles 2002) or the Vietnam War (Henderson, 2000). J.F.K's assassination spot is examined by Foley and Lennon (1996), while Blom (2000) discusses sites associated with the death of Princess Diana. In other thanatourism work Strange and Kempa (2003) investigate the presence of tourists at former sites of internment; Alcatraz and Robben Island. Other topics have included slavery tourism (Dann & Seaton 2001), Hiroshima (Siegenthaler, 2002), military tourism (Timothy, 2004), South African Apartheid (Ashworth, 2004) and the list goes on. Recent media articles have discussed visitors to Ground Zero (Keeble, 2001) and Soham, the small English town where school girls Holly Wells and Jessica Chapman were murdered in 2002 (Seaton & Lennon, 2004, Bennetto, 2004). This volume of academic and media articles shows an increasing trend for examining the macabre in tourism as efforts are made to understand both the supply of such sites and the motivations of those who visit them.

The list of books and articles provided earlier deal with a variety of themes ranging from interpretation to memorialisation, examining both the supply of sites and the demand. Not quite as much work has been carried out on establishing suitable methodologies for research into thanatourism sites (although the papers themselves demonstrate a variety of techniques) and the coming chapters begin to tackle this problem, by exploring both qualitative and quantitative research methods. Wight's paper (2006) highlights the lack of quantitative work carried out in the field, stating that the next logical step of

inquiry into the field could perhaps be to utilise some quantitative methods to build on the wealth of qualitative work carried out over the past decade. The thesis will also build on this notion, proposing how quantitative work could contribute to understandings of thanatourism.

Comparisons to other work carried out on visitor motivations to thanatourism sites is difficult but may prove rewarding for this research. Much of the work carried out on 20th century thanatourism sites deals with World War 2 and the Holocaust. World War 2 thanatourism research tends to examine travel to sites after death has occurred (Lennon & Foley, 2000), travel to synthetic sites (Yuill, 2004) and travel to sites of internment and memorialisation (Keil, 2005) but in terms of comparison, several points become problematic. With the wide diaspora of the Jewish population around the world, there is potentially a much stronger pilgrimage element to visits to Auschwitz-Birkenau or the Holocaust Museum than visitors to thanatourism sites in Sarajevo. Despite this there is some evidence in media articles of pilgrimage style thanatourism visits to Sarajevo, but without further research into visitor motivations it is not appropriate to comment. Another problematic element is that there is a differentiation in chronological distance from the events being discussed. For many of today's tourists the events of World War 2 are well beyond living memory, while the recentness of the Balkan War provides a much purer thanatourism element. This notion of fluidity is a recurring underlying theme throughout the literature, as sites change so too do their visitors and motivations. Referring back to Seaton's continuum of intensity, it could be argued that as many of the tourists to ex-Yugoslavian war sites may not have any personal connection to the Balkan War, and that the event was distant in space, but not time, are the purest form of thanatourist, those interested in the scale or method of death. As Lennon and Foley (2000:16) write, there is a relationship between thanatourism and anxiety. It is hinted in their literature that more chronologically distant events are less likely to induce anxiety and doubt about modernity.

This differentiation in chronological distance is vital as it separates those sites associated with the recent war in Sarajevo from other relatively large tragedies

experienced by the city. While all four case study sites in this thesis have dark events in their past, there are several in Sarajevo which make for useful contextualisation. In particular, the start of World War One with the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, is certainly a demand driver for visiting the city. Likewise, the transportation to concentration camps of up to 10,500 Jewish Sarajevans in World War 2, could perhaps be considered problematic, as such a difficult heritage may arguably contribute to a different form of thanatourism in the city if it attracts descendants from the deportees. However, considering the recentness of the atrocities of the Balkan War, the scale and forms of death may produce a 'purer' thanatourist than those attracted to the Latin Bridge where Franz Ferdinand was assassinated, or to the city's Jewish heritage. The idea that the conflict is still in living memory is one consideration, but when one adds on top of that the anxieties which the conflict (and its extensive media coverage) produced about modernity and its consequences, one must wonder in any scenario how any form of tourism, let alone thanatourism, can exist in the city. Reading any account of the loss of human life in Sarajevo during the siege, whether fictional or otherwise, presents one with such an uncomfortable experience that it is difficult to understand clearly how the tourism industry has begun to re-establish itself. Considering some of the more poignant images which emerged from the war such as the events in Srebrenica, the Markale Massacre or any part of Sarajevo's siege, the destruction of the Stari Most bridge in Mostar, or the shelling of Dubrovnik in Croatia, thanatourism in Sarajevo or Bosnia-Herzegovina in general must be explored as more than a loose facet of post-modern tourism. It must be considered going forward that the post-mass tourists visiting the city have more than a passing curiosity. The proposal of secularisation, Orientalism and the different sociologies of death in the previous chapter create a framework for positioning why tourists wish to consume particular dark sites. Nonetheless, acting in a 'post-modern fashion' cannot be discounted either. The feeling of guilt which may arise in western tourists about the failure of peacekeeping organisations such as UNPROFOR and NATO in acting swiftly in the conflict may contribute in some way to their desire to visit the war sites.

The media and thanatourism

Seaton and Lennon (2004) discuss thanatourism in terms of the media and the narrative it creates surrounding horrific events. This narrative they write, generally results in a moral panic and the examples discussed include the tours of Dunblane immediately after the 1997 massacre, the tours of the English village Soham after the murders of two schoolgirls in 2002 and the coverage of Professor Gunther Von Hagen's displays of dissected and preserved human bodies in London in 2002. In recent years the examples have kept flowing, the most notable being the Sky News coverage of so called 'Madeline-tourists'. These holiday makers to Praia da Luz, writes Watts (2008), visit the well known sites of the kidnapping of the young schoolgirl, despite residents calling them 'sick'. The Madeline-tourists visit the place where the girl was last seen, the house of one of the major suspects and the church where her parents prayed for her to be found. This type of tourist, and the sensational exposés written about them- particularly in the tabloid press, Seaton and Lennon write, highlights the argument that the media construct a metanarrative of moral panic around thanatourism. In terms of Sarajevo, an abundance of newspaper articles written for newspapers (ranging from travel features to broadsheets and from immediate post-war to current times) illustrates both the media's desire to cover the presence of thanatourism but also to sensationalise it. Headlines have included; **Tourists flock to Bosnia war tours** (Hawton, BBC News Online, June 2004), **Warzone tourism popular in Sarajevo** (Papot, Jun 2008), **War tourists fight to see Bosnia's past**, (Kampschorr, Christian Science Monitor, Feb 2006), **Bosnia: War Tour Treks Through Sarajevo's Splintered Past** (Zimonjic, 2006). These tourists take part in a number of activities, including visits to the Tunnel Museum, various sniper positions, the National Library (which was shelled), several cemeteries, Sniper Alley and the Holiday Inn, home to the western media during the siege. The Tunnel Museum is one of the highlights of this trip, showing visitors the remains of the tunnel which was used primarily for military purposes to cross no man's land and to smuggle goods and people in and out of the city. Several private guides run these tours and they have been well documented in the media over the past 8 years.



Image 3.2 - Tunnel Museum, Sarajevo

Much has been written about the role of destination image in travel choice. Lapage and Cormier (1977:21) wrote that *‘in many cases, it is probably the image more than the factual information that produces a tourist’s decision on where to travel.’* Beeton (2005) discusses this by writing that an analysis of Lapage’s and Cormier’s ideas could lead one to the conclusion that a positive image of a destination would increase desire to visit a destination while a negative image would discourage tourists. But is this true for the thanatourist? If as Foley and Lennon (1996:198) wrote, there is a desire to *‘experience the reality behind the media images,’* surely for dark tourists the more negative a destination image, the more attractive the destination becomes. Consequently, could it be argued that the film and media images which emerged from Bosnia during the war and post war acted in the opposite way for dark tourists and actually influenced them to visit the country. Certainly there is some anecdotal evidence that some tourists to Sarajevo wish to experience the reality behind the media images. Tours guides in the city have reported visitors asking to wear Chetnik uniforms, to visit the possible whereabouts of Radovan Karadzic (the most wanted war criminal in connection with the Balkan War before his 2008 capture) and to visit the site of the largest genocide in Europe post World War 2 at Srebrenica (Kampschror, 2001). Later sections in the thesis will test if the media stories like the sensational headlines in the newspapers above and the

graphic images of war in film do indeed provide a motivation for tourists to visit Sarajevo.

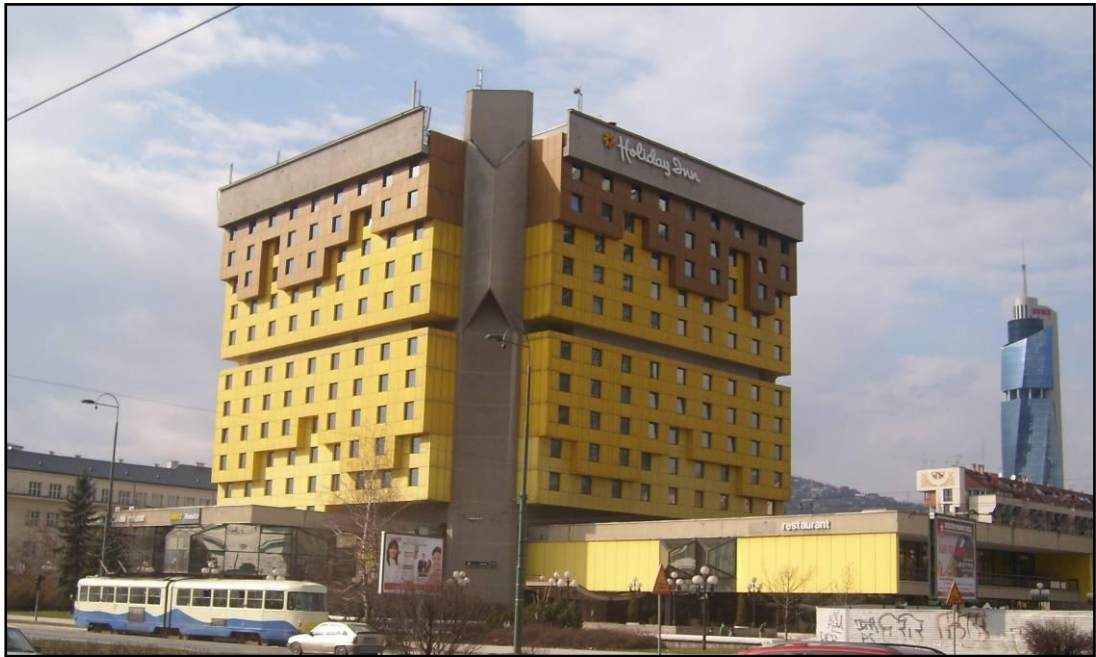


Image 3.3 The Holiday Inn, March 2009, Sarajevo

3.5 Commodification of death

They pronounce it Pom-pay-e. I always had an idea that you went down into Pompeii with torches, by way of damp, dark stairways, just as you do in silver mines, and traversed gloomy tunnels with lava overhead and something on either hand like dilapidated prisons gouged out of the solid earth, that faintly resembled houses. But you do nothing of the kind.

It was a quaint and curious pastime, wandering through this old silent city of the dead – lounging through utterly deserted streets where thousands and thousands of human beings once bought and sold, and walked and rode, and made the place resound with the noise and confusion of traffic and pleasure.

(Twain, 1869:210, 212)

Arising out of the work of Seaton, Foley and Lennon, it is necessary to propose a clear picture of the process of how these thanatourism sites are constructed. This section proposes the below diagram as the clearest method of presenting the transformation of sites from those of disaster to those able to accommodate tourism, whether mass or niche. Much of the research carried out on thanatourism sites must be positioned at the final stage of the diagram: the event

or disaster has been interpreted commercially and the site now accommodates mass tourism. Little however has been written on how visitors' desires to consume sites of death has helped in the construction of thanatourism sites. The main proportion of the research carried out in the thanatourism field discusses Seaton's second type of thanatourist, those who travel to view material evidence of death or disaster at the site where it occurred. Again though, most of the research in this area focuses on the construction of sites from the supply side, rather than the demand. Perhaps the only lengthy study into visitor motivations for thanatourism sites focuses on the Holocaust Museum, Houston. This synthetic sites which display evidence of death and disaster from Nazi Germany, has little connection to the places of death themselves. Comparisons to motivations for visiting sites directly associated with death is therefore difficult, as Yuill's findings illustrate that visitors to the Holocaust Museum are motivated primarily by desire for education, and secondly for remembrance reasons.

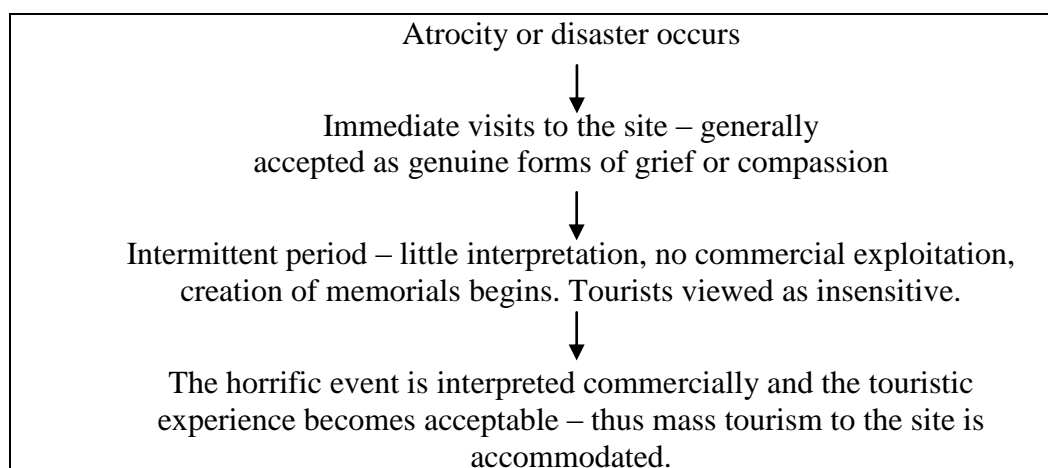


Fig 3.5 Construction of thanatourism sites

The above diagram is best exemplified by Mark Twain. Once again, Twain's eye skilfully interrogates the process by which a scar becomes a memorial and how it is then consumed by the public. Discussing a tree in a Parisian park, Twain notes the ecological challenges faced by the presentation of dark sites, a similar notion to those discussed by Charlesworth some 130 years later.

The cross marks the spot where a troubled troubadour was waylaid and murdered in the fourteenth century. It was in this park that that fellow with an unpronounceable name made the attempt on the Russian Czar's life last spring with a pistol. The bullet struck a tree. Ferguson

showed us the place. Now in America that interesting tree would be chopped down or forgotten within the next five years, but it will be treasured here. The guides will point it out to visitors for the next eight hundred years, and when it decays and falls down they will put another up there and go on with the same old story just the same.

(Twain, 1869: 88)

It is debateable what stage Sarajevo's thanatourism industry is at in the above diagram. Srebrenica is even more difficult to locate, while there are also tensions in positioning Dubrovnik and Vukovar. Economically, ecologically and in representation contexts, the sites discussed throughout this thesis operate in dynamic and fluid landscapes. The usefulness of the diagram is limited in that the fluidity of a site means that while some elements may have become commodified, others will be at a different stage. Commercial interpretation has begun at Srebrenica for example, but it is very much a type of exclave heritage where the touristic experience is quite possibly not overly welcome from the local population. Similarly in Sarajevo, memorialisation has begun but there are still many war scars. Organic images presented to tourists tell tales of bombed out buildings, adventures chasing war criminals and almost a threat of instability which could see another war. Evidence from travel blogs which will be discussed and presented in full later, illustrate that tourists wish to photograph and discuss war torn buildings, shell marks and other scars of war much more than official interpretation the city may have to offer. Interpretation is beginning in the city – as mentioned earlier several private tour operators run tours of some key sites associated with the war. Sarajevo Roses, shell marks filled in with red cement, while essentially a war scar, are a memorialisation in their own way as they clearly preserve evidence of the conflict. Officials have also noted the importance of preserving the Tunnel Museum on the city's outskirts.



Image 3.4

Preserved scar? This damaged old folks' home in Sarajevo exemplifies the debate about when a scar becomes a memorial. Although no conscious decision has been taken to preserve this building, its current state 15 years after the end of the conflict raises questions about memorialisation.

Sarajevo, July 2008

Many of the thanatourism sites featured in this thesis lie in a state of ruins. There is an undeniable beauty to ruins; a seductive emptiness which provides food for the imagination, spaces for contemplation and opportunities for personal reflection. The beauty of ruins lies in the mysterious qualities held within; no longer do they hold their former glories and are instead stripped back to their bare architectural bones, revealing little at first glance of their true past. The desolation of such ruins provides a visual contrast to the status they once held; whether this was as a simple dwelling place of the everyday man or a symbol of economic, royal or nationalistic power. In an Irish context such ruins are dotted throughout the country; from Viking, Norman and Anglo-Saxon invasions to the 1840s famine. Temporally speaking, these ruins connect us with a much earlier time. The ruins of Sarajevo and the Yugoslav conflicts serve a very different purpose, linking us to a very recent event, in living memory for many of the inhabitants of (and tourists to) the region. In a spatial context these

ruins also offer a striking contrast of the proximity of war to everyday activities. Many city centre buildings still lie derelict and war tours visit (and draw attention to) the difficulties in returning many of these buildings to their former use. These buildings are shell damaged, have crumbling exteriors and are often still heavily mined, even in central Sarajevo. The recentness of the conflict means that the ruins themselves still proclaim death and disaster - indeed many do this quite literally with mine warning signage featuring a skull and crossbones (*see image 5.12*). As time passes and the mines are cleared it is likely that the ruins will move towards representing history in general, as opposed to death in particular.

Ruins serve a function therefore as a link to the past. The word 'ruin' implies an almost permanent state of disrepair, fossilised into history. However, in reality ruins operate in a fluid and dynamic environment, even the lenses we use to view these ruins will change over time. The earlier quote from Twain about the Parisian tree highlights the ecological evolution of tourist sites and the debate about what condition in which to preserve them as monuments. During his trip to Pompeii in the 1860s, Twain makes many indirect comments about the fluidity of the Pompeii site which can be usefully be contrasted to Charlesworth's observations on Auschwitz-Birkenau. Not only does he comment on motivations for visiting, he also highlights how the site has evolved through the ages. Pompeii is not at all how he expects it to be and instead is bright from the sun the day he visits. The city is clean, neatly swept and suggests nothing of the depths of a silver mine, as he expected. However, this doesn't stop Twain having a 'dark' experience and he uses his vivid imagination instead to picture how:

...two prisoners [were] chained on that memorable November night, and tortured (them) to death. How they must have tugged at the pitiless fetters as the fierce fires surged around them.

In one of these long Pompeiian halls the skeleton of a man was found, with ten pieces of gold in one hand and a large key in the other. He had seized his money and started towards the door, but the fiery tempest caught him at the very threshold, and he sank down and died. One more minute of precious time would have saved him. I saw the skeletons of a man, a woman, and two young girls. The woman had her

hands spread wide apart, as if in mortal terror, and I imagined I could still trace upon her shapeless face something of the expression of wild despair that distorted it when the heavens rained fire in these streets, so many years ago.

...dreaming among the trees that grow over acres and acres of its still buried streets and squares, till a shrill whistle and the cry of 'All aboard – last train for Naples!' woke me up and reminded me that I belonged in the nineteenth century, and was not a dusty mummy, caked with ash and cinders, eighteen hundred years old. The transition was startling.

(Twain, 1869: 211,214,215)

3.6 Guides, entrepreneurs and mediating heritage

Keil's paper on thanatourism (2005), examines what he terms '*Sightseeing in the Mansions of the Dead*', a notion which provides an excellent entry point into the role played by signage at thanatourism sites. This signage takes many forms, from guidebooks to physical signs to tour guides and entrepreneurs making a living from selling death. This signage mediates the relationships experienced by the living with the spaces of the dead and is a particularly relevant consideration at sites with troubled heritage. The four theoretical underpinnings of Orientalism, secularisation, post-modernism and a sociology of death are useful for contextualising this relationship and will be referenced throughout this section. Keil's paper begins to tackle some of these ideas and he articulates his belief that visitor motivations to thanatourism sites are polysemic, fractured and unstable. Citing the example of Auschwitz he notes how it is saturated with meaning and that the narrative of catastrophe told there is part of a series of collected memories. Cole (1999) offers similar understandings of Auschwitz where he notes the tensions experienced by the different 'stakeholders' at the camp, including the Jewish community, Poles, Catholics, veterans, locals, tourists and others.

At Auschwitz the phrase '*sightseeing in the mansions of the dead*' becomes highly appropriate, given the sheer volume of tourists and the numbers of dead at the camp. Although Auschwitz is an important historical site, Keil is careful to note that it appears somewhat distasteful to consider it as just another point on a tourist itinerary. However, this is exactly what it is and he notes the proximity

to Krakow and the ease of access (free entry, motorway links etc) to the camp as drivers in its 'success' in attracting the volume of tourists it gets. He states that the tour guides at the camp see their role as educational, they do not see their role as '*running a mass-tourism enterprise, nor in providing religious or philosophical aspects of interpretation*' (Keil, 2005:484). This is an important observation, which was reflected in many of the interviews to be discussed in later empirical chapters. The guides, although essentially working in the tourism industry, do not position themselves as entertainers. They are highly aware of the gravity of the story they tell, knowing that their job is to tell the history of the place. The museum's education department conduct tours, educational work, seminars and workshops with national and international groups. The memorial centre at Srebrenica offers similar programmes, inviting international scholars related to many areas of genocide study (including geography, tourism, law, body identification and others) to the city to become educated about the work they do. This type of mediation is worth of further exploration. Tourists take away the human experience as well as their souvenirs and photographs and to ignore the contact they have with guides would be dangerous. The guide is the primary point of contact for the tourist. The temporal question arises again at this point. Keil notes that after the conflict there is a process of documentation and representation. But, while the tragic events themselves stay locked in the past, the object's relationship with time has been re-ordered. At Auschwitz, the genocide has been repackaged for consumption today. He uses the example of photography of mass murder to illustrate this point. The dead (or soon to be dead) were surrounded by an audience of murderers and bystanders, pointing towards the spectacle element of the genocide. Placement of these images at Auschwitz has been controversial, yet the crowds who gaze on them today become part of a wider audience in the photograph, an ever-growing back row.

The museum-object is locked in the present, its traumatic power contained within barriers of representation; it refers to the past, but it is no longer of the past.

(Keil, 2005:487)

Part of bringing the object in to the present involves the processes of documentation and representation noted by Keil above. The documentation process involves a range of stakeholders who through their direct or indirect

interest in a site create organic and autonomous images which begin to represent the tragedy. These documents, or signage, are placed at a site to mediate the event for visitors and victims, and are represented by tour guides among others. He moves five minutes by bus across Oświęcim to Birkenau, where he immediately notes the different atmosphere. Here, the past intrudes on the present and there is no absence of death. There is a relative absence of signage however, which contributes to the feeling of sense of loss. The horizontal rows, the barb wire and the smaller numbers of tourists contribute to this atmosphere.

Vacancy and loss is articulated not only by signs of absence, but by the absence of signs, by the apparent lack of interpretation or presentation. The doors to the surviving huts stand half open. If you are not with a tour, there are no signs telling you where to go, or whether the huts are open to visitors or not.

(Keil, 2005:489)

This note is interesting on several levels. The sense of loss experienced by Keil is useful as an introduction to later arguments on memorialisation. A conscious decision was taken at Auschwitz not to raze it to the ground but rather to preserve it and let the ruins do the memorial work. This notion of preserved scars transcending boundaries between acting as what they actually are (or were) and yet also standing as a monument is a key discourse in the post-war landscape of ex-Yugoslavia. The damaged war sites in Sarajevo, Srebrenica and Vukovar and the decisions to preserve them in their ruined states is a fascinating concept which offers avenues on the temporal transcending capabilities of these 'monuments'. Keil notes that the traumatic history of Auschwitz cannot be seen through these monuments, only approached through what they represent. The second point worthy of exploration in the above quote is the lack of a tour guide. The necessity of having human contact to mediate the experience in the absence of signage is worthy of further examination.



*Image 3.5: Limited interpretation at Birkenau (as opposed to at Auschwitz 1),
Oświęcim, July 2010*

Siegenthaler's paper (2002) offers an avenue for further exploration of this 'need' for guides. He uses the examples of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the sites of the two WW2 atomic bombs which between them killed tens of thousands of civilians. He also notes the usefulness of guidebooks in the documentation and representation process, particularly for a local audience. Such books can be used to uncover where the tragic event fits in to the national memory and how they can emphasise or dramatise the event for international consumption. These guidebooks do not remove the need for actual guides.

Guidebooks for a domestic audience fill a problematic role in the discussion of tourism more generally. Usefully seen as generalized statements of a society's perspectives on its central tourism sites, their study offers an opportunity to chart one piece of the cultural landscape in which they were produced.

(Siegenthaler, 2002:1114)

Macdonald (2006) makes similar comments on the processes involved in mediating heritage for tourists. She notes how preferential readings of the landscape are decoded for the tourist. This is a practice highly evident throughout ex-Yugoslavia and discussed in detail throughout Chapters 5 & 6.

3.7 Motivations and experiences

As will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter several writers have completed theses on thanatourism. Two of these theses focussed in particular on the consumption side of thanatourism, questioning the motivations of those who gaze upon death and disaster. The first of these theses was submitted for an MSC degree at Texas A&M University in 2003. This work, by Stephanie Yuill, explores the motivations held by those who visited the Holocaust Museum in Houston. Yuill makes a number of key findings in relation to her particular site choice, notably that remembrance and education are two of the key motivators for visiting the Holocaust Museum. However, Yuill is quick to state that it is difficult to broaden these findings to be useful for all thanatourism sites as different personal motivations exist to visit all. Her thesis also produces some more generic findings, including implications for management. One such suggestion made by Yuill is that better understanding of visitor motivation could result in stopping the trivialisation and commodification of sites (2003: 219). By understanding in depth the reasons visitors have for visiting sites, curators and others involved in the production of sites could provide higher quality products which stay true to history. However, Yuill also suggests that visitor motivations to sites of thanatourism may also relate to the messages the site is trying to promote. While this may apply in some circumstances it remains difficult to look at thanatourism sites in a generic push and pull model. The findings from the Yugoslavian sites in Chapters 5 & 6 help to promote this theory.

The second thesis which focussed in depth on motivations to visit thanatourism sites is that of Ria Dunkley, 2007. Dunkley's (2007) Ph.D. explores the motivations of tourists to various dark tourism sites, including: Auschwitz-Birkenau, Highgate Cemetery, Ypres and the Somme and a 'Blood and Tears' tour in London. The results from these sites uncovered that thanatourism had a weak theoretical framework and that the topic is fragmented and visitor motivations can wildly vary. One clear finding however is that the sites have a profound impact on the visitors, and, as Dunkley writes, this defies Boorstin's notion that tourists are just superficial beings. The thesis finds that motivations to visit sites vary and that among others, pilgrimage, special interest validation and (morbid) curiosity are key. Dunkley's thesis also finds that 'thanasites'

(Dunkley, 2007:391) may be used as gateways to emotion for tourists, in a similar way to more traditional pilgrimage.

Briefly exploring visitors' motivations to thanatourism sites is a useful exercise to a point yet it is difficult to generate findings applicable to the wider population. Those who visit thanatourism sites may do so for a very particular personal reason which may have little or no relevance to another potential tourist. Despite this, reflection on tourists' motivations is worthwhile as understanding a person's reasons for visiting helps in exploring the nexus between consumption, commodification and death. Tourists themselves play a role in commodifying the site if they represent it to friends or family via word of mouth, blogs, photographs or other methods, a particularly plausible notion if they visit a site somewhat out of the ordinary, as argued by O'Rourke in the opening statement of this chapter.

When I watched the world greet the twenty-first century, there seemed to me no reason why our era couldn't be a golden age of peace, love and brotherhood. This, as the least observant witness to our times would have noticed, has declined to dawn. This book is an attempt to understand why, a ruminative ramble around the world's past, present and future conflict zones. It works on more than one level, though – it's also a compendium of cheap mockery of querulous foreigners.

(Mueller, 2008: 3)

3.8



***Inveraray Jail** is a museum and major visitor attraction on Scotland's west coast where real people portray life in a 19th century prison. The jail is variously advertised as 'The Original Historic Jailhouse!', 'Scotland's Premier Tourist Attraction' and 'A Living Jail' (Inveraray Jail, 2010). Leaflets for the jail lie in many of Scotland's other major tourist attractions, including Glenmore Lodge, Stirling Castle and Loch Ness Visitor Centre. Inveraray is a small and picturesque seaside village and on a bright summer day one would not imagine the darkness which lies in the heart of the square, a foreboding courthouse with tales of devilish deeds.*

Designed by James Gillespie Graham in 1813 after original plans by Robert Reid in 1807, Inveraray Jail is a striking piece of judicial architecture. The ground obtained for the prison was suitable for the original plan (one male prison, one female prison and one specifically for debtors) but finance wasn't quite enough and the Prison Commissioners had to be content with only one prison. Both the courthouse and prisons opened in 1820. The courtroom, on the first floor, has a semicircle of large windows giving a magnificent view overlooking the prison yard and, beyond, across Loch Fyne. The two-storied prison has three-foot-thick walls of massive rough hewn red stone and originally contained cells on both floors, eight in total. The tour takes places within the court and jails and contains a mixture of displays, artwork and original artefacts.

The jail is advertised online as a:
...top Scottish visitor attraction where real people portray life in a 19th century prison. Interact with costumed characters, watch courtroom trials, talk to the prisoners, meet the Warder, go to jail and witness cell life, sample the punishments, browse the exhibition of prison artefacts, then make your escape.
 Inveraray Jail, (2010)

On arrival at the jail the visitor is greeted by two waxwork figures holding pikes, under a modern, bright sign entitled 'Inveraray Jail'. Entrance to the exhibition costs from £5.50 to £8.25 and one can purchase a guidebook for £3.95 which contains photos of many of the exhibits throughout the museum. The jail is one of the few attractions in the region which opens year-round, due to the outdoor nature of local activities. Similar jails exist around Scotland and the rest of the world, including 70 miles away at Stirling Jail. Kilmainham Jail in Ireland tells a similar story of harsh Victorian conditions, albeit with added nationalist sentiments.



Image 3.6: A wax prisoner, Inveraray Jail, August 2010



Image 3.7: Some of the first displays greeting the visitor in the entrance and first exhibit room, Inveraray Jail, August 2010

Upon arriving at the jail, the visitor climbs one set of stairs to the right of the pay-booth and after meeting more wax figures, one restraining a dog and others dressed in period clothing, enters the first exhibition room. Signage awaits at the exhibit entrance, introducing the visitor to ‘*Torture, Death and Damnation, The Story of Scottish Crime and Punishment, 1550-1750*’. Inside the first room, before entering the court itself, the visitor is greeted by exhibitions detailing the crimes committed by some of her prisoners. Graphic displays outline some of the torture methods used to extract convictions. Punishments included the face clamp, lashings, burning at the stake and hanging. Prison was generally only a temporary location, used to hold the prisoner before trial or briefly after trial if awaiting death.

The ground floor was dimly lit, with only a third in daylight by the narrow, unglazed windows. Displays around the first exhibition room draw attention to the conditions endured by the prisoners. The Prisons (Scotland) Act 1839 brought about many changes, including the separation of prisoners and a second prison was finally built on the spare ground, opening in the closing days of 1848. Designed by Thomas Brown of Edinburgh, the new prison consisted of twelve cells on three floors with an exercising gallery at the top. The gallery forms part of the tour as do the pair of outdoor exercise yards.

The theme of replication, so frequently discussed in tourism research immediately came to mind at the next exhibit, a stage-like courtroom in full trial swing. Upon entering the courtroom, one would hesitate so as not to disturb proceedings, so lifelike are the replicas. The court is half full of wax figures, watching the defendants, their counsel, judge and clerks. The other half has empty benches where the visitor can sit among the dummies. If one sits motionless, only the period dress distinguishes real from replica, 19th century prisoner from 21st century tourist. This ‘living’ aspect of the jail exemplifies the notions of replication and duplication, ever prevalent in thanatourism research. My only criticism of this fear factory to this point was that although it was advertised as ‘living’, it relied on technology and wax figures to fulfil the illusion. However, it was as ‘alive’ as it possibly could be and it struck me that only real life actors or indeed real prisoners could make it further live and breathe. But that was to come later.

*As he puts you behind bars, locks the door and walks away in his heavy boots or just watches over you, you’ll experience firsthand what life was like at Inveraray Jail under the Warder’s watchful eyes. The difference is you can make your **prison escape** any time you want to!*
(Inveraray Jail, 2010)



Image 3.8: The Court,
Inveraray Jail, August 2010

I moved through the courtroom to the jail at rear of the court, entering what could be described as a staged authentic back area. This is a very deliberate choice of words: where could be considered more of a 'back area' than a jail? Few will experience one in their lifetime and probably even fewer would desire to. Yet this 'attraction' plays very heavily on this notion and management appear to be aware of the jail's position as a back area. The 'perceived authenticity' element was highly visible and the website describes the jail section of the tour and guests' meetings with the warden. The jail itself is divided in two sections, one built in conjunction with the courtroom in 1820, the other in 1848. In-between is the 'Airing Yard' which was built in 1843 in a reaction to various reports on the poor conditions at the time. A reform bill in 1838 and follow up inspections by a new official resulted in several improvements, including a new heating system, gas lights and permitted time outside. These improvements are all noted around the jail. Signage directed me towards the first section of the jail, a small block which housed just 8 cold and damp cells. I immediately moved into the first empty cell, to avoid a build up of stag party tourists at the entrance, and was greeted by the first 'prisoner', an actress in a shawl who sat busy knitting on the small hammock ties to the wall.

She began to tell me about prison life with lots of enthusiasm, a strong accent and rich Victorian humour. She offered me some gruel which had been made with treacle water as they had '*run out of milk and the cow is sick*'. I declined and asked if they had any Coco Pops as an alternative. '*No, my love, I got the doctor to look at those and he lopped them right off.*' The actress continued, telling me about her work knitting socks for the prisoners and cheekily asked me to join her on the hammock. I decided a picture would be enough and said my goodbyes and left.

The visitor can also sample the punishments here, which arguably helps to reduce the time and space difference - a 'Victorian Jail-land' for the visitor, who can if he or she chooses, experience the pain of the torture instruments. Two Scottish women visiting the jail as part of a tour of the west coast offered to photograph me being whipped by them. However, the statement on the website '*make sure you know who is holding the birch*', coupled with my reckoning that their offer might actually be serious, made me quickly decline and I moved back to the cell with the crank, now empty. I did sample this punishment however, a piece of machinery designed to break a prisoner's morale by constant pointless labour. The notion of the dedifferentiation of leisure struck me again here: these items once used for punishment now act as a novelty attraction. They still provide capability for carrying out their original function but now also fulfil the dark tourist's desire to sample cruel Victorian punishments.



Image 3.9: The Whipping Table,
Inveraray Jail, August 2010

I moved on to the final section of the jail briefly stopping for a chat at one of the outdoor cells with one of the male ‘inmates’. Here, again, visitors could try the conditions and I stepped into the exercise cell, where a prisoners were granted precious minutes of outdoor exercise per day, post the Penal Reform Bill of 1838. The actor playing the prisoner had had better days however, or else played the gruff role exceedingly well, so I walked into the new section of the jail. Again, the stag party had beaten me to this section and amid some ‘Oi, Oi!’ chants, I began to look around the final cells. These cells contained more wax figures to help bring the jail to life, including one looking rather wistfully at a wax rat, reminding me of the French prisoner Eduard Delacroix in Spielberg’s *The Green Mile*.

After leaving the jail I reread the sections in Mark Twain’s *The Innocents Abroad* where he visits the Castle d’If in France and the Chamber of Three and Coliseum in Italy. The castle, used in Dumas’ *Count of Monte Cristo* and as a prison for the infamous Iron Mask, captures Twain’s imagination. The thickness of the walls, the gloom and the damp inspire Twain and he imagines the life of the prison’s inhabitants.

..its dungeon walls are scarred with the rudely carved names of many and many a captive who fretted his life away here and left no record of himself but these sad epitaphs wrought with his own hands. How thick the names were! And their long-departed owners seemed to throng the gloomy cells and corridors with their phantom shapes. We loitered through dungeon after dungeon, away down into the living rock below the level of the sea, it seemed. Names everywhere! – some plebeian, some noble, some even princely. Plebian, prince and noble had one solitude in common – they would not be forgotten.

(Twain, 1869:64)

Twain appears to revel in visiting jails and other similar state sponsored institutions of captivity. In the *Innocents* he visits the Castle d’If, the torture den of the Chamber of Three in Venice (which he describes in vivid, graphic detail) and the Coliseum at which he delights in inventing a fictional pamphlet, *The Roman Daily Battle-Axe*, which describes last night’s slaughter in detail before promising a matinee for the little folks at which ‘several martyrs will be eaten by the tigers’, (Twain, 1869:182).



Image 3.10: Inveraray Jail,
August 2010



Jails provide a wonderful opportunity to examine many of the themes which have arisen in the literature on thanatourism over the last two decades and I have visited many over the duration of this thesis. Jails can be used to understand a variety of thanatourism sub-themes, including nationalism (at Kilmainham, The Maze and Robben Island), poverty (Stirling & Inveraray), power discourses, government and colonialism (The Tower of London) and the Holocaust, World War 2 and military captivity at Auschwitz & Sachsenhausen. However, the crucial point about jail tourism is the theme of mobility. The free traveller uses his/ her leisure time to gaze upon institutions of captivity. It appears that the greater the narratives and legends about escape the more attractive the prison becomes. Alcatraz certainly embraces the escape stories in the interpretation of its history, its geographical location on an island adding to how we imagine mobility. The Karosta Port Naval Prison in Latvia goes a step further by allowing guests to stay the night and be treated as prisoners. The border crossing theme park in Mexico, discussed earlier, also raises questions about mobility as a tourist versus the consumption of captivity, with Mexico itself as a 'jail' and the 'border' representing freedom.

Inveraray Jail imagines and represents captivity in a similar way to Twain's observations on the Coliseum. Like his imaginary *The Roman Daily Battle-Axe*, Inveraray's exhibits, actors and interpretation present a spectacle about captivity for leisure consumption. The jail even goes so far as to allow and encourage visitors to experience captivity. Stories of escape are told on the website, drawing attention to the remoteness of the jail and the futility of escaping. Some visitors try out the cells and straps themselves and the comments on the website include:

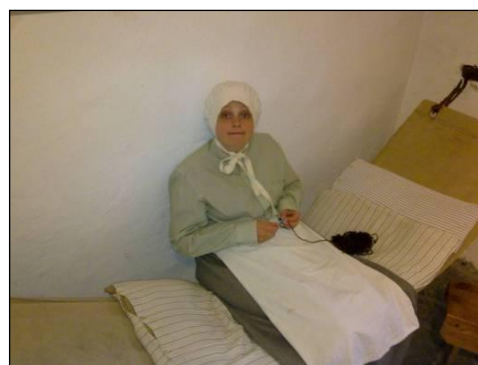


Image 3.11: Female prisoner actor, Inveraray Jail, August 2010

My boyfriend seemed very amused at being able to lock me up and even whip me.....!

Helen, Mirfield (Inveraray Jail, 2010)

The matron locked me in a cell, but I was cheeky!

Mia, Glasgow (Inveraray Jail, 2010)

It was very good. I especially liked trying out the hammock and the whipping table!

Lorna, Brackley (Inveraray Jail, 2010)

Night visits to the jail are also offered with the opportunity to participate in ghost hunts and paranormal investigations. These include Ghost Events Scotland, a 'Psychic Ghost Walk' and a 'Vigils & Experiments' night. I attempted to purchase such a ticket on Halloween night but it was long sold out, such was the interest.

3.9 Conclusion

Chapter Three reviews the major books and papers published on thanatourism and related themes. The chapter shows the breadth of the field, discussing how death is commodified at tourist sites and how guides mediate ‘difficult heritage’. The chapter examines the major theoretical and empirical papers on thanatourism/. Previous frameworks and typologies are explored, with analysis of how these theoretical foundations can be used to address the research questions in ex-Yugoslavia. The literature provides clear evidence that thanatourism is a topic worthy of exploration in ex-Yugoslavia. The literature also highlights the potential to explore tour guides and how they mediate ‘difficult heritage’, as they appear to be key, but under researched, players in thanatourism literature.

The countries which made up Yugoslavia at the turn of the 1990s were by no means underdeveloped countries, and although they were breaking free from a socialist regime, none were struggling economically in relation to other Balkan countries. Thus, many visitors may wonder how such events could have happened in modern times, in such an economically developed country. Although national tensions ran high at the time no one could have predicted the loss of life which occurred during the 4 years – some commentators estimate the casualties at over 100, 000 with 2.5 million displaced from their homes (Tabeau & Bijak, 2005). Secondly, the failure of the UN to prevent the atrocities despite their relatively heavy presence in the area raises questions about the processes of modernity and the inevitable doubts many visitors to Bosnia must have about institutions such as the United Nations, the European Union and NATO. Considering this failure of modernity notion, it will also be vital to explore what motivates people to visit dark tourism sites in the first. Exploring the layers of motivation which drive visitors to these places is an area lacking in thanatourism research – most commentators tend to explore the site itself more than the complexities of emotions of the visitor. This notion will be addressed later in the thesis.

Seaton’s observation that the tourist has a strong desire, or almost a need, to visit these places is an unnerving idea. The argument has been put forward that

the research into thanatourism, and especially visitor desires, has created more questions than answers, (Seaton & Lennon, 2004, Yuill, 2004). Work in the area is only at a preliminary stage and there are many sub-topics left to be examined. Topics such as interpretation, authenticity and ethical dilemmas have received some degree of attention, but several authors have noted that most research into thanatourism has focussed on the supply of sites, rather than analysing tourist's desires to consume them. The emphasis of this research will explore the behavioural aspect of the visitors in question, while also considering the interpretation and presentation of many of Sarajevo's sites. Understanding demand for thanatourism will be particularly useful in attempting to understand the concepts of moral panic and unease with modernity; fundamental questions which should be addressed by research into thanatourism.

Finally, Chapter Three highlights the complexity of thanatourism and the inherent challenges in how it should be approached methodologically. A variety of theoretical frameworks have been explored in this chapter (for example in *Figures 3.2, 3.3, 3.5*) and although the field is arguably not as 'theoretically fragile' as Stone wrote in 2006, there remains great potential for developing the methods and structures we use to develop theories about the commodification, consumption and experiences at sites of death. Chapter Four brings the theoretical foundations established in recent literature together with the tested methodologies in thanatourism research. The theory and methodologies are brought together with new ideas about how to research thanatourism in Chapter Four. New methods are proposed with detailed commentary on their suitability for researching thanatourism in ex-Yugoslavia.

Chapter Four

Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the methods used to examine the commodification and consumption of thanatourism spaces ex-Yugoslavia. The chapter will critically assess recent methodologies in the field, including the debate on the lack of quantitative techniques employed by thanatourism researchers. Methods for developing qualitative study in the thanatourism niche will be presented, with the case made for their inclusion in this and future thanatourism research. In addition the chapter will explore the range of emerging methodologies in the broader niche tourism field, including some of the more unconventional techniques which have been attempted in recent years. The chapter will present the case for the primary and secondary methods chosen, arguing that a mixed methods approach leads to or can lead to a more holistic understanding of the reasons for the commodification of the Yugoslav Wars. Finally, the chapter will conclude by noting the limitations of the research and proposing how future work in the area could further develop how thanatourism spaces, and particularly those sites which would otherwise be totally unremarkable, are sold, consumed and represented.

4.2 Previous methodologies

As thanatourism is a relatively new subject and has only received serious attention in geography and tourism literature over the past two decades, it is appropriate to begin the chapter with a review of some of the recent and proposed methodologies in the field. These include several thesis methodologies and analysis of the methods used in the major papers and books. Proposals for quantitative methodologies in the field are also examined.

4.2.1 Dunkley (*A PhD methodology 2007*)

Dr. Ria Dunkley completed a Ph.D. in thanatourism at University of Wales Institute Cardiff in 2007. This was one of the first doctorates completed in the field. Dunkley's thesis proposes a 'hot approach' to studying thanatourism. This hot approach involves immersing oneself in the field and allowing emotions and personal experiences to play a role in the research process. Dunkley expands on this even further by taking an auto-ethnographic approach and using her '*emotionally turbulent relationship with thanatourism*' (2007:100) to position

herself in the participant narrative. To analyse this data Dunkley then presents the emotional experiences of her thanatourists using a poetic structure. The next pages will summarise Dunkley's methodology, exploring the merits and shortcomings of her fully interpretivist approach. Although this present thesis focuses more on commodification than experience, Dunkley's methodologies provide a useful resource on emerging techniques in how to tackle sensitive thanatourism research.

The Thanatourist: Collected Tales of the Thanatourism Experience relies on a totally qualitative research approach. Dunkley rejects the use of quantitative methods in researching a sensitive niche tourism topic like thanatourism, writing that as tourism is a social practice indistinguishable from culture, research in the area generally lends itself to qualitative methods. Contemporary travellers are provided with potentially life changing experiences when travelling and as such an important part in people's lives, tourism can be used as a lens to understand individuals and societies. Dunkley rejects the positivist approach and takes a mainly interpretivist approach, utilising empirical methods to engage with those who took part in thanatourist activities. This (for her) presented more quality and in-depth data rather than the generalise-able data generated by positivist research. In Dunkley's research toolkit she utilises 3 methods: auto-ethnography, creative conversations and participant narrative analysis. These qualitative methods rely totally on an interpretive approach which privileges understanding over measurement. The underlying theory of this is that given the potential layers in most geographical and anthropological research, it is impossible to fully gain a true understanding as research will only superficially scratch the surface. Dunkley therefore states that her research does not aim to attribute undisputable truths to the thanatourism experience but to proscribe some insights into the meanings which people ascribe to their own experiences. She acknowledges there is a weakness in drawing generalisations from this type of research, especially when similarities and differences are drawn, therefore noting that we are unable to arrive at an unambiguous truth within empirical interpretivist research

Typically tourism research often employs many quantitative techniques. Large surveys are used for example to provide causal explanations but can lack the depth and understanding presented by qualitative work. Dunkley acknowledges that the youthfulness of thanatourism research lends itself to exploratory research and much of the early work in the field has been almost totally qualitative – the original papers on the topic by Foley and Lennon (1996), Seaton (1996) and others relied on empirical enquiry, mainly observing tourists, commodified sites and limited ethnographic techniques. Wight (2006) proposes that as this background work began to explore the topic, the next logical step would be to build on the qualitative work with quantitative research.

Dunkley chooses a qualitative approach as her work focuses on the experience of dark tourists, a study which does not lend itself to quantitative inquiry. She notes that studying human behaviour does not lend itself to providing quantitative answers and this researcher agrees with this argument. The personal backgrounds of her participants and the richness of their thanatourism experiences are too complex to quantify. In addition, she notes that the sensitive nature of thanatourism leaves the researcher with a challenge of extracting deeply personal and evocative emotions from the subjects. Dunkley attempts to achieve this by embedding herself in small groups of dark tourists who visit Auschwitz, writing that *‘studies are generally written in distant third person prose where the author is made to appear invisible and uninvolved. In contrast to this tradition, within this thesis I took a passionate and situated approach to research.’* (2007:100)

This embedded approach is virtually untested in niche tourism and had not been used before in thanatourism research. However, Dunkley supports her argument for pursuing such methods by arguing that human nature deters us from emotional detachment. She therefore uses her own experiences as a thanatourist and her *‘emotionally turbulent relationship with thanatourism’* (2007:100) as a primary source. Similar auto-ethnographic studies such as Tillmann-Healey (1996) are referenced; who used her own experiences as a bulimic as primary data in understanding bulimia. Dunkley continues by arguing that a more actor-centred approach is needed in tourism fieldwork. Ignoring that fieldwork is

peopled by both the researcher and the researched may lead to an exclusion or suppression of information. Dunkley argues that in sensitive research like thanatourism the researcher must be able to empathise with the position of the tourist. She argues that there is a place for and value to integrating her own personal thanatourism experiences in her research.

The situated approach to research has received much attention in various social science disciplines. Cook (2005) approaches the topic in *Cultural geography: a critical dictionary of key concepts*, writing that research is typically chaotic ('tricky, fascinating, awkward, tedious, annoying' and so on, 2005: 16) yet it is written up into rational and linear results which can be comprehended by others. Cook outlines how writing about academic knowledge as a relational process would allow the researcher and audience to appreciate the non-linear, embodied and locatable arguments contained within the data. Dunkley's approach fits quite neatly with Cook's idea – she at 'least makes a stab at where [she's] coming from' (2005: 22). Despite Dunkley's attempt at acknowledging where she is situated against the research object, there is criticism that this is not such a straightforward process. 'The idea that one's positionality can be easily identified and readily acknowledged, described by Rose (1997) as 'transparent reflexivity', has also been criticised, requiring a thorough examination of the ambiguities and uncertainties of the research practice.', (Johnston et al, eds., 2000: 605). Of course the most important aspect would be to go through the reflective process however, which Dunkley achieves well throughout the thesis – readily concurring with Haraway's insistence that all forms of knowledge are situated (1988).

Dunkley records her own experiences in a journal. She references several other recent pieces of work which have adopted an autoethnographic research approach, resolving that although the approach is highly controversial, the technique provides more authentic results than conventional ethnography. The general 'narrative turn' (Riessman 1993:1) which has taken place in the social sciences discipline has provided a voice of the insider which is assumed to be more true than the voice of the outsider. Dunkley argues that as an 'insider' her total immersion in the thanatourism experience did not emerge as a weakness in

the research but rather as a strength. She notes that although an inevitable gap can occur between these experiences when lived and when represented for an audience, strategies were adopted to encourage reflexivity on her own part and the part of the participants.

In conjunction with her autoethnographic approach, Dunkley also uses a participant narrative to describe the thanatourist experience. The research involved 10 participants, including herself and a long-term partner, who visited four thanatourism sites: Auschwitz, Highgate Cemetery, Ypres and the Somme and the Blood and Tears London Walking tour. This research took part in 3 stages comprising of desk research, creative conversations and autoethnography and finally reflective conversations. Dunkley refers to her mixed methods approach as invoking bricolage, Lévi-Strauss (1966), where she pieces together a patchwork from the range of stories provided by her own accounts and those of the participants in the research. The usefulness of the bricolage approach, and the very notion behind its existence is that it *'avoids both the superficiality of methodological breadth and the parochialism of unidisciplinary approaches'* (Kincheloe, 2001:679). Bricolage has become a necessary tool of the social science researcher. We now operate in a landscape post the social science implosion, *'in the ruins of the temple, in a postapocalyptic social, cultural, psychological'* (Kincheloe, 2001:680) landscape, where the bricoleurs are left to pick up the pieces following the concept of Levi-Strauss. Disciplinary boundaries have less and less to do with the way scholars now view the world – the structures at the beginning of the 21st century are fluid and highly dynamic. This is particularly useful for those researching thanatourism – scholars have found useful materials in disciplines ranging from geography (Ashworth and Tunbridge for example) to sociology (Rojek's work) to tourism (Lennon, Foley and Seaton among many others). Even journals of law have directed their attention towards thanatourism (Simic, 2009).

This multi-disciplinary approach is used by Dunkley, whose materials include in-depth, unstructured, *'creative conversations'* (2007:109) which provide thick descriptions. Dunkley reasons that in these creative conversations it was appropriate to disclose her on thoughts and feelings to encourage participants to

do the same. This allows for a researcher to access the deepest wells of emotion experienced by the research subjects. Dunkley takes a novel approach to researching thanatourism. Correctly stating that thanatourism is a deeply emotional subject, Dunkley attempts to create a bricolage using her own experiences in conjunction with '*creative conversations*' with her participants. She exposes her own emotions with a aim of getting '*the respondent to open up*' (2007:110). This approach has often received criticism in the past with Anderson and Smith (2001:7) noting that even with the emotive turn in geographical research '*thinking emotionally is implicitly cast as a source of subjectivity which clouds vision and impairs judgement, while good scholarship depends on keeping one's own emotions under control and others' under wraps*'. Dunkley counters this notion however by writing that her research was self-critical and that using her own experiences helped to present the spaces she explored as settings where emotions were routinely heightened. Anderson and Smith (2001:7) also note that the narrative turn has allowed exploration of these spaces, writing that '*At particular times and in particular places, there are moments where lives are so explicitly lived through pain, bereavement, elation, anger, love and so on that the power of emotional relations cannot be ignored*'.

The second criticism of Dunkley's methodology lies in how she is somewhat selective in what areas need to be addressed in a thanatourism study. She attempts to create a patchwork of research that is not '*linear or neat, rather it is messy and varied in its approach*' (2007:109). While this is achieved to an extent, Dunkley focuses almost totally on the thanatourism experience, ignoring the supply side of the phenomenon. This thesis will argue that niche tourism research and especially research into a topic as sensitive as thanatourism must consider the supply and demand for tourist gazes in conjunction to present a holistic understanding of how thanatourism spaces are either commodified or consumed. Finally, Kincheloe argues that it is difficult to attempt to take a bricolage approach in the limited time-frame of the doctoral programme. Rather, a researcher must dedicate his/ her life's work to picking up the pieces. Nonetheless the researcher should:

recognise the limitations of a single method, the discursive strictures of one disciplinary approach, what is missed by traditional practices of

validation, the historicity of certified modes of knowledge production, the inseparability of knower and known, and the complexity and heterogeneity of all human experience.

(Kincheloe, 2001:680)

4.2.2 Causevic (A PhD Methodology 2008)

The second PhD methodology to be examined is that of Dr. Senija Causevic (Strathclyde, 2008). Causevic's thesis explores the post-war tourism industry in two sites of conflict; the long-term conflict in Northern Ireland and the recent major conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Causevic discusses what she terms 'phoenix tourism', a term which conceptualises the theme of rising, re-building and reconciliation in post-war tourism development. Like Dunkley's thesis, Causevic begins with a self-critical analysis of her own positionality as a researcher, labelling herself as both a Croatian and a Bosnian. Causevic tells the reader early in the thesis about her own personal background. The original plan was to design a positivist research study which would be created from various frameworks in the literature review. However, Causevic acknowledges early on that her position of being unable to remain neutral restricted this approach. She writes that her feelings and how the interviewees perceived her as a researcher restricted the possibilities of a positivist approach.

Causevic believes however, that her inability to remain neutral and thus not be able to construct a positivist epistemology for the research was not necessarily detrimental to the value of the study. She notes specific instances where her positionality was of great benefit to the research, thus justifying her decision to use unstructured interviews within a qualitative piece of research. In particular she notes that her positionality enabled interviewees to open up more as they were aware of her own background.

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 than if you were from Germany, France or England.

(Interviewee 1, Causevic, 2008:32)

Similar to Dunkley's study, Causevic writes that it is not the outcome which produces knowledge in empirical tourism research but rather the process of self-

reflection. Causevic considers this within Foucault's theories on power and knowledge, resolving that in much tourism research the power is held by business. Other disciplines, writes Causevic, such as geography, politics, sociology and anthropology are suppressed, with the result being that knowledge in tourism research is generally business oriented and supported by largely quantitative studies.

As such Causevic tackles the question of thanatourism in a post-conflict environment by interviewing the stakeholders whom she believes hold the power in the tourism industry. She notes that these stakeholders have created a body of tourism research which is littered with positivist, technical knowledge. As her own research evolved, she recognised that the question of using tourism as a post war development tool did not lend itself to positivist research methods but rather to empirical methods which considered the wider geo-political context. She notes that tourism research has become over reliant on numbers, which although reflected in positivist research does not necessarily make it scientific. She moves on to criticise the thanatourism theories generated by Dunkley as unnecessarily comprehensive, resolving that knowledge is simply recycling itself and a break away from standard tourism theorising is needed. Thus she approaches the concept of phoenix tourism in Belfast and Sarajevo through a critical theory perspective. Applying a Foucauldian discourse to her research, Causevic holds that simply studying the business side of the question (i.e., those who hold the power) marginalises and almost ignores the sociological, geographical and cultural themes which should be studied. Causevic (2008:35) moves on to state that *'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.'* In summary, Causevic contends that the literature indicates a prevalence of positivist methods in tourism research. The author most strongly disagrees with these sentiments. While it is arguably true that the majority of research carried out in the tourism field is essentially positivistic and controlled by the major stakeholder – i.e. business – in the thanatourism field the majority of work has not been carried out analysing business models, statistics, profitability, marketing,

entrepreneurship, hospitality management or any other fields in management which normally influence tourism research. In recent years strong evidence suggests that niche tourism research is much more sensitive to the broader range of cultural phenomena by which it is influenced. Thanatourism research has focused on exactly what Causevic bemoans is neglected, the sociological and geographical impacts of death and disaster on tourism praxes. Many geographers have tackled themes related to thanatourism without consideration of the hold business has on the subject. Charlesworth in particular discusses a range of issues in relation to the memorialisation of Holocaust spaces and how these are represented for tourists through film (Charlesworth, 2004) and how different religious groups contest symbolism at these sites (Charlesworth, 1994). Other work carried out by Charlesworth in conjunction with geographers (Stenning et al, 2008) in this area includes a study of how the two major institutions in Oświęcim – the Auschwitz State Museum and the chemical plant Dwory SA are embedded in the process of the post-socialist transformation of the museum. In other fields, the tourism sociologist Chris Rojek has discussed what he terms ‘black spots’ (Rojek, 1993) attempting to classify different sites of pain and suffering into categories of heritage tourism. Lennon and Foley’s book on the subject (2000) is almost entirely qualitative in nature, exploring issues ranging from representation to economics to consumption. Likewise Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) do not take a business oriented approach when examining what they term dissonant heritage. Again, it must be stressed that this work is in general, wholly representative of the diverse range of themes studied in niche tourism. Indeed, as will be discussed later in this chapter, Wight’s paper (2006) notes the lack of quantitative research in the thanatourism field, indicating at least anecdotally that the focus has been qualitative and empirical in nature. While Causevic acknowledges that tourism ‘*belongs to sociology, geography, politics, social and cultural anthropology as much as it belongs to business*’, (2008:36) it must be acknowledge that the body of work created by positivistic research and driven by business has never really materialised in the thanatourism field.

Causevic continues in this vein by positing that tourism research should be multi-disciplinary in nature and that without input from geography, sociology

and anthropology will not result in the creation of new knowledge. As tourism research appears to have taken an emotive turn like many other areas of cultural geography (from the evidence noted above on thanatourism research), emerging research like Causevic's focuses on producing emancipated knowledge and creating an in-depth understanding of data which does not lend itself to positivistic analysis. Creating absolute truths is neither possible, nor desirable, given the complex nexus of subjects which meet at the crossroads of thanatourism research. While alternative positions could exist for Causevic's notion that tourism research is inherently business driven, the point is taken that tourism research must not rely on purely positivistic methods to create new knowledge.

Causevic's research thus pursues a multi-site empirical study, interviewing the policy makers and tour operators who help control the development of the tourism industries in post-war Bosnia-Herzegovina and in Northern Ireland. These include guides, consultants and museum curators who contribute in some way to the shaping of what Causevic defines as '*phoenix tourism*'. The primary objective of Causevic's work is to identify the significant issues affecting tourism following a long-term or major political conflict. While there are certain overlaps with minor themes and one interviewee, the present thesis differs significantly in that it explores the commodification of sites directly related to the conflict. Causevic's work considers the broader issues as a whole – i.e. how Bosnia-Herzegovina and Northern Ireland's tourism industries are emerging from the conflict and returning to normality: selling non-war related mass tourism and niche tourism activities such as heritage sites or outdoor pursuits. This contrasts starkly to the present thesis which explores the deliberate 'selling' and consumer influence in the commodification of war sites. Despite this, Causevic's work provides excellent background on many of the issues faced by business, government and locals in establishing 'normality' in a post-conflict tourism environment.

To achieve this Causevic carries out interviews with the policy makers in the field. She positions these interviews as a social encounter and analyses them as such. She acknowledges her own position in the eyes of the interviewees as

someone who had experience of the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia having grown up in these countries during the wars. This created a subjectivity which she argues can appear at some point in every interview. No longer can the interview be regarded as an impersonal, objective or neutral tool with which to carry out research. As such, she notes her position and the resulting boundaries between the interviewee and interviewer are blurred. New techniques thus emerged in other thanatourism work to facilitate this, with one example from Dunkley discussed above. Dunkley's work, as noted earlier used a 'hot approach' where she uses a poetic structure to analyse the emotional responses of the thanatourists. While Causevic does not attempt a similar hot approach, she does note her embedded position as a citizen with firsthand experience of the conflict.

Like the present thesis, Causevic takes a saturation driven approach to her interviewing sampling – i.e. conducting interviews until no new information was found to be forthcoming. This will be discussed later in the chapter. A final note on Causevic's methodology must analyse her sampling method for interviewees. Although Causevic states that she dislikes the term sampling in qualitative research as it is much more useful in justifying a quantitative sample, she discusses her sample as being a theoretically driven sample, using a grounded theory approach. This attempted to cover the full range of stakeholders who influenced policy in the tourism in Northern Ireland and Bosnia.

4.2.3 Yuill (*An MA Thesis 2003*)

The third research methodology to be considered is that of Stephanie Yuill who wrote an MA thesis on dark tourism and understanding visitor motivation at sites of death and disaster. Yuill's thesis focuses on the Holocaust Museum in Houston, Texas, a synthetic dark tourism site with no connection to the sites associated with the Jewish Holocaust of WW2. While Yuill's thesis lacks the depth of methodological critique provided in some of the larger and later studies carried out on thanatourism, the rigour employed by Yuill to achieve a holistic understanding of the commodification process and the motivations for consumption of what is an entirely synthetic Holocaust site must be

commended. Although the site bears no actual connection to the Jewish Holocaust in WW2, Yuill uses a mixed method approach to achieve the methodological rigour which should be expected in niche tourism studies.

Yuill's research focuses primarily on the motivations for consuming the WW2 memorabilia at the Holocaust Museum Houston. She attempts this by surveying a range of visitors about their motivations for visiting the museum and the experiences while at the museum. The study begins with a focus group to generate research ideas and themes for her questionnaire. The follow-up mail and e-mail surveys were then administered and coupled with in-depth semi structured interviews with management personnel in the museum. This allowed Yuill to explore management opinions on motivation and how this can assist in the commodification and presentation of a site, i.e. avoiding trivialisation of issues and becoming susceptible to ghoulish voyeurism (Strange and Kempa, 2003).

4.2.4 Kazarlaska (An MA Thesis 1998)

The fourth thesis to be briefly discussed is that of Svetla I. Kazalarska (1998) who took a case study style approach to tackling some of the first graduate work under the title of dark tourism. Kazarlaska's thesis explores how dissonance can be reduced in the interpretation of heritage at selected museums in Washington DC. Kazarlaska explores issues relating to dissonance at three selected museums: The US Holocaust Memorial Museum, the Enola Gay exhibition at the National Air and Space Museum and thirdly, the National Museum of the American Indian. The Enola Gay was the B29 bomber plane used to drop the first atomic bomb in warfare on Hiroshima in Japan, 1945. The exhibition of the bomber caused controversy when the museum's focus appeared to be more on Japanese casualties than on the reasons for dropping a nuclear weapon (Kazarlaska, 1998).

Although Kazarlaska's thesis is one of the earlier pieces under the umbrella of dark tourism, she utilises many methods which had been successful in other avenues of tourism research. Her thesis seeks to develop a conceptual

framework for analysing sites of dark tourism which are at different stages of the product life cycle. This cycle, writes Kazarlaska, goes through growth, maturity and decline and she positions the Holocaust Museum as being at growth stage, the National Museum of the American Indian at maturity stage and the Enola Gay exhibit in decline. She takes a case study approach to these sites, analysing literature pertinent to their commodification. Kazarlaska resolves that dissonance features in all heritage but that as any research will always be very site specific, it is difficult to draw generalised conclusions. Nonetheless, Kazarlaska notes that certain analytical generalisations can be drawn from her case studies which become particularly useful in generating a conceptual framework for studying dark tourism.

4.2.5 Wight (*Journal of Vacation Marketing*, 2006)

Only one paper has directly focussed on the methodological concerns facing thanatourism research. Craig Wight's paper (2006) in the *Journal of Vacation Marketing* embarks upon a review of the existing dark tourism literature, summarising the main research methods used by the authors. To begin this review Wight (2006:121) identifies the philosophical approaches taken to thanatourism, noting that previous research has been '*commodiously postmodern or post-structuralist making prevalent reference to the recreation of authenticity and to the dilemmas faces by attraction managers attempting to bring history closer to the audience*'. Although Wight later acknowledges that a limited amount of positivistic enquiry has been carried out, this statement highlights the philosophical approaches taken by the majority of writers in thanatourism literature. These methodologies have mainly consisted of qualitative enquiry, often presented in case study format like in Lennon & Foley (2000), utilising discourse analysis, semiotic and hermeneutic analysis and interviews.

To analyse the philosophical approach taken by the various thanatourism authors Wight starts out by offering an understanding of the concept of post-modernism within the context of thanatourism. While post-modernism is discussed in detail in other chapters in the thesis, it merits a further additional brief mention here to contextualise some of the philosophies which inform the

methodology. Wight explains that as postmodernism has been positioned before as an entirely nihilistic philosophy (Woodward, 2002) it means that for tourism research the boundaries are blurred. Almost every dimension of human culture can be positioned as a tourism activity. The political representations of sites associated with conflict allows for a manipulation of history, which although might exist primarily to facilitate tourism, often does not, instead functioning as a narrative of past events aimed to influence political opinion. This type of manipulation is commented on by many authors who discuss the commodification of places, in particular Cole's work on *Selling the Holocaust* (1999), which describes the political underpinnings of the commodification of many World War 2 sites. This argument is also observed by Tunbridge and Ashworth who note how the different forms of tourism development at the concentration camps is largely due to their political masters at the time. Wight's paper moves on to consider the custodians of thanatourism attractions, noting the political motivations behind their memorialisation. These political stakeholders include victims, perpetrators, the media, historians, curators and many others who, as Langer (1998:27) writes, deal with '*the represented rather than unmediated reality*'. Suggesting that the memorial does our memory work for us, Wight comments that this problematic representation of heritage is highly visible at sites like Auschwitz. The author believes this representation itself creates a resultant visitor reaction which has created this enormous potential for thanatourism research and strands of exploration into commodification and motivations.

Finally, Wight moves on to consider an argument over whether interpretation manipulates visitor reaction or whether reaction to disaster dictates future representations. He points to the moral panic created by the media who report on sites like Dunblane and Soham (discussed in other chapters in this thesis) where sensational narratives of thanatourism emerged, yet were never developed. These newspapers and other outlets ignore and overlook other sites which have been developed, yet are not sufficiently commodious to creating moral panic or controversy. This meta-narrative on death helps portray thanatourism as a layered activity where the niche tourist is involved in a frantic search for authenticity and encounters which differ from the regular mass tourist.

The summary of all this of course is that it is simply not yet possible (and maybe never will be) to investigate thanatourism using quantitative methods.

Thanatourism is not yet well understood, and although recent work from Sharpley and Stone (eds. 2009) has greatly advanced its theoretical underpinnings, future research into thanatourism will most likely be problematised through qualitative enquiry. The next two sections will summarise the methods used by the key authors in the thanatourism field, noting that their work is almost exclusively qualitative, accentuating their awareness of the undeveloped nature of the subject and that interpretation and motivations for consumption have evolved and will continue to do so. Wight does note however that a disproportionate amount of the research carried out in the thanatourism field has been qualitative. This should be expanded to include quantitative research which could study the economic impact of thanatourism sites on their host localities. In the example of this study, potential quantitative research could have included a wider economic assessment of the value of war tourism to the Balkan region. This will be discussed in further detail in the limitations section of the thesis.

4.2.6 Other dark tourism literature

As noted above, the majority of work pursued in thanatourism challenges the topic using qualitative enquiry. The key authors in the field Foley, Lennon, Seaton, Stone, Sharpley and Beech, among others, have all utilised various empirical techniques to begin establishing a theoretical understanding of thanatourism. Common threads run through the work of all these authors, generally with their papers firstly acknowledging the multi-disciplinary nature of the subject and moving on to present a case-study style analysis which has helped to facilitate the emergence of emancipated knowledge.

Other papers, which do not specifically use the dark tourism or thanatourism monikers include Valene Smith's 1998 *War and tourism : An American ethnography*. This paper takes a Foucauldian discourse and accentuates the importance of war in discursive formations. Smith's argument is the possibility that there is (and always will be) an intrinsic relationship between war and

tourism. Smith notes the time frame importance of war to tourism: as a time marker ‘*before the war, during the war and after the war*’ (Smith, 1998:202).

4.3 Embedded tourism research and positionality

I am sure, from the tenor of books I have read, that many who have visited this land in years gone by, were Presbyterians, and came seeking evidences in support of their particular creed; they found a Presbyterian Palestine, and they had already made up their minds to find no other, though possibly they did not know it, being blinded by their own zeal. Others were Baptists, seeking Baptist evidences and a Baptist Palestine. Others were Catholics, Methodists, Episcopalians, seeking evidences endorsing their creeds, and a Catholic, a Methodist an Episcopalian Palestine. Honest as these men’s intentions may have been, they were full of partialities and prejudices, and they could no more write dispassionately and impartially about it than they could about their own wives and children.

(Twain: 1869: 329)

As discussed previously, Dunkley’s thesis (2007) presents herself as an embedded researcher – i.e. she position herself as a dark tourist. She argues that embedding herself in the research and analysing and exploring her own emotions throughout the study helped to create a better understanding of how sites of dark tourism are consumed. Causevic (2008), undertakes a similar technique, positioning herself as both a Croat and a Bosnian who grew up with the war and was deeply familiar with the ethnic divisions and their resulting destruction. As previously noted, Causevic also believes this familiarity with the war assisted her in her research by facilitating access to stakeholders in Northern Ireland and throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina. Additionally, Causevic notes that stakeholders spoke to her more openly given her previous experience with the conflict.



Image 4.1 – Mass tourism at Checkpoint Charlie, Berlin, 2009

Although not without merit, there is an inherent danger in taking an overly passionate approach in auto-ethnographic tourism research. The author does not take a similar position to Causevic or Dunkley. I do not consider myself some sort of die-hard dark tourist, anymore than the next person (although to help contextualise the research I did visit a number of the key sites in the literature - all associated with death and disaster). Neither did I grow up in Bosnia, or any other war-torn country. Nonetheless, like past research into thanatourism it is important the author acknowledges his own position and how it could potentially influence the study. Through my family's business in Donegal I have reasonably good familiarity with educational tourism in Northern Ireland, which mainly deals with American visitors who wish to learn about the Northern Irish Troubles. While this did not directly influence this study or the decision to study thanatourism, it did help in creating background expectations of why war spaces are commodified and consumed. To supplement these experiences I visited as many thanatourism spaces as possible throughout the course of this present thesis to help contextualise the Yugoslav study and creation of theoretical knowledge on thanatourism and experiences of death. Additionally, I had visited several of these sites prior to beginning my Ph.D. and these sites are listed in the table below (*fig 4.1*) with a brief note on observations I made at each. Although these observations were purely anecdotal they illustrated many relevant themes in the literature and assisted in the final design of the research question in the Balkans. As a child some of my memories from holidays involved visiting the

Coliseum in Rome, the Holocaust Museum and Arlington National Cemetery in Washington DC, the Tower of London and the site of the massacre of Glencoe in the Scottish Highlands. The author also visited many lesser known sites associated with death and disaster, particularly in Ireland involving the War of Independence, The Civil War and The Great Famine. Visiting these sites helped awaken an interest in studying the reasons people visit sites of death and disaster. Other international sites visited included York Castle, war memorials in Maribor, Slovenia (WW2) and Osijek, Croatia, the site of the assassination of Franz Ferdinand and the accompanying museum in Sarajevo and at the so-called lighter end of the scale to the witch trial and Hallowe'en museums in Salem, Massachusetts.



Image 4.2 - Limited interpretation at the site of the Führerbunker, Berlin, 2009

My experience with thanatourism in Northern Ireland was used to help generate firstly the broader research question of how space is commodified and secondly, the specific questions to be addressed in Yugoslavia. I am very familiar with the subject in Northern Ireland, having for many years worked with my family business organising educational tours to the sites of political conflict for overseas and national visitors. These tours visit the Civil Rights Murals in Derry, the sites associated with Bloody Sunday, the memorials to the prisoners of war in the Maze Prison (Belfast), the Tower Museum (Derry) and the murals in the loyalist communities in Derry and Belfast. The groups also visit the town of Omagh and the memorials to the 1998 bombing in the town, various centres

of human rights and political conflict resolution in Derry and the headquarters of the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) in Derry and Belfast. Our visitors often meet with the victims and perpetrators of the violence during the conflict including former paramilitaries from both sides. On many occasions I have met the most senior political leaders, attending their talks on post-conflict economic restructuring, including John Hume (former MEP and the only recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, Gandhi Peace Prize and Martin Luther King Peace Prize), many City of Derry mayors (post rotates between the DUP, UUP, Sinn Fein and the SDLP parties annually) and many other politicians from the four major parties in the Stormont Assembly. These politicians and site managers regularly spoke about the importance of post-conflict tourism (or phoenix tourism, see Causevic 2008) and particularly the relevance of exporting the knowledge gained on conflict resolution to other troubled areas around the world. Working among these sites gave me a detailed knowledge of themes on heritage dissonance, commodification, motivations for consumption and experiential ideas. These themes were all useful in strengthening the research plan for my work in Croatia, Bosnia and Serbia.

Fig4.1 – Sample of dark tourism sites recently visited by author

Site	Year	Observation
Inveraray Jail, Scotland	2010	Blurring of reality: entertainment and history
Kilmainham Gaol, Dublin	2009	Celebration of a site of incarceration is visible. Highly marketed.
Sachsenhausen, Berlin	2009	Discussed in detail in CPT 3
Wannsee Haus, Berlin	2009	Visit coincided with visit by the Israeli PM to Wannsee – perhaps indicating the politicisation of Holocaust memorialisation?
Hitler's Bunker, Berlin	2009	How visitor demand forced authorities into providing interpretation.
Holocaust Memorial, Berlin	2009	Simple design to commemorate Holocaust – little outdoor interpretation. Perhaps many visitors miss the museum?
Checkpoint Charlie & Berlin Wall	2009	Mass attraction of cold war heritage, huge visitor numbers and private trivialisation.
Military Forts in Poznan, Poland	2009	These neglected and abandoned fortifications (used in WW2 and after) illustrated how some sites with economic potential remain forgotten in the tourist memory.
WW2 Military Cemetery, Poznan	2009	Memorialisation of war purely for veterans rather than any other tourism activity.
Military Museum, Poznan, Poland	2009	As noted by Uzzell (1992:5), it is ' <i>as if the most remarkable thing about so many thousands, if not millions or people killed in battle is the clothes in which they died</i> '.
Auschwitz & Birkenau Poland	2008	Discussed in detail in CPT 3
Ground Zero, New York	2008	Discussed in detail in CPT 3
Alcatraz, San Francisco	2007	Particularly observed the role of media in selling dark places – guides regularly referred to movies shot on the island.
Calico Ghost Town, California	2007	Lighter end of dark tourism spectrum – the trivialisation of the collapse of a community.
Anne Frank Haus, Amsterdam	2005	Author noted the opportunities for and encouragement of reflection and recording visitor emotions.

4.4 Commodification of war space: A proposed methodology for examining the production of battlefield tourism sites in Yugoslavia

This thesis uses the commodification of the Yugoslav Wars for tourism in Vukovar, Belgrade, Dubrovnik and Sarajevo to explore humankind's fascination with violence, conflict and modern warfare. It attempts to illustrate how discourses of voyeurism and moral panic create a desire for consuming war and battlefield sites. This study explores how these sites are commodified and how the concept of thanatourism is constructed by private entrepreneurs throughout ex-Yugoslavia. Within geographical tourism research studies are often text based and examine archives and newspapers among other sources. This study

utilises text based research to supplement interview data, engaging with a variety of qualitative techniques to help provide a better understanding of thanatourism. This section will expand on these methods, including outlining site choices, secondary material selection and interview techniques.

4.4.1 Site selection

Four sites were chosen throughout ex-Yugoslavia. The various reasons for choosing Yugoslavia as a case study itself were detailed throughout the introduction chapter. To summarise however, the region was of interest due to Sarajevo suffering one of the largest sieges in modern warfare in Sarajevo and Srebrenica suffering the largest massacre in Europe post-WW2. The notion that Yugoslavia was a well functioning socialist state before its collapse also provided an unusual context to the research. The role of the media during the conflict and in post-conflict years added further dimensions and potential avenues of exploration. Finally, the sites associated with the 1984 Olympic provided visually striking sites with which to examine the commodification of war space. Vukovar in Northern Croatia, Sarajevo in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dubrovnik in Southern Croatia, and Srebrenica in Republika Srpska, Bosnia-Herzegovina. The sites were chosen to represent the best possible spread of dark tourism throughout the region. Reasons for each selection are discussed below.

Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina – Sarajevo was chosen primarily for the scale of the conflict and media coverage of the siege during and after the war. Sarajevo was extensively damaged during between 1992 and 1995, as documented throughout the thesis. The siege has been termed '*urbicide*' (Simko in Schneider-Sliwa, 2006) and the sheer scale of the casualties between 1992 and 1995 generated immense international media interest. The tours in the city also generated follow-up media interest (Hawton, 2004) and the anecdotal coverage of these tours prompted the author to choose the city as a feature in the case study. Also as a capital city and transit point for tourists the author felt there may be potential for accidental dark tourists, i.e. those who did not visit the city primarily for reasons associated with death and disaster but who took part in the war tourism activities on offer.

Vukovar, North-Eastern Croatia – Vukovar was also chosen for reasons of scale and media coverage. However, Vukovar is somewhat more isolated than Sarajevo and although it attracts a certain amount of tourists cruising the River Danube, it arguably does not boast the same potential as the other cities in this study. The isolation of the city added an extra dimension to the study – Vukovar’s lack of an international airport and location in North Eastern Croatia created potential for examining dedicated thanatourism sites (as opposed to those which can advertise to visitors just passing through). In addition, Vukovar’s water tower and destruction became iconic images post-war and the tours run in the city by Danubium Tours attracted media interest (DPA, 2008).

Dubrovnik, South West Croatia – Dubrovnik was chosen for scale, location and media coverage reasons – but its choice illustrates the impossibilities of generalising from thanatourism case studies. Unlike the other cities, Dubrovnik was a major destination for international tourists in the pre-war period and has relatively quickly returned to its pre-war image of a coastal resort city. Post-war, as tourism returned, the author wanted to explore if the thanatourism industry had emerged in contrast to Dubrovnik’s ‘*Pearl of the Adriatic*’ (as attributed to the poet Lord Byron, Osborne 2009) image. The author was also aware of story about the war tours running in the city from previous visits pre-thesis.

Srebrenica – Like Vukovar, Srebrenica was chosen for reasons of scale, location and media coverage. The town and its hinterland were the site of the largest massacre in Europe since World War Two, for which recently arrested Bosnian-Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and still at large Ratko Mladic were indicted for in 1995. Like Vukovar, Srebrenica is relatively inaccessible, with poor roads, no air connections and limited public transport. Despite this, there was anecdotal travel blog and newspaper evidence of tourists visiting the massacre sites and memorials. Research on Srebrenica has already been begun in a thanatourism context (Simic, 2009) who begins to question if the memorial complex at Srebrenica-Potočari is ‘*a site of education, of remembrance and repatriation or of spectacle, or is it all of these at once?*’ (2009:301). This present thesis seeks to establish how the spectacle element of the site is

commodified for the pure dark tourist, i.e. those who have no direct connection to the site itself, the people involved or the events of July 1995.

4.4.2 Ethnography and semi-structured interviews

Ethnography is about telling a credible, rigorous, and authentic story. Ethnography gives voice to people in their own local context, typically relying on verbatim quotations and a “thick” description of events. The story is told through the eyes of local people as they pursue their daily lives in their own communities.

Fetterman, (2010:1)

Two primary methods were used to explore how private industry in Croatia, Serbia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina have commodified sites associated with the war for the consumption of dark tourists. The initial approach involved using an ethnographic technique to understand the reasons why the sites associated with the war became commodified. The author took part in the war tour offered in Vukovar (*Daunubium Tours*), four separate tours in Sarajevo (with *Haris Hostel’s War Tour*, *Zijad Jusufovic’s Mission Impossible Tour*, *Tarik from Sarajevo Discovery* and *Ljubicia Hostel’s War Tour*), one in Dubrovnik (*Mediterranean Experience Dubrovnik Walking Tours*) and one in Srebrenica (*Tarik, Sarajevo Discovery*). Due to the sensitive nature of the war tours in ex-Yugoslavia the author approached the guides as a researcher but requested to participate in the tours as would a normal tourist. This allowed for an unchanged version of the tour which was felt to be the most appropriate way to observe the war tour and to gather information on how sites have been commodified for tourists. The audio of these tours was recorded with the permission of the guides and a diary was kept. Many photographs were taken on each tour and these images in conjunction with the notes and observations helped to create a more holistic presentation of how thanatourism spaces are produced. This approach to understanding how war places are repackaged and sold to tourists utilised purely qualitative methods. Although the broader research question was somewhat empirical in that it relied heavily on observation in the field, it was underpinned by theories on the tourist gaze (Urry 1990), authenticity (MacCannell 1973), visual methodologies (Rose, 1996) and how places are packaged and sold (Kearns and Philo, 1993). Bruner’s (1989) observation that photography also

decontextualises as the subject and the politics of the situation are often excluded from the photograph. This observation was carefully considered throughout any image analysis carried out for this present thesis.

Ethnography is both a form of research and a product of research. It is a form of *‘inquiry and writing that produces descriptions and accounts about the ways of life of the writer and the written about’* (Denzin, 1997: xi). Ethnographic research emerged primarily from anthropology and sociology. In recent years it has become a key research tool in many other social science disciplines, including in cultural geography (e.g. Crang, 1994). It is a research tool with great utility and expositional value. Ethnography is particularly useful in tourism inquiry as it provides a route to exploring the relationship between hosts and guests (Galani-Moutafi, 2000). Ethnography can also be used to research and represent how people understand and engage with their environments. Social scientists use ethnography to research people and their lived realities and in the case of this present thesis it is used to explore the relationship between tour guides and their environments. Ethnographers examine the relationship between people, activities, identities and place. The method is particularly useful for researching marginal groups and telling their stories.

In the field, ethnographers need certain competencies to create valuable research. A long period of time is usually needed with the host to create trust for example. The ethnographer may also have to spend a long period of time in a remote or rural location. In some cases the ethnographer must become immersed in their field, particularly in tourism research, for example if attempting to become just another ‘group member’ on a tour. After overcoming these obstacles ethnographers must then gather data by recording notes, taking photographs, taking objects or samples of objects as evidence through which to inductively investigate culture. Ethnographers may record speech, actions and settings. The ethnography process may be an ongoing “sense-making process”, i.e. creative writing based on first-hand experience. This may be systematic and routine such as regular notes taken in a field diary or it may be a more haphazard approach, such as using sketches, rough notes, photos and video. The process is used to identify patterns, routine, irregularities, discourses and to

cross-reference with other sources. Ethnographers might document the space in which they are researching, the actors and their actions, the events, the time and sequence of events and the emotions or emotional reactions displayed by the actors.

Ethnography has been subjected to detailed critique as a research method. Claims of bias, objectivity and ethics provide a balance to the method's perceived benefits. Analysts have observed that ethnography can be too specific to be generalisable, too unscientific and objective and that it fails to consider its own representational practices reflexively (see Denzin, 1997 for example). Denzin (1997) has also pointed to the potential vulnerability of the groups under scrutiny, raising questions about the perceived unethical nature of ethnography. Finally, the idea of bias and preconceived ideas have been described as inescapable (Denzin, 1997).

To address these criticisms researchers must ask themselves how they can scientifically and comprehensively represent the interactions between what they see and understand, in the setting in which it takes place in a fair and objective manner. If the researcher succeeds in overcoming the criticisms of the method outlined above, then ethnography becomes a valuable tool.

In this present thesis I addressed the challenges posed by critics of ethnography. I did not deem the criticism of bias, levelled above, to be a major area of concern for this research. As stated in the prologue I have no connection to ex-Yugoslavia. I have no religious, political or ancestral connection to the region at all. While a post-structuralist view would hold that every researcher ultimately brings certain values to the research and representation process, after adopting a self-critical and reflective approach to the methodology I do not believe that I bring a bias to the research which detracts in any way from its validity. My experiences from other thanatourism sites I visited (in *Figure 4.1*) helped me design research which effectively explored the relationship between guides, tourism officials, thanatourists and the sites which brought them all together. The ethnographic findings were cross referenced with other research methods

throughout, including interviews, discourse analysis of tourism materials and travel blog findings.

Fig 4.2 - Sites associated with the Yugoslav Wars visited by the author

Sites	
Buttmir Tunnel Museum, Sarajevo	Memorial to children of Sarajevo
King Fahd Mosque, Sarajevo	Restaurant Panorama, Sarajevo
National Library, Sarajevo	Mine clearance site, Sarajevo
Ovčara Memorial Centre, Vukovar	Jewish Cemetery, Sarajevo
Vukovar Water Tower	Road of the Defenders, Vukovar
Vukovar Hospital	Ovčara Mass Grave, Vukovar
Site of first bomb in Vukovar	Shelled Old Folk's Home, Sarajevo
Srebrenica (Town) & Cemeteries	Markale Market, Sarajevo
Potočari DutchBat Base, Srebrenica	Holiday Inn, Sarajevo
Zetra Cemetery, Sarajevo	Osijek War Memorial, Croatia
Dubrovnik Old Town War Tour	Bobsled Tunnel Sarajevo (sniper positions)
Sarajevo Roses (throughout Sarajevo)	Mostar Bridge & Old Town
Military Museum, Belgrade	(Romeo & Juliet) Vrbanja Bridge, Sarajevo
Memorial Garden, Vukovar	Sniper Alley, Sarajevo
Fascist Memorial, Sarajevo	Mass Graves, Srebrenica

The reasoning for choosing an ethnographic approach arose from reading Bruner's 1989 paper '*Of Cannibals, Tourists, and Ethnographers*'. Bruner's paper delves into a documentary made in 1987 by Australian filmmaker Dennis O'Rourke who follows a commercial tour group up the Sepik River in Papua New Guinea. The groups comprises Italian, German and American tourists, all of whom wish to gaze on the peoples whose ancestors had eaten human flesh. As Bruner puts it however, it is only a gaze and...

...if cannibalism were still practiced, or if there were any real danger, or if the infrastructure of luxurious boats, first class air-conditioned hotels, and modern air transportation were not present, the tourists, of course, would not go to New Guinea. They seek the titillation of a vicarious brush with danger. They want to see firsthand the ultimate savage Other, with penis sheath, painted face, and spear, but only from the secure and safe vantage point of luxury tourism, and only after the disappearance of the original object. Tourism prefers the reconstructed object, and indeed, this preference for the simulacrum is

the essence of postmodern tourism, where the copy is more than the original.

(Bruner, 1989: 438)

Bruner's end comment that tourists prefer the replica is worthy of further exploration without returning to debate on whether or not thanatourism is an intimation of postmodernism. The notion that tourists prefer the 'replicated object' is difficult to establish within thanatourism – extreme dark tourists by their very definition prefer the actual event – those who seek to watch a sky burial for example, seek it out because of its very real nature. Sites like the Coliseum provided opportunity for the public to consume real death, although the games were simulated events. There is much evidence provided throughout the thesis on the desire of tourists to consume duplicated sites and events. However, the point remains that commodified death does not necessarily mean that replication has taken precedence to the extent that the original site is not of greater appeal to the visitor.

The real usefulness of Bruner's work on *Cannibal Tours* lies in his positioning of ethnographers against a backdrop of imperialism. He writes that tourists themselves are not well equipped to deal with first contact – they must wait until the indigenous people have been pacified and the power is firmly in the hands of the Europeans. After the primitive culture has been conquered, the tourists arrive and begin to consume and represent the landscape. Often these tourists yearn for the more primitive time and thus the landscapes are replicated to show them staged back areas (MacCannell, 1973). When these events are reproduced for the tourists through narrative, performance and staging, the tourist feels some degree of relativity to the past. In the case of Papua New Guinea, the German, Australian and American tourists can feel they are true adventure tourists, as their trips to off the beaten track locations come so recently after European domination. A similar stage exists in the countries of ex-Yugoslavia. Despite being European and only employing a limited form of socialism throughout Tito's reign, Yugoslavia's recent war can act as the 'primitive' history, while the arrival of the media, the international institutions and the collapse of socialism represent the European domination. The 'adventure tourists', as Bruner calls them, are the bloggers studied in this research.

The wider significance of Bruner's review paper is that the '*we have become increasingly sophisticated about the kind of social theory needed in tourism research, theory that deals with representation and power, practice and discourse, the simulacra and the authentic*' (1989: 438). This notion complements Dunkley's bricolage observations that a multi-disciplinary approach is needed to fully develop a theoretical framework which could be widely useful for understanding thanatourism. Bruner even observes that the fragmented nature of the tourist market back in the 1980s arguably told us more about the tourist than the society they visit. Tourism has less to do with what the others are like but are more about what we imagine them to be like. Evidence exists that the entrepreneurs and others involved in the commodification of the sites associated with the 1992-1996 conflict in Yugoslavia are very aware of this notion and tailor their tours appropriately. This is discussed in detail in Chapters 5 & 6.

Returning to the more practical elements of the methodology, a number of interviews were conducted with war tour guides throughout the various case-study sites. Following the war tours the guides agreed to participate in a semi-structured interview. Each interview complimented the tour by focussing on specific themes which had arisen throughout the discourse analysis of materials relating to war tourism in ex-Yugoslavia, the literature review and the tours themselves. These themes were listed and used to generate questions on the guides' opinions on their work in the war tourism niche. Questions focussed on the company backgrounds, demographics of visitors, costs, the commodification of space and memorialisation, local tensions and dissonant heritage, perceived motivations of visitors and the futures of their businesses. This technique of semi-structured interviewing allowed the author flexibility to uncover several areas of interest which allowed for key questions on the commodification of battlefields and other sites associated with the Yugoslav wars to be addressed. Semi-structured interviews also afforded the guide or interviewee the opportunity to discuss avenues of their tourism work which may not have been covered in previous research or thanatourism studies. The table below (*fig 4.3*) lists the guides who provided both an interview and a tour of their city. Over the

duration of the thesis the author remained in contact with these guides and supplemented the interviews with several additional questions.

Semi structured interviews were used throughout the interview process. The semi structured interview is often cited as a key research tool of the social scientist and this section will briefly address the merit of using this tool as a key component of this present thesis. Semi structured interviews allow the researcher a great degree of flexibility and as such became almost the only practical method of gaining deep insights into the process surrounding the commodification and consumption of the war sites researched for this thesis. Some limited set questions were set and a fluid approach was taken to each interview. Interviewees spoke passionately and at length about particular topics and this directed many of the interviews. Despite this fluidity the interviewer and interviewees generally steered the discussions along roughly the same path, arising at the concluding statements presented in Chapter Seven.

The objective of the semi structured interview is to understand the respondent's opinions rather than to make generalisations about behaviour. Semi structured interviews have the strength of allowing the researcher to build a positive rapport with the interviewee. This was key during the data collection phase as thanatourism is a sensitive subject which requires frank and honest discussion, not suited to a closed questionnaire. Semi structured interviews have high validity when carried out in a methodologically rigorous way and allows the issue of pre-judgement of issues to be removed or significantly reduced. Challenges with semi structured interviews include the time involved, unconscious cues given by the researcher, expense and the ability to generalise the findings. The researcher managed these issues as well as possible and feels that they had limited if any impact on the research findings.

It is appropriate to comment at this stage however on the linguistic competencies of the interviewees. Tim Clancy, the co-founder of Green Visions, was the only native English speaker interviewed. The other interviewees had varying levels of English competency. Every effort was made to ensure that interviewees fully understood the questions asked – questions were often

repeated or clarified and interviewees were asked to expand on their answers or to offer more detail, when appropriate. Despite this minor linguistic issue the interviewees seemed to convey their feelings on the commodification of the Yugoslav Wars very well. All eight interviewees were very familiar with dealing with foreign guests and illustrated comfort and competence with the questions asked.

Fig 4.3 – Interviewees and Guides

Interviewee	Area of Expertise	City
Haris Pamuk, Haris Hostel	Hostel owner and tour guide	Sarajevo
Zrinka Sesto, Danubium Tours	Director of tourism agency	Vukovar
Zijad Jusufovic, Private Guide	Independent tour guide	Sarajevo
Maro Carevic, Walking Tours	Director of tourism agency	Dubrovnik
Tariq, Sarajevo Discovery	Tour guide	BiH (National)
Tim Clancy, Green Visions	Tourism consultant	Sarajevo
Hasan Hasanovic	Museum curator	Srebrenica
Canton & National Reps	Policy	National

4.4.3 Blog methodologies

Following the ethnographic methods discussed above it was felt that while rich data had been gathered from the tours and interviews, this could be complimented by analysis of the tourist experience of commodified sites. As methodological difficulties to be discussed later existed in obtaining data on these experiences a secondary source was chosen: online travel blogs. In this study, various research methods were used to gain insight into the meaning of travel blogs and their relationship to war tourism in Sarajevo. A range of data was thus gathered to explore the tourist experience in the thanatourism niche in Sarajevo. Initially a surface analysis of the blogs was carried out to identify key themes. Next, bloggers' demographic information was researched as were the characteristics of the travel blogs. As only a limited amount of quantitative research has taken place in thanatourism research this section proposes the analysis of travel blogs as the ideal utility to statistically record data relating to the representation of war tourism sites. Travel blogs contain a range of data which can be explored in both qualitative and quantitative techniques and various toolkits have been adapted by past researchers in the area, e.g., Pan et al

(2006). This study took both qualitative and quantitative approaches into gaining insights into visitors' travel blogs. The key question to be addressed was to establish which sites bloggers visit in Sarajevo and they documented their experiences. Initially a comprehensive survey of work by other authors on travel blog research was examined to discover which were the most effective methods in researching the content of visitors' recorded experiences.

The first paper to consider is Pan et al (2006), which researches the implications travel blogs have for destination marketing. In the study, Pan et al use a variety of research methods to gain insight into the meaning of travel blogs and their relationship to a specific tourist destination. This study wishes to understand the relationship between dark tourists and sites of death and disaster and the paper from Pan et al illustrates one method of establishing this relationship. The authors begin by recording the bloggers' demographic information and characteristics of their blogs. They move on to explore various qualitative data analysis techniques which were adopted to develop a travel blog analyzing methodology. The text from these blogs was then coded and analysed by word frequency and content and semantic network analysis.

The authors begin by noting that no two travel blogs are the same. Blogs provide a rich source of data and can cover any aspect of a visitor's trip, ranging from planning to experience and reflections. The blogs can often be written at any time – sometimes before the journey, sometimes during and frequently after the trip has taken place. Pan et al note that the blogs they researched covered every theme ranging from airport delays to packing to driving. The travellers' experiences and descriptions were experiential and subjective in nature, with varying bloggers recording positive and negative experiences of the same sites. As the study progressed Pan et al (2006) begin to note the value of detailed analysis of the blogs which highlights the purpose of their study: that travel blogs have implications for destination marketing. They conclude their study by noting that travel blogs and electronic word of mouth could provide a useful way of detecting the strengths and weaknesses of a tourist destination.

This present thesis utilised blogs in a similar way to the research noted above.

The primary research questions ran as follows:

- Can travel blogs be used to establish the presence of thanatourism activity at a destination?
- If thanatourism is present, how do tourists represent their experiences? This question is deserving of exploration: as Litvin et al (2008) write, word of mouth is ranked as the single most important information source when a consumer is making a purchase. Thus representations of the thanatourism experiences could be argued to play a role in the commodification of a war site. This notion will be expanded upon in the empirical and discussion chapters.

To establish this, the author accessed travel blogs on the city of Sarajevo.

Sarajevo was selected from the 5 case study cities as a mini-case study for the following methodological reasons:

- The author had gathered more primary data relating to thanatourism commodification in the city. It was felt that although blog data from each city would be independently useful, it would have greater benefit if it could be correlated to already existing data on the supply side. This data was not available in abundance in the other cities.
- The author could only source a limited number (<10) of travel blogs from Srebrenica and Vukovar, while the number for Dubrovnik was closer to 1000 with few of them relating to war tourism.

To approach the study, the author gathered 266 travel blogs relating to Sarajevo.

The two most popular travel blog websites on the internet were used to gather data for the research. These websites, travelblog.org and travelpod.com, provided a total of 266 blogs. Travelblog.org and travelpod.com rank the highest in terms of visitors to their sites, with estimates of over 100,000 visitors per day to each site (Pan et al, 2008). Both websites organise their blogs in a hierarchical fashion where visitors to the site can click on a specific continent, country, region and/ or city. The blogs were posted between July 2002 and February

2010. The earliest blog available on the three sites dated back to July 2002 and data collection ended in February 2010. All 266 blogs were downloaded from the sites. From these 266 blogs, several were discarded as they had been filed under the wrong region or contained no tourist information about the city. These may have been made by locals or by travellers who did not stop in Sarajevo but mentioned the city as they passed through the region. Several other duplicate entries were discarded, as were 9 non-English language entries. Where more than one entry related to the city was made by a blogger, the entries were collated to count as one case. No traveller had blogs about visiting the city on separate occasions, although several had multiple entries over their single visit. This collation resulted in a final total of 237 valid cases for this research. These blogs retained their original text, date, titles and photography and were placed in several working files for analysis.

Basic demographic and other general data (where available) was gathered from the bloggers, including their username, location, blog length. The blogs were then examined to discover which sites were visited by travellers while in the city. A list of these sites was compiled and data from each blog was entered into SPSS to record instances of each visit. SPSS was also used to record basic demographic and other data about each visitor (when available), such as gender, country of origin, whether travelling solo or as part of a couple/ group and locations visited in the city. This was then analysed to assess which sites were most commonly visited in the city. Data gathered from newspaper articles, travel guides and a surface analysis of the blogs helped to generate a coding system for SPSS whereby visits by bloggers to the most commonly visited thanatourism sites in Sarajevo could be recorded. Finally, to provide a limited avenue for quantitative study, data was gathered from the blogs to allow for semantic network analysis of the most commonly discussed themes. Quantitative data was generated from these showing the volume of discussion on the conflict, the % of bloggers who discussed the conflict and the number of conflict associated sites visited. It is noted that there are methodological problems with using blogs as a representation of the tourist market and these limitations will be discussed towards the end of the chapter.

Various qualitative data analysis techniques have been adopted by Pan et al (2006) to develop a travel blog analysing methodology. The text contained in blogs was collected and analyzed by word frequency (Doerfel, 1998), and content analysis. This study adopted both traditional content analysis for the analysis on whether the blogger could be considered a war tourist and additionally semantic network analysis on their representations of their experiences in the blogs. This involved deconstructing the blog in a quantitative fashion to highlight the key terms being discussed by the blogger. Additionally data was also recorded from the blogs to assess if the blogger posted non-textual representations of their travels, i.e. images or videos relating to their trip.

Secondly, qualitative analysis was carried out on the blogs, specifically to analyse positive connotations from the bloggers regarding their war tour experience. This was carried out to establish if tourists (and in this case, specifically bloggers) had helped to commoditise thanatourism space by recording their experience in publicly available blogs, thus becoming an electronic word of mouth communication (WOM). Thus, if a notable amount of positive data emerged from the blogs indicating that the war tours and visits to sites of conflict was worthwhile, tourists could be said to helping in the selling of thanatourism space. As Litvin et al (2008:5) write, *‘unsurprisingly, the overarching conclusion is that favourable WOM increases the probability of purchase, while negative WOM has the opposite effect’*.

4.4.4 Visual archives in tourism research

Throughout the research a range of non-textual secondary sources were deconstructed in an attempt to give meaning to the complex motives of their production. These sources include a tourism promotional video produced by the Tourism Association of Bosnia & Herzegovina, photographs from travel agents’ websites, photographs and videos from travel blogs and television companies and photographs from media reports. While not all of the visual material was ultimately presented in the final thesis, much of it helped to shape the research approach.

Using Gillian Rose's (1996) techniques on analysing the key aesthetic and social elements of visual archives a variety of images were examined to consider their production, encoding and audience meanings. A series of key questions were taken from Rose's work and applied to each media image and video. Findings from these questions are presented in the Chapter Five and Chapter Six.

Photography (Primary)

Qualitative researchers have increasingly embraced visual methods as a means of creating knowledge and conveying understanding (Schell et al, 2009).

Photography is one such method, particularly useful in attaching imagery to lived experiences. Like ethnographic methods, photography can be both a means of recording and representing data, i.e. it is both a form and product of research. Photography is used in this thesis as one method in the ethnographic toolkit, primarily to record the lived experiences of guides and tourists in field.

Photographs are placed in the findings chapters (and throughout the thesis) to help map thanatourism in Yugoslavia by visually presenting the complexity of the spaces visited by guides and tourists. The photographs document the multiple layers present in the commodification of death for tourism. All of the key thanatourism themes (such as dissonant heritage, the commodification of death, the embeddedness of death in our everyday lives) are illustrated in the various images.

Photography (Secondary)

Photographs were also used throughout the research process as a secondary data source. The travel blogs provided a rich source of visual data, with many bloggers posting photographs of their time in Sarajevo. These photographs were downloaded from the travel blog websites, archived and manually coded. A number of key questions were addressed for each picture, grouped into the categories of *producers*, *text* and *audiences*, as per Rose's (1996) paper on *Visual Methodologies*. In relation to the *production* of the image these questions included considering when the image was made, where it was made, who made it and what relationship was held between the image maker and the subject. In relation to the *text (the image)*, I explored what was shown in the image, the vantage point of the photographer, colours, the use of technology, the image's

placement in the blog series and the different components of the image. Finally, the *audience*'s role in the image was questioned, including who was the intended audience, who might have been an accidental audience (myself as a researcher for one), how would different audiences interpret the image and how are these audiences different from each other. How the image was stored, circulated and how audiences digitally engage with the image was also addressed.

When applied to the travel blogs the questions posited above had many similar answers for each individual photograph. All the blog photographs were posted on the same websites, were published between 2002 and 2010, depended on technology (digital cameras & internet access) and benefited from similar distribution methods. Individually however, and especially when analysed in conjunction with the attached travel blogs, the images provided clues as to why the blogger made the image. In particular clues were visible as to the blogger's emotions in relation to the subject of the image. Finally, bloggers often commented on their reasons for circulating the image, ranging from highly personal statements about their experiences and wish to record them to comments about simply circulating the images for interested family and friends at home. The result was an understanding of how meaning was produced by the image, particularly in terms of the blogger's (real or perceived) social (in the context of death) and geographical (in the context of battlefields) knowledge of conflict. Like Rose's paper on *Visual Methodologies* the intention was not to create a false distinction which oversimplified the relations held in the picture. Instead the intention was to undergo a rigorous analysis process for each image to facilitate the cross-referencing of the image with other ethnographic, interview, blog and secondary data. The result was that commentary is offered on selected appropriate images throughout the thesis. These images were carefully selected to present both new ways of visualising thanatourism and also to confirm or reject existing hypotheses in the subject.

4.5 Limitations of research

This section will discuss the limitations of the research, acknowledging where improvements could be made in future thanatourism or niche tourism studies.

Initially it must be acknowledged that the thesis aimed to further the understanding of why fascination spaces associated with death and disaster appears to have increased in recent decades. Of course, as there is no one, universal, answer to this, the thesis proposed to carry out a multi-site case study of a diverse range of sites connected to the Yugoslav Wars. It was felt that examining a broad range of sites would help to present a fuller understanding of some of the reasons for commodification.

To achieve this the author decided that based on past studies and relevant literature on philosophies of research and tourism, the best approach was not to consider commodification and consumption independently but rather to theme them both as inherently linked. Commodification facilitates consumption which in turn facilitates commodification. Therefore it was felt that the best route into exploring this couplet was to examine the nexus between private industry commodification and the consumption of thanatourism spaces by travellers. Although this ignored the role of the state in the commodification process, this could perhaps be viewed as a strength rather than a weakness. Many of the major texts on the major thanatourism sites focus specifically on those which are managed by some form of public governance. Work on the Auschwitz museum (Charlesworth, 2004), Ground Zero (Lisle, 2004), Hiroshima and Nagasaki (Siegenthaler 2002) and many of the sites in Foley and Lennon's (2000) book expose the role of governance in the commodification of death. It appears that less attention has been paid to the role of private entrepreneurs and the link between supply and consumption. The analysis and discussion chapters will attempt to bridge this gap by proposing links between representations of travel and recognition of demand.

Site Selection

The research was also somewhat limited in its site selection. Although the author took part in and observed every war tour on offer in the countries of former Yugoslavia, the thesis could not consider every commodified site in the region. The sample taken observed war tours in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia but unfortunately due to cost and other constraints could not consider

sites in the Republic of Macedonia, Kosovo, Montenegro or Slovenia. Additionally, security in Kosovo and the lack of media coverage of war tours in the other countries meant that although certain levels of commodification might exist, the majority reside in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia. Despite this the researcher believes that close to the full population of private tour guides operating war tours in the countries of the former Yugoslavia were interviewed. Although other sites have been commodified for tourism, interviewing guides presented the best avenue for exploring thanatourism and the selling of the war.

Blog research limitations

The first problem in researching travel blogs was in selecting which blogs to analyse. The researcher drew on past work by Pan et al (2006) and proposed that the using the two major travel blog hosting sites represented the best way to gather a large amount of data relating to tourism in Sarajevo. While selecting a random sample of blogs across the spectrum might have provided certain methodological benefits relating to bias, there were major arguments for selecting blogs from the two major travel websites. These included access to data: as travel blogs on Sarajevo represent a very specific type of blog it would not be practical to include a sample from a greater number of blog hosting sites as many of them did not hold any blogs on the city. Therefore a non-random sample was taken from the two largest travel blog websites Travelbog.org and Travelpod.com. Future research into more popular tourist destinations could utilise a non-random sample.

The final methodological issue can be presented as both a strength and a weakness of the thesis. Past work on travel blog has used a number of independent researchers to avoid bias in the findings. This work (Pan et al, 2006) has focussed on coding positive and negative impressions of a destination. This work did not encounter this limitation, as although dark tourism could be viewed as a sensitive subject, the researcher did not use the blogs to examine motivations or perceptions of a site.

The blogs were analysed in a more quantitative manner purely to assess if:

- a) the tourist visited a war site
- b) images of the war were posted
- c) the war was discussed.

Pan et al (2006) write that blog analysis is a useful way to assess the strengths and weaknesses of a destination. The author feels that this research further expands the advantages of utilising a travel blog methodology. When used in a mixed methods approach blogs present an ideal way to assess the sites visited by visitors and how they record their experiences. This research model could be further developed in future to assess the strengths and weaknesses of mass tourism destinations by utilising semantic network analysis to code the positive and negative experiences of the tourist.

4.6 Summary

Despite some minor limitations, this chapter has proposed a holistic approach to tackling the methodological challenges associated with thanatourism research. This thesis strives to implement these methods and acknowledges and incorporates the strengths of previous methodologies in niche tourism research. In particular the author is satisfied that a mixed methods approach to thanatourism research is the most appropriate way to facilitate the recent notion that tourism can no longer be theorised as an exclusive area of study. Input from geographical papers has been supplemented by literature from the fields of sociology, anthropology and business, all of which must be considered if emancipated knowledge is to be created and a better understanding of thanatourism is to emerge. The author is also satisfied that the mixed methods approach which involved the dissemination of tourism literature and other discourses, interviews and observation represented the most appropriate way to present a fuller understanding of the commodification and consumption of the sites of the Yugoslav Wars. In the following chapter analysis will be presented from the primary and secondary research with a fuller presentation of the practical implications of employing these methodologies on the ground.

Chapter Five

The Commodification of Thanatourism Spaces

5.1: Introduction

This chapter will begin to discuss the commodification of thanatourism space throughout Yugoslavia. Stone's idea (2006), that a supply of dark tourism is located within a diverse and fragmented framework, will be explored throughout this chapter. Stone (2006: 157) writes that the dark tourism spectrum *'is a fluid and dynamic continuum of intensity which is anchored by various, though not necessarily exclusive, product features and characteristics'*. Over the next two chapters, this notion will be explored by analysing the interview findings from the guides, the tourist blogs on Sarajevo and the ethnographic findings from the war tours taken by the author. These findings are complemented by appropriate media documents and relevant examples from academic literature. This chapter and the following chapter on the tourist experience will seek to explore the diverse phenomena which commodify sites of suffering and attract those who gaze on death. Both this chapter and Chapter Six will strengthen the existing body of work on thanatourism by developing a conceptual framework for studying sites of death and disaster.

When attempting to sell 'dark places' it is clear there are a variety of tools - which have been touched upon in the literature review - used by stakeholders to help portray their city, region or country as a desirable spot for the mass or niche tourism market. In addition to these direct selling tools, one must consider the array of semiotics which act (often indirectly) as agents in selling a city or region. In terms of ex-Yugoslavia and international perceptions, there are a range of images put on display by news articles, film, literature, sporting events, guidebooks, word of mouth and international tour operators, many of which reach western and other audiences who could be potential visitors to the city. Tourism stakeholders in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina must either exploit, or combat, this long list of images to obtain the full potential of their tourism product (although it should go without saying that much of the imagery is beyond their control). This chapter will identify some of the sources presenting and representing tourism in ex-Yugoslavia. These effects will therefore be explored in relation to international tourism, which will hopefully begin to situate both dark tourism in the context of a multi-site event. Previous thanatourism work has focused on particular sites and not events.

5.2: Company and guide profiles

The guides and other experts interviewed in the field had diverse backgrounds which need to be presented to help contextualise their positions. A page on each is included below to present some basic background data on each guide.

• Maro Carevic, Dubrovnik Walking Tours

Maro Carevic is the owner of Dubrovnik Walking Tours, a small company located in the city centre in Dubrovnik. The company employs six people and runs a variety of tours detailing the history of the city and the history of the war. As described later in this chapter, the company responded to questions about the war from clients (on other tours) by beginning their tour ‘Story About The War’ which attracts an average of 5-8 people daily on their tours between May and October. Like Danubium Tours in Vukovar, introduced in the coming pages, they are the only company in their city documenting the war for tourists. The company also works as a destination management company, organising corporate events along the Adriatic Coast and with a turnover of approximately one million euro per annum.



*Image 5.1: Walking tour,
Dubrovnik, July 2008*

• **Tim Clancy, Co-founder of Green Visions & Tourism Consultant**

The second guide to be profiled is Tim Clancy, one of the co-founders of Green Visions. Tim is a tourism consultant, based in Sarajevo and former proprietor of eco-tourism company Green Visions. Green Visions runs a range of eco-tourist trips to traditional Bosnian villages, the country's national parks and other sites associated with sustainable development and the environment. Tim Clancy is also the author and co-author on a number of travel books (published by Bradt) on Bosnia-Herzegovina and on Sarajevo. Tim has lived in Sarajevo since 1993, moving there during the conflict. Although the data collected from Tim was part of a series of lecture on general tourism structures in Bosnia-Herzegovina and not focussed on dark tourism or the commodification of space, it is included here as Tim can be regarded as an expert on tourism in the country. During the lecture and question and answer session Tim discussed the role of tourism in the overall economy, the challenges faced by and caused by the government and the issues for industry. Tim's lecture is complemented by extracts from his travel guidebooks. One of these lectures (pictured below) took place in an abandoned military barracks in Sarajevo which Tim is attempting to turn into an eco-park.



*Image 5.2: Tim Clancy, Green Visions
Sarajevo, May 2011*

• **Mr. Haris Pamuk, Haris Youth Hostel, Sarajevo**

Mr Haris Pamuk owns Haris Youth Hostel in Sarajevo. The hostel's main office is located in Bascarsija, the city centre's old town. Guests generally arrive at this office, check in and walk to their accommodation, 10 minutes from the centre. Haris notes that when guests check in they usually ask about city tours and his hostel runs a daily tour to accommodate these requests. The Haris Youth Hostel 'Sarajevo City Tour' takes in a variety of sites in conjunction with those connected with the war. The 'Sarajevo City Tour' visits the Tunnel Museum, Sniper Alley and several sites associated with the city's history and the 14th Winter Olympics. This tour costs €15 per person for a walking and van tour. Additionally, Haris often runs private tours specifically for those who want to learn about the war. Guests can also take part in tours to the town of Srebrenica and other historical sites around Bosnia-Herzegovina. Haris Hostel is a member of the Hostelling International group, while Haris himself is also a tourism graduate. Haris was the youngest entrepreneur interviewed during the thesis – he established his tour company and hostel aged only 14 and runs Sarajevo most highly rated hostel. Haris is now aged 23 (2011) and was interviewed twice (in 2009 and 2011).



Image 5.3: Haris Pamuk on the tour to the siege positions, Mount Trebevic, Sarajevo, 2009

• **Tarik, Sarajevo Tours/ Sarajevo Discovery**

Sarajevo Discovery is a Sarajevo based tourism agency which runs a variety of historical and heritage tours in the city and nationally and regionally throughout Bosnia and Croatia. These tours include the story of the Jewish population of Sarajevo, city tours, religious pilgrimage tours and a '*Story about the War*' tour. They also run tours to the city of Srebrenica in the North East of the country, Mostar in Herzegovina and Dubrovnik in Croatia. Their tours range from €15 per person for a short tunnel tours (1.5hrs) to €150 for the Srebrenica tour (including transport from Sarajevo). Tarik is an independent guide who carries out occasional work with Sarajevo Discovery, which is owned and managed by his friend Amela, who was not available for interview for this thesis.



Image 5.4: Tarik (Sarajevo Tours) in the Dutchbat Base, Potočari , Srebrenica, May 2010

• **Mr Zijad Jusufovic, independent guide**

Mr Jusufovic is a private tour guide operating in Sarajevo offering a range of tours for private visitors. These tours include a variety associated with the war, the main one being his ‘Mission Impossible’ tour which visits all of the major sites associated with the siege in Sarajevo. This tour costs €90 per person (with a minimum of 2 per tour) and lasts for 5 hours. A shortened two and half hour version of this tour is available at a lower cost. His other tours include visiting Srebrenica to tour the memorials and DUTCHBat operations centre where the United Nations soldiers were based outside the town. He also offers a range of historical tours which visit the city’s Islamic architecture, the natural landscape of the surrounding area and the Olympic heritage in the city. The tours of Sarajevo started in 2000, although Mr Jusufovic also worked as a tour guide in the pre-war period. During the war Mr Jusufovic worked with a number of international organisations in the city, including the Red Cross and other humanitarian organisations. Two tours were taken with Zijad, in 2008 and 2009, visiting different sites in Sarajevo with and without groups.



Image 5.5: Zijad Jusufovic at the Tunnel Museum, Butimir, Sarajevo, July 2008

• **Hasan Hasanovic, Srebrenica Memorial Centre, Potočari**

Hasan Hasanovic manages the memorial centre at Srebrenica, officially entitled; The Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial and Cemetery for the Victims of the 1995 Genocide (Schwarz-Schilling, 2007), from here on called The Srebrenica Memorial Centre. He is not a guide per-se, although he regularly guides visitors around the site. Hasan is from Srebrenica and was a resident in the town when the massacre happened in 1995. In 2008 he returned from the nearby town of Tuzla to work for the Srebrenica Memorial Centre. The centre consists of a small room of artwork and photography, approximately 5,000 graves of the 8,372 victims of the 1995 massacre who have been identified, a gift shop, monuments and the large Dutchbat base (the old battery factory) which now operates as a developing museum. There are plans to raise money internationally to expand the museum, increasing the number of interpretive rooms in the base from 2 to approximately 12. A memorial centre will also open in Sarajevo. The Srebrenica Memorial Centre was opened in 2003 at a cost of \$5.7million by former US president Bill Clinton (Unknown, (BBC) 2003) and its board has a mandate:

- a) to construct and maintain the Memorial Centre;
- b) to receive and disburse funds for the Memorial Centre;
- c) to cooperate with similar centres, foundations, associations worldwide; and
- d) to conduct other activities related to the Memorial Centre.



*Image 5.6: Hasan Hasanovic
Hasan greeting a group of approx 150 school children from Mostar at the centre.
Srebrenica Memorial Centre, May 2010*

• **Ms Zrinka Sesto, Danubium Tours, Vukovar**

The next guide to be profiled is Ms Zrinka Sesto, a guide in Vukovar in North Eastern Croatia. Ms Sesto co-owns and manages (with her husband) the company *Danubium Tours*, a destination management company in Vukovar. The city of Vukovar in Northern Croatia is located on the River Danube and thus many of the tourists to the city arrive on Danube cruise ships. *Danubium Tours* offers several tours in the local area, including vineyard visits to the nearby village of Ilok and tours of the castles and baroque architecture in the area. Their war tour, entitled the ‘Along the *Vukovar Defenders’ Road*’ began in 2007 and visits a range of sites associated with the conflict in Vukovar. These include Vukovar hospital, the farm outside the town at Ovčara which contained a mass grave, the water tower (Image 2.4), a museum and several other symbols of suffering in the city. This tour costs €50 per person for a 3 hour walking and bicycle tour. Ms Sesto reported that 170 cruise ships visited the city in 2007, with many of these guests seeking this tour. In addition 90% of queries received by *Danubium Tours* relate to this tour (Mlinarić Blake, 2008). Ms Sesto also has a background in tourism, having studied the subject in Zagreb.



Image 5.7: Part of Along the Vukovar Defenders’ Road tour, Vukovar Cemetery, April 2009

• **Tourism Association of Bosnia-Herzegovina & Tourism Association of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Leila Brckalija & Sanela Smajlovic)**

The final interviewees to be profiled are Leila and Sanela from the Tourism Association of the Federation of Bosnia Herzegovina and the Tourism Association of Bosnia Herzegovina. The two interviewees were mainly questioned about national tourism policy, to assess where thanatourism would fit within a national strategy. A particular emphasis on dark tourism was not pursued, although it was discussed. Instead the author pursued a focus on how Bosnia is sold internationally and how tourism can contribute to local development. This approach was taken for a number of reasons; 1) it allowed the positioning of dark tourism against other forms of tourism marketed by the associations and 2) the interview illustrated the difficulties faced by policy makers and entrepreneurs under the current legal structures created by the Dayton agreement. This allowed for a broader contextualisation of tourism in the region.



Image 5.8: Tourism Association of Bosnia & Herzegovina, marketing images (2008)

5.3: The tours, the guides & mediating thanatourism

This section identifies the key role played by guides in mediating dark sites for tourists. The section aims to provide a clear understanding of the role played by war tourism guides in the commodification process of the sites of the war in ex-Yugoslavia. A description of each of the tours undertaken by the author between 2004 & 2011 is offered, beginning with a tour in 2004 which provided the inspiration to investigate thanatourism in ex-Yugoslavia. Each tour is presented in a separate section below. Images and maps are included where appropriate, to help bring the tours to life for the reader. The various themes from the tours (such as signage, dissonant heritage, the role of media etc.) are then explored in sections 5.4-5.10.

The brief biographies offered in 5.1 for each guide are expanded in this section (5.3), to help offer insight into the guides as people and how and why they do what they do. The backgrounds, experiences and personalities of the guides appear to play a major role in their involvement in the commodification of war spaces. A map of the Sarajevo locations is included, see *Image 5.13*. Sarajevo is the only mapped location (apart from the wider region map, see *Image 1.5*) because a) the terrain lends itself to a mapping project visually and b) the tours in Potočari, Vukovar and Dubrovnik operate within a very tight spatial area.

Tour 1: With Sunny (from Ljubicia Hostel), 'Sarajevo War Tour', July 2004

I first visited Sarajevo in July 2004 with some friends as we backpacked through Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. It was the second last stop of a two week trip which also took in Maribor, Zadar, Dubrovnik and Venice. After three nights in Dubrovnik we took a bus to Sarajevo, via Mostar. We stopped in Mostar for the day and enjoyed spending some time around the Star Most bridge, pictured below. The bridge had reopened the previous day, with many celebrities and dignitaries from around the world present to celebrate this symbolic event. News reporters, festival organisers and tourists were everywhere. Bridges occupy a special place in the history of Bosnia-Herzegovina; consider Ivo Andric's Nobel prize winning *Bridge Over the Drina*, for example, a novel in which the history of Visegrad is told through the lens of the spatial importance of the bridge. This book is arguably Bosnia's best

known piece of literature. The bridge beside where Archduke Franz Ferdinand was shot in Sarajevo is perhaps equally well known; like many of the sites featured in this thesis it is an iconic thanatourism attraction. Lesser known, but equally poignant, would be the ‘Romeo and Juliet’ bridge, also in Sarajevo, or the bridge in the Spanish film *Territorio Comanche* (1997), which focuses on the wartime destruction of a Sarajevan bridge. These bridges illustrate the iconic role played by what is usually a piece of functional architecture in a post-conflict country. The reopening of the Mostar bridge was a special occasion and we could sense it in the atmosphere.

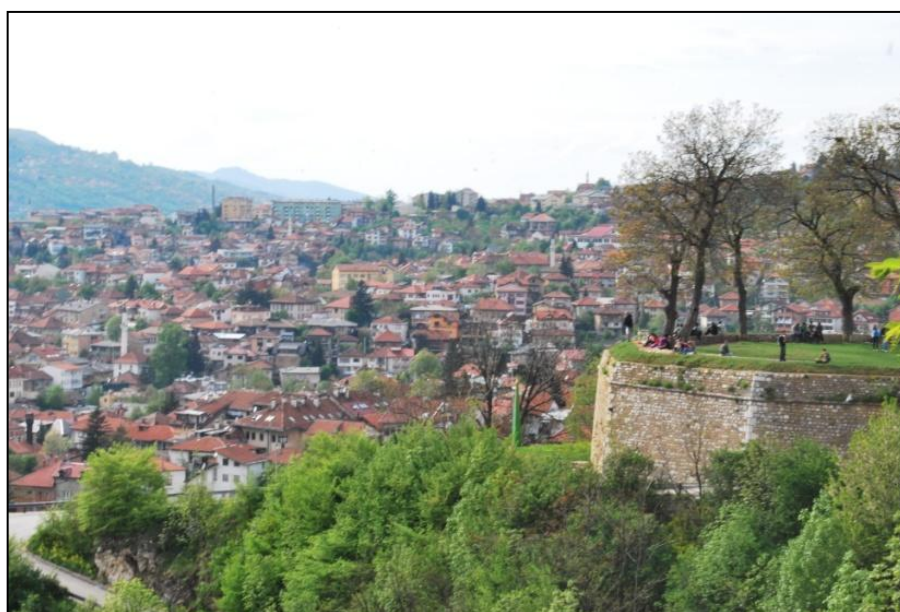


Image 5.9: The author (far right) & friends, Mostar, July 2004

Later that day we continued our journey on to Sarajevo, noting the extensive damage surrounding Mostar and in the countryside as we travelled. We arrived in Sarajevo in late evening and made our way to a city centre hostel, managed by a man named Sunny. Sunny recommended some bars to us, and, after a very late night we finally went to bed. Sunny woke us a couple of hours later, at around 8AM to take us on his tour of the city. We had very little idea where we were going to go. The tour visited several sites around the city but Sunny was clearly most passionate about one in particular; The Tunnel Museum (map key 13, see *Image 5.13*). We visited the museum and walked through the remaining few metres of the tunnel. The remaining section is very small (around 25metres) and feels reconstructed, as very little original of the 800metres is left. The museum is open daily, 9AM to 4PM. Visitors can watch a short documentary (around 20mins) which mainly shows raw news footage of the siege of Sarajevo. Many of the more ‘usual’ tourist facilities are available at the site;

tourists can purchase the map shown in Appendix XVIII, sign the guestbook or look at the pictures of famous guests from previous visits.

We left the tunnel museum and continued to a small fortification overlooking the city. En route Sunny told many anecdotes and jokes about the war, including musing aloud why the Mostar bridge hadn't collapsed again the previous day under the weight of Pavarotti. He encouraged any questions from the group of fifteen or so tourists and took pictures with everyone. He told us that during the conflict he had worked with the military but didn't clarify his role beyond this. We arrived at Vratnik (pictured below from 2011) and gazed over the city. As noted in *Sarajevo Marlboro* the position of Sarajevo in a valley is very useful for pointing out the different districts of the city. Sunny pointed out the different graveyards, the iconic Holiday Inn, Sniper Alley and the National Library. He talked at length about the conflict, particularly highlighting the proximity in time and the extent of the damage. I returned to Sunny's hostel a number of times over the coming years to try and formally arrange an interview, but apart from discerning that Sunny had since fallen into some kind of difficulty I could not find out any further information about his current activities.



*Image 5.10: Vratnik (near Haris Hostel)
Sarajevo, May 2011*

Tour 2: Maro Carevic, 'The Story About the War', Dubrovnik, July 2008

I returned to Dubrovnik in July 2008, four years after my original visit to the Balkans in 2004. My intention was to use Dubrovnik as a route to Sarajevo from Ireland (due to the availability of direct flights). At the time I was not aware of the availability of war tours in the city, despite having previously looked online. My naïve perception at the time was that Dubrovnik was simply too 'bright' a tourist destination to still facilitate entrepreneurs commodifying the war. However, while walking around the city centre one evening I came across a sign advertising a '*Story about the war*' tour. The tour was advertised alongside the usual booze cruise, cocktail parties, fishing trips and island hopping boat tours which one sees in many Mediterranean coastal tourist resorts. The sign advertised a central meeting point, with a tour offered that evening for 8PM. I noted the location and returned that evening.

The tour lasted approximately ninety minutes, and remained within the confines of the Old Town throughout. The tour began at the fountain in the Old Town and wound through the streets. Ten people took part, solely by foot, the only tour to do so (apart from Hasan's walk around Potočari). The guide mixed history and personal experiences throughout, including statements about how conflict is grounded in the past. While some personal anecdotes were included, the tour was largely historical. Few war scars remain, compared to the other sites documented in this research. However, one interesting part of the tour came when the guide stopped to show a paving slab which had been shelled during the war. He showed us how other tourists and even locals walked over and past this slab every minute without paying any attention to it. We stood back and observed people passing by, nobody glanced at the slab at all. I am sure I would have done the same. Unfortunately, due to this being a night time tour, and the scar being non-descript, it did not photograph well.

Our guide, Maro Carevic originally started the tour to meet a demand from tourists to learn about the war. The company grew and as of 2011 it advertises eleven weekly tours (daily at 8PM and Mon, Tues, Thurs, Sat at 11.20AM). The tours are now advertised at €12 per person but private tours are also offered online at a price of €140.

*Tours 3 & 6: Zijad Jusufovic, 'Mission Impossible' & 'City Tour',
July 2008 & March 2009*

I returned to Sarajevo in 2008 to take a tour with Zijad Jusufovic, the first guide I interviewed after beginning this research. I contacted Zijad based on various internet recommendations, mainly from reading about journalists' encounters with him. These journalists highlighted Zijad's free speech and controversial nature and they noted that he took large groups on coach trips as well as private tours (Hawton, 2002). Upon commencing my tour with him I told Zijad that I was a student and wished to document as much of the tour as possible for future use. He indicated that he had done such tours many times before for other students and journalists and would do his normal tour in his normal style. His past guests had included Richard Gere and various senior UN diplomats, among many journalists, including several from the British press. He encouraged me to ask any questions I had at any time and, like Haris (profiled later), offered the flexibility to visit any sites which were not on the itinerary for the day.

Zijad was the only guide interviewed for this research who worked as a tour guide before the war. He was 17 years old during the 1984 Olympic Games and during the interview he spoke passionately about this period of Sarajevo's history. In 1989 he trained as a tour guide, with six months of education. However, Zijad stated on the tour that: *'it was a communist education. I had to learn a lot of things about this city but I always asked questions, because communists write history as they like'*. Despite this observation Zijad spoke positively about Tito and the communist era in general during the tour. He also indicated on this first tour that he learned German and Russian as part of this education but admitted on a follow up tour a year later to both being underused in recent years. During the war he worked for various foreign organisations, including the Red Cross. Following the war, Zijad stated that he walked around the city extensively, photographing the damage and trying to understand how it all happened. On his tours he tells this story outside a shelled out old folks' home, telling the tourists about how the building was used as an ammunition dump to meet round quotas for Serbian snipers. He tells of his conversations with Serbian soldiers and how the 'most beautiful building in Yugoslavia' was destroyed (*Image 5.11* below and 3.4 shown earlier). It is difficult to convey Zijad's passion for this story and this building on paper. He clearly wishes for

his tourists to understand this space and to unravel the various layers associated with it.



*Image 5.11: Old folks' home,
Sarajevo, July 2008*

Zijad is a controversial guide. I took many 'dark' tours over the duration of this thesis throughout the world. Zijad was certainly the most controversial in ex-Yugoslavia, but probably the most controversial guide I will ever encounter. He speaks passionately and freely about the geography of Sarajevo and Bosnia-Herzegovina. He swears, he gets animated, he criticises Islamic fundamentalism, all kinds of extremism, the growing drug and prostitution problems in Sarajevo and he angrily rejects the increasing segregation of communities, especially in state schools.

In 2008 I took my first tour with Zijad, a private tour with him and his driver. He met me in the city centre and after a quick introduction we got in his car and drove to an old Jewish cemetery in the city, where his 'Mission Impossible' tour began. This cemetery was in a severe state of disrepair in 2008, with crumbling gravestones, ruined tombs and weeds overgrowing on the site. Zijad warned not to step off the paths as there was a possibility of land mines in the area. The cemetery is located relatively close to the city centre and it is surprising to see such a final resting site in such a derelict state, especially so close to the centre of a European capital city. Zijad spoke at length of the city's history at this point with a long narrative about the trials of the city's Jewish population. He

mentioned how Richard Gere was very moved by this site on his tour and how he now wished to get involved in various funding projects to restore it. We spent approximately 10 minutes in the graveyard before returning to the car and crossing the border into the Republika Srpska. We followed a winding road for approximately 15 minutes before arriving at the top of Mount Trebevic, one of the four Olympic mountains in Sarajevo. Here Zijad spoke about the destruction of what was perfectly good sporting infrastructure, and how inaction and lack of cooperation had now turned this unique space into a frustrating geo-political landscape which illustrated the reality of local borders.

The tour continued to the site where many Jews were executed during World War 2, before moving on to the Holiday Inn. The Holiday Inn (map key 10, see *Image 5.13*) is a striking yellow block building and is iconic as the only hotel to remain in operation throughout the siege. The hotel was occupied by foreign journalists and many reports from the war were filmed outside the hotel on the street the journalists dubbed ‘Sniper Alley’ (map key 11, see *Image 5.13*). I entered the hotel with Zijad and took some photos but its interior is much like any other large chain hotel. From here we moved to the King Fahd Mosque on the city’s outskirts. Here Zijad spoke about the Mujahedeen, the foreign Muslim volunteer fighters who fought on the side of the Bosnian Muslims during the war. Zijad was highly critical of any fundamentalist tensions creeping in to Sarajevo. We took some photographs around the mosque and briefly looked inside.

On the tours Zijad made a number of stops for coffees and cigarettes. During these stops he encouraged questions, asked me about experiences from Northern Ireland, told me of his other travels, offered opinions on secularisation, segregation, conflict resolution, post-conflict development and his own role as a ‘controversial’ tour guide. Conversations with Zijad were always engaging and thought provoking.

Tour 4: Zrinka Sesto, ‘Along the Vukovar Defenders’ Road’, March 2009

In March 2009 I spent one day with Zrinka Sesto of *Danubium Tours* in Vukovar. Zrinka established this business with her husband, like Haris Pamuk, a

former tourism student. Zrinka also had previous experience in tourism and hospitality, having worked as a guide and in hotels in Zagreb. In Vukovar, Zrinka found that she was regularly questioned about the war from 1991. Zrinka was 18 during the war and was in Vukovar at the height of its siege. Her husband was a Croatian soldier and Zrinka also spent some time in a concentration camp. These experiences and her understanding of the tourism industry led her to begin the *Along the Vukovar Defenders' Road* tour.

The tour with Zrinka began at my hotel and like the tour with Zijad was a private tour, partly due to the time of year (early March). Zrinka had also previously received students and journalists on tour and was familiar with the process of giving a 'normal' tour and answering questions about it. Zrinka began by telling me that the tours were often by coach but sometimes by car, bicycle or on foot, depending on the client, availability of transport and the weather. We left the hotel by car and went to Vukovar Hospital. The hospital was used during the siege and became infamous when the Serbian army took many people, including wounded patients and children from the hospital and executed them near the town. The basement area of the hospital has now been turned into a museum and gives the visitor a feeling of what the hospital was like during the siege. The hospital is full of dummy patients and staff, audio-visual displays, candle memorials and plaques to the dead. I spent approximately one hour in the hospital, watching the videos and listening to Zrinka talk about the conflict. We then moved to Ovčara, the site where the massacre of the hospital patients took place. Two hundred and sixty three people were executed at this site and buried in a mass grave. These bodies were later exhumed and buried in the local cemetery. A memorial stands at the site a black stone slab with a dove in the middle.

There is also a memorial centre nearby. We visited the centre and Zrinka continued to talk about the conditions during the siege. The memorial centre contains a large, almost empty hall. The interior is painted black and photos of the dead fade in and out of view. There is an eerie flame in the middle of the floor. The floor is carpeted with bullet casings and actual bullets found on the

property after the massacre. A small shop at the front of the centre sells some books and souvenirs memorialising the conflict.

Zrinka's tour comes to a dramatic conclusion at the water tower in Vukovar (see *Image 5.20*). The tower is preserved (deliberately) in its war damaged state. Basic maintenance is carried out to ensure it doesn't topple. Other than a Croatian flag on top of it there is little by way of memorialisation. The tower dominates the town's landscape and is visible from many miles away. At this point on the tour Zrinka noted that the decision to preserve it in its war damaged condition means that those who come to Vukovar in future will still be provoked into asking questions about the war, even if they knew nothing about it beforehand. The tour concluded with this thought provoking statement and we returned to the hotel.

Tours 5, 8 & 13: Haris Pamuk, Haris Youth Hostel City Tour, March 2009, May 2010 & May 2011

Haris is a passionate young entrepreneur and outstanding tour guide. Haris began his business in his teens, bringing local backpackers to stay in his house and as the business grew Haris expanded his facility and his hostel now accommodates around 30 guests (*map key 2 & 4, Image 5.10 below*). His younger sister is now also involved with the business. I first contacted Haris for a tour in early 2009 after reading many recommendations on travel blog websites. It was a quiet time of year for him; Sarajevo was still covered in snow and he had no tours arranged for the days I met him. I therefore requested if he could take me on a private tour, treating me as a normal tourist. Haris is a tourism student himself and understood that I wished to run through the usual tour. In any case Haris frequently takes tourists on private tours and his tours are highly personalised. His website states '*If you don't see exactly what you want here, please contact us about customising a tour to suit your needs*' (Haris Youth Hostel, 2011). In-tour he appears to be perceptive enough to adapt the tours to suit the particular groups. Haris generally starts at his city centre hostel, or office, and brings guests on varied itineraries according to their wishes. He has a detailed brochure, outlining city tours, story of the war tours, visits to Srebrenica, private flights over the city and visits to the Olympic sites of 1984.

He offers guests the opportunity to ask questions at any stage and openly discusses the conflict. He appears to be equally comfortable discussing both his experiences of the siege and the political history of the region.

My house was destroyed with nine grenades. I was downstairs with my parents. I didn't go to school. I tried to eat something but I couldn't because we had no food. You tried to watch cartoons but you couldn't because you had no electricity. And if you get electricity, you can just watch the news. And on the news, nothing special, just see how many people died. The streets, destroyed buildings burning, burning houses and that. And that's something that will stay in the memory. Because I can never forget what I can never forgive. That's what I think.

Haris Pamuk, Proprietor of Haris Hostel

Over the three years I met him he has kept up to date with current affairs and openly discusses the political and tourism landscape. I returned to Sarajevo in 2010 and 2011 and took tours with Haris and groups of students to the sites of the Winter Olympics. In May 2011 I spent a full week in Haris' company and asked him many questions about his role in Sarajevo's tourism landscape. I witnessed him guide dozens of tourists, from all over the world, to a multitude of sites. The information from these tours and encounters are documented throughout this chapter and further in Chapter Six.

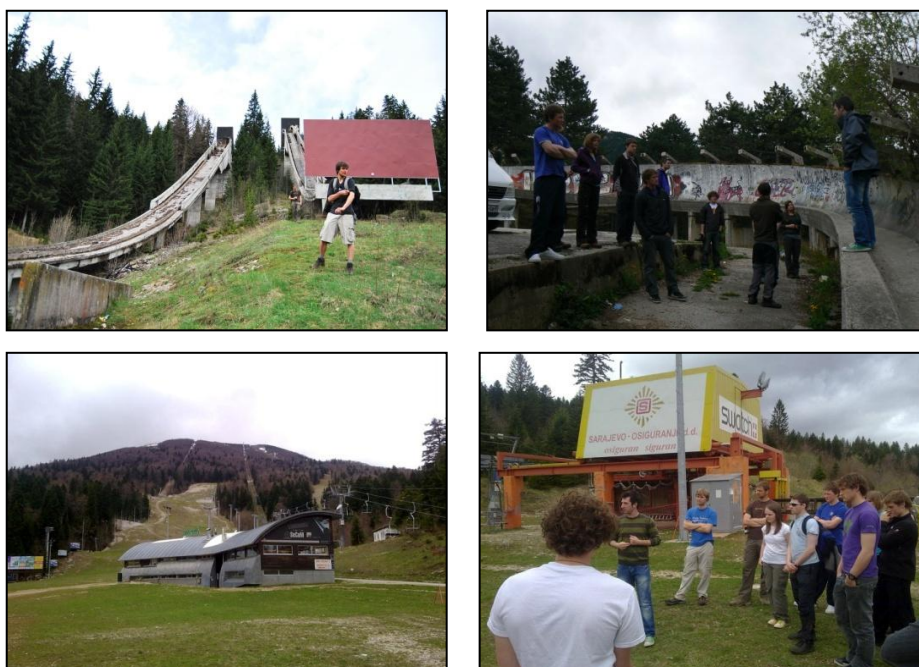


Image 5.12: Haris Pamuk's tour to the Sarajevo 1984 Winter Olympic Mountains of Igman, Trebevic, Jahorina and Bjelasnica (clockwise from top-left), May 2011

The tours I took with Haris focused primarily on the current state of the 1984 Winter Olympic infrastructure and their post-war condition. There are four winter Olympic mountains near Sarajevo and all are in various states of disrepair, ranging from the badly damaged and mined Mountain Igman to the in-use Mount Jahorina (map key 14-17, see *Image 5.13*). On the tours Haris guided us around Mount Trebevic (the bobsled mountain), Mount Igman (the ski jump), Mount Bjelasnica (men's downhill skiing) and Mount Jahorina (women's downhill skiing), all pictured in *Image 5.12*.

Tours 7 & 9: Tarik (Sarajevo Tours), Tunnel Tour and Srebrenica Tour, May 2010

I took two tours with Tarik from Sarajevo Tours in May 2010. Tarik was probably the least well known of the guides to me at the end of this process. He is much quieter than the other guides and is not an officially licensed guide. Tarik is a friend of Haris Pamuk (although I did not know this until commencing the tour) and I arranged contact with him by contacting Sarajevo Tours through their website contact form. I approached the company through this method deliberately as I wanted to experience a tour from the same perspective as a regular tourist. The first tour I booked was a city tour, which visited the Tunnel Museum and the different panorama viewing locations on the mountains around Sarajevo.

En route, Tarik talked about his experiences working in the tourism industry. He mainly deals with overspill from local businesses, including from Haris. He talked at length about the difficulty making the right contacts in the business and that it was very much about 'who you know'. On his second tour, to Srebrenica, he talked in detail about previous clients; including who they were and what they wanted. Like Zijad, he noted that his company can do tours in other languages and he indicated a desire to learn Spanish in future to boost the appeal of his tours. Tarik drove me from Sarajevo to Potočari memorial centre, the location where the UN DUTCHBat soldiers were based and the Srebrenica victims are now buried. Upon arriving at Potočari Tarik walked me around the memorial centre, the cemetery and the UN Dutchbat base, which was located in a disused battery factory. We then drove to Srebrenica and walked around the town, which was very quiet with an eerie atmosphere. We then returned to

Potočari as I wished to take some more photographs. Outside the main entrance to the cemetery there is a small cabin which contains a gift shop, selling books and souvenirs memorialising the massacre from 1995. I asked the shop employee some questions but she didn't speak English. She indicated to wait and moments later Hasan Hasanovic entered, the next guide to be interviewed.

Tour 10 – Hasan Hasanovic, Potočari Memorial Centre, Srebrenica, May 2010

Hasan has a different role to most of the other tour guides interviewed for this thesis. He is not a private entrepreneur and is employed by the memorial centre. His job title is Director of the Potočari Memorial Centre and he meets and greets Bosnian and international guests at the centre. He travels extensively to deliver lectures and seminars on genocide and memorialisation and has deep knowledge of the Srebrenica genocide of 1995. Hasan was a civilian in Srebrenica during the siege. He escaped over the mountains with some of the other men from the town who made it to freedom. His brother and father did not make it and are buried in Srebrenica today.

I met Hasan in the small shop at Potočari and he immediately offered to take me on a walking tour around the centre. We walked to the Dutchbat base and after unlocking several rooms he showed me the now famous graffiti and drawings left on the walls by the Dutch soldiers. As we walked Hasan told the story of Srebrenica, how it was declared a safe area, the fall of the town, the massacre and the aftermath. We walked around the cemetery, the memorial centre and shop, the Dutchbat base and the abandoned buildings. Hasan received a number of phone calls while I was with him, which he told me were schools and other requesting tours of the centre. One school's arrival was imminent so we walked back to the cemetery and waited for them to arrive. Soon enough around 150 school students arrived and Hasan sat them down under the memorial pavilion. He spoke (in Bosnian) to them for around thirty minutes, while they sat on the ground. During this speech I documented the students and teachers reactions and spent some time walking around the cemetery with some English Muslim tourists. These observations are documented in Chapter Six. After the school students left I spent some further time with Hasan. He encouraged me to come back in future and gave me his business card.

Tour 12 – Tim Clancy, tour through a disused military barracks, Sarajevo, May 2011

Tim Clancy is not a war tour guide. His work in tourism is very much focussed on eco-tourism, adventure tourism, hiking and what he terms ‘green visions’, later to become the name of his eco-tourism company. These life-affirming qualities provide a strong balance to the other guides featured but arguably he is the one guide who should not feature in a thesis about thanatourism. However, Tim features in this thesis as he is one of the few international experts on tourism (in general) in the Balkan regions. Tim took the unusual step of moving to Sarajevo in 1992, at the beginning of the siege. He worked for various voluntary organisations, including volunteering on United Nations programmes and in refugee centres. Following the conflict Tim spent many years hiking in the mountains of Bosnia-Herzegovina. He has published guidebooks on Bosnia-Herzegovina (2007) and Sarajevo (2006) with Bradt and Buybook respectively. These books are widely available and are one of the most visible sources of tourism information in Bosnia and Sarajevo.

Tim is married to a local woman, speaks Bosnian fluently and is firmly embedded in the region. He is well known and respected by the local tourist guides and the international development community. Like many locals he liberally criticises the geo-political landscape of the country and abhors the fact that the government is fragmented, toothless and corrupt. At the time of writing only Kosovo, Ukraine and Belarus rank as more corrupt in Europe, (Transparency International, 2011). Bosnia has a similar ranking to Iran, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Like Zijad, Tim does not hesitate to criticise what he calls ‘absurd decisions’ and regularly uses the phrase ‘t.i.B.’ or ‘this is Bosnia’, a catch all phrase used to explain what he terms to be the unintelligible decisions made by the government in different situations. Tim’s expertise was sought to provide a balance to the tourism landscape of Sarajevo. While many do indeed come to consume and experience the ‘thana’ aspect of the war, it is not the main driver of tourism to Sarajevo, or to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Tim’s expertise with a different niche segment offered the perspective that not all tourists who come to the region wish to consume death, and that for many who

do, it is not an isolated event. A tour to the tunnel museum may come before or after some mountain hiking for example.

I met Tim many times in Sarajevo and regularly conversed with him by email. In 2011 he guided a group of around 20 students through a large abandoned barracks (around 15 hectares) in the Sarajevo suburbs (see *Image 5.2*) on a tour which I attended. The barracks is on the North East of the city and includes large green spaces, many trees and ex-military buildings. Tim plans to submit proposals in future to turn this barracks and others like it around Sarajevo into eco-tourism parks. These parks could include national training centres for adventure tourism, water springs, urban parkland and environmentally friendly cafes. Tim's plan is unique: to turn derelict post-conflict military spaces into a profitable, green leisure space for the local Sarajevo population. Throughout this tour Tim talked about the amount of derelict space in Sarajevo, noting that this disused barracks was one of many in the city. Sarajevo is a relatively green city but does not have open park space. This barracks would provide a suitable location for constructing such an urban park.

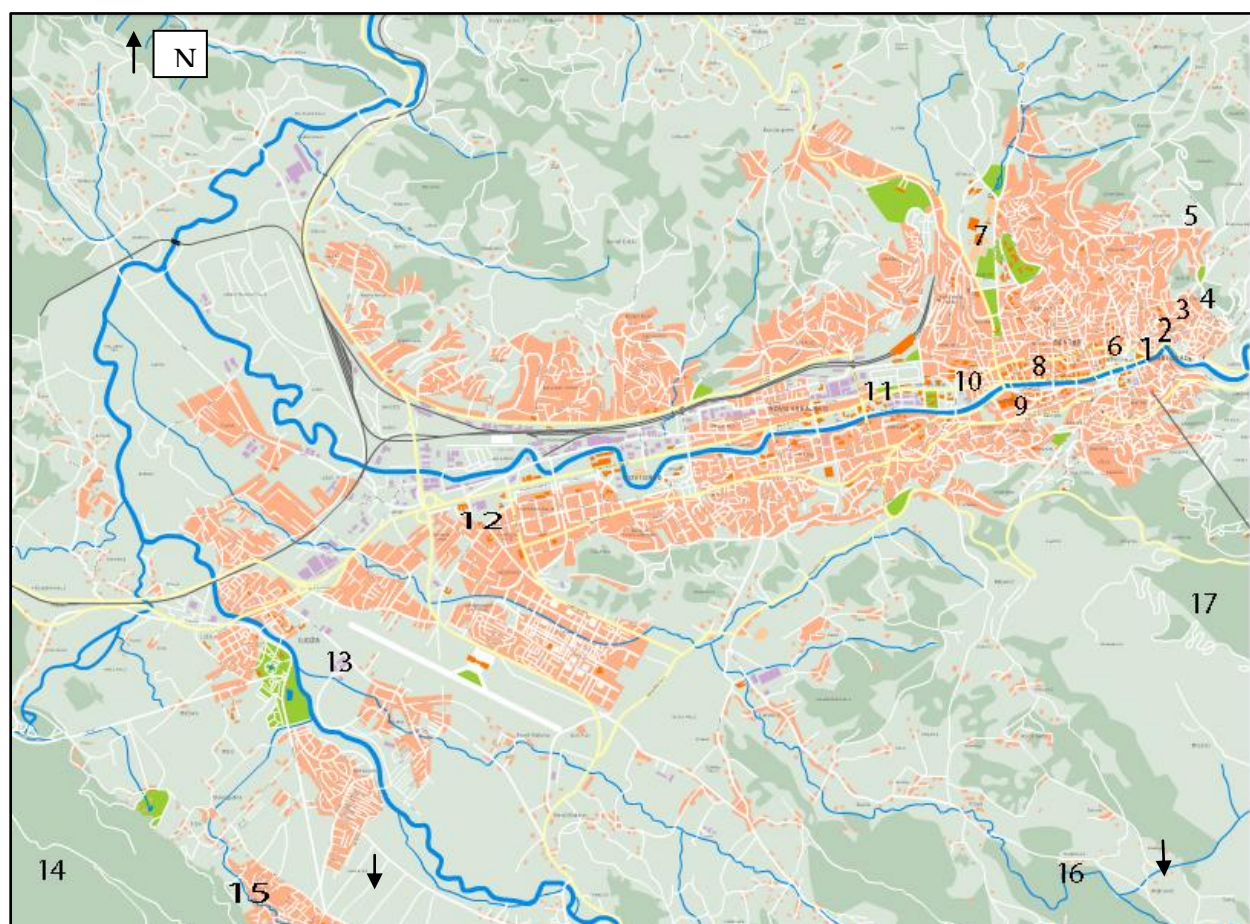


Image 5.13: Sarajevo war tour sites visited by the author between 2004-2011

Fig 5.1: Map Legend

Key	Site	See image:
1.	National Library, destroyed in 1992	Prologue, PpIX
2.	Baščaršija, Sarajevo Old Town, where Haris' & Sunny's offices are based	No picture
3.	National memorial (Shahids Memorial, Kovaci)	No picture
4.	Location of Haris Hostel & Vratnik	5.10, Pp 170
5.	Empty military barracks, visited on tour with Tim Clancy	5.2, Pp 161
6.	Markale Market, site of two massacres in 1995	7.1, Pp 286
7.	The Olympic Stadium, next to Zetra graveyard and memorial	5.14, Pp 183
8.	Memorial to the children of Sarajevo	No picture
9.	The Vrabjna Bridge ('Romeo and Juliet Bridge')	No picture
10.	The Holiday Inn	3.3, Pp 100
11.	'Sniper Alley'	3.3, Pp 100
12.	Abandoned old folks' home	3.4/ 5.21, Pp 103/ 194
13.	Sarajevo Airport and the tunnel museum, Butmir/ Illidza	5.5, 6.6, Pp 99/ 260
14.	Mount Igman	5.12/ 5.19, Pp177/ 190
15.	Mount Bjelasnica	5.12, Pp177
16.	Mount Jahorina	5.12, Pp177
17.	Mount Trebevic	5.15/ 5.16, Pp185/186

The sites visited on the tours exist in a very dynamic landscape and their spatial role has frequently changed in recent years. None of the sites are static and all have varying geopolitical, moral and ecological influences, among others, which must be contextualised to understand the later themes. Mapping the sites against time and space allows for a deeper understanding of the construction of dark tourism sites and how they move from early commemoration to fully fledged sites welcoming tourists. The four Winter Olympic mountains of 1984 provide particular opportunity for studying this, given their international status. While the Olympics Games often represent a variety of economic and political agendas (Gospodini, 2004), the Games do represent one of the few social sectors which many people would consider to have ‘*actually achieved what political philosophy calls global law, and what moral philosophy calls global ethos*’, Back (2009). The Olympic landscape, primarily a sporting one, represents life, activity and the positive sides of humanity. War, and the spaces associated with war, represent the opposite; the failings of humanity. The current commodification of these former Olympic sites as places to which thanatourists are brought a very striking visual contrast.

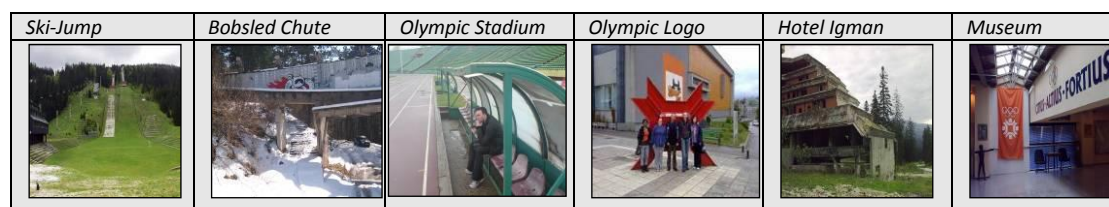


Image 5.14: A sample of the Olympic sites of Sarajevo
Please see Appendix XVII for Olympic siege map of Sarajevo

Visitors to the Yugoslav war sites during the conflict, in the immediate aftermath of the war, today and in years to come will all come in a different geo-political environment. Additionally, weathering, new construction and other activities at the sites will take their toll on the topography and ecology of the sites. The current state of the bobsled track is an excellent example of this notion of fluidity: visited in 1984 as a live Olympic site, in the years following the war as an Olympic heritage site, during the war as a battlefield and currently they are visited as part of war tours. The bobsled track itself is no longer a single function track: it has a variety of uses, including as a youth space, claimed by local graffiti artists, but also, as noted by Zijad, an urban fringe area

to facilitate drug sales or other criminal activities. Clearly in the future a multitude of possibilities exist and some of these ideas are explored later in the chapter.

Citing Płaszów, Charlesworth (2004) writes that Schindler's List has become synonymous with what was a virtually anonymous location for five decades prior to the film's release. He positions the landscape of Płaszów as a palimpsest of local memory, a socially endowed space sharing multiple meanings. Profiteering from the massacre of Jews and Catholic Poles at Płaszów has not been driven by locals. Life goes on for local people at the site and many pass the memorial as part of their daily lives. Goats are grazed, teenagers smoke their first cigarette, have their first kiss, people work in the old detention centres and German offices. In general, normal life takes place. A similar context exists at the site of the bobsled track and these aspects will be discussed throughout this section. Once a mountain overlooking Sarajevo, Trebevic's evolution through Olympic site to its current status as war tourist destination exemplifies the fluidity of dark tourism sites. Its many roles are discussed below, from dark tourism site, to a place for adults to picnic and drink beer, to a secluded location for local criminals.

The author took part in five tours which visited the Olympic sites, three with Haris Pamuk in March 2009 and May 2010 & May 2011, one with Sunny (proprietor of Ljubicia Hostel, *not interviewed for this thesis, as noted earlier*) in 2004 and one with Zijad Jusufovic in July 2008. The sites visited included the Winter Olympic Museum in the stadium at Zetra (officially called Asim Ferhatović Hase Stadium), the bobsled & luge on Mount Trebevic, the men's alpine ski jump at Mount Igman, the ski slopes at Mount Bjelasnica and Jahorina and the Olympic Hall beside the King Fahd mosque. Badly destroyed by the conflict, these sites illustrate the proximity between the war, the Olympic games and current dark tourism practices. The Olympic Games were regularly used as a reference point ('*before the Games, during the Games, after the Games*') by the guides, who placed particular emphasis on how a country could move from host city and thus one of the pinnacles of humanity (which is an admittedly ideological point but it remains nonetheless), to a war which resulted

in many thousands of civilian and military casualties. Finally, the most practical of reasons for beginning with a discussion of mapping and fluidity: the guides generally seem to begin their tours at the Olympic sites.



Image 5.15: Graffiti on the bobsled track, Sarajevo, May 2010

For customers on Sunny's or Haris' Olympic tours, the day begins with an early morning departure from their hostel offices. Their tours will often be in a minivan with clients from the hostel or tourists to the city who wish to take part in a group tour. The tours cost around €15 per person (depending on numbers taking part and the currency used). Zijad's tours are somewhat different; they cost upwards of €90 and have an even more personal nature. All operators will take clients privately out of season or on request however, for a negotiable price. The tours taken by the author included private and group tours with other tourists. The first site usually visited is Mount Trebevic, a few miles outside the city and overlooking the valley where Sarajevo lies. On top of Mount Trebevic is the damaged bobsled track from 1984 (see *Image 5.3, 5.12, 5.15*). Upon arriving at the track the guides and tourists exited the vehicles and the guide begins to tell the history of the city. Haris documented the history of Sarajevo from the Ottoman period through to the Austro-Hungarian period, World Wars I

& II, the Olympics, the 1990s conflict and the post war period. Sunny's tour made particular use of the elevation at this point and pointed out many of the sites destroyed during the war. Zijad made use of the bobsled chute at this point, climbing in to be able to speak to his guests from above (*Image 5.16*). Guides highlighted the extensive damage done to the chute during the conflict and ensuing neglect. Attention was variously drawn to the surrounding landmines, the crumbling buildings, the role of the space as a graffiti playground, the current picnickers, the border between the Republika Srpska and the Federation and the collapsing access roads.

You can see the Olympic Stadium from here. There was a cable car coming to here, in 12 minutes, from near the beer factory there was a cable car station, 50metres down was the end. This is panorama, Panorama View. It was never really closed. It was closed by will, it was closed by force.

Zijad Jusufovic, Tour Guide, Sarajevo

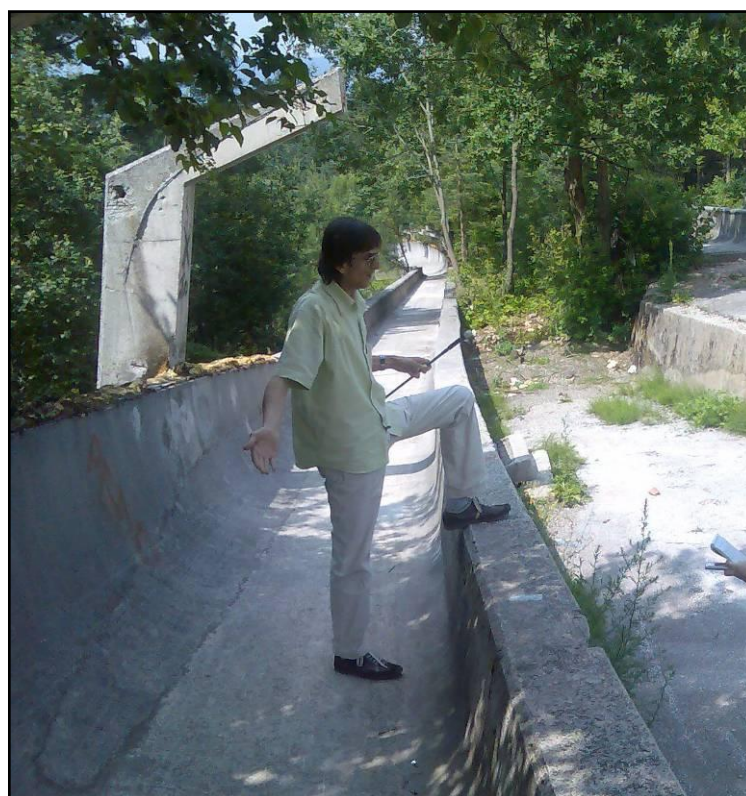


Image 5.16: Zijad Jusufovic in the bobsled chute, Mount Trebevic, Sarajevo, July 2008

On the tours, attention is regularly drawn towards the proximity in time and space to the conflict. The high perspective and excellent views of the city from

Mount Trebevic allows the guide to highlight the close spatial proximity between the city and the siege positions. Time is also regularly referenced throughout the tours with Haris noting that those who built the infrastructure could easily have been those who destroyed it.

You hosted the 1984 Winter Olympic Games. You built this city together. Together we built Olympic Stadium. Together we built Olympic Bobsleigh. You know some of the people leave the city. Some of the people attacked the city in the last war. They attacked what they built you know?

Haris Pamuk, Proprietor of Haris Hostel

Spatially, the Olympic heritage of Sarajevo is heavily damaged and highly contested. Arguably the most visibly damaged and most prominent of these contested spaces is the bobsled track. Crumbling access roads, shell pock marks on the track itself and the surrounding local ruined buildings are testament to the scale of the damage on the mountain. Almost all of the Olympic infrastructure remains surrounded by mines and is in a bad state of disrepair. Guides do not avoid discussing this damage and directly draw attention to it.

Because I can't see any reason to kill a child of two or three months. To kill the house, to destroy the school, to destroy the Olympic house, Olympic bobsleigh, the library. About 2 million books was burned in the fire. Just to delete the history of BiH.

Haris Pamuk, Proprietor of Haris Hostel



Image 5.17: Mine warning sign,
Sarajevo, July 2008

Attention is also drawn towards other legacies of the conflict, particularly the contested space notion which is highly visual at the bobsled track. Here an unusual boundary situation exists where the bobsleigh track crosses between

two political entities. This becomes an excellent geographical representation of the local nature of borders and their impacts on tourism. Guides pointed out that the track crossed between the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska, which as a result of the Dayton Agreement has limited development. The border had limited the potential as any plans for development require a degree of cooperation between the two entities which has not been forthcoming.

Half of the bobsleigh is in Republika Srpska, half is in the Federation. And because we have in one country, two Olympic committees, they don't cooperate anymore. And they don't use this because somebody will earn more money, somebody will earn less money. It depends on the position. This first part, start, will be used more. And down, will be less money. It's better to do nothing. It's better, don't repair, don't think about it, it's better let weather and time destroy this more.... IOC after the war repaired Olympic Village. Olympic Village is inside of the federation, it only needed one permission. To repair this needs two permissions. And again they will not use it. It's still a solid, stable bobsled. But time will destroy this very soon. And it's 1532m long in one piece. Can be used for training, competitions, everything. And you see a lot of money is here. Many teams from Europe need this, this fantastic mountain, very close to the city, in 20 minutes in any hotel, and they could train here, they could relax here, it's fresh air, there is no pollution here it's fantastic above sea level, 1000m, they will pay.

And there's a lot of bad graffiti, Red Bull came here and they covered bad graffiti here on this wall and they made graffiti much nicer, but as you see, no one is using this.... People used to come here to have a coffee, to rest, to enjoy the beautiful view. Instead of coffee, the smell, instead of clients, snakes and wolves coming, and mafia sometimes, changing drugs or something like that.

Zijad Jusufovic, Tour Guide, Sarajevo

Several key points can be drawn from these observations. Initially the lack of cooperation between the two entities must be noted, a theme which will be returned to later. However, Zijad also notes the new uses of the bobsled space, for drug dealing mafia gangs, graffiti artists and now as a space for dark tourists. This notion of contested space is particularly well illustrated by image 5.10 which shows one of many holes punctured in the bobsled track to allow snipers to shoot through. This part of the track is now covered by graffiti.



*Image 5.18: Hotel Igman,
Mount Igman, Sarajevo, May 2011
This hotel is now visited by tour guides and their clients touring the XIV Winter Olympic Sites.
The hotel is also used (presumably illegally) as a paintballing venue.*

This contested space notion was also indirectly discussed by the interviewees from the two tourism associations. They noted the difficulties created by the Dayton Agreement in redeveloping these sites and other sites, as some are located in the Federation while some are in the Republika Srpska. Although the city did launch a bid for the 2010 Winter Olympics, the tourism officials believed it was too early for such an attempt.

But infrastructure requires huge development. Because I don't think that, with some individual projects, for example the Olympic Mountains, they did a business plan for developing the centre, but the plan is way too ambitious for us. We would need huge investment, important, rich investors. Now it's just a plan. Existing infrastructure is included in the plan. There are no directives on how we should attract them, how we should contact, what can be really done, the plan was more like a dream. With no assets, you can't implement it.

Leila Brckalija, Tourism Association of Bosnia-Herzegovina



Image 5.19: Looking down the men's alpine ski jump, Mount Igman, May 2011

5.4 Maps & Signage

Signage plays an important role in the commodification of the war sites of ex-Yugoslavia. The maps used by guides and tourists to mediate the experiences sought at sites associated with death and disaster play an essential and much understudied role at thanatourism sites. This section addresses this understudied element by proposing a discussion on the dual role played by signage at dark tourism sites: the traditional role of facilitating understanding of a destination and secondly their usefulness in the commodification process as a familiar tourism practice which facilitates the ease of access into dark tourism sites. Quite simply, signage appears to play a major role in the commodification process and the consumption experience. To deconstruct this argument, maps are presented as an entry point into the signage-commodification nexus, primarily due to the importance they play at the Tunnel Museum, on Zijad's tours and at the Olympic sites. Several sample war tourism maps are included in the appendices section of this thesis and they illustrate a variety of discourses which illustrate the hegemonic position of the tourist guide in the mediated tourist experience. Such maps include a map (Appendix XVII) sold at the Tunnel Museum, which is a layered image, covering the original cartoon-style

Olympic map of 1984 with the siege positions of 1992-1995. The map is A2 size and depicts a variety of images associated with the war. A further smaller version of this same map (Appendix 8) is available from Zijad Jusufovic, with an additional layer of military imagery positioned over the top of the older ones. This map includes graphic photos of injuries, military personnel, weaponry, damaged buildings and a picture of Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic. Also included are a variety of statistics, telling of 14, 600 dead in Sarajevo, coupled with ‘2 million victims’. The Olympics are again noted on the map, without any clear purpose, leaving the decoder the opportunity to contemplate on the dualities of Sarajevo and how it moved from the ‘pinnacle of humanity’ to one of the longest sieges in modern warfare in such a short time period.

Such maps have been somewhat overlooked in thanatourism research. This is somewhat surprising due to their key role in mediating the relationship between the tourist and the death site. As a key factor in tourism signage, tourist maps present textual discourses which allow tourists to interpret the narrative of the site, presenting socio-spatial identities (DeLyser, 2003). Additionally, these maps have a past, present and future and are a useful tool when examining the fluidity of dark tourism sites. The tourist maps produced in Sarajevo for example can be used to explore the nationalist rhetoric which saw them created – in other word, by analysing their ‘past’, one narrative can be uncovered. In terms of their ‘present’, the edited Olympic Map of 1984, acts as a mediator between the tourist and the dark spaces of Sarajevo. The maps, and versions of it (original, the Tunnel edited version and Zijad Jusufovic’s edit, Appendix XVI), appear at many of the siege-associated sites, including the Olympic Museum, Tunnel Museum and from Zijad himself on his tours. Finally, the map also has a ‘future’ – will a tourist bring a copy home for example and use it to decode the siege for those who haven’t visited the city.

Tourism maps plot out potential routes through a destination and form part of the larger textual discourse which reproduces a place for leisure consumption. As such, maps play a key role in decoding a destination for the visitor: without them, the state, private business or other stakeholder retains no control over the tourist and they are left to wander/ explore on or off the ‘beaten track’ as they

wish. Indeed, no 'beaten track' would exist without the tourist map. The map keeps the tourist within a tight frame and can be used to locate the tourist within a particular place, state of mind or activity. Additionally, the map can create imaginary boundaries between the tourist and the local, keeping them at distances from each other. Herein lies a further opportunity for further thanatourism research: does the framework generated by the tourist map facilitate a reduction in dissonant heritage? Or does it enable it? If dark tourists are kept to a particular path, away from the sensitivities of the locals, is the potential damage to the social-political environment reduced? In the Yugoslavia context, maps and signage play a very peculiar role in the tourism-death mediation process. Thanatourism appears to represent an effort to step away from the traditional mass tourist destinations, yet many niche tourism activities like thanatourism rely on the fundamental site management techniques employed by Disney and other fully packaged sites. The tourist map and signage are just one element of this 'package', as are the guided war tours, the facilitated discussion with war victims and perpetrators, the memorabilia and souvenirs. In many ways dark tourism is not a radically different tourist industry. The activities may not appeal to all - but the fundamental structures surrounding the process will be familiar to most. At Auschwitz-Birkenau one can take part in a guided tour available in many languages, at Sachsenhausen one can take an audio set and map and do a self tour, in Sarajevo one can book accommodation and a tour in the same package. Even at the Potočari memorial in Srebrenica, souvenirs can be purchased in the small shop. In Vukovar, Zrinka Sesto's Danubium Tours is styled as a Destination Management Company (DMC). Dubrovnik Walking Tours advertise on similar signage to the boat trips and other activities around the city. The structures employed by dark tourism operators are therefore very familiar to those who seek them out. A tour is booked, the tourist arrives and takes part, takes photos, buys a souvenir and leaves with memories in much the same way they might book a gondola ride in Venice, a visit to the Louvre in Paris or an opera in Budapest. The familiarity with the process may be one of the key factors which has facilitated the shift in recent decades from dark tourism as a niche activity to a heavily commodified mass tourism practice. The ease with which the tourist will understand the process can only have made it a viable activity for entrepreneurs to pursue.

While the activity itself may therefore differ from a city break in Prague, the process does not. Is this not in direct contrast to what were the original intentions of the dark tourist who wished to differentiate him or herself with their destination choice and activity?

5.5 Memorialisation

Guides were questioned on their opinions of processes of memorialisation in their cities, with reference to both public and private processes of deliberate and non-deliberate memorialisation. The water tower in Vukovar provided particular context for this as it has been preserved in its damaged state.

The city have decided to preserve the water tower, I think this is good. They will carry out some repairs to keep it safe but otherwise it is good for me. This reminder of the war helps to bring tourists to the city which is good.

Zrinka Sesto, Vukovar Danubium Tours Manager



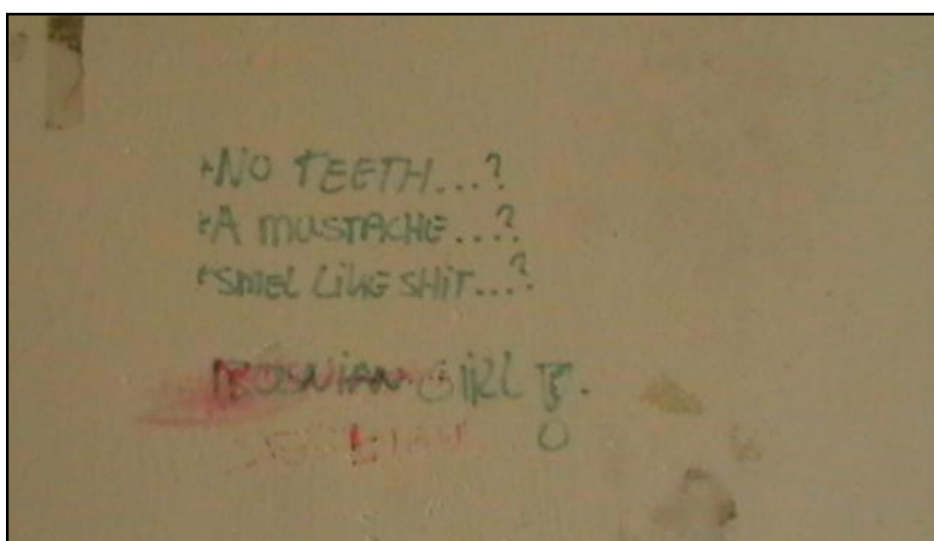
*Image 5.20: Vukovar Water Tower, 2009
The tower is preserved in its war damaged condition post 1991*

The water tower offers the most visual preservation of a scar in the post-conflict landscape of ex-Yugoslavia. No longer fit for its purpose, the tower dominates the small city with the shell marks and damage visible from a great distance. The prominent position of the tower is problematic; it cannot be easily avoided by visitors to the town. Yet the decision to preserve it adds a dimension of local dissonance which may have to be untangled in future. If the local population

wish to avoid seeing it, it is simply impossible. The preservation of the tower creates a focal point for the war; yet while it is a striking visual image it does little in interpreting the conflict or assisting the victims. This is the danger of privileging any particular site over another, as its positioning can create misrepresentations. Young (2009:64) discusses this theme in the Auschwitz-Birkenau context, noting that the privileging of Auschwitz over Birkenau has created a museum or exhibition which allows the more harrowing site of Birkenau to be somewhat overlooked. There is also a danger that the decision to preserve the water tower could create local tensions. Haris Pamuk discussed this theme in the Sarajevo context, stating that for locals, constant reminders of the conflict was not helpful or easy to deal with.

A destroyed building is just a bad memory of the war. And every time you cross that building, you remember the war. You remember the hard times. So maybe for tourists it's good to see what is happening or what was going on here. But for you, you are there, and you survived that and you try to find some better future...but again in front of you is that destroyed building. It should stay in the past. So that's what I think.

Haris Pamuk, Proprietor of Haris Hostel



*Image 5.21: Preserved scar?
Some of the now infamous graffiti left inside the Dutchbat Base by Dutch soldiers.
Potočari Memorial Centre, 2010*

Srebrenica, and specifically the centre at Potočari is also undergoing a process of memorialisation, although it differs from the Vukovar water tower in its motivations. The quote below from Hasan deals with the memorialisation process and ownership structure.

This memorial was established by the international community in 2001. The OHR issued a decision which designated open land for the burial for the victims of genocide. They started to construct it that year, finished it in 2003 when it was officially opened by ex-US president Bill Clinton in March 2003 when we had the first identified burials of the victims of genocide. From that time we previously buried victims of genocide on 11th July each year when we have common burial and recognition of these victims of genocide. In 2003, ex-Dutch battalion base was not part of this memorial centre. The second high representative, Paddy Ashdown, he issued a law which transpired that this battery factory became part of the memorial. Because he knew that here we do not have enough space for the future museum and other facilities. That's why he made this decision. In 2007, we had one very important decision of the international community in BiH, the OHR, a German, who excluded the cemetery from the jurisdiction of the Republika Srpska. He placed the memorial centre under the jurisdiction of the State of Bosnia-Herzegovina, at a federal level.

Hasan Hasanovic, Srebrenica Memorial Centre



*Image 5.22: Srebrenica Gift Shop
Souvenirs available at the memorial centre gift shop include books,
DVDs, bags, lighters and mugs.
Srebrenica Memorial Centre, May 2010*

Several interesting points can be drawn from the observations made by Hasan. Ashworth writes that, (concerning the Holocaust), it is difficult to decide with whom the responsibility lies for the management of difficult sites.

Who should own, preserve, interpret and manage, in whose interest, such heritage? Holocaust heritage is inherently a

heritage without a local community existing in a community without a heritage. This is exclave heritage.

Ashworth (2002:367)

The official process of designating Srebrenica as federal property ultimately facilitates private entrepreneurship. Ashworth's quote ties into Hasan's comments about Srebrenica, which could be considered exclave heritage, given its status as a state memorial which does not have a local Muslim population to commemorate it at present. This appears to have been recognised by the international community who have attempted to make the memorialisation process easier for the victims in exile (see Schwarz-Schilling, 2007). The memorialisation process for tourism at the Srebrenica Memorial Centre proves particularly problematic. The most recent change to the legal status of the centre occurred in 2007, when the German OHR Dr. Christian Schwarz-Schilling took the decision to place the memorial centre under the ownership of the state, removing it from the jurisdiction of the Republika Srpska. Part of this process and incorporation into national memory involves hosting an annual event on the 11th July. The new laws stated that:

- The Memorial Centre shall be the owner of all movable and immovable property, which previously belonged to the Foundation.
- The Memorial Centre shall have its seal of round shape with the following inscription affixed: "Bosnia and Herzegovina" and the name of the Memorial Centre.
- The State of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall manage the Memorial Centre through the Governing Board of the Memorial Centre.

(Schwarz-Schilling, 2007)

It is clear that this memorialisation process is focussed on providing the victims of the families with space to commemorate their dead. International tourism is not mentioned throughout the act, which is unsurprising given the sensitivities involved. However, there are clear roles within the decision of the OHR for involving locals in the creation of the site and perhaps they should be the guardians of decisions relating to international tourism.

The Advisory Working Group shall be composed of up to nine members and shall include representatives of the associations of families of victims of the genocide committed in Srebrenica in 1995, representatives of the Islamic Community of Bosnia and Herzegovina and representatives of executive authorities of the Srebrenica Municipality.

(Schwarz-Schilling, 2007)

From the author's observations is clear that tourists with no spatial, religious or ancestral connection journey to the memorial centre. As will be presented in the next chapter, Hasan greets international tourists on a regular basis. The presence of the gift shop, selling Srebrenica 'Never Forget' souvenirs, reinforces this point. Many of the souvenirs are in English and visitors can purchase carrier bags, candles, books, plates and traditional Bosnian coffee pots among other items. The tourism potential of the city also seems to be recognised as the shop sells a (Bosnian language) book entitled '*Turisticki Potencijali Srebrenice*'. Items bought at the shop by the author included a Srebrenica Never Forget lighter and a book by former United Nations interpreter and Srebrenica local, Hasan Nuhanovic, which documents the events of 1995. These items, although sold in a simple port-a-cabin outside the cemetery, illustrate the early stages of a commodification of the massacre. This could be placed between the third and fourth levels on fig 3.5, *The Construction of Thanatourism Sites*.

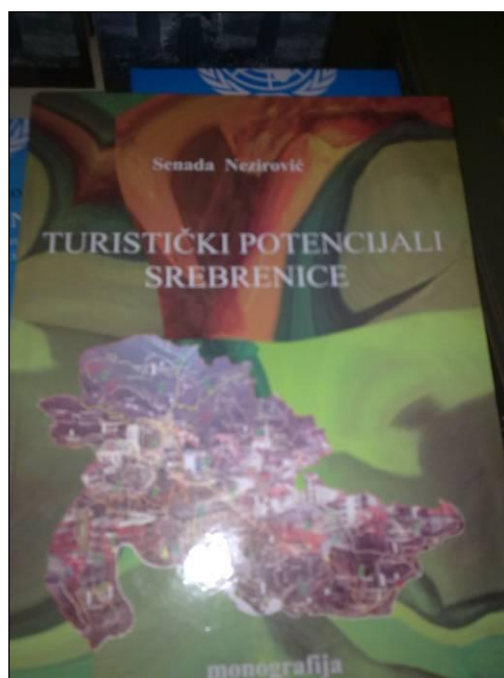


Image 5.23: Srebrenica Gift Shop 2
One of the many books available in the Srebrenica Memorial Centre shop
Potočari, Srebrenica, May 2010

5.6 Dissonant heritage

The chapter will now present analysis of dissonant heritage and local dissonance. This discussion on dissonant heritage is presented to examine the role of the local population in the commodification of sites with difficult heritage; i.e. questioning do locals facilitate or frustrate the commodification process? Ashworth (2002:363) defines dissonant heritage as a condition in which ‘*there is a lack of congruence in time or space between people and their heritage*’. Such a term is easy to place within the field of thanatourism research, as, by its very nature, thanatourism raises very deep questions about human atrocity and the management and interpretation of sites of pain and suffering.

As Ashworth skilfully notes (2002:363):

The dissonance created by atrocity is not only peculiarly intense and lasting but raises particularly complex issues of interpretation for those who associate with victims, perpetrators and observers. The addition of tourism demand to other demands clearly complicates still further what was an already emotionally intricate matter.

Ashworth, 2002:363

An examination of dissonant heritage is particularly worthy of exploration at this stage for two reasons. As Ashworth notes above time or space form the theoretical basis for what constitutes dissonant heritage and both time and space appear to play key roles in the nexus between state, entrepreneur, tourists and war. Geographically, Bosnia has unique spatial boundaries which can help inform the debate about dissonant heritage and tourism and therein the first reason lies in the complicated political and spatial structures supporting those who develop tourist sites in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Dayton accord which divided Bosnia into two regions (the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Republika Srpska – this later became three with the jointly owned but locally governed Brčko district) means that tourism officials must seek cooperation when developing sites on a federal level. As evidenced in the discussion on the bobsled chute, this can in turn become problematic on a local level – although the uniqueness of the track crossing the boundary is noted. The complicated political structure of Bosnia-Herzegovina (with a UN High-Representative, three presidents: a Croat, a Bosniak and a Serb and a separate prime-minister) also contains a sub-level of cantons, some of which are ethnically mixed. This

structure provides a rationale for the disengagement of the state with local memorialisation and commodification of the war. Evidence is provided later in the chapter of how entrepreneurs are aware of this notion and have taken the opportunity, albeit with an air of resignation, to step in and begin the commodification process. Conversely however, there is some evidence of the government recognising that they cannot leave the creation of cultural memory in the hands of private entrepreneurs. Chapter Six provides evidence of this from the tunnel museum in Sarajevo, where elected officials have expressed a desire to purchase the site from the private entrepreneur who owns it. The state museum at Srebrenica (which is administered at federal level, although in the Republika Srpska).

The second rationale for considering dissonant heritage at this point lies in the discussion of the ‘recentness’ of the last conflict. The conflict is raw in the national memory and the contestation of sites is an ongoing discourse. Other work notes similar concerns at different sites. Kong’s (1999) review of the study of deathscapes discusses the variety of themes which have been researched on memorialised landscapes in geography. One of these themes is the contestation of place and the multiplicity of meanings. She gives an example of First World War memorials in New South Wales. The memorials left one group wishing for an emphasising of the loss and mourning experienced at war while the others desired a representation of the glorious side which should celebrate victory. Could we see similar conflicts at Srebrenica in future? Although a WW1 memorial provides a different time context, the end result is that the tension is created between deciding to emphasise or commemorate victory. When (at a federal level) tourism authorities are tasked with the memorialisation of such contested sites (at local level) the potential for dissonant heritage is clear.

The guides were questioned on the topic of dissonant heritage and asked if they had ever experienced conflict over bringing tourists to sites associated with the war. Haris immediately outlined the difficulty of defining where dissonance can arise.

Other local people who stayed here in Sarajevo during the war, they don’t really like to talk about the war. They just tried to forget it so much. And also young people they are not very interested to talk about the war. Young people who are born after

the war, 1995, 1996, who didn't survive the war, and know almost nothing about the war, they are now in a conflict with people who were born in the war, who lived in the war and grew up in the war.

Haris Pamuk, Proprietor of Haris Hostel

For Maro Carevic and Hasan Hasanovic local dissonance was not a major issue.

I never heard anything against our war tour from anyone here.

Maro Carevic, Dubrovnik Walking Tours Manager

So far we have had no problems. We hope that we will not have any kind of problems in future. I have never heard about any problems for tourists.

Hasan Hasanovic, Srebrenica Memorial Centre

Tarik offered an alternative position, stating that while the tourists themselves never experienced problems, contestations over the presentation of history had created problems in Srebrenica for example.

It's an empty town. They got a lot of donations, money from foreign countries and this is used to rebuild the houses. But still it's not such a good atmosphere there. I mean, all those people who were killed there, and their families who came back, sometimes they see people who are suspected of being killers there, you know. That's the biggest problem there. Also, all Serbian people around the town, if you ask them, they will say that no kind of massacre happened there. 'Some people were killed, but it's not a great number.' And they will say also, 'we had our victims taken and killed our people'. They will talk just about that. It's the main problem here. There is also a Serbian memorial in Bratunac for their victims. For example, in Germany and some other places you cannot talk about the war and say there was no Holocaust of the Jewish people in WW2. Here it's not the case. That's the big problem.

Tarik, Sarajevo Discovery

It was more and more bad questions until 2002 actually. In 2002 the information was balanced, before that only Serbia side used to produce information. Still Milosevic was in Hague, but with influence, still Serbia media was under radical control and still we were confused here repairing houses, repairing infrastructure than caring about internet or about facts. I had many troubles in 2000 when I started these tours, not only with Serbs and Croats, I had many troubles with Muslims. Because they don't want that I speak about it. And after 2002, 2003, it was much easier to work. More logical and more normal information appeared in the world, because for example, especially after International Justice Tribunal made a decision that it was genocide in Srebrenica happened

Zijad Jusufovic, Tour Guide, Sarajevo

These issues raised by the guides are visible in Ashworth's (2002) and Dann and Seaton's (2001) work:

It would seem self-evident that mankind would prefer to forget unpleasant pasts rather than deliberately remember an atrocity. There therefore must be compelling reasons and convincing explanations that justify the deliberate act of remembrance of past trauma. Victims may use atrocity heritage for a deliberate fostering of group cohesion, place identification or ideological legitimization.

Ashworth, (2002:363)

They see dissonant heritage as posing to an extreme degree the problems of ownership, control and representation inherent in all heritage development. Among the problematics identified in them are: Should such sites be memorialized? If so, what ethical issues have to be confronted and resolved? How should history be presented as a heritage subject? Who should control the forms of heritage development at dissonant sites? Whose past should be privileged? How, in pluralistic societies with a diverse ethnic mix, is it possible to narrate histories that include all constituent variants equitably?

Dann & Seaton, (2001:24)

While discovering the 'compelling reasons and convincing explanations' noted by Ashworth above is the key area of concern for this thesis, the area of dissonant heritage is additionally worthy of exploration for a number of reasons. One is that the literature appears to discuss two overlapping but very distinct themes, i.e., two areas seem to be analysed side by side: those of dissonant heritage for locals and their own contestations of place and secondly, resentment from locals to tourists themselves. While the discussion on dissonance in this present chapter focuses on the commodification of place, the next chapter will move towards the experiential aspect of heritage dissonance: two themes which appear to be worthy of prising apart into separate discussions.



Image 5.24: The 'Along the Vukovar Defenders' Road' tour, Vukovar, March 2009

Despite Hasan Hasanovic's statement above that tourists do not have trouble, heritage dissonance appears to be somewhat of an issue in Srebrenica. On the 5th July 2005, days before the 10th anniversary of the massacre, bombs which were ready to be detonated were found at the centre (Knezevic, 2005). In 2009 ethnic tensions continued, with clashes in the nearby town of Bratunac over a demonstration organised by Bosnian-Serbs to commemorate their dead from 1992/ 1993, (Latal, 2009).

Academics have provided much debate on the topic of dissonant heritage over the past decade. One of the more recent works, *Places of Pain and Shame*, discusses the shift which has occurred in the concept of heritage tourism. Logan & Reeves (eds., 2009), observe that what is now considered to be heritage is often a commemoration of the scars of history, i.e. places, sites and institutions which represent the legacy of difficult times. They examine the implications for dealing with such sites, suggesting that sensitive, cross-cultural negotiation is the only way to minimise problems at these difficult sites. Professionals in the industry must interact with communities and note that different interpretations of sites can be made, particularly if the anguish experienced is quite recent. However, Long and Reeves (2009:79), write that involving locals is not always possible, or indeed a good idea in the first place. Using the example of Anlong Veng in Cambodia, one of the sites associated with the Khmer Rouge, they question whether interpretation from both sides is at all appropriate.

But this politically correct approach to development practice is simply inappropriate in the interpretation of the Anlong Veng sites. Why should interpretation take into account local perspectives if locals believe that Ta Mok and Pol Pot were good men? Do former Khmer Rouge have the right to have their understanding of history seriously considered in interpreting the Cambodian past?

Long and Reeves (2009:79)

They continue by returning to one of the fundamental debates in thanatourism research, and indeed one of the implicit questions of this thesis, why do people want to preserve and interpret sites of suffering? Is it simply to memorialise the dead and keep them in memory? Or do such sites provide an aid in reconciliation, justice or indeed, retribution? Long and Reeves believe that in the case of Cambodia, preservation of the tragic past does little to help further understanding of the magnitude of the events. Wiping it from the map would not encourage a culture of forgetting. There are enough institutions in place to ensure this will not happen, leaving aside the everyday realities left behind by the regime. They go even further, stating that forgetting the sites would emphasise the voices of the victims, thus aiding in the reconciliation process.

The above comments on Cambodia from Long and Reeves illustrate the site specific nature of memorialisation. Similar issues exist in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia; as noted by the guides the, legacy of the war will not be forgotten for a very long time. The need for memorialisation appears to be strongly felt by the guides interviewed for this thesis. Additionally, as Chapter Six will demonstrate, there is strong international demand for consuming these sites of pain and suffering, which although in itself cannot be deemed enough to memorialise and interpret, it cannot be ignored.

5.7 Relationship with tourist board and the advertising of dark tourism

Tour guides were also questioned on their relationship with tourism authorities. This section was used to inform the discourses surrounding dissonant heritage above, but also to determine if tourist boards facilitated the commodification of thanatourism. Perhaps unsurprisingly, none of the tour companies reported a particularly good relationship with their local tourist board. This tension between the individual and the state can operate on a number of levels and the guides reported both contestation of space difficulties and at a local level, some

operating difficulties. However, not all guides reported negative issues and the most positive response came from Dubrovnik Walking Tours, who stated that while their tourist board does not provide much assistance, they do not present obstacles either.

I think we have more-less good relationship with tourism authorities - we don't get much help from them but no one is standing on our way too. There are small issues here and there but we managed to handle everything so far. Tourist authorities in Croatia are not efficient and most of their project are a waste of money.

Maro Carevic, Dubrovnik Walking Tours Manager

Conversely, Zrinka Sesto and Zijad Jusufovic all reported negative experiences with their local authorities. The difficulties ranged from micro practical issues to larger issues concerning memorialisation, such as preserving a full town landscape of war scars.

I am not satisfied with this corporation. Because they are paid by the government. Every day of the month they give them salary. So if you work or not work, it doesn't matter. So I'm not satisfied with our tourist company here. They don't advertise our tours. The problem is they don't want to work. They work other parts of the tourism and not what we do. In 2 years, we are existing for 2 years, and I didn't receive one email from the tourist board. No help.

Zrinka Sesto, Vukovar Danubium Tours Manager

No cooperation. They must respect me. Only my brochures are in the tourist office. That's all. They recommend me only if they cannot do something. Like, eh, very clever teacher is coming, professors of the European Universities. They will never do it, they will always call me. Because they don't want to risk, to be ashamed. It's the only moment when they recommend me. They cannot do something.

Zijad Jusufovic, Tour Guide, Sarajevo

It is appropriate at this juncture to briefly explore the types of images the officials of Sarajevo are attempting to portray of their city. These images illustrates the different perspective tourism officials have to thanatourist guides. This will be complemented by a discussion of media and other images in the following section. Much geographical work on tourism in Eastern Europe situates the role of tourism as much more than just an economic wealth generator, additionally arguing its position as a nation building tool (Light, 2000

(1), Hall, 1999), an implement for improving or beginning local development (Doorne, 2003, Selwyn, 2001) and a facilitation of changing international perceptions of the city.

Lennon and Foley (2000:62), discuss other sites around the world where there is conflict between the official imagery presented by the authorities and one of the primary reasons people are visiting a city. The authors use the example of Kraków, discussing its proximity to the frequently cited example of Auschwitz-Birkenau. Oświęcim tourism officials, they write, largely ignore the camp in their town's brochure, only briefly mentioning the site and not at all by name. No interpretation is offered and only the briefest note on the camp is included. A similar challenge exists in Sarajevo and the other cities in this research. Should officials carefully interpret the site and keep it as a local site of remembrance? Should they carefully interpret the site, embrace international tourism and market to, or facilitate the arrival of, international guests? Or should they just ignore the site and hope that it becomes forgotten? Tourism officials in Sarajevo are of course aware that dark tourism is a phenomenon they must understand and manage but it would appear they are yet to decide on a clear strategy for dealing with it. For example, in Bosnia and Herzegovina's tourism publication, *For All Time*, only the briefest of mentions is afforded to the war;

With the end of Yugoslavia and proclamation of the autonomy of Bosnia and Herzegovina began one of the most difficult periods for us that has brought the pain and suffering to our country. Only with the Dayton Peace Accord has the country become stabilised and has enabled massive reconstruction and historic restoration. Today once again, we offer charm, hospitality and beauty, a Bosnian tradition for the ages.

Vedrvzenje (2007)

The tourism associations were questioned on the role of dark tourism in policy creation, replying that:

Not so many people come here because of the war. We have a tunnel museum which is very popular. It's something like a museum and it's promoted as a museum but it's not that we so much....eh, avoid the internal politics, tourism development does not go in the direction of promoting war tourism that much. One part wants to, one doesn't. You can't avoid that there are two

sides. It should be promoted one says, it should be promoted the other says.

Leila Brckalija, Tourism Association of Bosnia-Herzegovina

The poor relationship between tour guides and the tourist board was also noted by Tarik, who commented on his friend Haris' situation.

You know, Haris is alone. He started from zero. He is making his position. Nobody said to him come here, work here. He was on his own from the beginning. It's like you need some water and someone puts you at the beginning of the river. Like my friend, he is at the beginning of the river. Haris is up there on the hill. Outside. He needs the water. They prefer the other hostel in the information centre. They send them to the Hostel City Centre. It's all about who you know.

Tarik, Sarajevo Discovery

I have problems with the tourist board. You know for them it is easy, they have salary, it does not matter to them if people do not come. For many years I have been going to their office to tell them about my hostel and still they do not know about me.

Haris Pamuk, Proprietor of Haris Hostel

While the tourist board do not advertise dark tourism, the private entrepreneurs operate their advertising like most other tourism businesses around the world. The tours in Vukovar, Belgrade, Dubrovnik and Sarajevo are advertised using a variety of methods. The author found advertisements for the tours in a variety of locations. The war tours run by Zijad Jusufovic are advertised online and also by means of leaflets which are in many of the city centre hotels (including in the Holiday Inn, Hotel Hecco, Kandilj Pansion and Hotel Hecco Deluxe) and tourist offices in Sarajevo. Visitors may also have become aware of these tours through online travel forums and magazines such as at *Instant Sarajevo* (Van Merle, 2004). A copy of Mr Jusufovic's leaflet is included in appendix IX, as are leaflets for Dubrovnik Walking Tours (Appendix X) and Ovčara Memorial Centre (Appendix XI).

War tours run by Haris Pamuk are advertised to guests in his hostel via the owner when guests arrive and also online (Pamuk, c2008). The tours in Dubrovnik are advertised online and via large notice boards on the street in the Old Town. These tours leave at a set time and from a set location each day. Tours in Vukovar are advertised in the city's two hotels via leaflets and also

online. These tours also received media coverage, especially in the Balkan Traveller magazine (Petrova, 2008) as do the Belgrade tours (Jovanovic, 2008) visiting the haunts of Radovan Karadzic on the Radovan Popart Tour. Sarajevo Discovery also advertises their tours online, while Hasan Hasanovic works at the Srebrenica Centre greeting the arrival of groups and individual tourists.

We have our own brochures all around hotels and other accommodation in Dubrovnik, posters and we buy ads in local magazines and maps tourists read.

Maro Carevic, Dubrovnik Walking Tours Manager

The leaflet for Dubrovnik Walking Tours advertises that the is run daily, 4 days a week with an 11.30am departure and three days a week with a 20.00 departure. The leaflet states that:

The historical background will help you to see how recent conflicts have their roots in the past. Find out some of the misconceptions people had about the recent war, what it was like to live in a besieged town, and how everything returned back to normal. First-person accounts by your guide, stories from the ancient and modern history of the region, all in the spectacular setting of the Old Town, will give you a deeper insight into the true nature of Dubrovnik and its people.

Mediterranean Walking Tours Advertising Leaflet

This leaflet is interesting in that it highlights the personal, first hand nature of their tours. This became a recurring theme in the research and will be discussed in detail in the next chapter on the tourists' experiences. Zijad Jusufovic and Zrinka Sesto point to word of mouth as an influence, citing journalists in particular as helping the war tour business.

Some journalists who have made interviews with me, they like to give my phone number and email address to some people according to request. Which means that journalists prove that they have done a good job because people watch their shows and interview and now they always help me to make more contacts with new clients.

Zijad Jusufovic, Mission Impossible Tour Guide, Sarajevo

Well we have our catalogue, with the newsletter. Every month we send this newsletter to our clients, and also TV, newspapers, and so on. We have lots of interviews, on our website actually the press. Just a few days ago they spoke to me, a journalist from France, La Guardia, he comes next month in Vukovar to do some interviews about the war. And also it's interesting but the newspapers from Serbia are interested about our agency.

Because we are the first one in former Yugoslavia to sell this programme. It's called Along the Vukovar Defenders' Road, Road of the Vukovar Defenders and we actually started the company with this programme.

Zrinka Sesto, Vukovar Danubium Tours Manager

Internationally, tourism to Bosnia-Herzegovina is advertised in a variety of ways. This is worthy of brief consideration – if some of the tourists who ultimately participate in dark tours it is worth establishing why they originally came to Bosnia at all. The tourist board also uses several methods and despite their recent budget cuts, the associations discussed their commitment to attending international fairs. These include the World Travel Market (WTM), which was attended by the author in 2007. This was the only time that Bosnia attended the WTM, a business to business tourism selling event. The main aspect promoted abroad at their fairs is that of cultural tourism, which according to the interview with the associations is the main driver behind tourism in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Last year we had a great cut in our budgets, 50%, so naturally the fairs are now reduced. It used to be around 22-25, with some regional manifestations, which are not fairs but are cultural and tourism festival manifestations. Some canton tourism associations were represented, disregarding the Tourism Association of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Because they are familiar with us, the regional countries know the cities in Bosnia-Herzegovina, so they can go and represent themselves. But the more distant, say the European market we go under the one roof as the Tourism Association of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The fairs, as I said, we went to 22-25, now it is reduced to 15. We had to put our focus into more important markets, rather than just going and presenting at some regional stations, because they are familiar with our offer already.

Sanela Smajlovic, Tourism Association of the Federation of BiH

This product awareness is worthy of further exploration. Fretter (1993) writes that one of the key ingredients needed in place marketing is to know exactly what it is you have to offer. He writes that honest appraisals of the basic strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats is essential in understanding what the customer wants. Only when you know your strengths and weaknesses will you know whether you have what the customer wants. Once this is achieved, the area and its local authority should find its unique selling point and

use it to attract targeted customers. He notes the unique selling points of several UK cities and region specialisations: Birmingham is the business city, Fort William and Lochaber are the *Outdoor Capital of the UK* and others have adopted their own campaigns. However, he also notes that different stakeholders need to be singing from the same hymn sheet. Shared visions must exist and everyone must participate in its development if the vision is to be secured. While there are certainly large overlaps in the entrepreneurs' and policy makers' advertising of Bosnia-Herzegovina, there appears to be more gaps between war guides and policy makers than common ground. The tourist board official slogan is '*The Heart Shaped Land*', whereas the entrepreneurs interviewed for this thesis seem to be primarily focussed on selling war spaces (appendices 1-10). That said however, it is acknowledged that war tourism contributes only a small part of the overall tourism industry to Bosnia-Herzegovina. A more detailed examination of tourist demographics is provided in Chapter Six.

5.8 Film & Media Images

In the 1990s, the world was shocked by reports in the media of systematic and widespread death and rape camps in the former Yugoslavia, Allen (1996), Shanks and Schull (2000). Anecdotal evidence from the travel blogs (analysed in Chapter Six) prompted the author to question if the media has played any role in the commodification of thanatourism sites in ex-Yugoslavia. Dozens of media reports covered all sorts of atrocities during and after the conflict. Arguably the best known of these was the BBC Panorama documentary on Srebrenica, the Eastern Bosnian city which was a UN safe area during the Balkan War. The documentary illustrates footage from the massacre which occurred in July 1995, depicting the uncovering of mass graves, accusations levelled at the UN and NATO, accusations levelled at the Bosnian-Serb military and Bosnian militia, the cataloguing of unnamed bodies, former residents returning to the town and many other horrors of war. Srebrenica has many times been called the worst atrocity committed in Europe since World War 2 and it is easy to see why watching this documentary or reading any account of the event such as Honig and Both (1996). The exact numbers killed at Srebrenica are unknown. It is estimated that approximately 7, 500 were massacred (Brunborg

et al, 2003) in the town in July 1995, while the Srebrenica monument proclaims 8,372. The town was placed under UN protection as a separate enclave in the mainly Serb region of Bosnia, but with a majority Muslim population. The town was designated the title of ‘Safe Area’ but a range of circumstances prevented the Dutch peacekeepers from stopping the massacre. Miscommunication and misinformation, bureaucracy on the part of the UN and the tactics of the Bosnian-Serb army are blamed for the atrocity (Honig and Both, 1996) and although it is not the purpose of this section to discuss the event itself some basics about the massacre must be established. This allows for more of a focus on the aftermath.

The Panorama documentary of 2001 certainly makes for difficult viewing a notion which may be worthy of further exploration in the context of Lennon and Foley’s observations about the failings of modernity (2000:21). The anxiety raised in the viewer is so strong from watching or learning about such an event, one must consider marketing the town in any kind of positive way will be impossible for many years to come. Indeed the documentary itself addresses this notion and shows a clip of a promotional video for the town from 1970, which advertised the then Muslim town as the ideal spot for ‘convalescence and tourism’, with a natural spa and Roman architecture. This presents the most extreme contrast to the imagery of today – the town itself is certainly now more synonymous with terms like ethnic cleansing, massacre and even genocide than its old reputation of tranquillity and peace. That the event happened only at the end of the 20th century and has since attracted at least some visitors highlights what can only be considered as anxiety and doubts over modernity; in this case visitors may want to discover for themselves what motivated the Bosnian-Serb army to kill the sheer numbers of people they did. Any quick survey on a travel forum website such as Lonely Planet presents a wealth of visitors wishing to obtain information about Srebrenica and Sarajevo. Is it safe? Are visitors received well? Is there official interpretation there? etc. It is probably a fair statement to say that even without interviewing tourists in the town that there are more than the just ‘curious’ visitors passing through. However, without further research it is difficult to posit the notion that many dark tourists simply wish to understand the mechanisms which went wrong in the tragedy.

If one attempted to rank the potential list of influences on tourism destination or activity consumption choice, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to construct any kind of scale which properly isolated any one factor from another in thanatourism research. Without returning to methodological debates at this point it would appear that the complex nature of death, the complex history of Yugoslavia and the difficulties of separating the influence of any of the images listed above presents many challenges. It is debatable if it would be a meaningful avenue of exploration. Nonetheless, several travel blogs mentioned films and media as an influence on their journey so a qualitative examination of the possible role played by film and media in the commodification process is worthy at this point.

A variety of news reports, novels, historical books and films have been produced about Bosnia in general and Sarajevo in particular, in recent decades, which this chapter will argue have helped to influence international perceptions of the selling of Sarajevo and Bosnia as potential destinations for mass tourism. The most notable examples include *Welcome to Sarajevo* (Winterbottom, 1997), *The Hunting Party* (Shepard, 2007) and *Behind Enemy Lines* (Moore, 2001), big-budget British and Hollywood films, starring major actors and widely released around the world. There are also dozens of homemade historical and fictional films, directly and indirectly describing the conflict in Yugoslavia, possibly the most widely accessible one is *No Man's Land*. Iordanova (1999), noted that the number of films made in response to the Bosnian war numbered at least 200. Given that this figure was estimated in 1999, that there have since been many more productions and that the WACC places this number as a conservative estimate, the number likely now exceeds 300. These films were produced by companies from a diverse set of countries, ranging from New Zealand to the United States to Russia to Spain etc. The range of countries providing film and documentary producers on the war were as diverse as their topics, which documented western armies, UNPROFOR, war criminals, reporters, Muslim Bosnia, themes on women, children and civilians and programmes like Bill Carter's *Miss Sarajevo* (1995) which became well known via MTV. Iordanova (2001) has published many works on Balkan cinema which

highlight the intense interest in the region which developed during the war and post-war period, particularly the consumer's demand for the extreme.

I am sure some people have come here because of films. Not many people but there are many interesting films. Many people saw Welcome to Sarajevo and No Man's Land, something like that.

Tarik, Sarajevo Discovery

The outbreak of war in 1991 left Yugoslavia reeling, and a variety of negative images were born, with news reports and film being the obvious candidates for causing the most damage to the now crippled industry. In terms of negative imagery it can be firmly stated that Sarajevo has suffered more than most other European capitals in the recent cinematic era. Anecdotal and some limited quantitative evidence exists that increased visitation and economic development is often linked with destination promotion through film (see Beeton, 2005 for example) and particularly in the context of first world countries, this notion has been studied to a great degree. As so many locations have been represented through film (and literature) and there are very few first world places which do not experience at least some degree of tourism, policy makers and academics have contributed greatly to the links between cinema and tourism. This theoretical idea was addressed in the interviews by questioning guides on whether they believed film influenced visitation.

Kim and Richardson (2003) attempt to quantify the link between film imagery, destination choice and perceived knowledge of an area. Destination choice is examined and the agents which influence it are categorised into organic images and induced images. Induced images refer to a variety of agents which may influence destination choice through direct traditional forms of advertising employed by the tourist boards, second party endorsements or unbiased newspaper or other media reports. In the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, examples of these agents could include the 2007 TV commercial, Enjoy Life, the country's tourism website, appearances at trade fairs or official magazines. In short, induced images cover almost any form of advertising which deliberately promotes tourism in a region.

Yes, movies have an influence. They do. And especially this new short movie they say has an influence, this Enjoy Life.

Haris Pamuk, Proprietor of Haris Hostel

The Enjoy Life advertisement does not feature any interpretation of the war, focussing instead on the country's rural cultures, ancient cities and architecture, images in direct contrast to the news media images of the early 1990s. Images of rural Bosnia, Sarajevo, Mostar and Medjugorje are included in the 2007 advertisement, which has won several awards based on its "visual performance, sound track quality, emotional impact, information value, as well as concept and creativity" (Cardno, 2007). It must be argued that as the capital city and host to the only major airport in the country, many visitors to Bosnia-Herzegovina will pass through Sarajevo at some point and thus one would expect it to feature significantly in a promotional film for tourism in the country. Even if the capital is not the primary motivation for visiting Bosnia and Herzegovina, the video must be deconstructed to assess the situation of Sarajevo in a national tourism plan. Although Enjoy Life consists of many images of Bosnia and Herzegovina, an analysis of the breakdown of images below should present viewers with an idea of the aims of the producers. Sarajevo does not feature predominantly and neither does urban life in general. The advertisement lasts approximately 4 minutes and features a variety of scenes depicting tourists and locals enjoying the following list; rivers and white water rafting, sculpture, traditional musicians, castles, camping, market life, food and wine (lobster and shell fishing, cevapi - a regional dish), some religious imagery (Catholic and Orthodox churches, mosques), meditation, ancient tombs, ancient architecture (Mostar and Visegrad bridges), forests, tapestries, jewellery and handcrafts, the Turkish Quarter of Sarajevo (Bascarsija), customary dances, the purity of the water, sports (golf, horse-riding, hang-gliding, cycling in fields, fly-fishing, mountaineering), farming and other rural customs. Children feature predominantly throughout the advertisement, prompting the notion this may be an attempt to allay the safety concerns of potential tourists. Their inclusion in the film, mainly playing in water and fields certainly adds a more family element to the overall feel of the advertisement. Secondly, featuring children may be a symbol of the country looking to the future, striking themes of 'forward momentum' and 'hope' into the viewers.

Only a very small section of the advertisement illustrates urban life, a surprising feature considering that Bosnia-Herzegovina probably has in excess of 60% of its population living in urban areas and has approximately 7 cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants (Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Zenica, Tuzla, Mostar, Bihac, and Prijedor). Considering the entire population of the country is approximately 4.5 million (Cia.gov, 2007), it is fair to say a significant part of Bosnian life takes place in urban areas. On the other hand the rural idyll presented in the video must not be considered overly-problematic, as the imagery used was quite possibly chosen with the intention of addressing the balance of other semiotics (including military imagery) which may have been consumed by the potential tourist.

Comparison to other capitals and countries in the region proves helpful as in general, the rural idyll is promoted and the cities are not promoted as weekend or 'high culture' breaks. The Bulgarian Tourism Authority's advertisement simply titled Bulgaria (Bulgarian Tourism Authority, 2006) illustrates this, with only several snapshots of Sofia and a particular focus on the country's rural history, coastline and mountains. Likewise, the visual offering from the Romanian Tourist Board (Romanian Tourist Board, 2006), entitled Simply Surprising, focuses on the rural with scenes of the Danube Delta, Dracula's castle, rock formations and traditional customs, thus ignoring Bucharest. The National Tourist Organisation of Serbia (2007) again has similar advertisements, predominantly featuring rural life - although there is a separate video for Belgrade published by the authority. Despite these comparisons, the point remains that if urban tourism exists in Bosnia, and particularly in Sarajevo, the official line ignores it. This is not to suggest that using the war in TV advertisements is a feasible way in which to market a post-conflict tourism landscape. Television advertisements and internet videos are significant pieces of imagery and invaluable tools which may be designed to combat the more negative images shown in the long list of films explored in this chapter. However, to conclude this section, it must be highlighted that the lack of official interpretation of the war is a key consideration in the exploration of how Sarajevo is being 'sold'. In many ways, the lack of interpretation is problematic – it appears to be managed by private enterprises running war tours. This in

many ways creates a spectacle of the war and leaves the visitor to draw their own moral conclusions about the conflict.

As it is difficult to quantify and isolate as causation of tourism, there is an absence of literature suggesting organic imagery is an influence for destination choice in dark tourism - although the topic is covered to a small degree by Lennon and Foley (2000:64) and Cole (1999) in the discussion of “Schindler Tourists”. Gartner (1993) suggests that there are four types of organic image which may influence destination choice. These are autonomous agents (i.e., popular culture; film, music, etc), solicited organic agents (such as requested information from friends or family), unsolicited organic agents (unrequested information from friends or family) and finally organic agents (actual visitation). For the moment, this section will focus on autonomous agents, i.e., the aspects of popular culture which may (or may not) have some form of influence on tourism in ex-Yugoslavia. These will include both positive and negative images, sourced mainly from film, from which it is hoped an illustration can be presented in terms of the region’s tourism, that visiting tourists have a constructed view of the city which does not represent the reality of the place. Negative destination images of the region in film have usually reinforced the war imagery presented by the mid 90s’ news reports, with scenes of violence and unrest, brutality, exploitation, ethnic cleansing and a strong focus on the international community’s rejection of the country. Large online media archives exist documenting the war, and many of the films associated with the conflict deal with the media’s extensive coverage of the events. Combating this kind of imagery - or minimising its negative effects - is obviously a huge challenge for planners as the war has been, and still is, the focus of the majority of the films being produced. The sheer abundance of media coverage, films and first-hand accounts of the siege in Sarajevo in particular, leaves tourism officials with a mammoth public-relations task. In an era of post-mass tourism, where the holiday maker wishes to differentiate themselves from others, how can such a post-war city attract new tourists?

I think some people will have seen this A Cry From the Grave Documentary. But they would come without this. We have a similar documentary here. I suppose some would see this film

and then want to see the place without it. Books too will bring people.

Hasan Hasanovic, Srebrenica Memorial Centre



Image 5.25: *Welcome to Sarajevo* (1997) and *The Hunting Party* (2007)

Agents such as film, music or news reports can present a vast amount of information in a very condensed format and often in an easily digestible form. If a high degree of credibility is attached to these images, coupled with easy accessibility, it is easy to see why films, news reports, music or otherwise could be considered to have some value to the selling of a city. Conversely, in terms of Sarajevo, the negative imagery portrayed by news reports and film could mean a damage limitation exercise operation would be required, especially if the target market is a more mass-tourist orientated venture rather than the post-mass tourist. Kim and Richardson (2001) suggest that the degree to which people accept these films is often so strong that they are often perceived to have less of a bias than the induced forms of official promotional material. Despite this theory being relatively common, little empirical work has been carried out relating images constructed through autonomous agents and destination choice. Busby and Klug (2001: 316) offer a definition for this relationship writing that *'When people are seeking sights\ sites seen on the 'silver screen', they become movie induce tourists'*. In this case the autonomous agent is that of film.

We had a few hours before our bus. So, some of us watched 'Welcome to Sarajevo'. This is by no means a great movie, but it did help the understanding of the war and what people went through on a different level.

Laytonandjana, 2008, Blog no 8

Figure 5.2: A sample of films viewed by the author representing themes from the Yugoslav Wars

Year	Film	Released	Awards\ Success	Creation
1994	The Troubles We've Seen	Film festivals	FIPRESCI prize at the Montreal Film Festival, 1994 & Nominated for a Cesar Award in France, 1995.	Directed by Marcel Ophuls Milestone Film and Video (small company)
1994	Vukovar	Small international release.	Winner at 3 international film festivals.	Directed by Boro Draskovic Yugoslav production companies
1996	Pretty Village, Pretty Flame	Internationally released (primarily at film festivals)	Winner at 6 international film festivals and one nomination.	Directed by Srdjan Dragojevic Local production companies
1997	Welcome to Sarajevo	International - Widely released on DVD and video.	Nominated at Chicago and Cannes Film Festivals. Did not achieve successful box office figures. Starring Woody Harrelson	Directed by Michael Winterbottom Channel Four, Miramax and Dragon Films
1997	Territorio Comanche	Spain, limited European and South American release	1 win (Berlin), 4 nominations	Tornasol Films S.A. (Spanish company)
2001	No Man's Land	Widely released in arthouse cinemas and film festivals. Easily obtainable on DVD.	Oscar winner (Best Foreign Language Film) and 26 other film festival wins.	Directed by Danis Tanovic (independent companies)
2001	Behind Enemy Lines	Widely released internationally. Major video and DVD sales.	Winner of a major stunt award and 2 nominations at festivals. Starring Owen Wilson and Gene Hackman	Directed by John Moore 20th Century Fox
2003	Gori Vatra (Fuse)	International film festivals	Winner of a variety of acclaimed film festival awards	Directed by Pjer Zalica, (independent companies)
2006	Grbavica	Widely released	Winner of Golden Bear Award (Berlin)	Directed by Jasmila Zbanic. (independent companies)
2007	The Hunting Party	Widely released internationally.	Starring major actors – Richard Gere, Terence Howard & Diane Krueger	Directed by Richard Shepard Major production companies.

The Tourism Association of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina also outlined the importance of film to the region, albeit from a different angle. Each year the city of Sarajevo hosts the Sarajevo Film Festival, which the interviewees noted has become a major international event. They highlighted the impact hosting a positive festival like this one can have for the marketing of the country.

The film festival is the most successful. It really goes beyond the region, it's big and it's international. And the Sarajevo region also has potential in the film industry. So it's also a huge attraction. Private accommodations during the film festival are all full. And popular actors and actresses are coming here. So the focus is on Sarajevo. We are famous. There are a couple of weeks where we are global. If you host, I don't know, Brad Pitt, who was here the last time...Mickey Rourke or some of the famous actors, the focus is on Bosnia-Herzegovina those couple of weeks. It's huge. The festival itself, as publicity, regardless of the Tourism Association, you can see the number of arrivals when the festival is here. It helps to change the negative imagery of the country, of Bosnia-Herzegovina. It's a huge tourist attraction. Tourists come from the region, from Croatia, from Montenegro, from Serbia even at that time, they come to Sarajevo to visit the festival to see the red carpet in front of the National Theatre, something like that.

Sanela Smajlovic, Tourism Association of the Federation of BiH

However, Zijad Jusufovic disagreed with the notion of film influencing tourism and almost pointed in the opposite direction; tourism as an influence for film.

Look, they have already saw thousands and thousands and thousands of movies, and something else can make them interested to come and see. Our movie No Man's Land got Oscar. But I think that finally they would like to come and see everything, not only war. They would like to see nice villages, woods. And our movie Grbavica got Golden Bear in Film Festival, talking about raped women. About 12,000 women were raped during the war in Bosnia. 800 of them were forced pregnant to stay in the prison when it is too late for abortion, 7, 8 months pregnant. And after that they make them free. And they don't like their children.... Richard Gere, actually he was here because of this movie [DVD which features Zijad tours to Karadzic's house]. Actually this movie is connected with me and this movie about Karadzic. And because of this movie about Karadzic he hired me and because of me he made this movie about hunting...it's connected. Now you have the DVD source for this movie. It's a shadow of Karadzic.

Zijad Jusufovic, Tour Guide, Sarajevo

5.9 Future of tours

Given the blossoming interest in thanatourism in recent years, and the increased commodification of death for tourism, the author felt it was appropriate to explore the future potential of thanatourism with the tour guides. This question had several purposes. The author wished to uncover how guides positioned themselves in the wider tourism landscape and also to uncover guides' opinions on the nature of their own business. Were they quickly cashing in on a tragedy which would be forgotten in future? Did they believe that the tours would continue indefinitely? This section presents a mixture of the interviewees' opinions on their own personal businesses, the wider tourism potential of the region and, as noted by Zijad, the future of thanatourism in general.

The interviewees from the tourism associations were questioned on their opinions on the broader developments in the national tourism industry. This question is presented first to illustrate the broader landscape in which the guides operate. Sanela replied that in five year's time Bosnia (in general) will be:

...the number one cultural tourism destination in the region. But seriously, why not? There is the potential to do that. I think a couple of years ago the premier of the Sarajevo canton wanted to develop a target of 1 million tourists a year to Sarajevo. So we are going in the right direction.

Sanela Smajlovic, Tourism Association of the Federation of BiH

This quote offers the view that Bosnia is a competitive destination in the region. It could be inferred from the interviews with the guides however that their businesses have the potential to help achieve this 'number one position', but that they are not helped. Thanatourism is popular and the guides are aware of its importance. Zijad Jusufovic commented on and compared his own tour to the availability of similar dark sites in other places around the world.

Look, still Holocaust is popular. Genocide against Jews from the Second World War. Still concentration camps are popular. I saw in this Dark Tourism movie made by Canadian TV that millions and millions of people are visiting these bloody destinations still. In Cambodia, in Vietnam, in Poland, in Latvia. In Sarajevo it will be more and more. Actually I'm not afraid of the future.

Zijad Jusufovic, Tour Guide, Sarajevo

The other operators identified their potential to diversify into new areas but also highlighted the difficulties of running tours in cities which have not fully developed for mass tourism. Dubrovnik Walking Tours believe they have already reached their business potential while Haris and Zrinka noted their own concerns and opportunities.

Dubrovnik Walking Tours will not grow much I think. We did a lot in the sense of marketing and I don't think we can do more.
Maro Carevic, Dubrovnik Walking Tours Manager

I hope business will get better. I hope there will be more trips to BiH. I try to bring people here because we have a lot of things to offer to tourists. Actually I don't have too much support from the government or politicians. I hope so though. This is my seventh year of running the travel agency here. I'm working on school trips, day trips, excursions.

Haris Pamuk, Proprietor of Haris Hostel

I think we have a good future here. But for us the problems are the young people who have some knowledge. Because lots of people go to the big cities in Croatia. For example in Zagreb, in Osijek, they want to live there and not in Vukovar. And for me this is the biggest problem. We couldn't find the people who are motivated enough or who are educated enough to work in tourism. So this is problem number one. We need more people working for us but we don't find them here. For me for example it is too expensive to have a guide in Osijek to come to Vukovar to do one tour in English. It is too expensive.

Zrinka Sesto, Vukovar Danubium Tours Manager

Zijad Jusufovic noted the potential for developing networks with other cities in the region, boosting tourism in general and not specifically the war tour business.

But in the future I intend to register a tour operator's agency and to connect actually, same tourism destinations as it was before the war. It means Belgrade, Montenegro, it means Croatian coast. Few Slovenian cities too. Because we cooperate very good before the war but today we don't have cooperation. That's a problem. And we need each other. They need Sarajevo, Mostar. We need Adriatic Sea. It can be a good cooperation.

Zijad Jusufovic, Tour Guide, Sarajevo

Major plans also exist for the development of the Srebrenica Memorial Centre, including further memorialisation, development in Sarajevo, international

investment, artwork and new construction at the site. These were discussed at length by Hasan.

The only thing we have there now is the memorial room, where those civilians were held. We have the memorial room where we have an exhibition in two black boxes. First black box we have a documentary which was just made for the purpose of the memorial. In the second black box we have exhibitions from 20 of the personal stories of the victims of the genocide. They tell the story of all of the victims of the genocide. With those personal stories we have items found with them in mass graves. Those stories tell of the people of Srebrenica. Those items were just selected at random you know, they weren't particular choices. We have a governing board for the memorial centre which makes all the necessary decisions regarding the construction and maintaining of memorials. To maintain this memorial centre we are funded by the state. We are on the payroll of the state. But in terms of constructing here we need to raise money, from donations. We have a project where we want to turn all of this old building into a new building, where we would have inside a large museum, with at least 12 rooms like this, where we might give an opportunity to different artists all around the world to express genocide in their own way. We will have a large library where we can study genocide all around the world. We will have all the large facilities we need. In terms of constructing this, we will need at least 15million euro. We will organise donor conferences all around the world to raise enough money. I think we won't have any problems getting the money. A centre will also be built in Sarajevo which will involve Hasan Nuhanovic.

Hasan Hasanovic, Srebrenica Memorial Centre

These development plans illustrate the commitment of the memorial centre to building a more permanent museum at the site. This is perhaps not surprising, as, has been stressed many times throughout the thesis, the Srebrenica massacre of 1995 was the largest in Europe since WW2. The massacre left a number of families desiring a place to honour their dead and as a result the centre was opened in 2003 by former US president Bill Clinton.



Image 5.26: Srebrenica Gift Shop 3, May 2010

Tarik also believes that visitors will continue to come in future to learn about the war and their curiosity about the current situation.

I think in 5 years time there will still be people coming here. We still have a bad situation here, even without the war. You saw we passed the entity borders, separated territories. You see these police cars, different police cars than in Sarajevo. Different alphabet. If you're looking like that, it's a divided country. Most of the people are confused for example with the name Republika Srpska. Is it a state? Is it not a state? What does it mean? How is it an entity? How does it have name as Republic but is not a Republic? Also, how it's organised, the organisation of the state.

Tarik, Sarajevo Discovery



Image 5.27: Overlooking the Federation of Bosnia Herzegovina and Republika Srpska border, Sarajevo, May 2010

The above sentiments described by Tarik and Zijad are echoed in the literature by Stone and Sharpley (2008). Thanatourism consumers are driven by multiple layers of motivation and simply providing spaces in which to contemplate conflict or death will not be a sufficient motivator in attracting thanatourists. The Yugoslav Wars provide the ideal context in space for studying the diverse and fragmented motivations associated with war tourism, yet keeping them contextualised within the same timeframe. This allows for a presentation of the variety of intensities of meanings, particularly for tourists within different networks, whether social, cultural or otherwise.

...it would be naive to suggest that the consumption of dark tourism rests solely upon a theoretical notion of providing individuals an opportunity to contemplate death and mortality.... Dark tourism is multi-faceted, multi-tiered and exists in a variety of social, cultural, geographical, and political contexts.

Stone and Sharpley (2008:589)

This space-time continuum and its relationship with the darkest forms of tourism is described by Miles (2002) in his research notes on Auschwitz. He writes that in future it is something museum curators will have to confront. In relation to this thesis, the spatial differences which separate ‘dark’ from ‘darkest’ appear to be breached by an ever more discerning traveller and an increased role by the media. Tourism associated with events like the Yugoslav

Wars also seems to break the barrier created by time in forming the darkest forms of tourism. This barrier has been removed or breached by the immediate access provided by the increased mobility available to travellers. One has only to look at the tours established by West Yorkshire company Hinterland Travel (2009) which visit Iraq (since 2003 although they had to stop from 2004-2008 for access reasons) to understand the speed at which dark tourists will try and access sites, whether they contain proper tourism infrastructure or not. The tours described by Fedarko (1993) to Dubrovnik further this point. Miles also considers the role played by technology in the diminishing barriers surrounding space and time and he believes that:

In darkest tourism, museum cyber guides and curators will take their virtual tourists on real time tours of active detention camps, killing fields, death rows, and execution chambers.

(Miles 2002:1117)



Image 5.28, Vukovar hospital museum, Vukovar, March 2009

This type of tourism has already become visible at many of the sites mentioned in this thesis. The Srebrenica memorial centre has a range of audio visual displays which show documentary footage of the conditions endured by the victims of the massacre towards the end of their time in the town. The Olympic Museum in Sarajevo also features a video display which mixes skilfully between footage of the opening ceremony of the XIV Winter Olympic Games and the news and privately owned footage of the Sarajevo Siege. Similar

displays exist at the Tunnel Museum, the Vukovar Hospital and Ovčara Memorial Centre use what is still very recent footage to illustrate the life of people during the conflict. This nexus between space, time and the darkest forms of tourism will be further developed in Chapter 7, which will discuss these themes in relation to the motivations of tourists visiting the sites.

One final consideration in the future of dark tourism at these sites must explore whether there is awareness among guides of the role they are playing in the memorialisation and interpretation of the conflict. Stone introduces this idea well, writing that:

In particular, those practitioners who supply dark tourism sites, attractions and exhibitions may dislike the actual term 'dark tourism' being applied to them, perhaps because of wider morbidity undertones and morality subtexts. They may even dismiss the view that they belong to the wider tourism industry. Of course further research will clarify this position. The implications of using emotive terminology should be readily apparent.

Stone (2006: 158)

This note is an important consideration, not only for the future of the war tourism industry in Croatia and Bosnia but also for the future of academic research into consumption of sites associated with death and disaster. Stone's observation that suppliers may be uncomfortable with morbid labels highlights the difficulties of research into the sensitivities of exploring the motivations of entrepreneurs, tourists and policy makers for getting involved with darker sites. However, the observations which emerged from Zrinka and Zijad illustrate an awareness among at least some of the tour operators that the businesses they run are considered to be 'dark' by the media, their clients and academics alike. Zijad's participation in the (Oppenheim, 2008) DVD *Dark Tourism* particularly highlight his ease with the topic. Although this is but one example, others emerge throughout the thesis. Despite the author's best attempts to contact Vekol Tours in Belgrade (who run a Radovan Karadzic tour of his life as Dr. Dragan David Dabić) no interview could be arranged. Vekol have commented on their tours regularly in the press, carefully stating their intentions:

Of course there's no danger in taking part of this tour. We only take foreign tourists, not domestic tourists, because we're a

company that only deals with foreign tourists. The tour is totally non-political; we don't even have a guide.

France International (2008)

And again, as noted by Kenarov (2009):

I would also like to mention that this is not a political tour, so any questions regarding politics will not be answered.

Kenarov (2009)

However, another agency which provides information on tours to Serbia disagrees with the sentiments expressed by Vekol, questioning the motives of the agency and indeed why tourists would come at all.

I can't imagine who would actually want to take the tour. Maybe it's just a way of creating attention for themselves [the tour operators]. Why would foreign tourists want to walk in the footsteps of a war criminal? It's completely idiotic. With the Milosevic tour, I don't think it's that successful anyway, but at least you can go into his apartment. You won't be able to go into Karadzic's. What's the point in going to the bakery and the grocery store?

France International (2008)

Without dwelling much further on the Karadzic tour, Kenarov (2009) explores the intentions of the agency, questioning where *PopArt Radovan* fits into the world of tourism.

The thousands of posters of his face, obsessively pasted all over the city, may have been intended to stir up nationalistic sentiment, but between Coca Cola neon signs and Costa Coffee outlets they rather resembled Warhol's prints of Chairman Mao. The kitschy souvenirs—Karadžić T-shirts and buttons—sold by downtown street-vendors, were supposed to be a declaration of Serbian pride, but came out in Belgrade as its exact opposite, a parody of itself. The Pop-art Radovan Tour just seemed like the latest iteration of this idea, yet it remained fuzzy: was the tour intended to battle virulent nationalism by treating Karadžić as just another commodity in a world of mass tourism, or did it aim to vindicate and lionize his personality?

Kenarov (2009)

The awareness of the darkness of the tours run in the area was visible in the interviews with the guides. Zijad displayed it with his knowledge of the dark tourism term, Zrinka has undertaken many interviews with the media on the topic, Haris discussed, at length, his visitors' motivations, while Tarik and Hasan also noted the role they play in memorialisation.

5.10 Conclusion

This chapter presented a range of findings in relation to the commodification of the Yugoslav Wars of 1991-1995. A variety of themes have been presented, including imagery, local dissonance, the role of the state in the commodification process, the role of the media and selling of dark places, the future of dark tourism and the memorialisation process. The key finding is the role of private entrepreneurship, a much underlooked theme in previous thanatourism research.

Tour guides play a key role in mediating the thanatourism experience for visitors to ex-Yugoslavia. Thanatourism is defined as travel to sites **motivated** by a desire to encounter death or disaster. The guides appear to stimulate this motivation by offering tours which focus primarily on the wars from 1991-1996. Their tours visit a range of spaces, from the everyday space of Markale Market to the surrealist memorial at Potočari to the visits to the Tunnel Museum, all of which are brought to life by the guides' experiences and narratives. The spaces offer different opportunities to gaze on death and war. Markale Market for example provides the ideal location to contemplate the intrusiveness of war: this was (and still is) an everyday space, a place to buy meat, bread and vegetables, yet it is dominated by a memorial to the many who died during its 1995 shelling. The Tunnel Museum provides a different opportunity to reflect on the war: the tunnel was built as an escape route from Sarajevo, yet it now ironically acts as an attraction to the city. This museum embodies the ever important notion of escape in tourism, as tourists can 'experience' an escape by crouching in the tunnel and making their way through the remaining 25metres. The bobsled track offers a third perspective: its prominent position overlooking Sarajevo allows guides to point out the vulnerability of the Bosnian capital. The guides note cemeteries, shelled buildings and encourage their visitors to imagine the military landscape which existed in the early 1990s.

These different types of spaces stimulate the tourist to contemplate death and disaster. The tourist's original motivation for taking a war tour is now somewhat irrelevant. They may have been an 'accidental dark tourist', taking part in a war tour without knowing where they were going or what they would see. Perhaps

the tourist was simply passing time on their holiday and chose the war tour at random, from a selection of available itineraries, such as is available in Dubrovnik, or from Haris or Zijad. Once the mediated experience begins however, contemplating war and/ or death is unavoidable. Now it is the contemplation and the mediated experience which creates a thanatourist and not their original motivation. This moves the whole concept of thanatourism away from the motivation to consume death to the consumption experience, a notion discussed in Chapter Seven.

The next chapter (*Chapter Six*) will present the findings gathered from the travel blogs, presenting the demographics and motivations of tourists, samples of their role in the memorialisation process, their knowledge of the conflict and the unusual dark requests they have made. The findings from Chapters Five and Six will be discussed in the final chapter.

Chapter Six

The Thanatourism Experience

6.1 Introduction

The dead are our progenitors in more ways than one, then, for as they humanised mortality they also mortalised humanity. To say that they personify death in the primitive mind does not mean they personify merely the termination of life, for if that were the case they would never have acquired the sublime authority they enjoy in almost all world cultures; rather, the dead personify the temporal ecstasies themselves. Or better, they inhabit those ecstasies.

Harrison, (2003:94)

In the *Dominion of the Dead* Harrison attempts to disentangle the wider relationship we have with spaces inhabited by the dead. From an early age, he writes, we are taught that through dying we return to an origin from which the living and unborn draw life. The depth of this notion is staggering. If true, our conditioning has created a reality where we cannot but experience the products of the dominion of the dead, be it through literature, other arts, thanatourism or indeed any locations cohabited by the living and the dead. On a practical level chapter six seeks to extract the meanings behind these relationships held in the dominion of the dead, using thanatourism as the case in question. The chapter examines the role of tourists in the consumption and creation of thanatourism spaces, exploring the relationships held between tourists and deathscapes. The evidence presented in chapter 5 suggests that it is impossible to disentangle consumption and commodification and therefore the chapter does not seek to position ‘demand’ as the key driver of thanatourism. In any case this would be naïve. Stone & Sharpley (2008) write that the creation of opportunities to contemplate death is not sufficiently strong as a primary driver of consumption this present chapter takes a similar stance. Building dark tourist sites will not effortlessly attract visitors. Likewise the occurrence of horrific events will not necessarily result in tourism to a sites. As discussed in Chapter 2, memorialisation plays an important role at this stage; Parry’s (2009) example of the Buschmanshoff illustrating this point well. The horror of this camp has not been commodified or memorialised and the shock value of the event itself is not enough to generate tourism, whether desirable or not. Larger maritime disasters than *The Titanic*’s sinking has not resulted in their memorialisation. They are not located in public consciousness to the same extent, if indeed at all. Scale is therefore not the answer and all evidence points towards a need for a combination of very specific factors. Several case studies on thanatourist sites

illustrate the need for a catalyst to start the visitor flow and it is more rewarding to explore these catalysts and the relationships held with them than to simply uncover 'motivations'. Evidence from Auschwitz (with *Schindler's List*), to Gunther VonHagen's Body World's (linking his live televised autopsy with increased visitation to the exhibition), to the German hosting of the 2006 FIFA World Cup which prompted the placement of signage above the Führerbunker (DPA, 2006) to deal with mass demand offers evidence of the complex relationship experienced by the living with the dead. Such sites appear to weave in and out of the public imagination and as a sub theme their catalysts will be documented throughout this chapter.

Complementing this discussion on catalysts will be a discussion of the fluidity of thanatourism sites, a notion explored in Chapter 5 but worthy of further exploration in the context of the tourist experience. As the ecological and geopolitical environments of tourist sites change, so too do tourists' motivations and relationships with deathscapes. The tourist who visits Bosnia-Herzegovina to take part in war tours in 2010 may do so with very different motivations to the 1995 visitor. Like at Płaszów, certain connections have developed in Sarajevo between film and landscape. For example, many bloggers use the phrase 'welcome to Sarajevo' in their writing, now almost synonymous with the film. Doubtless war tourism would have developed in Sarajevo without the production of this and other films but it could certainly be considered as a potential influence on destination choice. The fluid motivations and experiences of the visitors to the war sites in ex-Yugoslavia will be considered throughout this chapter, with an analysis on why there is a steady stream of visitors to Sarajevo, Vukovar and Srebrenica. What draws these visitors to the horrors of the war sites and how do they represent their experiences?

The chapter uses various theoretical underpinnings on the tourist gaze to illustrate that the post-war tourism industry in the four case studies of this thesis, to a certain degree, constitute gazing on death, or, for the purposes of this chapter thana-gazing. Thana-gazing will be explored to understand from the tourists' perspectives where they developed their motivations to visits sites associated with the Yugoslav Wars. What knowledge did they bring, where did

they acquire it and how did they represent their experiences? This research utilises three primary sources, firstly querying guides on where they believed their clients got their motivations, secondly analysing travel blogs on Sarajevo to explore the same point from the tourists' own perspectives and thirdly ethnographic work undertaken by the author. As per the last chapter, the primary sources are supplemented from news articles, thanatourism literature and other secondary sources encountered in the field.

Additionally, the chapter seeks to illustrate that tourists themselves play a role in the commodification process. Through representation of the war in their travel blogs further associations between place, conflict and tourism are developed, reinforcing the notion that thanatourism serves as framework for examining the relationship between the living and the dead. In other words, spaces to contemplate mortality. This avenue of exploration will be developed throughout the chapter, particularly considering Urry's work (1990) on the tourist gaze which suggests that pre-existing cultural images structure what we see more than the physical objects themselves. In this case, the informed, knowledgeable, dark tourist to ex-Yugoslavia's war sites expects to encounter representations of death because of pre-conditioning. The author explores this question in the case of Sarajevo and the other sites considered in this thesis. Do the media images, film and literature of the conflict create a false, commodified landscape for tourists in which they barely see the objects at all? The contradiction of tourists being influenced by autonomous images and then further recreating these images themselves in blogs will be explored.

On a more practical level, the chapter essentially covers three broad themes, pre-trip profiles, trip experiences and relationships and post-trip representations. A timeline-like approach will be taken to the organisation of the chapter to maintain flow. Section one introduces who visitors to Sarajevo and Bosnia-Herzegovina might be, highlighting the difficulties in obtaining statistics. This is followed by an assessment of visitors' pre-trip knowledge of the war destinations. The timeline then moves through pre-trip motivations to in-trip experiences and finally, representations of travel. Additionally, the chapter

includes a section exploring unusual requests made by tourists which illustrates the depths of darkness reached by some guides and their clients.

6.2 Tourist Demographics (Sarajevo)

This section will explore the origin of tourists to Sarajevo and Bosnia Herzegovina. The purpose of this is largely to identify who visits Sarajevo. Sarajevo is chosen from the four sites as statistics are unavailable from Srebrenica, limited at Vukovar and irrelevant at Dubrovnik due to its position as a mass tourist attraction. To further complicate the problem, it must be stated that official data is unreliable in Bosnia and Sarajevo (*see below quote*). Four sources are therefore used to illustrate who visitors to Sarajevo might be. The four sources include questions from the interview with the Tourism Association of Bosnia-Herzegovina, official data from USAID, questions with the three guides in Sarajevo on their visitors and finally SPSS data collated from analysis of the online travel blogs (n: 237). This is useful as little previous work has profiled demographic data on dark tourists, jumping instead straight to their motivations.

I know that statistics are a problem in every country, they never are what they really are. But here in Bosnia-Herzegovina it's a specific problem. We have, let's say unofficially, from the officers who work in Medjugorje for example, they report a greater number of arrivals in nights in Medjugorje solely than we have for the entire Bosnia-Herzegovina. So I know it's a problem, because I mean the private sector, that is hotels and other places, which should be recording tourists who stay nights, they really don't do that. Because then they don't have to pay taxes or the accommodation fees. So it's a huge problem.

Leila Brckalija, Tourism Association of Bosnia-Herzegovina

To further illustrate the point of the unreliability of Bosnian tourism statistics Leila mentioned the data collection method:

At one stage we had, in 2003/ 2004, the greatest number of tourists were from the United States. But they aren't in the top 10. But they paid with a credit card so it was easier to pick up the statistics.

Leila Brckalija, Tourism Association of Bosnia-Herzegovina

Despite this lack of official, reliable statistics, several other sources were available to discover who visitors to Bosnia-Herzegovina might be. A breakdown of the origin countries of tourists who visited Bosnia-Herzegovina is included below, sourced from USAID (2005). As can be noted from the graph the majority of foreign tourists to Bosnia come from Slovenia and Serbia and Montenegro, two of the other ex-Yugoslav Republics. USAID's research also deliberately excludes Croatian visitors as:

Our data also confirmed that Croatians represent the largest group of all visitors at 21.8% of the total. They were closely followed by diaspora visitors from Germany and Austria representing 19.5 and 13.4 percent of the total number of tracked visitors, respectively. Assuming that the vast majority of Croatian visitors have cross border business and family links, and could not be considered as tourists or diaspora extended-stay visitors, CCA decided that they should not be included in further calculations of arrival totals and country of origin ratios.

USAID, 2005

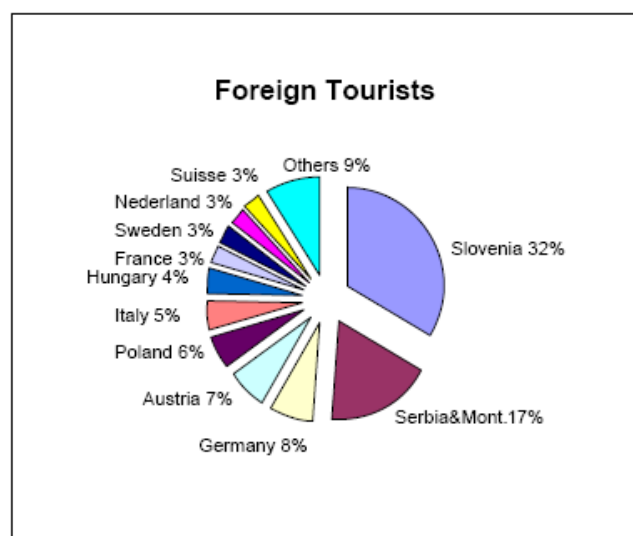


Figure 6.1: Tourist origins to Bosnia-Herzegovina, USAID (2005)

With this limited contextualisation on national tourists and tourists to Sarajevo complete, a more narrow focus was pursued on thanatourism. Observational data gathered from the three Sarajevo based guides (Zijad, Haris and Tarik) indicates that their personal markets, and specifically those who take war tours,

come mainly from the USA, the UK and Australia. Zijad Jusufovic indicated that his clients were:

...usually people from the USA...[but], some other people from example, East Europe, or Orthodox World.

Zijad Jusufovic, Tour Guide, Sarajevo

Tarik's clients come from the UK, Australia and New Zealand among others:

All around the world. We have a lot of Americans, many British people, a lot of people from New Zealand and Australia who are working in the UK. They live and work in the UK but travelling here in Europe. They always seem to be from New Zealand and Australia. We have also a lot of Americans during the summer months.

Tarik, Sarajevo Discovery

Most of my visitors come from the United States. I also have some from England and Australia. But all over the world really.

Haris Pamuk, Proprietor of Haris Hostel

SPSS (n: 237) data seemed to correlate with these observations, indicating that those who blog about the war (in English) come from the USA (29.5%), the UK (17.3%), Australia (15.6%) and other European countries (excluding Ireland) (11.4%).

Nationality of primary blogger? July 2002- February 2010					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative %
Valid	UK	41	17.3	17.3	17.3
	USA	70	29.5	29.5	46.8
	Canada	20	8.4	8.4	55.3
	Australia	37	15.6	15.6	70.9
	New Zealand	8	3.4	3.4	74.3
	Ireland	5	2.1	2.1	76.4
	Other European	27	11.4	11.4	87.8
	Other (world)	7	3.0	3.0	90.7
	Unspecified	22	9.3	9.3	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Figure 6.2 – Tourist demographics 1

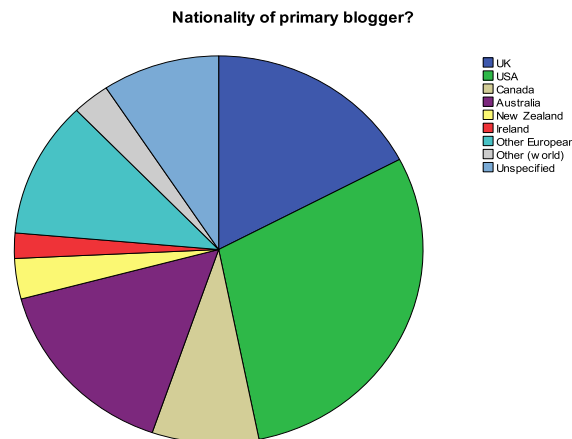


Figure 6.3 – Tourist demographics 2

Demographic data was gathered from the blogs to assess whether visitors were more likely to visit as solo travellers, with friends or as part of a couple, family or organisation. Results indicated that there were a high percentage of single male and single female travellers but that among bloggers Sarajevo was also popular with groups of friends.

Who comprised the group?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative %
Valid	Single Male	84	35.4	35.4	35.4
	Single Female	57	24.1	24.1	59.5
	Couple	23	9.7	9.7	69.2
	Group of Friends	60	25.3	25.3	94.5
	Organisation	1	.4	.4	94.9
	Not specified	10	4.2	4.2	99.2
	Family	2	.8	.8	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Figure 6.4 – Tourist demographics 3

To further this work, the author questioned the guides on who doesn't take part in their tours, with several examples emerging. Zijad Jusufovic noted the pain associated with return visits for clients.

For past athletes, their friends and relatives are coming. But they don't want to come. They want to remember Sarajevo nice. They don't want to remember it like this.

Zijad Jusufovic, Tour Guide, Sarajevo

We have schools from the Federation. We have students from all around the world. Students from Republika Srpska don't come here. We would like them to.

Hasan Hasanovic, Srebrenica Memorial Centre

Maybe in the six years of this business, I have had two or three guests maximum from Serbia.

Haris Pamuk, Proprietor of Haris Hostel

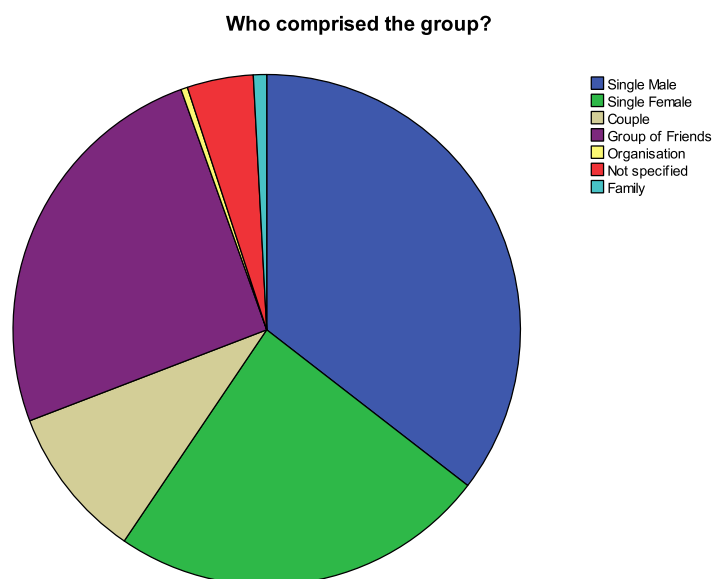


Figure 6.5 – Tourist demographics 4

6.3 Pre-trip knowledge

Following on from the demographic data presented above, this section will document what data is available on visitors' pre-trip knowledge of the war destinations. In creating a network which illustrates the commodification of war tourism space, it is useful to consider the pre-trip knowledge of tourists from both the perspective of the tourist and the guide. As limited work has been carried out on profiling dark tourists this section assists in understanding what these tourists 'bring to the table' when they take part in a war tour, a key element in the host-guest relationship. Guides were questioned on whether they believed their clients had good pre-trip knowledge of the destination and the conflict. The data indicates that some tourists had intimate knowledge of the war, while for others the tour represented one of their first contacts with the conflict.

Do they know a lot about the war? Some of them do. They know the war. Some of them they don't know at all. More people don't know about the war than do know about it.

Haris Pamuk, Proprietor of Haris Hostel

This is developed by Zijad Jusufovic who unsurprisingly states that different nationalities exhibit different beliefs and levels of knowledge about the war. He notes in particular that his American clients are eager to learn the history of the conflict.

Usually people from the USA, they don't watch too much price, they don't care too much about my price. They care about questions, they really like to talk and there are people ready to listen and ready to change some knowledge if I am enough able to prove it. Because there are many different information about Bosnia about situation today, about war, about everything. And now it's just logical that if you have some knowledge you need to prove it or to change your mind. If someone is clever enough, educated enough to present facts, Americans are ready to talk and learn. Some others are not, some other people from example, East Europe, or Orthodox World are not ready to accept some things because they used to listen to only one side during the last period; the Serbian side.

Zijad Jusufovic, Tour Guide, Sarajevo

Zrinka Sesto of Vukovar concurs with this point on differing levels of knowledge, noting that Serbs are willing to learn about Vukovar to hear the 'other side' of the story.

Yes but we have very strange situation. When the cruise ships came from, for example Belgrade, and then stops in Vukovar, when I told them about the war and everything that has happened here, lots of people asked me why we didn't hear this story in Belgrade. We heard something different. So every part has their own story. But I always say to them, Croats didn't go to Belgrade. They came from Serbia and attacked the city. So that's very important.

Zrinka Sesto, Vukovar Danubium Tours Manager

Knowledge at Srebrenica was reported to be quite good by Tarik and Hasan. Both answered that visitors were frequently well read on the massacre. This aspect of preparation could potentially be used to place a visitor at the darker end of the spectrum, even the very personification of a dark tourist. The Srebrenica visitor is well prepared, gazes on death, visits a somewhat difficult to

access location which has perceived authenticity and a short-time scale to the event. Certainly considering Stone's (2006) dark tourism spectrum, the Srebrenica visitor must be placed near the darker end of the scale.

They come prepared. They read about it and know something about the place. They come here and ask a lot of questions but they already know a lot about the place. We are very happy when we have visitors from abroad.

Hasan Hasanovic, Srebrenica Memorial Centre

Many of the people coming here, I am surprised but they know a lot about it. Very good understanding of what happened here. But some of the people you know do not know anything. They just heard about it from tourists, they heard about the tunnel for example, but they have no interest in what's happened here and they do not try to understand. They just want to see it. But some of the people surprise me with their deep understanding when they come here.

Tarik, Sarajevo Discovery

Dubrovnik adds an extra dimension to the discussion, very much in contrast to the darker activities at Srebrenica. The Srebrenica visitor described above may provide an opportunity to offer an alternative position to Walter's (2009:54) claim that '*dark tourism is not like most forms of specialised tourism....few – apart from Battlefield addicts – take an entire holiday of dark tourism.*' While it is impossible to know if the Srebrenica visitor takes part in other activities on their trip, their preparation before visiting certainly suggests that the massacre is a key motivator for travel. Dubrovnik, however, can be positioned at the other end of the scale. As a seaside resort and '*Pearl of the Adriatic*', Dubrovnik takes in the 'light' tourist, the sun seeker, package holiday mass tourist and cruise ship day-trippers. The *Story About the War* tour is unlikely to be a key motivating factor in visiting. Yet, it exists nonetheless and may offer the visitor to the city an opportunity to differentiate themselves from the other sun seeking tourists they encounter on their travels. Dubrovnik Walking Tours acknowledge the diverse backgrounds of their clients, noting that the difficulty in presenting a snapshot of the conflict in a short time period.

Some do but most of them don't know much. Depends on where they come from. We believe people from Ireland and Scotland know more than people from the US and Australia for example. Balkan history is

very complex. We try our best to tell as much as possible in 1 hour and in a way people with different background understand it.

Maro Carevic, Dubrovnik Walking Tours Manager



*Image 6.1: Srebrenica Memorial Book
School children signing the memorial book at the centre and the monument
to the origins of the dead, Srebrenica Memorial Centre, May 2010*

Returning to Harrison's work on the spaces we cohabit with the dead and Walter's observation that thanatourism literature should form a broader part of the exploration into these spaces, it is clear that a study of the phenomenon in ex-Yugoslavia demonstrates the complexities of the relationships we hold with the dead. The following section begins to develop this notion, exploring the complexities by deconstructing the thana-gaze, by site, motivation and geo-political environment. This section has attempted to illustrate the diversity of pre-trip knowledge held by visitors to the four sites. Placing Srebrenica and some of the activities in Sarajevo at the darker end of the spectrum seems appropriate. These sites certainly attempt to appeal to a higher political ideology and this may become visible in an analysis of motivations. The diversity of knowledge above is critical when considering the gaze on conflict and death to be discussed in the next section. Tourists acquire knowledge about a destination from a variety of sources. How does this knowledge of conflict in Yugoslavia evolve into a motivation to visit the locations?



Image 6.2: Tourists at the disused bobsled track on Mount Tebevic, Sarajevo, May 2010

6.4: Thanagazing: ethnographic and travel blog findings

This section will introduce and define the term ‘*thanagazing*’, a practice where tourists gaze on death as an intense and extraordinary spectacle. This gaze is often anticipated or prompted by post-modernist, secular or Oriental influences. Thanagazing can also occur without prior anticipation, as will be presented in Chapter Seven. However, when the opportunity to gaze on death is anticipated the anticipation is ‘*constructed and sustained through a variety of non-tourist practices*’ (Urry, 1990:3) in much the same way as with Urry’s *Tourist Gaze*. This type of anticipation is evidenced throughout Section 6.4 from ethnographic and travel blog findings.

The section will begin with ethnographic findings from the bobsled track on Mount Tebevic, before moving to Srebrenica and some of the other locations featured in this present thesis. The ethnographic findings are cross referenced against other sources, including the travel blogs, to present the argument that both anticipated and accidental thanagazing occurs in ex-Yugoslavia, motivated by a variety of agents and mediated by guides and other entrepreneurs.

The bobsled track on Mount Trebevic

I visited the bobsled track on Mount Trebevic on four of my visits to Sarajevo. On each visit I observed how the guides and the visitors interacted with this most unusual space, a former Olympic site, former military site and currently little more than wasteland. The bobsled track snakes downhill and tourists can start at the top and walk almost the full length of it, save for some steep sections. The track is almost a kilometre long and it takes around 15 minutes to reach the bottom. It is the perfect site for a guide to hold an audience captive. The track is in a very secluded location and on most of my visits we were the only people at the track. Of more benefit to guides however is the ability to speak to use the track as a platform. Tours to the track usually began with a guide climbing on to the track and addressing the tourists from above. The guides used this time to tell the history of the Winter Olympics in Sarajevo before giving their tourists time to wander around. All guides warned at this point not to stray off the cement as unexploded landmines still remained on the mountain.

On all of my trips to the bobsled track a tourist eventually asked if it was OK to ‘get in’ to the track. Zijad warned at this point to be careful of snakes, but he and the others indicated that it was perfectly fine to climb in. Most of the tourists climbed in and many then walked as much of it as possible before departing. Once inside the track I noted that tourists were very keen to touch the smooth surface of the track, a surface which was contrasted by its crumbling edges and many holes on the North facing slope. These holes were poked through at regular intervals and used by snipers aiming at Sarajevo below. Tourists peered through these holes, poking their arms through in disbelief, like Thomas’ encounter with the risen Jesus. At some of the larger holes tourists even poked their head through (see *Image 6.3*) and gazed at the weeds and trees at the other side.



Image 6.3: Tourists at Mount Trebevic Bobsled Track, Sarajevo, May 2011

The memorial at Potočari

The topography of the cemetery at Potočari is striking. White and green headstones and wooden grave markers seem to go on forever. The graves are in neat lines, but with a bump or ridge in front of each, giving the cemetery a fresh, almost raw look. The dead here are buried above ground (see *Image 1.4*) as many graves have additional body parts to be added when the identification process is complete. Displays and signage in the memorial room graphically confirm this, as did Hasan on his tour of the site. The burial and reburial of massacre victims in mass graves after the massacre, coupled with the need for thorough forensic evidence for the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia make identification a slow and time consuming affair. The ongoing burial process is a chilling thought and visitors to the centre are presented with it at every corner. Inside the memorial centre at the cemetery the detailed photography of decayed skeletal remains, tangled in barbed wire greets the visitor. The graves themselves illustrate it in the cemetery. In the abandoned

factory where the Dutch UN soldiers were based, the visitor watches documentaries which shows both the events surrounding the massacre and the following investigations by the UN. Footage shows rooms stacked with body bags, with scientists examining dental records, DNA material and personal possessions. Some of these personal possessions are on display in the memorial centre. One cannot help but contemplate the brutality of the methods of execution at Potočari.

The cemetery had approximately 5,000 buried victims on my first visit in 2010, fifteen years after the 1995 massacre. Many more bodies (over 3000) will be identified and buried before the cemetery and memorial are 'complete'. In 2010 the site still felt raw and the recentness of the event was tangible, although the cemetery had opened some seven years earlier. I walked around the cemetery, hoping to speak to some tourists, but immediately noting how few people were there. When I arrived, at 2PM on a Friday afternoon, I was briefly the only visitor to the memorial. Some security guards walked around the perimeter but it was otherwise empty for a short time. After walking for some time I met an English Muslim girl, who was visiting the site with a friend. It was her first visit to Bosnia-Herzegovina and other than being Muslim she had stated that she had no connection to the site. She came solely to pay her respects and leave some flowers. She chose a grave, seemingly at random, and placed her flowers beside the stone. Her visit to the site lasted less than 20 minutes and she returned to Sarajevo, some 3 hours away.

Later, as I walked with Hasan, a school tour from Mostar arrived on some buses. Hasan received a call announcing their arrival and we walked to greet them at the roadside by the cemetery. The children disembarked the bus, and, as children are wont to do after a long bus drive, ran around playing, pushing each other and shouting. Little reverence was shown for the site or the build up of energy was simply too great following their long trip. Hasan asked the children to sit down in the memorial and he began to tell the story of the siege and massacre in Srebrenica. The children quickly grew quiet. Although I do not speak Bosnian, Hasan's storytelling skills and the magnitude of where the children were quickly created an air of serenity. The laughing and shouting stopped and the children

grew quiet. All 150 sat in a semi circle, hanging on Hasan's every word. He spoke for around 30 minutes. By the time he finished many of the children were in tears. Many hugged each other. Some sat staring blankly at the memorial. Others looked at the battery factory and then at the surrounding hills. Then to the graves.

Hasan asked the children to stand up. He walked them from the cemetery towards the battery factory, the former UN DUTCHBAT base, which now houses small memorial rooms with audio visual displays. I spoke with two of the students' teachers as we walked between the sites. Their school trip to Potočari was an annual event, part of history lessons for primary and secondary students. Both teachers stressed that the students learn from the enormity of the massacre, stating that even though their students were very young, it was vital for them to learn about the conflict in field. Hasan brought the students into the former UN base where they watched the short documentary about the events. Hasan pointed out a number of places in the building that they had just seen on the documentary. By now most of the children were in tears, many of them holding each other closely.

The school children who visited Potočari on my visit are not tourists per-se. Although they are on a school *tour* and are a great distance from their hometown, the children remained in their own country and presumably returned to their homes the same day. They spent no money at the site. There is no entrance fee and they did not visit the shop. Other than hiring the bus and driver for the day it is unlikely any great commercial activity took place in relation to the trip (assuming of course that the packed lunch style of school tour prevails in Bosnia). However, the children themselves contribute to the memorialisation process by visiting the site. Other visitors will watch how they interact with the cemetery and displays, gazing on those who have a more direct connection to the events of 1995. In way these children (and other mourners) become living actors at the site, part of the memorial itself. This offers something which Charlesworth laments is missing at Auschwitz-Birkenau, a chance to learn and reconcile. The opportunity is not lost on the authorities at Potočari as peace

summer schools, genocide seminars and other events have started in recent years.

Ethnographic findings from other locations

I documented many other observations made while carrying out this research. One observation made related to how people acted at these sites. Tourists can be reverent or inappropriate at sites of difficult heritage and it is an established theme in the literature. Charlesworth (2003) for example, notes behaviour inappropriate to Auschwitz Birkenau, stating that flag carrying at the site should be banned. I have observed such inappropriate behaviour many times in Northern Ireland, as tourists try to be funny by repeatedly ordering the ‘Irish car bomb’ cocktail drink in pubs in Derry. In Bosnia, I visited the location where Archduke Franz Ferdinand was shot on several of my trips to Sarajevo. On one such trip a girl and boy were lying on the pavement beside the plaque, re-enacting the moments where the Archduke and his wife Sophia were shot. Highly irreverent of course, but perhaps the distance in time since 1914 makes it more acceptable in their eyes. Is it really a worse than posing with a ‘gladiator’ outside the Coliseum for example? Or testing the thumbscrews in a Victorian jail?

At the other end of the behaviour spectrum I have observed tourists doing their utmost to act as reverently as possible. On one visit to Markale market for example I overheard some tourists discussing how they could appropriately photograph the memorial without being seen to cause offence. Given that over 100 people died here during the attacks only fifteen years earlier this is a difficult task. Of course the fruit and vegetable sellers know why the tourists come – the site is the classic example of ‘gazing’ on death at an extraordinary location. Markale is an everyday space for local people but offers a spectacle of death for the tourist. Tourists walk through the market to the back from the main road, take their photographs of the memorial and leave again. The tourists I overheard resolved that if they entered the market and purchased some fruit before taking their photographs it would be more acceptable. While this may or may not be the case it at least indicated an awareness of where they were and the

need for at least some degree of sobriety. Similarly, those who photograph the Sarajevo Roses around the city do so with apparent concern for their actions. Many seem to wish not to intrude on the suffering of the locals and I have observed several tourists attempting to photograph the roses as discreetly as possible.

Furthering exploration of the experiences and motivations of thanatourists could provide an opportunity to strengthen the theoretical framework used to conceptualise the topic. Stone (2006) notes that little work has been carried out on visitor motivations to these sites, although Walter (2009) comments that investigations into the experience are unlikely to shed much light on the phenomenon. Walter holds that three different angles should be pursued to understand gazing on death. These include an investigation of the relationships held by the living with the dead at thanatourism sites, secondly, a positioning of thanatourism within the broader institutions which connect the living with the dead and thirdly, looking at the functions these sites hold for societies and not just the individual. He states that *'[I] may be wrong that most dark tourism visits are typically contingent rather than motivated'* (2009:55), and not following a demonstrable sense of detachment from morality which they seek to remedy by encountering death. This chapter contends, and will demonstrate, that both these views have elements of truth. Certainly some dark tourists sites do not attract overly motivated dark tourists, while others like Srebrenica attract well prepared visitors. Walter proposes that the concept of thanatourism be broadened to incorporate other elements where society encounters the dead, whether in literature, TV or photography. As previously noted, this complements Harrison's work on *The Dominion of the Dead* (2003) which explores the spaces we cohabit with the dead. In the earlier literature review, a variety of theoretical frameworks was proposed, with dark tourism variously placed under the umbrella of post-modernism (Lennon & Foley, 2000, Muzaini et al, 2007), secularisation (Stone, 2009), a Giddensian notion of ontological security (Stone, 2009), Orientalism (Seaton, 2009) and as part of a broader sociology of death and contemplation of such; thanatopsis (Walter, 2009, Harrison, 2003, Etlin, 1984). A deeper understanding of tourist motivations may help to clarify how thanatourism is theorised. The author proposes that aspects

of many of these theoretical underpinnings can be seen in the commodification and consumption of the recent histories in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. Aspects of all can be seen in what the author terms thana-gazing, a term which will be positioned and defined throughout this chapter and the next one. Deconstructing how relationships are formed and enacted at deathscapes can enhance the theoretical framework used to understand thanatourism. The following diagram summarises key aspects of the broader theoretical underpinnings of thanatourism.

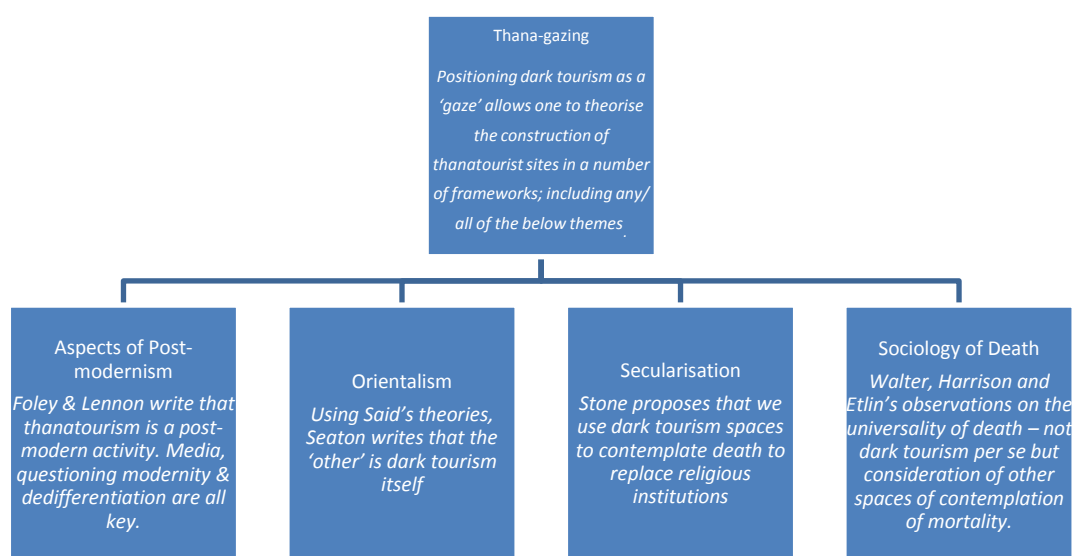


Figure 6.2: Thanagazing

Orientalism

The notion of Orientalism will be explored in the context of thanatourism in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, addressing how it contributes to this theoretical framework of gazing on death. The notion of the ‘other’ is regularly hinted at in the blogs and thus it appears an appropriate place to start. Two angles are taken, focussing on motivations and relationships. Seaton (2009) writes that the concept of the ‘Other’ is one which is worthy of exploration in thanatourism research. While this chapter does not wish to delve deeply into debates on Said’s work on Orientalism, several points can be considered to some degree in a contextualisation of tourist motivations. Seaton uses Hawthorn’s (1994) definition of the ‘other’, typically understanding it as people ‘not like us’, and outside the realm of normality. The components of the definition can

generally be traced to Western European travellers who were often members of dominant societies, wealthy, civilised and worldly. These people travelled and observed inferior beings who were savage, cruel and held strange judicial and religious practices. These anthropological observers travelled to new places, learning about the:

...picturesque practices of people they defined as 'primitive'. In the writing of early anthropologists such as Fraser, Malinowski and Evans-Pritchard, despite the prevailing register of rational analysis delivered from Olympian heights of moral superiority, there is occasionally a sense of sneaking sympathy for the universe of myth, fable and 'primitive' enchantment – a world lost under the wheels of western modernity.

Seaton (2009:77)

This notion of observing primitive cultures might provide a more suitable framework for examining the eco-tourists discussed by Tim Clancy (below), yet it also offers opportunity for further placing a framework around thanatourism. Is there a belief or notion among western travellers to Bosnia's war sites that they are a superior person, from a more civilised background which would not experience modern day military conflict?

And part of the reason we set up Green Visions is because we saw that, particularly the rural areas, the highland villages, they were dying. They were almost completely extinct. And this is a window to ancient European history. You can still find it in a few places in rural, western Ireland. You can't find it in too many places in continental Europe, except when you go to the east, to Slovakia or Romania. The eastern borders of Europe is where you can find it, maybe Portugal and Spain. But you know the ancient, traditional, I could even say medieval lifestyles are not only important from a cultural aspect but from a tourism one as well.

Tim Clancy, Green Visions

This mention of eco-tourism aside, is the notion of Orientalism something which could be used in future research on thanatourism? Does it provide the necessary framework for understanding the power relations between host and guest at sites of thanatourism? The motivations held by visitors to the war sites across Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia will be explored, with reference to the 'other' as defined by Seaton above. Said gave the name *Orientalism* to the notion of 'othering', which he presented as processes in which imperial cultures

established dominance over subordinate ones. These processes, writes Seaton, include representation and discourse transmitted through a range of institutional practices, including, among others, the media. This chapter offers the position that the discourses and representations made by tourists in their travel blogs offer a reflection of this practice. This will be discussed in an analysis of the blogs.

The author proposes that the fluidity of thanatourism sites and tourists' motivations, makes this a difficult, yet somewhat viable marriage. Gazing on an 'other' and his/ her tragedies offers opportunity to contemplate thanatourism within the framework of Orientalism. Yet, what happens when the dark tourist does not gaze on the other, but gazes on their own, dark, temporally close, heritage? Is this still thanatourism? Definitions of tourism usually place tourists as those who travel outside of their normal environment for work or leisure. However, when applied to an Oriental discourse of dark tourism, this creates potential difficulties. The tourist who travels outside her own environment, yet remains culturally, politically and temporally familiar with his/ her surroundings cannot be considered to be gazing on the 'other'. The example of the '*Madeline Tourists*' to Praia De Luz offer a contextualisation of this, where visitors from the north of Portugal and reputedly from England (Watts, 2008) visited the locations associated with the disappearance of Madeline McCann. While certainly these people are stepping outside their 'locality' and acting as tourists in every sense of the word, it is difficult to consider this as a gaze on an 'other'. If anything it is a reflection of the middle class, mass tourist who seeks an annual sun-holiday. Do these tourists experience an 'it could have been me' situation? Is this what they seek? What is their resulting relationship with the place of the kidnapping?

Further discussion at this stage could be enriched by suggesting that the 'other' in question for much of this thesis is the 'other' proposed by Harrison; an other we carry within ourselves but one which has become historically alien in most Western societies. This notion complements the theories that death has been medicalised out of society in recent years – but crucially, in the same way Charlesworth (2003) writes that Europe has many gateways to darkness, do we

as humans also have within ourselves many gateways to the dark? Does ‘darkness always finds its way to consciousness’? (Charlesworth, 2003: 508).

Seaton critiques the notion of ‘othering’ by positioning tourism as a viable framework with which to understand the concept. He claims the concept in its current form is narrow and worthy of further exploration to broaden its horizons. He offers the idea that it should be a more universal concern in the literature, encompassing the theme of ‘like meets unlike’, Seaton (2009:77) and that tourism provides an excellent framework for such research. He continues by noting that early travel books were not called tourist guidebooks but ‘*strangers’ guides*’ and the language used within them firmly positioned the visitor as ‘the other’. This trend continued beyond the 19th century until the rise of mass tourism, where the now called ‘tourists’ became agents of power, rather than the new face in town which had to be taken care of. This, writes Seaton, created a hegemonic gaze for the tourist and he questions whether the term ‘stranger’ could address the balance if reintroduced into popular academic tourism terminology. The implication is of course that the power relation between visitor and host needs to be redressed, which allows for a positioning of the tourist as the ‘other’ to the host community.

This concept of ‘otherness’ is a finding which was not sought in the semi-structured interviews with the guides, yet defiantly emerged nonetheless. The terminology used by the guides to position the visitors or strangers to their town as the ‘other’ became particularly clear throughout the tours and interviews. Zrinka Sesto in Vukovar noted the American tourists she guides, saying that ‘*They don’t know that this was in 1991*’. Zijad privileged his local knowledge over that held by the foreign journalists to the town:

Sniper Alley is something what foreign journalists described as a sniper alley. But for me ‘Sniper Alley’ is that main street there next to the river. But foreign journalists because they used to be in the building of TV, they feel that it is targeted sometimes. But comparing some journalists who have been here 7 days and us here 4 years. Ok foreign journalists are right but not so as we know, from our own experiences.

Zijad Jusufovic, Tour Guide, Sarajevo

While the purpose of this section is not to position Orientalism as the primary motivating factor, it is proposed that enough evidence is presented here to merit further work which could potentially explore tourists' motivations within the framework of past research on the 'other'. Seaton's work is particularly useful in that it offers an alternative position to the hegemonic notions which have become prevalent in the work of modern tourism theory authors. The power dynamic presented by the guides above with their privileged knowledge certainly highlights the potential for such a study. Utilising the concept of the 'other' in the context of thanatourism would provide a useful framework for exploring a multitude of phenomena, including tourist motivations, staged authenticity, dissonant heritage and commodification. Such work could make use of Seaton's idea that the 'other' has only been defined by illustration and should not solely include cultural imports. He uses the example of Romanticism to illustrate the rise of subjective difference among middle classes, a process of idealising self expressive individualism. Thus, the 'other' became visible in the life of the bourgeois who desired ideological themes such as rural life, different places, cultures and the past. In essence, the 'other' becomes a quest for difference, whether it is represented in 19th century middle classes seeking new shores or a modern drug sub-culture which attempts to escape mundane reality. In terms of this research, the author argues that the 'other' is not necessarily an individual, or indeed a cultural way of life, but rather the conflict itself. The gaze on this is then present in tourism to the site and the associations created by the media between space and war. As Seaton writes, conscious and unconscious stimulus impacts on tourists' perceptions of what they will experience on their travels.

Tourism has been seen as the pursuit by westerners of the Other, a motivation for temporary encounters with other cultures stimulated, consciously or unconsciously, by attributing to them extremes of imagined difference from their own.

Seaton (2009:77)

Post Modernism

Earlier literature review work considered thanatourism under the umbrella of post-modernism. While there are certainly elements of post-modernism reflected in the consumption of death, a historical consideration of thanatourism renders

this placement a little problematic. Tourists have always consumed dark places, without media influence, consideration of failed institutions and other aspects used by Lennon and Foley (2000) to understand dark tourism. Nonetheless, the theme must be considered as there are several elements which could lend assistance to the development of a theoretical framework. Two particular themes are considered here, one is the role of the media, the second is the questioning of modernity. Data related to both was deconstructed in the blogs and is presented below.

The first consideration discussed in the literature review was that tourists use these spaces to question the failures of modernity, citing the role of international institutions. The United Nations was mentioned many times in the blogs. Bloggers appeared to question why the UN did not act quickly or efficiently enough during the conflict. Several of these quotes are illustrated below.

There was a young Sarajevan who ran our hostel and who also gave a fairly famous war tour every day. We decided to take the tour which had been described as somewhat controversial due to his contempt for the United Nations, NATO, et al.

Andrew, Blog 96, May 2006

Another thing I learned is that the Bosnians have a lot of dislike for the United Nations. They feel like the UN let them down during the war. It was not until the tragedy at Srebrenica when the Serbs executed a huge number of Muslims that the UN allowed any type of intervention. They feared something similar could happen in Sarajevo. Also when someone was able to escape the siege the UN would send them back into the city. 11000 people died in Sarajevo.

Chuck, Blog 196, May 2006

As previously stated, motivations are difficult to define. The life and knowledge of each visitor to a particular location have to be deconstructed to understand their motivations. The unique experiences of each individual will impact strongly on how they decode the landscape and imagery which it is defined by. To supplement the data from the blogs, tour operators were questioned to ascertain their opinions on visitor motivations. While they spoke about these motivations, this often crossed over into the tourist experience, where guides

spoke of clients' relationships with the sites on tour. Broadly, they believe their clients have a variety of motivations for taking part in war tours. Some clients have no particular motivation, other than the tour is simply an activity they 'stumbled' across. Others have very specific motivations to learn about the war, as detailed by the quotes below. In particular, Dubrovnik Walking Tours responded to repeated questions from their clients about the war by starting their *Story About The War* tour.

People from all over Europe and especially from USA and Australia have heard about Dubrovnik and Croatia mostly in the context of war. When they come here and see there are no signs of war, they are surprised. I thought it might be good to try to explain them that the war is over, what was the war about, how was it, etc. and it turned up to be a good idea. I have asked the guides what are the most common questions people ask on our tours and they all told me people ask about the war. And so we implemented a Story About the War tour.

Maro Carevic, Dubrovnik Walking Tours Manager

These tourists visit Dubrovnik for other reasons however, implying that the *Story About the War* tour is not the prime motivation to visit the Adriatic Coast but more likely occurs as an activity during their visit.

I am sure they come only because the city is beautiful. They were coming before the war in the same or even bigger numbers.

Maro Carevic, Dubrovnik Walking Tours Manager

In Vukovar however, the prime motivation of tourists is to learn about the war.

They are interested about the homeland war. Everybody knows about the Former Yugoslavia and the tourists are usually on pensions, they are older tourists yeah? So they know everything about Yugoslavia, about Tito, and so on. So I think it's very interesting for them why we lived for 50 years in peace and then all of a sudden, war. With so many casualties and victims.

Zrinka Sesto, Vukovar Danubium Tours Manager

The points raised above are further developed by the proprietor of Haris Hostel, Haris Pamuk, who believes the war is the primary selling point for Sarajevo. He also believes that in future tourist motivations to visit Bosnia-Herzegovina will change.

Most of them come because of the war. Only a small number come because of the beauty of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Because only a small number of them know what we have. I hope the next tourists come here because they are interested in the history of Bosnia-Herzegovina. They want to know about it and they want to learn it. So that they can try not to make any similar mistake in the future. You know the war is not good. It is between politicians. It is not between people. People always lose and politicians always get what they want.

Haris Pamuk, Proprietor of Haris Hostel

Other motivations for visiting Sarajevo are discussed by Zijad Jusufovic, who notes that there are many reasons to visit Sarajevo and learning about the war can be a by-product of a commercial, educational or journalistic trip.

[It is a]...chance to come again, to invest, to recommend to their friends, to connect with Bosnian people in tourism. Different people different reasons. Some of them study, like you. Some of them are journalists. Some need chances to invest, to connect. Some of them were sent by companies to see chances.

Zijad Jusufovic, Tour Guide, Sarajevo

You cannot avoid that we had the Olympic Games, it was the best organised Olympic Games at that time. The first question from the majority of tourists is the War Tunnel, the second one or the third one is Olympic Mountains, or Franz Ferdinand.

Sanela Smajlovic, Tourism Association of the Federation of BiH

Visitors to the Srebrenica Memorial Centre have a variety of motivations according to Tarik and Hasan. These people include:

...some journalists, students and people who want to learn about what happened here. People who come from abroad are mostly students, journalists, tourists. Sometimes we have individuals who are very interested in Srebrenica because of the tragedy and they want to see with their own eyes, this place.

Hasan Hasanovic, Srebrenica Memorial Centre

People heard about the massacre and they want to see the memorial. They want to feel the atmosphere here and to see that place. Some of those people were professors, some history people who have a lot of interest about the history come here. It's not such a big number of young people. Most of the cases are older people. Some journalists and also some people who have prepared activities in Srebrenica, some foreign organisations who wanted to help and they went there to see the situation and to meet some people and to see what they could do.

Tarik, Sarajevo Discovery



Image 6.4: Potočari Dutchbat Base,
Potočari, Srebrenica, May 2010

From the blogs, tourists exhibited many different motivations for visiting Sarajevo. Qualitative work on the travel blogs illustrate a strong discourse that there is a desire among tourists to consume the war. Many bloggers also mentioned an ‘*East meets West*’ notion as having an influence on their decision to visit Sarajevo.

When you think of Sarajevo, the first thing that comes to mind is the war. It wasn't that many years ago that this city was under siege. Reminders are still visible - the UN peacekeeping force, the burn-out skeleton of the former parliament building still standing, the scars on the pavement. But Sarajevo seemed to me like a city that was rebuilding and moving on, not dwelling on the past.

Nick, Blog 53, 2005

Sarajevo is a city that I've been wanting to see. It wasn't a disappointment...my favourite city so far. It's a diverse city with eastern and western influences and makes me wish I had time to go further east. And the people are very friendly...the bus and tram drivers went out of their way to help me. Most of what I checked out was related to the recent war with Serbia, which was still very evident with bullet holes in the walls, damaged buildings, and Sarajevo roses (red pavement where a shell exploded). The war tunnel museum was probably the most interesting thing I saw.

Tim, Blog 56, 2005

Other tourists to the city were unsure of what to expect, while others again had no particular reason other than the practicalities of travelling for visiting.

We arrived in Sarajevo after a day train journey from Budapest not really knowing what to expect. I think most of us can remember the pictures from the war and the siege of Sarajevo I was expecting the possibility of a very depressing visit although Lee assured me he had read great things about the city!

Lee & Clare, Blog 30, 2007

Sarajevo was not in our original itinerary, but Bosnia was included in our railcard so we decided that the 12hour train journey to the capital city would be worth it- it really was!

Claire, Michelle, Ciara, Blog 34, 2007

Guides were also questioned to uncover if they had any beliefs about whether or not film and media images may have influenced their clients to visit their city.

Guides pointed to both war and non-war related influences.

I think news and film play some kind of an influence on tourists coming here. We talk a lot about the war and people are interested about that. I think in the past few years we have had 2 or 3 English movies about Vukovar. These are fictional and documentaries.

Zrinka Sesto, Vukovar Danubium Tours Manager

I am sure some people have come here because of films. Not many people but there are many interesting films. Many people saw Welcome to Sarajevo and No Man's Land, something like that.

Tarik, Sarajevo Discovery

I think some people will have seen this A Cry From the Grave Documentary. But they would come without this. We have a similar documentary here. I suppose some would see this film and then want to see the place without it. Books too will bring people.

Hasan Hasanovic, Srebrenica Memorial Centre

This observation on film was not backed up by the blogs, which made little mention of films relating to the conflict or indeed the locations in general. While this does not discount the possibility of film acting as an influence on travel, only the following blogs made reference to film relating to the conflict. The first comments in relation to the links between film and place do more to combat the possible relationship than reinforce it. The author of this blog discusses the

Sarajevo Film Festival, noting that for him, the subject of the war does not carry the same resonance as it does for a local, due in part to the production standard. The film festival itself appears to be somewhat of an attraction to bloggers and was mentioned by eight as an activity pursued in the city.

I have seen several Bosnian films. Either animation, film or documentary. Most of them have a subject that links to the war. Some of them were documentary films about Srebrenica. For these the cinemas were packed. Men, women, families, children. People were even sitting on the floor and stairs to see them. To be honest, they were quite bad film wise. The subject was interesting, but the result just badly put together. This did not matter. Every Bosnian in the cinema was either in tears, shaking the head or covering the eyes. After each film, and after an applause of like five minutes, some reps from the festival would come on stage. Quote: "We know there are international distributors in this cinema tonight and we really hope that this film will be picked up and distributed around the world. People need to see this. Please, it is important."

Travel_chris, Blog 116, August 2008



*Image 6.5: Inside the Potočari memorial site
Potočari, Srebrenica, May 2010*

The final site in this section worth of particular attention is the Tunnel Museum in Sarajevo. As noted in previous chapters, the Tunnel Museum is a popular tourist sites in Sarajevo. The museum is also one of the sites most associated with the conflict by travel bloggers. The findings from the SPSS analysis of the travel blogs (n: 237) further backed up findings from the interviews, indicating

that of those who blogged about Sarajevo in general, a large proportion visited the site.

But tourists visit it [the Tunnel Museum]. It's the first attraction. And the major one, The Sarajevo Tunnel Museum. It's privately owned, the family which owned the house during the war. They are the ones who manage the museum.

Leila Brckalija, Tourism Association of Bosnia-Herzegovina

Figure 6.7: Did the blogger visit the tunnel museum?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative %
Valid	Yes	89	37.6	37.6	37.6
	No	148	62.4	62.4	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

The potential of the tunnel museum has been officially acknowledged and although it is in private hands, there have been statements which highlight the desire for it to be publicly owned. In February 2008, Semiha Borovac, the mayor of Sarajevo, spoke to Condé Nast Traveller (Hammer 2008) about attempting to purchase the Tunnel Museum from the Kolar family who own the house and land where it is located. Despite their attempts, however, the tunnel is still in private hands, for now. *'It could be like Anne Frank's apartment,'* the mayor of Sarajevo told the reporter, *'but this one family is preventing it from happening.'* In August 2008, the tunnel was again in the news (Tanner 2008), this time as the major political parties in Sarajevo had agreed to rebuild it. Damir Hadzic, mayor of the Novi Grad district of Sarajevo, said, *'We have political agreement from all parties. We are going to start rebuilding next year.'* The same article later quotes Hajrudin Ibrahimovic, the Sarajevo region's minister for war veterans' affairs, who also wishes to restore some of the original tunnel. *'The tunnel needs to be reactivated. It could be a joint venture with a foreign firm.'* (Tanner 2008). Certainly the potential for the tunnel is recognised by the state, with at least some form of acknowledgement of the desire people have/ could have to visit it.



Image 6.6: Tourists at the Tunnel Museum,
Butmir, Sarajevo, May 2010

6.5 Unusual requests & shades of dark tourism

Switching direction, the theme of unusual requests was pursued to contextualise thanatourism within a broader sociology of death. Guides were questioned whether or not they ever had clients who made unusual requests. The decision to question guides on unusual requests arose from an interview (Kampschror, 2001) with Zijad Jusufovic where he mentioned a very dark shade of thanatourism:

A foreigner wanted that I make a photo wearing a Chetnik suit, and I have done it. The next one is in Srebrenica, I asked some Serbs in Srebrenica in the stadium [one of the places where Muslims were executed], I saw pieces of clothes in the corner. I asked them, "Why you killed 7000 people?" If you ask that question in Srebrenica, you can either die or you can have many troubles. They answered, "They deserved to die." I said, "Children and women too?" They said, "All of them are ugly, stupid Muslims and this place belonged to Serbs." OK, this is democracy. You can say what you want. But where is the soul? But again, I don't hate anybody. During the war I died ten times and I survived.

Zijad Jusufovic, Tour Guide, Sarajevo (Kampschror, 2001)

This question on unusual requests attempted to unveil whether or not their tours catered for the ‘darker’ type of tourist. Considering Stone’s ‘dark tourism spectrum’ (2006), Dunkley’s ‘umbrella of thanatourism’ (2007) and Seaton’s ‘continuum of intensity’ (1996), it was worthwhile to consider the shades of dark tourism pursued by visitors to ex-Yugoslavia. An examination of this would allow for a fuller understanding of what visitors wish to consume in relation to modern war and where they can be placed on such a scale. Initially, Haris Pamuk noted that the questions he faces are as a result of poor knowledge of the conflict;

Is it safe here? Do you have a lot of landmines here in this street?

Haris Pamuk, Proprietor of Haris Hostel

Dubrovnik Walking Tours and Danubium Tours, Vukovar also note this issue saying that:

People who come from the US and Australia usually don't know much about history of this part of Europe and this is why they sometimes ask unusual questions’.

Maro Carevic, Dubrovnik Walking Tours Manager

Is it still Yugoslavia?’, for example. They don’t know that this was in 1991. But they always want to know now how we are with the Serbs.

Zrinka Sesto, Vukovar Danubium Tours Manager

However, Zijad Jusufovic in Sarajevo quickly outlined some of the much more unusual requests he has received. He used four examples which illustrated both the lighter and darker sides of the questions he faces.

Like, killer of Franz Ferdinand.....made a footprints in the road: she was heavy?

But really some unusual stuff, like let’s go together to Radovan Karadzic house beyond in Pale, or where is he? Can I make interview with him? People sometimes think that I can do everything. I’m sorry, I can do just nothing because I’d prefer to have \$5million, actually €4million now, for information where is Karadzic.

But for me there are no more actually surprises, because I used to be asked good and bad questions, nice and crazy questions...and I used to guide people who only need photos of the flowers. Whole day he is making photos of the flowers. That is a very strange request.

Sometimes it's a request for our social institutions or our political institutions. They would like for example to talk with soldiers, with generals, it's absolutely no problem. For example, Austrian TV asked me to make interview with Mujahadeens, I said ok. They were well surprised. Is it possible, really? Yes no problem, ok. Arabs who decided to stay here after the war. 120 of them still exist here and they are from Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, Pakistan.

Zijad Jusufovic, Tour Guide, Sarajevo



Image 6.7 - Zijad Jusufovic at the house of Radovan Karadzic.

This image is clipped from a DVD 'The Life of Radovan Karadzic' in which Zijad features as a tour guide. Participants in his Mission Impossible Tour receive a complimentary copy.

These examples offered by Zijad come close to the darkest and lightest forms of tourism. Sharpley (2009:20) writes that there are four shades of dark tourism: pale tourism, grey tourism demand, grey tourism supply and black tourism. These shades are defined as a) those tourists with a minimal interest in death visiting sites unintended to be tourist attraction, b) tourists motivated by a desire to encounter death at unintended dark tourism sites, c) sites intentionally exploiting death and attracting visitors who have a minor interest in death and d) black tourism, the purest form where a desire to encounter death is met by the purposeful supply of places to satisfy these experiences. There have been various models and proposals presented in the literature and throughout this thesis which are used to construct frameworks of understanding for dark tourism research. The author believes that this designation of dark tourism as having shades is the appropriate model with which to consider some of the more unusual requests faced by the guides in the locations studied in this thesis. The comments by Zijad Jusufovic illustrate that much of dark tourism can be understood as a demand driven phenomenon. Despite his 'supply' of dark

tourism sites he has taken visitors on tour who have little interest in contemplating death, evidenced by the comments about the flower photographer. Other evidence is abundant in the blogs which posit tourists with little or no strong motivation to learn about the conflict taking part in war tours. However, Zijad's meeting with the Mujahadeens, visiting the house of Radovan Karadzic and wearing Chetnik uniforms illustrate in effect very dark, pure forms of thanatourism, where a demand or fascination to consume has been matched by a supply of sites to contemplate death. Essentially, such acts, are only one step away from watching death itself. This ties in with Stone's work (2006) which gives location authenticity, lower tourism infrastructure, closeness in time and history centric attributes to the darkest sites of death and suffering.

6.6 Representation

The final consideration for this chapter involves further positioning of travel blogs as a worthwhile resource in dark tourism research. Relationship between tourist and tourist space does not completely end on their departure. Knowledge and experiences acquired at the site may stay with the visitor for many years to come. Dark tourism spaces should be no different. The spaces co-inhabited by the living and the dead may impact more significantly on a tourist than a regular mass tourist holiday. Therefore a valid question lies in what do people do with the knowledge they come away with.

The sites of Sarajevo are generally otherwise unremarkable aside from the war. Yet they feature heavily in travel blogs. Gold and Gold (2003), write that the battlefield is a very ordinary sight. Specifically discussing the topography of flat-ground battlefields, they state the battlefield rarely merits a second glance. The qualities of these sites, when described to a visitor, are wholly unpromising, regaling of places cleared of war debris and unremarkable other than hosting picturesque scenery. Yet, many of these battlefields are heavily visited tourist sites. Ypres, Normandy, Gettysburg, Pearl Harbour and Stirling are all familiar names in dark tourism literature. Yet, apart from the memorialisation at these sites, why do tourists wish to visit and then represent such otherwise undifferentiated terrain? Unremarkable ports, fields and beaches generally do not attract mass tourism. Beeton (2005), presents film as a key influence, Gold

and Gold (2003), attribute it to selective representation, while O'Bannon (c2005) posits respect for the dead as the key motivator. In the context of the sites associated with the disintegration of Yugoslavia, a number of key questions emerge. Like the work undertaken by Gold and Gold (2003), this research considers many sites which are otherwise unremarkable; a bread market, an old battery factory, the hills surrounding a town, a water tower and a hospital. Although damage of the war is still visible at these sites and the process of memorialisation has begun, they act as examples of largely undifferentiated terrain. The tourist will likely need extra material to interpret and understand their surroundings, whether this be from prior knowledge, maps or a tour guide. These sites, write Gold and Gold, become sacred space, places which are '*sanctified by the blood of those who died for a just cause*' (2003:113). Such sites, which were unsentimental locations prior to conflict, must then deal with being locations which provide a recognisable focus to the conflict for tourists. The example of the damaged buildings arose frequently throughout the blogs.

As well as the part demolished buildings; seemingly every block of flats is covered in bullet holes and shrapnel damage. It would only take a bit of plaster and paint to erase much of the damage. Erasing the damage doesn't have to mean forgetting what happened. In towns not too far from here in Bosnia, Croatia or Kosovo, the population have done remarkably well at redecorating, redeveloping and reconstructing their lives. I think there can be a difference between never forgetting and being constantly reminded.

David, Blog 26, August 2008

Such an 'unremarkable' site as a block of flats are observed by bloggers throughout Sarajevo. Many are then represented in textual and photographic discourse like the comment from David above. Exploring these representations offers an avenue to understand the processes involved in deciding to participate in a war tour. Bearing this in mind, two key pieces of data were gathered to examine how travellers represented the siege in Sarajevo through their online blogging. The first piece of information presents in a quantitative style the percentage of bloggers who discussed the conflict at some point during their blog. This discussion could be in relation to visiting war sites, mentioning specific events from the war (such as the Markale shelling), visiting the tunnel museum, commenting on the Sarajevo Roses, mentioning conversation with the

locals about the conflict or commenting on the overall damage to Sarajevo. Results indicated that a majority of bloggers (65.4%) discussed the war.

Figure 6.7: Did the blog discuss the war?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative %
Valid	Yes	155	65.4	65.4	65.4
	No	82	34.6	34.6	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

Data was also gathered on whether or not the blogger posted photographs depicting the damage done by the conflict. Results indicated that a majority of bloggers (52.3%) posted images associated with the war. These included photographs of cemeteries, Markale Market, the Tunnel Museum, damage buildings with bullets and shell marks and the Sarajevo Roses.

Figure 6.8: Did the blogger post images of the war?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative %
Valid	Yes	124	52.3	52.3	52.3
	No	113	47.7	47.7	100.0
	Total	237	100.0	100.0	

The statistics on bloggers posting images of the war can be cross tabulated against the number who visited sites associated with the war. Findings illustrated that 72.79% of bloggers who visited war sites posted images of the sites they visited or other images of the damage of war. While it is difficult to isolate the war as a reason for posting certain images, the results certainly suggest a strong correlation between the two. For example, the images of the damaged buildings, bullet holes and shell scars are posted and referred to in war discussions by many of the bloggers, yet others have no description or link between the text and the posted images. These bloggers may simply have been interested in the spaces around them, the architecture or just ruined buildings. Despite this there is strong evidence to suggest that those who visit war sites in Sarajevo represent their travel by posting photographs on travel blog websites.

Figure 6.9: Did the blogger mention visiting a war site? *
Did the blogger post images of the war? Crosstabulation

		Did the blogger post images of the war?		
		Yes	No	Total
Did the blogger mention visiting a war site?	Yes	99	37	136
	No	25	76	101
Total		124	113	237

The finding on the cross tabulation of visiting war sites and posting images related to the war can be further qualified by a cross tabulation of whether bloggers discussed the war in their blog with whether or not they posted images related to the conflict. Again the results illustrate that there is a strong correlation between the two as 64.5% of those who discussed the war also posted related images.

Figure 6.10: Did the blogger discuss the war? *
Did the blogger post images of the war? Crosstabulation

		Did the blogger post images of the war?		
		Yes	No	Total
Did the blogger discuss the war?	Yes	100	55	155
	No	24	58	82
Total		124	113	237

To further deconstruct the blogs into a meaningful argument on dark tourism motivations, the work of Dydia DeLyser will be considered. This will allow for a further understanding of the connections between motivations to visit and representations of dark tourism. DeLyser (2003) discusses the lack of work which critically analyses how people connect themselves to important narratives. This is often achieved by the person positioning themselves against the disaster, by describing where they were or what they were doing at the time of the event. DeLyser references Sturken (1997), who offers the example of the space shuttle *Challenger*. The *Challenger* offers avenues of exploration of the connections between disaster and personal positioning and reflection. People seek to connect themselves to the events to which they most likely have no direct relation. This is generally done by recounting where they were, what they

were doing and how they heard. Representations in travel blogs act in a similar way. There is clear evidence of a number of bloggers attempting to connect themselves in some way to the events of the early 1990s in ex-Yugoslavia. The following five short extracts from a selection of the blogs illustrate attempts at connection to the conflict. Although selectively chosen for their clear representation of the theme of personal connection to tragedy they are representative of the overall flavour of dozens of the blogs.

Why are you going THERE? Seems to be the standard response when we mention we are going to Bosnia. Agreed, the only time Bosnia-Herzegovina ever rated a mention in Australia was on SBS World News when it was having the crap blasted out of it, although Mary Kostakidis does have a way of pronouncing Sarajevo that makes it sound awfully exotic.

Penny & Gary, Blog 28, May 2007

Between the ages of 14-17 I was finishing the last years of my schooling, starting my first job, played squash and tennis in my free time, met up with mates and doing the usual stuff most of us did during the years of 1992 to 1995. During this time, the news reported on a country called Bosnia, and specifically a city called Sarajevo. Now we were far away from this place and ok I was old enough to remember but not quite old enough to know the extent of what really took place.

Rohan, Blog 31, May 2007

...take in a city that endured 4 years of siege during the recent war and see how it was now. We remember seeing TV news items of the city during the war and can also recall the young girl who wrote about her experiences in 'Letters from Sarajevo'.

Whiskers, Blog 3, September 2009

But they had, the first one in February 1994 when a Serb bomb exploded in the centre of the market killing 68 people and wounding 144 more. Footage of the massacre made it into news reports around the world. I remember watching them.

Jason, Blog 42, August 2007

The next morning we took another tour this one focusing on the war, we went up to a great vantage spot that gave spectacular views over the city and our guide pointed out the front line around the city. Again I recognised many vistas from the news back in the 90's, especially the twin office towers.

Kyle, Blog 211, May 2009

Further textual deconstruction of the blogs finds that the war is a frequently discussed topic throughout. The table below illustrates the word count frequency

taken from the 237 blogs. The left hand side of the table illustrate the frequent discussion of the conflict made by the bloggers, while the activities on the right hand side illustrate the other most common pursuits undertaken by tourists to Sarajevo who blogged about their experiences. The table clearly illustrates that the war is a frequently discussed theme.

<i>Figure 6.11: Travel blog word counts</i>			
War Related Themes		Other Activities	
War	489	Walking	322
Siege	136	Food	142
Bullet	99	Coffee	104
Sniper	67	Mosque	97
Damage	37	Restaurant, café or diner	80
Shell	30	Franz Ferdinand	62
Sarajevo Roses	23	Olympic(s)	54
Destruction	14	Pub or bar	41
Srebrenica (<i>in context</i>)	12	Beer	36
Ethnic cleansing	9	Film Festival	15
Missiles	4	Shopping	12

The reasons for blogging are discussed by Pan et al (2007) who state that users will blog for various reasons; including to document their experiences; to act as a commentary; as catharsis and outlet for their feelings; and as a thinking tool. *‘These are all intrinsic motivations indicating the genuineness of travel blogs as visitors’ experiences which are similar to travel journals’* (2007:8). This acknowledgement of blogs as a tool with which to represent ones feelings compliments DeLyser’s observations on tragedy, personal positioning and reflection. By writing about their experiences in post-conflict areas in ex-Yugoslavia, bloggers are able to link themselves to the dramatic narratives of the turbulent times in the early 1990s. The region, as presented in blogs, is clearly identified with the conflict, with frequent mentions to the war, siege and resulting damage. DeLyser explores this ‘connection’ theme in the context of the American ‘ghost’ town, writing that even though the town is distant in time to the visitor, it is familiar to most through exposure to film and images of America’s mythic west. Despite no connections in time to the town, the tourists’

gaze is honed in to the ghost town through recognisable images. These images are utilised by the management at Bodie (the tourist ghost town in her study) in the creation of tourist maps. Similarly, tourists to Bosnia-Herzegovina have little connection to the events of 1995. Unlike the Bodie example, tourists to Bosnia-Herzegovina often **do** have connections in time, yet lack the critically important spatial connection. As noted above, several mention the ‘*east meets west*’ notion. Like Bodie, visitors are familiar with the tragedy through media imagery. This moves the events closer in space to the tourists (or closer in time in Bodie’s situation), thus becoming more meaningful as a ‘holiday’ destination. Comments like the one from the blogger below illustrate the close connection in time felt by several of the bloggers to the conflict.



Image 6.8: Ovčara,
Vukovar, April 2009

Sarajevo changes your mind set. Something extraordinary happened here, and in this Bosnian war, and it seems, for some reason, to strike with so much more gravity due to the recentness of it - what was my primary concern in 1995?

Marktjhung, Blog 28, March 2006

Our next stop after that was up into the Serbian held hills around the city. We stopped at the spot that in 1984 was the Winter Olympic Luge course. It boggles my mind that how only 10 years before the world had their eyes on Sarajevo for a completely different reason. It must have been a joyful and wonderful time for the city.

Ed, Blog 21, September 2007

6.7 Conclusion

They have twelve small pillars, in St Peter's, which came from Solomon's Temple. They have, also – which was far more interesting to me – a piece of the true cross, and some nails and a part of the crown of thorns.

Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad* (1869:175)

The theme of fluidity is a recurrent phenomenon throughout the past two chapters. As places change, so too do people. With regards to people their motivations evolve through time. As stated earlier, the visitor who could have taken part in the Italian travel agent, Massimo Beyerle's (Fedarko, 1993) tours to Dubrovnik in 1993 is probably a very different visitor to the Sarajevan backpacker of 2010. These tourists were exposed to very different geo-political environments. On a practical level it is likely money is a significant motivating factor, some of Beyerle's 1993 trips (albeit to the Lebanon) cost a staggering \$25,000 per person. This fluidity creates a difficulty in exploring the existence of a dark tourism location; like much geographical research there is a certain snapshot like nature to the picture painted. Only the sea would offer a landscape which retains much of the same ecological qualities and even it is subject to varying influences on how we perceive it.

To conclude, the points raised in this chapter will be further explored in the broader literature in the final chapter. The debate on Orientalism offers further opportunity to construct a more rigorous framework for investigating deathscapes. If a visitor's motivation is simply to be entertained the notion of the 'other' appears to fit quite well – the sufferer (or suffering location) becomes a commodified object, even a spectacle. A broader psychological consideration into motivations, like that undertaken by Tarlow (2005), shows that the dark tourist experiences four basic emotions: insecurity, gratitude, humility and superiority. Can these emotions translate into motivation to visit a dark tourism site? Or are they a result of a visit. The superiority notion certainly fits in with Seaton's historical account of the middle class traveller who left their home environment to gaze on another. The insecurity emotion could be considered a result of questioning the institutions of modernity – the earlier chapters which discussed questioning the sinking of the Titanic, the role of the UN in Bosnia

and other examples illustrate this point. Humility can be posited within the broader debates on secularisation; as the influence of religious institutions dwindle, new moral spaces are sought. The notion of collective effervescence appears to be evident at dark tourism sites; the earlier cited example of the notes left at the World Trade Centre (Stone, 2009) illustrates the collective energy experienced by visitors. Similar examples exist at the sites in ex-Yugoslavia, including the visitor book in the Tunnel Museum at Potočari and at Ovčara.

Chapter Seven

Outlook

7.1 Introduction

If I had a chance to visit another planet, I wouldn't want to go to Six Flags Over Mars or ride through the artificial ammonia like in a silicone-bottomed boat at Venusian Cypress Gardens. I'd want to see the planet's principal features – what makes it tick. Well, the planet I've got a chance to visit is Earth, and Earth's principal features are chaos and war. I think I'd be a fool to spend years here and never have a look.

O'Rourke (1988:XIV)

This thesis proposes that thanatourism is part of a wider gaze on death which permeates many aspects of our lives. We live the death of others, (and begin to possess the death of others), by consuming their fate at thanatourist sites. Harrison's work on *The Dominion of the Dead* offers strong arguments that we live in a world which is inherently created by the dead and full of their legacy. From language to architecture, religion to medicine, the dead repeatedly impose their presence on all aspects of our lives. Thanatourism is just one way with which we mediate this relationship. This chapter proposes a framework for examining how thanatourism sites move from scars to attractions; essentially interrogating how entrepreneurs commodify the site and why tourists are motivated to visit them.

The theoretical framework emerged from a variety of sources. While it appears almost clichéd to state that one's thesis is multi-disciplinary, the multitude of backgrounds drawn upon for this thesis makes this a valid positioning. The thesis does not rely on the work of one singular theorist; rather it attempts to draw upon the discourses explored by many scholars in relation to the nexus between travel, death and commodification. Thanatourism studies the relationships held between the living and the dead at sites of death and disaster and, as death is the one true anthropological constant, the thesis benefits from use of tangentially relevant theories. The backgrounds of the writers used to support the arguments made in relation to the increasing commodification of deathscapes is enormously varied, including a linguistic scholar (Harrison) tourism scholars (Sharpley, Stone), sociologists (Rojek and Urry). Many geographers have broached the subject of thanatourism (MacDowell, Strange, Kempa and Graham). Andrew Charlesworth's work has been particularly useful,

allowing for parallels to be drawn in the shaping of the tourist landscape at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Płaszów with the case study sites in this present thesis.

7.2 Contextualising thanatourism

The very definition of tourism involves stepping outside of our familiar surroundings. Although much has been written concerning the dedifferentiation of leisure and the blurring of recreational activities (Poria et al, 2003), the definition of tourism still retains strong escapism connotations. Leisure tourism activity generally involves stepping outside of our day to day lives and pursuing an encounter with different spaces, activities or people among others. If thanatourism is to be positioned as a tourism activity per se there are parallels which can be drawn in defining thanatourism and traditional tourism definitions. When we pursue contact with death we are transported to a world radically different to our own familiar lives. Death is the greatest cultural universality but also the greatest unknown. Spatial encounters with death, whether as a tourist encounter or not, illustrate the relationships we have with the unknown, personified as noted by Harrison (2003), through literature, language, architecture, institutions, practices and others. These contacts with death are essentially an encounter with our own mortality and it could be argued that the spaces which mediate these encounters, such as thanatourism sites, exemplify a portal into the unknown.

Four theoretical platforms support the framework for understanding thanatourism. The first of these post-modernity can be somewhat discredited but the notion has several merits, as considered in chapters two and five. If death was medicalised out of society in the modern period, has it now re-emerged for consumption in post-modernity? This is perhaps the most suitable method of justifying Lennon and Foley's argument that dark tourism is an intimation of post-modernity. Contemporary life shows an obsession with death, noted by theorists like Virilio (2006) in his work on the *Museum of Accidents*. The prevalence of death in the media in particular is noteworthy as it appears to combat the attempts made in the modern period to increase the physical distance between the living and the dead. Etlin (1984) writes that death was literally cleansed from society in the 17th century and he uses the example of urban

hygiene and Parisian cemeteries to illustrate this notion. Planners and architects decided that corpses, traditionally buried in the parish church, now needed to be moved to purpose built cemeteries. Death was a '*horrid spectacle*' (Etlin, 1984:17) which needed to be removed from sight. In France, the 1740s became a turning point for attitudes towards death and the cemetery, in turn of importance to the rest of the world who followed the practice of moving the dead outside the city and building rural cemeteries. Two factors influenced this increase in spatial distance. The first was that enlightened opinion believed the dead were dangerous to the living and the second was that the dead defiled the church. These arguments on hygiene and the dead being impure resulted in graveyards becoming distant from the city, transported to their final place of resting in a mortuary carriage. As Etlin notes, this was a major shift in practice.

While conservatives shuddered at the thought of such a rupture, reformers felt relieved that the dead and the living would have their own separate realms.

Etlin (1984:23)

While death may have been somewhat cleansed from society since Etlin's era of study, the travel blogs interrogated in Chapter 6 illustrate that there is a strong desire among disaffected youth to encounter the spaces of death from the Yugoslav contact. Many blog authors noted their fascination with the conflict and described the representations of method of death, scale of death, and time and place of death. The blogs provided the strongest evidence that some aspects of thanatourism can be considered post-modern, supporting Lennon and Foley's notion that dissatisfaction with the processes of modernity is a primary driver of consuming death.

Orientalism featured strongly in the discourses raised by the travel blogs on two levels. The classic western traveller gaze prevailed throughout many of the blogs with authors regularly professing western ideologies. Many also positioned themselves as adventurers into exotic terrain – writing about family and friends' discomfort at their travel destination choice. A desire for the Orient is also visible in many, as authors comment on strange practices and unfamiliar products. These notions fulfil many of the classic areas of the Orientalist's gaze

- but the real usefulness of the Orientalism theories only becomes apparent when applied to the practice of the living gazing on the dead. This gaze, as identified by Seaton (2009), could form a significant part of a thanatourism framework. Bloggers repeatedly discussed dying, the dead and even their own mortality in language which could be interpreted to constitute a gaze on death as the other. Behdad writes that the Oriental storyteller must show his mastery at imitating the other's speech – again a notion which was apparent in the blogs as the authors imagined how they would have acted when faced with death. Evidence illustrating the usefulness of Orientalism in exploring the gaze on death in ex-Yugoslavia does not derive solely from bloggers however; the guides provided much evidence supporting the notion. The FAMA guide in particular (*see Chapter 1, pp18*), although satirical in nature, mocked the western gaze on the siege in Sarajevo, detailing how bullets could be avoided, clean water could be gathered and local vegetation turned into nutritional food.

The third discourse used to contextualise thanatourism is secularisation. Stone suggests that the spaces inhabited by dark tourists facilitate their need to obtain spiritual fulfilment. Little evidence emerged to support this notion from the travel blogs, illustrating their limited ability to paint a full picture of the tourist experience. The lack of evidence from this particular study does in no way suggest that the notion should be dismissed however. Stone's theory suggests that dark tourism can be considered within a broader framework for emotion, morality and new moral spaces. Individuals, now isolated from religion, seek new spaces to gain meaning. Certainly many of the tourists who blogged about war tourism in Sarajevo may have sought such tours as a reaction to increasing distance between themselves and the church. Much of the conflict in Sarajevo and other areas of ex-Yugoslavia occurred in religious landscapes and religion itself may be a primary driver to visit the sites for pilgrimage reasons. This was noted by Zijad Jusufovic discussing the arrival of Muslim tourists from Iran and Turkey in particular. Stone acknowledges that these new moral spaces do not provide definitive communicative space for contemplation. The author agrees with this notion but suggests that while the spaces themselves do not necessarily allow space for communication of moral instructions, other tourist practices such as blogging may fulfil this gap. The process of blogging allows the tourist

to communicate what often appears to be highly personal descriptions of their contact with death – in this way the new moral space is the blog itself.

7.3 Theoretical contribution to thanatourism research

This thesis interrogates the move from scar to tourist attraction, outlining how guides and entrepreneurs negotiate difficult terrain to facilitate the arrival of cash paying tourists. The relationships these tourists hold with sites which mediate death are both special and unique. Critically, the existence of commodified death and the act of visitation to these sites represents a reaction to the 'McDisneyization' (Ritzer and Liska, 1997) of tourist sites. The act of consuming death at difficult to access locations, at high cost and containing an element of perceived or real danger is very much in opposition to tried and tested Disney techniques of branding, marketing and pricing. The predictability element is reduced at these sites and the outcome, or potential outcome of the trip is somewhat incalculable, regularly evidenced by the language used by the guides.

Because it's something new. It's different than to go in Venice or Rome. People travel to Spain fifty times and it's always similar. They have seen 1,000 museums but you have never seen war like this. Perfect life for somebody's boring life. Life without adventure. Life without adrenaline in your body. He is trying to see another life and ask 'Why Rwanda, why Iraq, why Palestine, why Bosnia?' Here they can meet the confusion. They are trying to balance between good and bad. We will never be satisfied. We must search. We must try to find proof that our life is OK now, to find new reasons for the safe and simple life they have.

Zijad Jusufovic, Mission Impossible Tour Guide,
Dark Tourism, (2007)

The use of the word entrepreneur is somewhat misleading above, implying that these business people possess certain sets of skills which lead them to identifying an opportunity and taking a risk by attempting to exploit it. The implication is that the guides possess entrepreneurial characteristics and exploited the local resource. If the conflict had not happened they would simply exploit a different resource, such as adventure tourism, cultural-heritage tourism or eco-tourism.

But for those who want to go even further, a British company currently offers tours to Afghanistan and Iraq. Travellers will have to arrange their own insurance. Or you can take a tour through the ruins of Beirut. Turn the launch key at a nuclear missile site in Arizona or celebrate our kids birthday at Colditz, a Nazi prison. You can visit a Malaysian prison, where guards will show you how to cane a dummy.

Dark Tourism, (2007)

Somewhat unusually, popular literature makes a solid contribution to the debates surrounding thanatourism. Unlike other forms of travelogue, several of the popular culture authors who have recently published books for general consumption appear critically aware of their positioning in the tourism field. The authors state quite clearly that they loathe sanitised packaged tours of the mass tourism industry and yearn for a better understanding of humanity through their travels. They have a taste for darker places. This taste however, for Joly (2010) in particular, does not stem from an obsession with blood and guts. Nor was there some kind of erotic pleasure for him in witnessing human suffering. He merely travelled to Pripyat, Iran, North Korea and others to attempt to understand how humanity can sustain itself, and indeed flourish, in the most extreme conditions. Joly's book is very appropriately timed, released at a time when dark tourism regularly receives press coverage. If one were to be cynical, Joly could equally be accused of cashing in on tragedy by writing about dark places. However, he does engage with this type of debate and quotes several of the major academic dark tourism authors throughout his text. Their input helps lend some credibility to the notion that Joly is aware of the sensitivities surrounding selling death. P.J. O'Rourke's 1998 book *Holidays in Hell* asks similar questions of the author's choice of holiday destination. O'Rourke notes that he does not find 'attractions' attractive and would much prefer to tackle more challenging tourist sites.

This thesis proposes a framework for exploring the commodification of a multi-site tragedy. To understand how the state, tourists and most importantly, entrepreneurs turn death and disaster into dollars is the key concern of this thesis. Below the framework is presented with discussion from the pertinent points raised in the literature review, methodology and analysis chapters. This framework can be used by academics, practitioners and those charged with the

interpretation and representation of thanatourism sites. Three key ingredients are featured: scale, media and horror. The thesis proposes that to move from scar to attraction at least one of the following three 'ingredients' are needed: 1) a strong and continued media focus, 2) a horrific event and 3) a large number of casualties, damage or otherwise disaffected population. If more than one of these ingredients are present the move from scar to attraction may (although not necessarily) be a quicker transition. The list continues with a further twelve points which outline the necessary points needed to interrogate the commodification of a particular site.

Observation 1 – The role of the media

Thesis finding: Evidence from Chapter 6 suggests that the media plays a significant role in the commodification of the conflict in ex-Yugoslavia. The siege in Sarajevo was regularly mentioned by bloggers who noted the news reports and their memories of watching the conflict on television screens a decade prior. Tour guides in Sarajevo repeatedly drew attention to the Holiday Inn, the home of the media during the conflict.

Wider significance: A framework which could be used to understand the commodification of death must feature an analysis of the role played by the media. Evidence from the literature and primary research illustrates that autonomous images, of which the media is one, play a role in moving a site from scar to attraction. Further research into sites associated with dark tourism should begin to quantify this relationship – a task which will prove challenging given the need to isolate the different autonomous media images from other factors which commodify a site.

Observation 2 – Scale of the conflict/ disaster/ tragedy/ dark event

Thesis finding: The scale of the conflict in Sarajevo and Srebrenica in particular seem to indicate a correlation between the number of dead and number of tourists. Although significant numbers died in other locations throughout Bosnia, Croatia and Kosovo, the major tourist focus appears to be on the Sarajevo war tours and the memorial at Potočari.

Wider significance: The commodification and consumption of celebrity death presents a strong argument that the primary driver of dark tourism (as an activity) is not related to scale. When scale is absent, media focus or the horror of the event would appear to act as drivers.

Observation 3 – ‘You are standing right where many were executed.’

Thesis finding: Elements of the commodification of war in ex-Yugoslavia illustrate the presence of ‘extreme dark tourism’. The request for the Serbian army uniform to Zijad Jusufovic exemplified this tourist type, i.e., ‘*those who take their dark seriously*’ (Pickard, 2007:126).

Wider significance: In the absence of scale, gore and horror may be sufficient drivers for the commodification of death at a particular site. The method of death may in itself be an attractive feature to the tourist – gory details of execution methods are present on most of the sites visited by the author – including Inveraray Jail, Srebrenica, Auschwitz, Sachsenhausen and Body Worlds. This comment is not intended to trivialise the various displays at these sites; it is merely to state that without details of the horrors which have taken place, a different tourist landscape would exist.

Observation 4 – ‘Meet the victims!’

Thesis finding: Evidence from ex-Yugoslavia illustrated the very deep and personal attachments to the conflict held by many of the guides. While the guides all illustrated various entrepreneurial attributes, it is difficult to assess if they would be otherwise involved in the tourism industry.

Wider significance: Although not a pre-requisite for a site to be commodified, it would be significantly more difficult for an ‘outsider’ to disseminate and present a comprehensible tourist experience for consumption. The guides in Sarajevo, Srebrenica and Vukovar all drew attention to their everyday lives during the conflict. Likewise at Auschwitz, the author encountered guides who focussed on their families’ lives during WW2. In Northern Ireland a similar situation exists – the recentness of the conflict makes it possible for guides to relate their experiences to tourists.

Observation 5 – ‘And over here we have a giant symbol of death. It’s preserved as a symbol of the town’s suffering.’

Thesis finding: Iconic images from the war exist throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. The most striking of these images is arguably the water tower in Vukovar in North-Eastern Croatia. Now a highly marketable image (in the war-tourism business), the tower has been preserved in its war damaged state and dominates the landscape in Vukovar. The tower has become synonymous with the conflict in much the way the ‘*Arbeit macht Frei*’ gate represents Auschwitz, the secret annex represents the Anne Frank Haus and Tiananmen Square represents communism. Sarajevo has its own tower in the tunnel museum and this iconic nature has not been lost on the various officials who wish for its public ownership.

Wider significance: Thanatourism researchers and practitioners must consider the visual nature of the commodified site. Is there an iconic image? What does it mean to people, both locals and tourists alike? How is the image presented in the media? The water tower in Vukovar represents in much the way the Empire State Building does New York or the Eiffel Tower does Paris.

Observation 6 – Oooh, I remember seeing this on T.V.

Thesis finding: Arguably the key finding in the tourist experience chapter is the need felt by tourists to position themselves against the conflict or disaster under study. Bloggers repeatedly discussed what *they* were doing during the conflict, how it affected *them* (or didn’t) and how *they* felt the need to ‘revisit’ the war, albeit this time being their first physical visit. This strong personalisation of the conflict was most evident from those who acknowledged they had little or no direct relation to the conflict.

Wider significance: Thanatourism researchers and practitioners must attempt to understand the fluid relationship between the individual and the site in question. The data constantly evolved throughout the research – most notably with the arrest of Radovan Karadzic and the launch of the PopArt Radovan tour during the second year of study. This fluidity may also influence people’s destination

choice and it is highly possible that Iraq, Sudan or Afghanistan become the war tour destination of choice in the coming decade.

Observation 7 – ‘How did this happen in the 1990s?!’

Thesis finding: As noted above, time plays a major factor in the commodification of the Yugoslav Wars. Guests regularly noted the short time frame between the conflict and their visit. Hosts also noted this short time period, with regular reference to the ‘better times’ seen just a few years before.

Wider significance: A thanatourism framework must consider the impact of time on the commodification of death. Watching history as it happens is not a new concept – Seaton’s paper on Waterloo identified the battlefield gaze consumed by aristocratic tourists. Lennon and Foley (2000) suggest that an intermittent period may occur before an event is interpreted for tourist consumption. While this is certainly true in many circumstances (Srebrenica is at an early stage of moving through such ‘scar to attraction’ phases), evidence from Dubrovnik (with Massimo Beyerle’s 1992 tourists) suggests that a shorter timeframe is even desirable for some. A longer distance in time may make it more acceptable to commodify death but it does not make it more attractive for the pure thanatourist.

Observation 8 – ‘I paid €150 to get to Srebrenica, but it’s worth it – you meet with the survivors sometimes’.

Thesis finding: Sarajevan war tours and others throughout the region varied enormously in cost. While Hasan’s guide around Potočari is entirely free and widely utilised, the top end tours run by Sarajevan companies, costing upwards of €150 per person, are also popular. It is difficult to assess the impact of cost on commodification and in the Yugoslav context the cost variable is only useful in illustrating that thanatourism appeals to different social groups.

Wider significance: Although Veblen’s conspicuous consumption notion has not been invoked throughout the thesis, it may be useful in contextualising the relationships held between tourists and deathscapes. Veblen’s thesis holds that people will spend money or resources to convey a higher social status to others.

Consuming death at high expense may be a highly personal journey for the tourist but the constant representation of war tours in publicly available travel blogs shows a desire to share thanatourism experiences with others. Sarajevo is a relatively high cost destination to visit in Eastern Europe – there are no budget flights at all to the city and it has only limited connections by air to only eight other European capitals (Rome, Istanbul, Belgrade, Budapest, Zagreb, Amsterdam, Vienna and Ljubljana). These flights are not run by budget airlines and are generally high cost. Despite this difficult to access feature, Sarajevo's guides have successfully attracted war tourists – albeit that many travel long distances by bus and train.

Observation 9 - Accessibility

Thesis finding: Evidence from the Yugoslav Wars suggests that both accessible sites and more difficult to access sites are both widely consumed by tourists. Inaccessibility does not appear to act as a deterrent to the commodification of sites. None of the war tour guides directly mentioned problems encountered by their guests in accessing their tours. War tours in Sarajevo are readily available, low cost and can be 'done' in a short time period. Srebrenica on the other hand is more difficult to access and has very limited infrastructure to host tourists. Despite this, commodification exists, albeit often based in Sarajevo.

Wider significance: It is difficult to assess the role played by location and accessibility role in the commodification of sites. Many thanatourism locations are easily accessible – with infrastructure created to facilitate their visitors. As noted by several authors, daytrips from the UK exist to Auschwitz. Conversely, high cost, difficult to plan trips to Iraq during the ongoing conflict have been reported. It is thus difficult to determine the influence of accessibility on thanatourism activities but evidence suggests that site specific attributes related to accessibility play a role in commodification.

Observation 10: Representations of dark tourism

Thesis finding: A key side avenue of this thesis explored the reasons for consuming dark tourism sites. The rationale for exploring this avenue arose from the conclusion that the commodification of sites may be influenced by

their representation in travel blogs. The conflict in Sarajevo plays a significant role in tourist blogs about the city as evidenced throughout Chapter 6. War tours formed the most discussed activity and images of the conflict were the most frequently posted photographs.

Wider relevance: This framework proposes that conspicuous consumption may play a role in the commodification of dark tourism sites. While not every dark tourist will blog about their experience, or represent it in another fashion, the blog evidence provides a sufficient base to suggest that relaying dark tourism experiences to others is an important part of the modern day dark tourist.

Observation 11 – Popular culture and the Schindler tourist

Thesis finding: Popular culture surrounding the conflict in Yugoslavia was mentioned infrequently throughout the travel blogs. Bloggers regularly used the phrase ‘*Welcome to Sarajevo*’ but it is debatable whether this was always a direct acknowledgement of the Michael Winterbottom 1997 film. An abundance of books and films have been published relating to the conflict, as noted in Chapter 5 but these appear to have limited influence compared to the influence held by popular culture at other sites.

Wider significance: Popular culture undoubtedly plays a role in the commodification of dark tourism sites. Charlesworth’s work on Spielberg’s *Schindler’s List* shows the influence popular culture can have on site commodification. Braveheart tourists in Scotland, The Rock and Alcatraz and the various films shot in Kilmainham Gaol lend further testament to the argument that autonomous images frequently act as a catalyst for landscape consumption.

Observation 12 – Person centric factors

Thesis finding: Person specific factors play a role in the commodification and consumption of sites in Sarajevo. Many of the tour guides offered highly personalised tours – namely from Zijad Jusufovic who prides himself on an ability to organise guided tours to normally inaccessible places and people. Such person centric tours included organising contact with the Mujahedeen for an Austrian television station. Similar tours were offered by Haris Pamuk, albeit

towards the lighter end of the dark tourism spectrum. Thanatourism ‘products’ in ex-Yugoslavia can thus be modified to suit the wishes of the client.

Wider significance: Understanding the motivations to visit dark tourism sites is a fundamental part of the thanatourism framework. Researchers must disentangle the relationships held between the tourist and the site in question. Different groups will consume the same site for different reasons – arguably most visible at Auschwitz-Birkenau which hosts ‘Schindler tourists’, school tours, neo-Nazis, military historians, day-trippers from Krakow and others. Without interrogating this relationship it is difficult to understand the commodification process.

Observation 13 – The unbearable lightness of being a dark tourist

Thesis finding: Many dark tourism sites lie side by side with lighter counterparts. One cannot always position darker sites as independent attractions. Could Sarajevo be to Srebrenica what Krakow is to Auschwitz? Many bloggers commented on their wider itineraries in Eastern Europe which included inter-railing, visiting beaches and islands.

Wider significance: The thesis proposes that a framework for researching thanatourism must consider the wider itineraries of the tourists at the site in question. For example, would a UK tourist travel to Auschwitz without the budget flights and cultural activities in Krakow? Is the Anne Frank Haus a significant enough driver to visit Amsterdam, independently of the Rijksmuseum, the Van Gogh Museum, the canals, cafes and architecture? This Jekyll and Hyde situation may indeed exist at many thanatourism sites and thus researchers must be aware of the wider tourist landscape surrounding the site in question.

Observation 14 – Life goes on

Thesis finding: Harking back to the opening quote of the thesis from Keenan, many of the dark sites studied for this present thesis are everyday places (see Markale Market, Image 7.1, below for example). Life goes on for those who use the space for day to day purposes.

Wider significance: Much like how Père Lachaise is used as an urban park space, Ground Zero as a commuter walking route or the Führerbunker as a car park, the war spaces around ex-Yugoslavia are not one dimensional theme parks for those interested in death. Many of the sites exist in their own right and serve useful, everyday functions, existing primarily as spaces for local people to get on with their lives. Harrison's work outlines how we live in a world created and inhabited by the dead - but many of these dark spaces thrive in worlds created for and inhabited by the living.

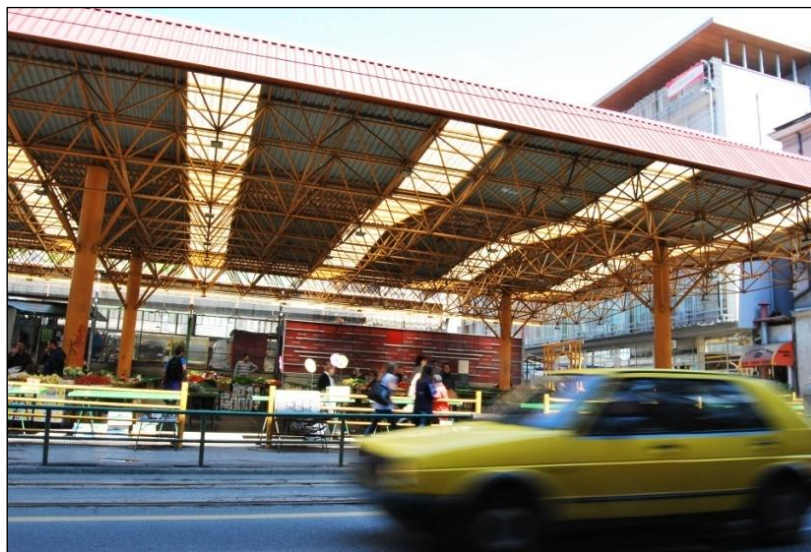


Image 7.1: Markale Market

*The red signage at the back indicates the names of the 68 people who were killed by a mortar on 5.2.1994 and 37 more in the second attack on 28.8.1995
Sarajevo, May 2011*

7.4 Future research potential & conclusion

Thanatourism is generally the preferred term throughout the thesis, featuring more prominently than the more loaded 'dark' tourism term. Thanatourism signifies an interest in death and is a relatively objective term. For the other terms, such as 'dark tourism', 'morbid tourism' or 'black spots' the words hint that there may be something 'wrong' with this type of tourism. Recent papers (such as by Bowman and Pezzullo, 2009 or Biran et al, 2011) have suggested that dark tourism is not all it is suggested to be. These papers question the motives of 'dark tourists', exploring whether their motives have any connection to death at all. Biran et al's paper explicitly challenges the idea that those who

visit Auschwitz seek to encounter death at all and instead reports on tourists' interests with more acceptable feature like architecture, history and education. Of course this neglects the fact that tourists are gazing on the architecture *of* death, the history *of* death and the heritage *of* death. Secondly, the papers again focus on the motivations of tourists (the *sought* experiences) as opposed to the actual experiences. The papers must be welcomed though as contributing to debates on thanatourism and adopting critical approaches to tourist motivations.

Future focus should lie in the tourist experience however, as opposed to the motivation, a key area for future thanatourism research. If a tourist visits Amsterdam with no motivation to visit a prostitute, yet while in the city finds him/herself using a prostitute, does that mean he/she is not a sex tourist? The experience was not sought yet it happened. Likewise with thanatourism those visiting Sarajevo for example may have had no prior motivation to encounter death. Yet if they contemplated death during their tours does it then transform them into a thanatourist?

The all-encompassing nature of death makes positioning thanatourism as being more (or less) a feature of a particular time-period than another a somewhat uneasy marriage. The regular thanatourism quotes from Twain throughout the thesis provide evidence of one Victorian traveller's interest in death. Etlin's work (1984) documents the prime position of death in 18th century Paris. Twain's observations on The Coliseum illustrate the proximity of death to life in Roman times. Human curiosity with death is as old as humanity itself and not particularly post-modern at all. If anything, disengaged and disenchanted youth of the post-modern period do not care for religion and mortality like their predecessors at all, and, theoretically at least, this should create a youth who are less likely to be interested in visiting sites of death and disaster. Yet this young generation is not disengaged with thanatourism sites. The author's travels around World War Two sites, Northern Ireland Troubles heritage and the sites in Yugoslavia gathered much observational evidence of today's youth heavily engaged with consuming and experiencing the darker sides of humanity. The author met many tourists who commented on their destination choice and their desire to interrogate the failings of humanity at Auschwitz-Birkenau, Wannsee

and other locations. Doubtless these tourists would not position themselves as acting in a 'post-modern' way - as what would be worse for the non-conformist than following what is currently the in-vogue thing to do on holidays. Herein lies the an element of thanatourism which can be seen as reflecting the features of post-modernity; the impact of the media on the consumption of deathscapes. Unsurprisingly death is an easy target for a spectacle driven media and dark tourism fits nicely as the bulls-eye. As noted throughout the thesis there are dozens of newspaper articles which specifically use the term dark tourism and have destination guides which feature elements of death and disaster, rather than sun and sand. *The Guardian* newspaper even has a special Dark Tourism section in its online travel magazine. Dark tourism authors like Stone and Lennon are regularly quoted in these piece.

Aside from news articles, several full length, nonfiction pieces of travel writing have emerged in recent years for public consumption. One such example of a popular text is P.J. O'Rourke's '*Holidays in Hell*', mentioned throughout the thesis. Written in 1988, *Holidays in Hell* sees O'Rourke visit some of the world's most dangerous places, all in the name of pleasure. He visits Seoul during a riotous election, communist Poland, at-war Lebanon and mid-Troubles Northern Ireland. A similar example was written in 2008 by Andrew Mueller, a rock journalist visiting the world's most troubled places. Mueller's book '*I Wouldn't Start From Here: The 21st Century And Where It All Went Wrong*', visits similar locations and follows a similar pattern to O'Rourke's. However, for the more discerning reader Mueller invokes a deeper exploration of the political events leading up to the origins of the wars in question. Among other locations, Mueller visits Srebrenica, Belgrade, Kosovo and Gaza. Dom Joly's 2010 travelogue *The Dark Tourist* lends further testament to the statement that dark tourism has become a common practice, a feature of today's fragmented and blurred tourism landscape and of interest to the media, academics, practitioners and consumers alike. The act of commodifying and consuming thanatourism sites will become of greater interest to industry in coming years and quantitative research examining the size, demographics and profile of the market is likely to emerge.

The concluding statement for the thesis returns to the irony of thanatourism as a practice which horrifies tourists, yet is eagerly sought after. Tourism is often presented as a lens with which we can view the relationships people hold with their particular aspects of their environments. Adventure tourism could be positioned as a lens with which we can understand relationships with physical endurance and challenge, eco tourism as a lens for understanding attitudes towards the natural environment, sex tourism as a lens for understanding relationships with the body and volunteer tourism as a lens for understanding relationships with society. Other niche tourism practices and more broadly, particular ways of acting at a tourist site can be decoded to explore how a person or society relates to the environment. Throughout this thesis, thanatourism is regularly presented as one way in which we mediate our relationship with death. Further to this, by its very existence thanatourism poses questions about the duality of man: those who seek to be horrified at sites of death and disaster, in the context of Yugoslavia for example, are critical of the perpetrators of the violence, yet by consuming the conflict, they themselves facilitate and enable the production and commodification of the tragic events. While this creates only some difficulties for those who make money from it and those who work in the 'industry', there are many who very much resent the selling of suffering. The dissonant heritage question was acknowledged by several tourists and indeed the tourists themselves in the blogs. However, few reflected on the great irony of consuming death for entertainment purposes. The horrors of violent death attract tourists, many of whom appear to express sorrow, empathy and shock at the scale or methods employed. Many more still comment on their feelings of guilt, anger or other emotions regarding the site and its history. Some even note concerns about visiting such evil places as a tourist. Yet few observe the fundamental problem of trivialising death by consuming it at a tourist site. On one hand the visitors may express shock at the death, placing the sanctity of life on a pedestal. On the other they take photos, post on a blog and purchase a souvenir bullet pen which may have been shot at one of the war's many victims. As Harrison (2003) writes, we must question to whom does the corpse belong? He positions the death of Christ as an example of this: for the past two millennia Christians have believed that they live and die through Christ's life and death.

He argues that Christ therefore did not own his own death: it belonged to anyone but himself.

Christ was not human because he owed himself to his death. He was human because he owed his death to the world.

Harrison (2003:157)

Herein lies the opportunity for further research: empirical and conceptual study could develop a framework on who 'owns' the tourist sites associated with death and disaster. Is it the tourist, the guide, the locals, the media? These suggestions neglect the dead themselves: do they own their own corpse, as questioned by Harrison. The geographies of death discussed in this thesis focus on the act of consuming suffering at sites of leisure. Additional avenues exist for exploration of the body and performance in this area, the embodiment of death how it is represented by tourists post thana-visit is worthy of consideration on both an empirical and conceptual level. Although some work has touched upon this here, (as reflected in the practice of blogging), further examination of this relationship could uncover the ownership of the dead and the spaces they inhabit. The constant representation of death from Sarajevo in many ways removes the death from the possession of the victims. Their death is now part owned by the blogger who has given voice to their loss. A final quote from Harrison concludes the thesis.

The dead depend on the living to preserve their authority, heed their concerns, and keep them going in their afterlives. In return they help us to know ourselves, give form to our lives, organise our social relations, and restrain our destructive impulses. They provide us with the counsel needed to maintain the institutional order, of which they remain the authors, and prevent it from degenerating into a bestial barbarism. The dead are our guardians. We give them a future so that they may give us a past. We help them live on so that they may help us go forward.

Harrison (2003:158)

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Appendices

Appendix I

Interview with Zijad Jusufovic, Tour Guide

Sarajevo, 30th June, 2008

Please tell me about your personal background and involvement with war tourism.

Why people like, instead of relaxing on beach holidays, they like to visit bloody places. And I gave answers in this movie (Dark Tourism), and after this movie was made, all political structures, political parties, nobody is complaining to me anymore. I am just free to do what I want and that is good. I will give you documentaries about the last war, documentaries about the two most wanted war criminals, Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic. I will give you some nice CDS about Bosnia Herzegovina and Sarajevo, nice beautiful places, houses, valleys, rivers and lakes and everything else. I will give you this guidebook of course and you will have forever documentation to learn more about here, to compare bad and good things...and maybe final exam will be very good. You can write good exam about the war. I started this in 1989 after 6 months of education, it was a communist education. I had to learn a lot things about this city but I always asked questions, because communists write history as they like, but I always wanted to know something more and professors became very nervous because of my questions. Working for foreign organisations, red cross and humanitarian organisations I met many people and I had enough time to talk to improve English. I used to learn Russian and German before the war, it was just obligation. During the communism Russian was first language here but I discovered I needed English, and I started during the war English. It's not prefect grammatically but people understand me.

How do you advertise your tours?

Internet is now, eh, I don't like Internet too much now but they are finding some stories. Some journalists who have made interviews with me, they like to give my phone number and email address to some people according to request. Which means that journalists prove that they have done a good job because people watch their shows and interview and now they always help me to make

more contacts with new clients. But I like books, I am a traditional tour guide. Not typical but traditional. Most of my visitors are from the USA.

Who comes on your tours?

Women conquered the world. Usually people from the USA, they don't watch too much price, they don't care too much about my price. They care about questions, they really like to talk and there people ready to listen and ready to change some knowledge if I am enough able to prove it. Because there are many different information about Bosnia about situation today, about war, about everything. And now it's just logical that if you have some knowledge you need to prove it or to change your mind. If someone is clever enough, educated enough to present facts, Americans are ready to talk and learn. Some others are not, some other people from example, East Europe, or Orthodox World are not ready to accept some things because they used to listen to only one side during the last period; the Serbian side. And the Serbian side, Serbian presentation, Croatian presentation and Muslim presentation is totally different. I have one balance among all of these things and it is one of the reasons I am more acceptable for foreigners than national parties or national tour guides. That is one of the reasons I have become popular. Because I present it in fact, not to complain too much, not to blame too much. And finally I like to say that, one idiot created two idiots, two idiots created three idiots and three idiots now creating my destiny. That's a problem. You will see why so many idiots, and why so many people become idiots in this situation. But now we have to start the story at Tito time.

Now it's Republic of Srpska, we will pass the border. Now if you steal a car here, go left one kilometre, goodbye to the police. The police cannot follow you because it's different police here. Still this is a federation. At the top of this small hill is Republic of Srpska. And they have to call RS police and ask them to help catch this robber. Yeah you know they drink together, they talk together but both of them they obey orders.

Who are your competitors?

Some other tour guide is doing a tunnel tour only, it's small talk about the war but nobody of them was here during the war. They speak better foreign languages, but they cannot say they have experiences from the war. They were abroad usually, they came back after the war they speak perfect languages. But they can do a tunnel tour because there is a guy in the tunnel who is talking and they don't need too much knowledge, they just charging 12euro pp, min 3 people, that's the tunnel tour. But a whole tour like I'm doing no one else is doing because they belong to political parties, they belong to political influences, to tourism associations under government control and they don't allow them to speak too much.

Welcome to Eastern Sarajevo, see the Cyrillic letters there. We just passed a sign. And this is RS now. Actually you have a map, it will be easy for you to understand. RS pink colour, Federation is composed of 10 different cantons, like in Switzerland. Sarajevo is black and we are now in this part of RS. This is my book, my production, and unfortunately I am author, I am financier and publisher. All one person.

How many tours do you run each week?

I don't calculate, I don't count actually. It's never more than one daily, never more than five weekly. I tried to do it more because it's actually exhausting talking, thinking about everything else you know. I prefer to make satisfied my clients and I don't rush too much you know. I try to do it slowly you know, to do best I can and to solve everybody's problems of traffic, of the animals in the top of the mountain, snakes, wolves, of the bad police forces etc, etc. But I never have problems.

How else do you advertise your tours?

Hotels advertise my tours. If I am too expensive they will contact the tourism association, But it depends, some people cannot afford my prices. Because for example Holiday Inn do not risk working with unknown tour guides. Usually international society is requesting about protection, about safety, about insurance about everything. And now hotels must be very serious because it is

big competition and if something happened to their clients...it is one of the reasons why they are taking your passports at the reception. American passport is 10, 000 marks, European Union, Shengen, about 5,000, 7,000 depends. Well you could buy a house if you wanted. It's very cheap the phone number is there, you could phone them and make contact. Or you could just watch Sarajevo from the sniper position. Later we will come back here. If you can see there, it is a minefield. There is a sign. You will see some more signs around. We are actually passing through a minefield. After the last war, 13 years ago, this 13 year period, more than 4,000 people step on the mines, more than 650 of them died. All others lost arms, legs. They are wounded, something like that. Still it's big, big problem. We calculated that we have 300,000, half a million mines in many minefields in BiH. I am making jokes about it finally. Mines are protecting our woods to be cut. It's a good result actually of that. But at the same time it's stopping development, using wood for good purpose. To produce medicine, to use it for mushrooms or something like that to pick up. It's good and bad at the same time. But this process, according to this speed, next 20 years we will have troubles with mines. It's not enough investment, it is very expensive job, de-mining. USAID is doing it. UNDP is supporting it. Two are locals, three are under international support and control. Managers are some NATO officers or something like that. But we have two teams demining, locals and they are doing quite a good job but it is always money problems.

Now we are 900m above sea level. Our target is 1000m, the end of the cable car, connecting city and mountain. Today bobsleigh still exists but not in use. You will see why. You see this is very deep and it's not very crowded here. Not so many people using this road. It's only 2km to crowded city. And here is actually, you can meet only a few people walking main street. But nobody is walking through the wood. 5 minutes and no cars.

Please tell me about Olympic tourism in Sarajevo.

I was 17 years old when Olympic Games happened in Sarajevo. First time in my life I saw black people. First time in my life I saw Kirk Douglas, American actor, Swedish princes, some foreign sport people, journalists. Every street was very clean. Everybody smiled and was happy. Everybody dressed well and nice.

It was first time communist country was organising winter games. Before that only Russia as a communist country organised summer games. But we were happy. And it was the best organised Olympic Games before that in the history. And I thought that Sarajevo is the best city in the world. And I started to learn about Sarajevo in 1984. And nobody could believe that 7 years after that can happen the war like happened here. Of course, we will now see bobsleigh, Olympic Stadium, we will pass Olympic Village. In this movie about Sarajevo you will see the opening ceremony, 2 minutes, the best part of Sarajevo history, and you can just compare how it was nice. 4,000 journalists, 1,700 sports people, competitions, many tears and many smiles, many happy people. Many marriages happened here, many jokes happened. For example Kirk Douglas paid, one portion of cevapcici, national meal, small portions of meat, \$200. It was two salaries. And it is only actually \$3. And he never complained because he thought it was normal price. But this guy was punished and he was in prison one month because he took \$200

That's my city. That's Sarajevo. You can see the Olympic Stadium from here. There was a cable car coming to here, in 12 minutes, from near the beer factory there was a cable car station, 50metres down was the end. People used to come here to have a coffee, to rest, to enjoy the beautiful view. Instead of coffee, the smell, instead of clients, snakes and wolves coming, and mafia sometimes, changing drugs or something like that. This is panorama, Panorama View. It was never closed. It was closed by will, it was closed by force.

I used to accept everything as normal but sometimes questions which making me smile, like, can I talk with Radovan Karadzic. Like, killer of Franz Ferdinand, you know was, made a footprints in the road – she was heavy? Or it was just somebody prepared a road there or something like that. Or why he was not sentenced to death? Or why people kill each other here if they belong to same nation here? Or why Serbs speak about last war as if they were attacked by West, by Croats, by Muslims, by everybody? They just defend. Why Serbs don't know about Srebrenica? Why you know, it's still a ruin here or why nobody is repairing this? Why you have so many political parties? Sometimes you cannot answer silly questions. But for me there is actually no silly question because I

understand that people know nothing. And you cannot compare my country with any other country in the world. And just imagine you used to live in normal stable country, you have one government. Okay you have problems in Belfast between Protestants and Catholics, okay, that's super. But I understand that you don't understand us. But really some unusual stuff, like let's go together to Radovan Karadzic house beyond in Pale, or where is he, Can I make interview with him. People sometimes think that I can do everything. I'm sorry, I can do just nothing because I'd prefer to have \$5million, actually€4million now for information where is Karadzic. I made movie about his life, where he was born, where he used to work, what he done, I made interviews with his enemies and his friends. And that's ordered by Hague tribunal. It's a DVD about the life of Radovan Karadzic. And at the same time General Mladic, Ratko Mladic. I will give these DVDs to you and then you will understand how silly and how crazy and how people must ask something what is usually unusual for every other normal country and normal situation in the world. But for me there are no more actually surprises, because I used to be asked good and bad questions, nice and crazy questions, and I used to guide people who only need photos of the flowers. Whole day he is making photos of the flowers. That is a very strange request. Many old people don't remember my sentence after 1 hour and they ask again same question 5 times during the tour but ok, they spend money they like to enjoy the view, they are waiting for the sunset and ok I am sitting with them enjoying a cigarette, and we are waiting for sunset, no problem. At the same time some people deeply need to understand history of BiH, who are bogomils, who are trachsea, why Muslims are different here, than in Turkey or Albania or some other places. People are really trying to why and how it is possible something like this happened. People ask too much questions about Tito. Who is Tito? Very strange, unusual communist leader. For some tour guides, for some locals, it can be very silly question. But people hear about Tito that Tito was a very clever guy, he ruled Yugoslavia and he was quite successful. He was peace-maker everywhere in the world. Okay maybe he was small dictator here but he was very popular abroad. Which means that less and less I will speak about unusual questions because everything is unusual. Unusual is bobsleigh show.

This is unusual. And it's still solid. Can be used for competition and training. But no one is doing it. Why? Because they are stupid. And I'll give you one more reason why. Half of the bobsleigh is in Republika Srpska, half is in the Federation. And because we have in one country, two Olympic committees, they don't cooperate anymore. And they don't use this because somebody will earn more money, somebody will earn less money. It depends on the position. This first part, start, will be used more. And down, will be less money. It's better to do nothing. It's better, don't repair, don't think about it, it's better let weather and time destroy this more. It was very, extremely expensive investment. It was one of the safest, one of the best bobsleighs in Europe. And there's a lot of bad graffiti, Red Bull came here and they covered bad graffiti here on this wall and they made graffiti much nicer, but as you see, no one is using this. IOC after the war repaired Olympic Village. Olympic Village is inside of the federation, it only needed one permission. To repair this needs two permissions. And again they will not use it. It's still a solid, stable bobsled. But time will destroy this very soon. And it's 1532m long in one piece. Can be used for training, competitions, everything. And you see a lot of money is here. Many teams from Europe need this, this fantastic mountain, very close to the city, in 20 minutes in any hotel, and they could train here, they could relax here, it's fresh air, there is no pollution here it's fantastic above sea level, 1000m, they will pay. Winter is enough snow for ice, summer they can train something else, but whole winter is enough snow to be used. One entrance is 100metres up, two entrances - one is shorter, for teenagers and juniors, big one, faster one is there, really fast. It was produced 23 years ago, you was here, you lost or you win and today you are coming you can't believe it.

For past athletes, their friends and relatives are coming. But they don't want to come. They want to remember Sarajevo nice. They don't want to remember it like this. We are good winners. There is a joke about the Special Olympics - One Serb and one Muslim are talking, which teams are better. And Serb tells Muslim 'We have a better football team', 'Yes ok, right, because we have many problems, ours don't want to play. We have better basketball'. 'Yeah good, you're right'. And this Muslim says 'We have the best invalid team'. 'Yeah, because we created your team'.

Tongue, was informant. For example during the last period in BiH, were engaged more than 200, 000 foreigners. In foreign troops, in foreign organisations, and they are rotating every six months, every one year and they are speaking about this situation here. Secondly a lot of journalists visited BiH and made thousands and thousands of movies, or interviews. But now when they start to research more deep, they are more and more confused. Because they see now so many different sides. And now they need to come, they need to discover what is really the truth. And after that I'm coming. And after that they are hiring me, talking with me. And sometimes it is some very strange questions and requests. "I don't believe you for example that I can walk in midnight through the streets." 'Ok, I will meet you tonight in your hotel, 10 o'clock and we will go to walk, no problem.' Or something like that. It was more and more bad questions until 2002 actually. In 2002 the information was balanced, before that only Serbia side used to produce information. Still Milosevic was in Hague, but with influence, still Serbia media was under radical control and still we were confused here repairing houses, repairing infrastructure than caring about internet or about facts. I had many troubles in 2000 when I started these tours, not only with Serbs and Croats, I had many troubles with Muslims. Because they don't want that I speak about it. And after 2002, 2003, it was much easier to work. More logical and more normal information appeared in the world, because for example, especially after International Justice Tribunal made a decision that it was genocide in Srebrenica happened. Serbia is not generally guilty for everything but Serbia is guilty never stopping Bosnian Serbs to do something and Bosnian Serbs are guilty for keeping Sarajevo 1200 days under the siege, to kill so many people. Final number is for example 110, 000 Muslims, 55, 000 Serbs, 25, 000 Croats, 10,000 others died during the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It's plus war in Croatia, with unknown numbers, because it was before here, in 1991. And I told you, 1 idiot created 2 idiots – 92 it was the war Croats and Muslims together against Serbs, 93 Croats and Muslims kill each other, 94 Muslims and Muslims kill each other. Everybody kill everybody.

Srebrenica is one of my normal excursions. But in Srebrenica I am different to other tour guides. Because they are going only to memorial and to the camp of Dutch soldiers. In Srebrenica there is a mine, silver mine, there is silver water

thermal spa, in Srebrenica shops belong to Muslims and Serbs. I am showing them, we are watching people's reactions, we are talking with people. And we are visiting places like the stadium, like the museum of the genocide, we are watching 20mins movie there. We are of course visiting the memorial and analysing all problems happened there. It's quite a big tour too. But not only memorial. We are for example analysing graffiti. Famous graffiti made by Dutch soldiers. There is one famous graffiti, 'have moustache, smell like shit, no teeth, who is she? Bosnian girl'. Made by one Dutch soldier.

Well, now the deadliest sniper position, but please go slowly behind me because sometimes I saw some snakes, that's the reason I carry this stick. This was dug by hand, by Serbian soldiers to be a sniper position, From here several thousand people were killed and wounded. By anti-aircraft weapons and rifles, Serbian soldiers used to kill people down, main intersection, main street and other things. Anti aircraft weapons, instead to destroy the airplanes they were used to target people on the street, car, windows and everything. This is the most dangerous sniper position in the world. It is calculated from this hole, about 4000 people died. From just here. National Library was targeted from this ravine there, it was ex-hotel. It was a canon and tank position there. And from there it was targeted there.

Sniper Alley is something what foreign journalists described as sniper alley. But for me sniper alley is that main street there next to the river. You see because it is connecting, that intersection is connecting old city and new city. And everybody has to pass that intersection. In my opinion it was the most dangerous sniper alley or sniper street. But foreign journalists because they used to be in the building of TV, they feel that it is targeted sometimes. But comparing some journalists who have been here 7 days and us here 4 years. Ok foreign journalists are right but not so as we know, from our on experiences. Just imagine how it easy to, with good binoculars and very strong weapons, plus to inform the tank and canon positions about where is the life. From here they see the groups of people, what to target. Fantastic place.

I used to learn many things about every city, every important city in ex-Yugoslavia. I know many things about Dubrovnik, about Dubrovnik Republic, about castles, museums, about history, about contact with Dubrovnik Republic and Bosnian king. But we don't know too much about Dubrovnik today. Before war they used to send us (?), every day it was one day trip from Adriatic sea to Sarajevo. People are spending two weeks for example in holiday on Adriatic sea, Dubrovnik, Split, Makarska, Montenegro city. But today there are no contracts and I am not a big travel agency to make contracts with Adriatic cities, with hotels there, to organise one day trips, two day trips. But in the future I intend to register a tour operator's agency and to connect actually, same tourism destinations as it was before the war. It means Belgrade, Montenegro, it means Croatian coast. Few Slovenian cities too. Because we cooperate very good before the war but today we don't have cooperation. That's a problem. And we need each other. They need Sarajevo, Mostar. We need Adriatic Sea. It can be a good cooperation.

Look, eh, still Holocaust is popular. Genocide against Jews from the Second World War. Still concentration camps are popular. I saw in this Dark Tourism movie made by Canadian TV that millions and millions of people are visiting these bloody destinations still. In Cambodia, in Vietnam, in Poland, in Latvia. In Sarajevo it will be more and more. Actually I'm not afraid of the future, I am just afraid of the bad education. In Bosnia-Herzegovina we have very bad education still. When these children become adults they will produce new troubles because they will think that their nation is better, that their nation is guilty or is not guilty, or somebody else is guilty but they will never have a normal life actually. Because after twenty years of your education you think that white is not white anymore, it is black. The biggest mistake for example is two schools under one roof in Bosnia. The biggest mistake is to insist about national education. To learn only Muslim writers, poets and history or Serbian or Croatian. During the communist period we had one education system. It was very good. We had to learn both alphabets, Cyrillic and Latinic every day. We used to learn history of all Yugoslav people and nations and all Yugoslav people. And not only Yugoslav, European, World history too. Today it's more a concentration on religion, education about Orthodox religion, about Islam or

about Catholicism than about geography, about computers, something like that. That's a mistake. And I am not afraid of my future. I am not afraid that people will not come here. People will come. People will spend money. People will buy property here. But people waiting stable and normal well educated other people to cooperate with them. And they don't still find enough qualified enough professionals to cooperate with. This is paradise. We can produce electricity for half of Europe. We can produce medicine for half of Europe. We have silver mines. We have coal for the next hundred years. We have so rich history. We have so clean mountains, villages. We have so nice rivers, so much clean water. We can sell clean drinking water to other countries. But we are doing nothing still because we are crazy.

This was the biggest and most beautiful and most important memorial, because here, at this place, because here, exactly here, 14, 000 people were killed during the second World War. 9, 500 of them were Jews. This was executing position during the World War Two. Germans and Ustasha used to kill Communists and Jews exactly here. After the war Tito ordered to create big memorial about Second World War victory. And here during the communism it was every week history lessons. We were very proud that we joined countries against Nazism. Today we are not very proud because nobody cares about this, Nobody is coming here. Eternal Flame is not firing anymore. We don't care about this part of history. Because both sides, they care more about nationalism than about brave and great anti-fascists, anti-Nazi history in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Tito ordered this memorial to be created. It was opened in 68. It was 10 years building. Just imagine it was many monuments here, many nation's flags, Eternal Flame was here. They just don't care about it. We just take care about our own crazy things.

He will not allow us to come. It's just crazy and enough rich because charges very expensive ticket and he was visited by millions of people. Because every foreigner visits tunnel. Not only me, people coming by taxis, people coming organised by government, because government is presenting tunnel. Because tunnel is presenting a siege. But I am presenting something more. What you will see later, some good things happened during the war and if you visit only tunnel

you will see nothing actually. If you only visit tunnel you will never see where was the tank on the hill. You will never feel that it was just 50metres far from this sniper position. Same street. Or you will never see the ruin of the retirement home or stadium. Or something else. You will see just tunnel. And you will see 18mins movie about creating of the tunnel but nobody will tell you some more stories about tunnel. You will see it in 15 minutes.

What is your relationship with the tourist board?

No cooperation. They must respect me. Only my brochures are in the tourist office. That's all. They recommend me only if they cannot do something. Like, eh, very clever teacher is coming, professors of the European Universities. They will never do it, they will always call me. Because they don't want to risk, to be ashamed. It's the only moment when they recommend me. They cannot do something. I don't care too much. It's not right, because I earn money very difficult but they earn money very easy. I feel enough educated that I can always (?) But it's not fair; they sometimes have to give me a job to easy earn money not difficult. But okay, it's my destiny. I accept my destiny.

Big damage for national income you know, or budget, it's not big black market but it will connect people. Because people will come here to buy some oil, sugar, bread, flour, you know some drinks. And they talk. And they connect with each other. That's a good start yes. And I mentioned international police. Yes we have a lot, a few thousand foreign police forces, plus we have 2,500 military here. Soldiers from European countries. Plus we have 350 American soldiers, in NATO, American camp. Plus we have 58 foreign embassies here. We have 110 humanitarian and similar organisations working. Arab and European countries, but not all European countries.

This is main bus station of the Republika Srpska. This is Lukavica. From here buses going to Belgrade, buses going to every place in Republika Srpska and Montenegro. From here buses are 30% cheaper. Behind the bus station, is the corner of a minefield. This is a small minefield here. You see a sign, not yet cleared. Like a frozen war border. After the war it was not priority to demine it.

Our movie No Man's Land got Oscar. And our movie Grbavica got Golden Bear in Film Festival, talking about raped women. About 12,000 women were raped during the war in Bosnia. 800 of them were forced pregnant to stay in the prison when it is too late for abortion, 7, 8 months pregnant. And after that they make them free. And they don't like their children.

Ah, Richard Gere. Actually he was here because of this movie. Actually this movie is connected with me and this movie about Karadzic. And because of this movie about Karadzic he hired me and because of me he made this movie about hunting...it's connected. Now you have the DVD source for this movie. It's a shadow of Karadzic.

Look at this, this camp, the headquarters of the European Forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Half of the base is in Republika Srpska, half of the base is in the Federation. Including Irish soldiers. Including American, including all other European soldiers. You will see now gate from Federal side because when we cross this small bridge we are back in the Federation. This is now Federal part.

Is film an influence for your tours?

No. Look, they have already saw thousand and thousands and thousands of movies, and something else can make them interested to come and see. But I think that finally they would like to come and see everything, not only war. They would like to see nice villages, woods. Chance to come again, to invest, to recommend to their friends, to connect with Bosnian people in tourism. Different people different reasons. Some of them study, like you. Some of them are journalists. Some need chances to invest, to connect. Some of them were sent by companies to see chances.

Many people made a career here, made different movies here. Different stories. But I have my own experiences here. But I don't watch it too much because I can be angry a little bit if they make a mistake. It's better I leave them to do it what way and how they think.

Over the Mountain Igman it was bad road but good road. Good enough to transport trucks, food, equipment and everything else. Trucks can come to here. Actually this house place where we are now and, airport was problem. Bosnian army controlled this territory and this side. Airport was controlled by French UN protection forces. French soldiers. They don't allow passing or using airport. What to do? How to connect this area and this area? How? Big tunnel. From here to here, 800 metres, Bosnian army dig tunnel and open tunnel the end of June 93. From that moment, 1st July actually, today is 1st July, it's anniversary. Starting using tunnel to transport materials, equipment, munitions, weapons, people, and everything into the city. And out people and cigarettes. Because cigarette factory was inside the city. Tunnel helped to reduce prices. Tunnel helped people feel better. Through tunnel some people can, from here, this house, from here, the top of the mountain can hire, can rent taxi to Dubrovnik or Split. It was the biggest problem to leave the tunnel and walk to the top of the mountain. After that no more problems. Because it was good cooperation still between Croatian forces and Bosnian forces about transportation. Don't touch, don't disturb ours, we won't disturb yours. It's only one way because it's very short. But last person will say to the military police, ok I'm the last one, now you can allow the other group to go through. It was discovered, but impossible to conquer. Because especially here, army was well equipped and around the house it was a lot of protection materials. You can only reach it from the air. 53 UN soldiers died. Killed by both sides. A few times they just hit a few bullets to the airplane and they stopped humanitarian activities at the airport. They stopped humanitarian aid to be transported to Sarajevo. A few days but after that they promise we will not disturb because we need food too and you know it was like in war, some bad soldiers produce problems for all. You never know. Because soldier is a human being. He decides what to do.

One day trips somewhere but I am alone and I don't care too much. Tourism Association is insisting minimum 50 people or something like that. And after that one person is with me and after that he comes back with family or friends or something else and we do a tour again. We have to respect one person the same as a group. I don't care is it more money to earn, less money to earn. Bus is coming for bigger groups, it is organised. Of course I have fixed prices for bus,

it is €150 for whole bus plus tickets. Each person will usually be 2.5 euros, 1 euro in mosque, 1 euro in museum, 1 euro in Jewish museum, 1 euro in Olympic museum, something like that you know. People like a combination, they like everything. Small groups, or families or friends or business people or journalists, they like combination. They really like to compare everything and to see everything. Usually 8 to 9 hours, sometimes 10 hours, including lunch, including break, Number one is historical tour, walking, for example number 2 is Olympic tour, number 3 is fast walking tour with some panoramic views, number 4 is this Mission Impossible tour, it's a war tour. Number 5 is again a combination tour. There are excursions in some cities you know. Because some other people think that tunnel is enough and they are just taking tunnel tour. It's 12euro per person, 3 people is 36 euros, but it's only tunnel. But usually people is taking historical tour in Old City because they don't know, they don't think somebody is enough crazy to organise something else. And after they discover that I exist, because not so many people know that I am on internet, they are not searching when they come here. And next time when they come, they are calling me to buy some of my CDs, something like that and I say no, sorry. This is a present, it is not for sale. I am ready to give example lecture, inside of the hotel. They don't need to travel around if they are ready to pay 1 hours, 2 hours, presentations. I can come with my laptop, or in every hotel I have a TV, DVD player you know, all pictures, everything I present it, they don't need to go out. I call it hotel tour and it's inside of your hotel, restaurant, somewhere. Actually I am here as a service you know and it depends what people need. Different people, different brains, different questions, different requests. I am doing everything, only not finding girls or boys or drugs. Everything else is ok. Nightlife, restaurants to go to, disco clubs to go to, some of them need bodyguard, some of them need escort, but it's ok, I can always accommodate. People asking for drugs and prostitutes, I say fuck you, go to Holland. Everything normal request, every normal question, it's no problem. Sometimes it's a request for our social institutions for our political institutions. They would like for example to talk with soldiers, with generals, it's absolutely no problem. For example, Austrian TV asked me to make interview with Mujahadeens, I said ok. They were well surprised. Is it possible, really? Yes no problem, ok. Arabs

who decided to stay here after the war. 120 of them still exist here and they are from Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, Pakistan.

It's the reason you have to ask. You have to talk. Don't ever believe the first view. Women know it. Of course normal women don't believe what they see. They discover. They want to see inside. See more. Men usually see, and they think, oh, this girl is beautiful. Maybe this girl is well crazy or something like that. This building created me as a tour guide because I wanted to understand. I wanted to get real answer why this happened. And I decided to talk, to ask, to discover and finally I know, this is not what you see. Story is starting 1996, when I wake up one day and I discover there is no war anymore and when I wanted to see my city, to walk everywhere, to make photos, to see how it looks like now after the war. And I came here and I was watching this, two hours maybe and I couldn't believe what I see. It must be something else. It cannot be true. Because crazy people made this. Then I decided to talk with the people who made this, the Serbian soldiers. This area was controlled by Serbs during the war. I decided to find some of the Serbs from this frontline here. 97 I found one of them and I asked him three questions.

'You was there?'

'Yes.'

'Good. You was a Serbian soldier with weapons?'

'Yes'.

'You made this?'

'Yes.'

'Why?'

And listen the answer.

'Zijad, I was a soldier. I made this. And my friends made this.'

'It's ok I'm listening, tell me why? Continue. Did you know that this was empty?'

'Yes we know that it was empty'.

'Did you know that it was retirement home, maybe your father was there?'

'Yes'.

'Why?'

'Zijad, my commander come. My shift was usually 1 day, 1 day free, 1 day, 1 day free or 3 days, 3 days free ,or something like that. My commander come and he bring two thousand bullets to me. 'Said, kill them there. We will not go home until you spend all these munitions.' Ok commander, no problem. What I will do. I have to shell. I have to spend munitions because he will come to see empty bullets around me. What I will do? I will spend munitions there because I know I will not kill anybody. Spend munitions there. It was good target. I was targeting one wall two hours, after that second wall two hours. After that there and after that there. And I spent munitions. And I know nobody will die. Some of my friends like to kill. But some of us not. We have to respect our orders. We have to respect our commanders. And we waste munitions. We spend munitions here instead of killing people.

And it's really when you deeply analyse it, it's nothing else, only to waste munitions. You cannot believe that two hundred thousand bullets were spent here. You cannot believe that something like this still exists. It exists because we are lucky unlucky. The pensioners can't. There is not enough money for renovations. And this is still the biggest ruin, the biggest war place in Sarajevo and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The most beautiful building in ex-Yugoslavia. The best retirement home in ex-Yugoslavia. It is still today ruined. The pensioners were evacuated. It was just a new one. There was just about 20 pensioners here. But they were evacuated. One of them refused to go. He said it's ok. I am enough old, it's better I die here and people wanted to take him. But he said, no, leave me alone. But all others left in the central part. Later by convoys abroad and in Croatia mostly. But it was empty. But you see wasting munitions.

Yugoslav National Army was one of the most armed armies in this part of Europe. Yugoslav National Army exported weapons to Iraq and Iran to Saudi Arabia, to Libya, to many countries. Yugoslav National Army was well equipped and gave weapons mostly to Serbs. They had enough weapons and enough factories in Serbian and in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro to produce everything they wanted, they need. Especially Yugoslav National Army produced landmines, tanks, anti-aircraft and anti-tank projectors. Yugoslav National Army was second exporter in ex-Yugoslavia. First exporter was building industry. They exported workers and building materials to many other

countries, building water plants, building electricity transmitters, building everything. But army was second biggest exporter. Exporting weapons. So it's not surprising Yugoslav National Army had enough weapons for everything. And mostly they gave these weapons to Serbs. They produced everything inside of Yugoslav territory.

Saudi Arabia. This is King Fahd Mosque. And a few metres around belong to Saudi Arabia. There is small market and you will be surprised who is selling here. Especially if you come here Friday, when it is holy day. And you will see many foreigners selling different products. CDs, medical equipment and everything else. Our police and our inspection can do nothing here because they don't have responsibility. Everything here belong to Saudi Arabia and the foreigners.

Usually people prefer this view from the hills. And the tunnel is something that is always interesting for them. But people, different countries, different things interesting for them. Everybody find something what is interesting for them. Everybody find something. Like Jews, they really like this memorial. Tito memorial. Americans like almost everything. Germans like messages about or against fascism. And they would like to see that there are some more fascists still exist. That they are not only fascists. Croats like because they see that not only they are guilty here. Some Turks like statistics, like for example that 2,600 mosques were destroyed during the last war. But at the same time they are forgetting that 500 churches were destroyed too. It means that everybody likes something. Some of them like this small cemetery to see. Some of them like this war cemetery. These two cemeteries were not here before the war. Some people like stories about Olympic Games or where Bono Vox used to sing. Some of them like just to relax. But it depends. We are not the same. Finally, everybody respects their life more after they see this crazy situation here. Basic important things in Sarajevo are tunnel here, because tunnel is talking too much. But for me, love stories are important too. About Romeo and Juliet. 43,000 mixed marriages here before the war and 2,000 today. A lot of paradoxes are interesting. A lot of messages Bosnia can send, Bosnia can teach foreign students. Bosnia can send a message that everything is possible so quickly, that

we have to be careful. That we must take care about bad people. We must protect them, we must control animals in our bodies and in our brains. That, around us, killers walking. That we must always understand that one small view to the left side, please look to the left side, you can change whole view to the history.

These boys running now in the stadium don't know that in the future it can happen war again. But now it will be a very crazy war; everybody will kill everybody. Because people don't like war profiteers, people don't like politicians. People don't like other nations and only because of the bad economic situation we are still doing nothing bad. But if economic situation if continue the next 10 years we will make trouble, I'm sure. Still troubles in Balkans area not solved. Possible become independent but it will produce new cold war. Because Russia don't want to see independent Kosovo, Serbia don't want to see independent Kosovo. At the same time Americans support Kosovo. Albanians, they have two countries. What will happen if they want to join in one country. What will happen if they ask for 1/3 of Macedonian territory because there are majority almost in one third of the country. Everything now is open. Because in 1981 after Tito died they started to ask Kosovo Republic why? Because according to the constitution of Yugoslavia, Tito made one mistake in 1984 he changed the constitution. He allowed a Republic to go from Yugoslavia if 51% of citizens voted for yes, and six Republics, two provinces. Republics can go, but provinces cannot. Provinces are Vojvodina and Kosovo, Albanian majority. Vojvodina Hungarians, Kosovo Albanians. Because Serbia was the biggest Republic and mostly Serbs living in Kosovo and Vojvodina, Kosovo and Vojvodina, according to the constitution come under Serbian control. But with autonomy. But now after Tito died, Kosovans, Albanians in Kosovo, protest they want status for Kosovo to be Republic. They knew if they got status as Republic they could go. They wanted to join Albania during that period. And this Kosovo problem confused that Serbs wanted a strong leader and Milosevic appeared as a strong and radical leader ready for everything. And later Milosevic done, beginning of the war in Croatia, after Croatia become independent, and all problems from 1991 in Croatia become problem in Bosnia 1992, become problems in Kosovo later. And finally as you will remember

1999, Serbia was punished for their attacks. And Milosevic was sent to Hague and it was a big long trial and he died in Hague. It was actually suicide. Because a final decision against Milosevic will be made, he will be accused for genocide. And because he was a president all Serbia will be guilty. Because he died there is no final decision against Serbia for genocide. But all problems actually starting from Kosovo. Vojvodina is majority Hungarian. But they already have stable life and here is a lot of mixed marriages. Only it can be a problem if international society and European Union say Serbia, you will never join the European Union, same as Turkey. In that case it could happened that Vojvodinan Hungarians will ask Serbia for independence, because Hungary is already a member of the European Union. And it will produce other problems and it will produce new war actually. Because Serbs are tired of losing territory everywhere. Not all Serbians are bad but because 20% are criminals and radicals, whole Serbia is marked as bad nation and that is the reason why we still have troubles. To see in the mirror and see what they have done. All of us still lying to each other. And all of us think that the other side is 100% guilty and we are not. While we sit and present all facts, and while we accept all facts....but nobody is ready. Our politicians are not ready to present mistakes. International society made a lot of mistakes too and one day they will say themselves and they will accept and they will say sorry. Sarajevo is beautiful. But just imagine that there are some cities in Bosnia with 65% unemployment, so poor people that you cannot imagine. In Sarajevo, people can work for foreign organisations. In catering, in tourism trade, they can work for European soldiers, for international police, for embassies. In Sarajevo there is a concentration of everything. But in some small cities there is nothing. No economy, no factories and no international organisations. And no jobs. And one system of education. But they are producing future radical people. Blaming everybody because they don't know that better life exists behind that hill. That's dangerous for this country. I hope international society will accept us very soon. We like to work and we like to learn but we don't know and we don't respect that our chief is another nation. We like the name Tito, because it means nothing. Not nothing, but you cannot recognise is he Muslim, Serb, Croat or Jew. But according to the name everybody knows that I am Zijad and I am Muslim. And Serbs and Croats will not accept, and many Muslims will not

accept, it because of the jealousy. Who are you Zijad? You don't belong to our party. You are not good Muslim. You are drinking alcohol, you like women, you are not honest. And you cannot be our president or leader. But we need a foreigner to be governor or something like that. And everyone will respect them. Same happened with money, our money is called Konvertible Mark, everybody was happy. Konvertible Mark is good name. It is very stupid name actually.

Appendix II

Interview with Dubrovnik Walking Tours

After taking the *Story About The War* tour, Dubrovnik, (Tour on 28th June 2008)

Could you tell me a little bit of background history about your company?

When did it start, how many are employed, etc?

We started in 2006 and at the moment we have 6 people employed (including myself). At the very beginning we started with Dubrovnik Walking Tours program which looked much different than now. There were tours such as "The Best of Museums", "Hidden Treasure" and "Romantic Boat Ride" which did not show good results. In the summer 2006 we changed a lot and started with a tour "Story About the War", cancelled tours which did not show good results etc. Since then we tried to find a good topic for tour No4 but never with success. Last year we tried "Sightseeing by Night" but that was not good too.

Now we stick to three tours "Discover Dubrovnik Walk", "The Old Jewish Quarter" and "Story About the War".

Actually, Dubrovnik Walking Tours project is not our core business. Our core business is event planning, organizing corporate incentives and meetings and similar. You can see that on www.mediterranean-experience.hr

When did your company start to tell the story about the war tour? Was/ Is there popular demand for this tour among visitors?

As I said, we started this in August 2006 and the tour was successful just the same as Discover Dubrovnik Walk. The interest is quite big for this tour.

Where are your tours advertised? Is it on posters like the ones in the city centre or are they advertised in the media also?

We have our own brochures all around hotels and other accommodation in Dubrovnik, posters and we buy adds in local magazines and maps tourists read.

How many people come on the tour?

It really depends on the date in the season since we run from May to October. Usually there are approx 5-8 people on each tour but it can be more or less.

What nationalities take part in your tour?

Australians, people from all over UK, USA, Ireland, New Zealand and people from all over the world who speak/understand English.

Do you have any competitors running similar war tours in Dubrovnik?

No, we don't have competitors for War Tour but there are other agencies running walking tours of the Old Town.

Do you have any links with any of the guides in other ex-Yugoslavia cities running war tours? Such as in Vukovar, Belgrade, Sarajevo?

No, we don't. I don't know if there are war tours in any of this cities.

Do you very have any unusual requests from your visitors regarding information about the war?

Yes. People who come from the US and Australia usually don't know much about history of this part of Europe and this is why they sometimes ask unusual questions.

What do you perceive to be the motivations of visitors taking the war tour?

People from all over Europe and especially from USA and Australia have heard about Dubrovnik and Croatia mostly in the context of war. When they come here and see there are no signs of war, they are a surprised. I thought it might be good to try to explain them that the war is over, what was the war about, how was it, etc. and it turned up to be a good idea.

Actually, I have asked the guides what are the most common questions people ask on our tours and they all told me people ask about the war. And so we implemented a Story About the War tour.

Generally speaking, do tourists on the story about the war tour have a good knowledge of the 1991-1995 conflict?

Some do but most of them don't know much. Depends on where they come from. We believe people from Ireland and Scotland know more than people from the US and Australia for example. Balkan history is very complex. We try our best to tell as much as possible in 1 hour and in a way people with different background understand it.

Do tourists ever cite the media images of the war as an influence in their decision to visit Dubrovnik?

No, I am sure they come only because the city is beautiful. They were coming before the war in the same or even bigger numbers.

Is there any local resentment to running a story about the war tour?

I never heard anything against our war tour from anyone here.

How do you see your business growing in the future?

Dubrovnik Walking Tours will not grow much I think. We did a lot in the sense of marketing and I don't think we can do more. If you have any ideas pls. do not hesitate to let me know :-)

Have you a good relationship with the tourism authorities in Dubrovnik and Croatia?

Well, we are a small agency and none of us is involved in politics. I think we have more-less good relationship with tourism authorities - we don't get much help from them but no one is standing on our way too. There are small issues here and there but we managed to handle everything so far. Tourist authorities in Croatia are not efficient and most of their project are a waste of money.

I formed and started this company with 1000 EUR cash and now we have a turnover around 1.000.000 EUR per year. People running the tourist board and Ministry of Tourism are older people who would not survive on that jobs in any efficient country.

Appendix III

Interview with Zrinka Sesto, proprietress of Danubium Tours

Vukovar 13th March, 2009

Can you tell me about the background to your company?

I moved here from Zagreb to Vukovar in 2001 and then we start business in 2007. We have three employments in our tourist agency, three people are employed in the agency, and we also have six tourist guides but they are usually students who work for our agency. So we started because I was studying in Zagreb and when I came here I didn't have a job. That's the first reason. And the second reason I worked like a tourist guide in Zagreb already when I was studying and then when I came to Vukovar a lot of people came, from Croatia usually, in Vukovar and they ask everything about the war in 1991 so my husband and I started the tourist agency, actually because of that because we wanted that people have good information about what has happened here in Vukovar. My husband is also from Vukovar and he was a Croatian soldier here in Vukovar and I had also been in Vukovar during the war, these three months of the war. That time I was 18 years old, I had just finished my high school. And so we stayed here for three months, my mother and I, but we stayed in one concentration camp, called Beregomic (sp?) here in Vukovar, also my father, but he stayed for longer, he was six months in this concentration camp and then he is released and he came also to Zagreb.

I have training (in tourism) in Zagreb, I didn't finish, my faculty is in agriculture, I studied horticulture, we call it here in Croatia horticulture, I don't know how you say it in Ireland, so this is my faculty, but I work also in Zagreb in tourism, in hotels and like a tourist guide in Zagreb and so on but my husband is finished tourism faculty.

Have you any competitors in Vukovar?

No we are the only one. We just bring tourists from the different countries, and different parts of Croatia, we bring them here to see everything about the war but also we do different types of tourism, we do team building for the companies here in Croatia, so they can come from Zagreb here to Vukovar, but we do that

in Ilok, we also have one agency in Ilok. From Zagreb and from different cities within Croatia.

How are your tours advertised?

Well we have our catalogue, with the newsletter. Every month we send this newsletter to our clients, and also TV, newspapers, and so on. We have lots of interviews, on our website actually the press. Just a few days ago they spoke to me, a journalist from France, La Guardia, he comes next month in Vukovar to do some interviews about the war. And also it's interesting but the newspapers from Serbia are interested about our agency. Because we are the first one in former Yugoslavia to sell this programme. It's called Along the Vukovar Defenders' Road, Road of the Vukovar Defenders and we actually started the company with this programme. Now of course after two years we do lots of different programmes. It's interesting in my company that we only bring tourists into Vukovar, we don't do skiing or summer trips from Vukovar to the other parts, we don't do that. We are a DMC, a destination management company.

Strange but it's tourism also. Because lots of people are interested about different stuff. I must say that for the first time we have one tourist agency in Novi Sad in Serbia and we do some agreement with them to bring tourists from Novi Sad to Vukovar. Because we have interest. People want to see Vukovar, from Serbia. And also people from here, from Croatia maybe to go to visit Novi Sad.

Who comes on the tours?

Usually 88 or 90 percent are from Croatia. The other 10% are foreign, usually Americans, from the ships and cruises on the Danube. But they usually are American tourists. Last year we had lots of cruises and tourists from Australia. For the first time a whole ship was from Australia. And they were very interested about the war. There are a lot of Croats in Australia.

In your opinion, why is there such a strong interest in these tours?

They are interested about the homeland war. Everybody knows about the Former Yugoslavia and the tourists are usually on pensions, they are older

tourists yeah? So they know everything about Yugoslavia, about Tito, and so on. So I think it's very interesting for them why we lived for 50 years in peace and then all of a sudden, war. With so many casualties and victims.

How many visitors do you have on average?

Last year we had 15,000 people who came. Our agency dealt with 15,000. Usually they stay for only one day. They come in the morning and then they go in the afternoon. So not many stay for 2 days or for 3 days or 5 days. It's not the case like in Dalmatia, when you came to the Dalmatia, in Zadar you probably stay for 10 days to see the sea and have swimming and so on. But here usually they are one day trips. So they usually need a tourist guide and place to arrange to make some photos and have some lunch, to visit some museums and so on.

Do you have any unusual requests or questions on your tours?

No unusual requests. People just want to come here to Vukovar and they just want to light the candles on the memorial grave and so on. To give the honour to the Croatian defenders. We don't have strange questions really. Well, Americans ask 'Is it still Yugoslavia?', for example. They don't know that this was in 1991. But they always want to know now how we are with the Serbs. But I always say for example, I was saved because of my neighbour who is Serb, and he saved my mother and me. He took us from this concentration camp and he first go with us to Sijđ (sp?), and then we go to Bosnia-Herzegovina, and from there we Ojak, and then to Slavonski Brod. And he helped us. So I don't have problems with different nationalities. Because I think when you are human you are human and when you're not it doesn't matter.

Do participants have good knowledge of the conflict and the sites associated with the conflict?

Yes but we have very strange situation. When the cruise ships came from, for example Belgrade, and then stops in Vukovar. When I told them about the war and everything that has happened here, lots of people asked me why we didn't hear this story in Belgrade. We heard something different. So every part has their own story. But I always say to them, Croats didn't go to Belgrade. They came from Serbia and attacked the city. So that's very important.

What are the tourists' motivations for visiting Vukovar?

Something new. Because this is a new market. They are very interested about nature. About the villages near Vukovar. Because everything is like before, like I don't know, 50 years. So they are very interested about that. The rural nature of this. We bring people to the vineyards and the history of this part. Usually Americans because they are not so old. When we say to them that Vukovar existed 3000 years before the Christ they couldn't believe that. So the history is very important.

How do you see your business developing in the future?

I think we have a good future here. But for us the problems are the young people who have some knowledge. Because lots of people go to the big cities in Croatia. For example in Zagreb, in Osijek, they want to live there and not in Vukovar. And for me this is the biggest problem. We couldn't find the people who are motivated enough or who are educated enough to work in tourism. So this is problem number one. We need more people working for us but we don't find them here. For me for example it is too expensive to have a guide in Osijek to come to Vukovar to do one tour in English. It is too expensive.

How much do your tours cost?

A walking tour is 350 kunas (50 euros). It's a minimum of 3 hours. It takes in the sites we saw today and the centre of the city. So it's a minimum of 3 hours but if you want to go the whole programme, this memorial programme and this cultural programme, to go to the museum and so on, you need a minimum of 4-5 hours. Only to stay in Vukovar. And then usually tourists go to Ilok, we go with them to Ilok to see Vineyards, to see the famous castle, and the wine cellars here from the 15th century. Lots of people come here to try the wine and to buy the wine, etc. To get drunk.

What is the future of tourism in Vukovar?

Well I think yes. Because I see that the war tourism is very popular. I don't know why some people think it's morbid and so on. But I don't think like that because in Vietnam they are doing very well because of this war tourism. When the people have an interest like that we are here to give them information. So it's

very simple. And people are very interested about the war here in Vukovar in 1991. Still 18 years after the war.

Can you tell me about your relationship with the tourist board?

I am not satisfied with this corporation. Because they are paid by the government. Every day of the month they give them salary. So if you work or not work, it doesn't matter. So I'm not satisfied with our tourist company here. They don't advertise our tours. The problem is they don't want to work. They work other parts of the tourism and not what we do. In 2 years, we are existing for 2 years and I didn't receive one email from the tourist board. No help. In Zagreb we have good connections. In Ilok we have very good connections with the tourist board. We are very satisfied with this tourist board. It's one guy who is the director, he is always very helpful, he always wants to help and to do everything, to give information. But from the tourist board in Vukovar I don't get any information. I don't know why.

Does film and the media play any influence in tourists visiting Vukovar?

I think news and film play some kind of an influence on tourists coming here. We talk a lot about the war and people are interested about that. I think in the past few years we have had 2 or 3 English movies about Vukovar. These are fictional and documentaries.

Website

Now it's being translated into English. In a few months it will be up in English. Because most of the tourists in the last few years have been from Croatia but now many of the tourists from Europe are becoming very interested.

Memorialisation

The city have decided to preserve the water tower, I think this is good. They will carry out some repairs to keep it safe but otherwise it is good for me. This reminder of the war helps to bring tourists to the city which is good.

Appendix IV

Interview with Haris Pamuk, Proprietor of Haris Hostel

Sarajevo, 15th March, 2009

History of the city

When Austro-Hungary came here, also the big trucks of the Ottoman Empire still exist in the old part of the city after Austro-Hungary. Like religion, like how they lived, houses, mosques and everything. They built some important buildings for the city, like castles, towers, mosques, the biggest mosque in Sarajevo, Gazi Husrev Beg mosque – also Gazi Husrev Beg was the owner of the city, they are the richest people who came here and they built important buildings in the old part of the city. After the Ottoman Empire came the Austro-Hungary period. They call it the Austro-Hungary period because Austria and Hungary didn't decide which country will have control of Bosnia-Herzegovina. So from the 17th century 2 countries are controlling Bosnia and Herzegovina, Austria and Hungary. Because BiH was something like a new country for AuHu, and also they tried to make some experiments here in Sarajevo. They make the first electric tram in Europe here in Sarajevo. They tested what we consider here to be one of the oldest tram lines in Sarajevo, in Europe also. In that time AuHu, built really quickly because they were very strong at the time. They built the city hall, which today we call the national library. They built cathedrals, they built the post office, schools, hospitals and other big important buildings for Sarajevo. After that all things came in one country, called Yugoslavia. In Yugoslavia you have Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia, Montenegro, Macedonia and BiH. And all these countries are together making one country, Yugoslavia and the owner of this country was Josef Broz Tito. He was the president for about 40 years. In that time everyone lived together and everyone lived happy. The capital of Yugoslavia was Belgrade because Belgrade was the biggest city in this part of the Balkans. All power was also in Belgrade. At that time we have Yugoslavian army and all soldiers were in Belgrade. But one of the mistakes of that system was that about 80% of the soldiers were Serbian soldiers and about 20% were from Bosnia, Croatia, Slovenia and the small countries. At that time life was really good. All the people remember that as the best time of their lives. You know, because they have their jobs. They wasn't

very rich, they wasn't very poor. They have very strong passport, somebody say that that passport was much stronger than American passport at that time. So people really enjoyed and liked that president. He helped them a lot. And they built together that country. And he didn't make any differentiation between Muslims and Serbs, Croatian people. Everyone lived happily together. Everyone get married to each other between all religions.

Story of the War

When Josef Broz Tito died in 1980 he didn't leave anyone to be the next president in Yugoslavia. That was also one of the mistakes. So all the countries, small countries in Yugoslavia, they tried to make something like competition between countries, who will be next president of Yugoslavia. But at that time the person in the best position to be president of Yugoslavia was Slobodan Milosevic. But, because he had all the power in Belgrade he just tried to get a bigger Serbia just for the Serb people. Of course at the time people who lived here we didn't agree for that. Slovenia didn't agree, Croatia and Bosnia we also didn't agree for that country. So at the beginning of the 90s Slovenia leaves Yugoslavia, and Slovenia was an independent country. And after that Croatia and after that Bosnia. When Slobodan Milosevic and Radovan Karadzic heard from that and also a few other politicians, they was a little bit angry on these countries, because they can't have control of free separate countries. They just want to have control of one country. And they think that they will get more power, more lands if they get control. A bigger country called Greater Serbia. So when Slovenia, Slobodan Milosevic sent his troops into Slovenia – Serbian troops, from what was before the war, Yugoslavian army, and they used Yugoslavian power to attack Slovenia, about 10 days of attacking Slovenia, they never moved into Slovenia, they just moved from Slovenia into Croatia, and they stayed in Croatia about one year. They tried to enter Croatia for about one year, they keep trying in Vukovar and Osijek and Dubrovnik. But actually they never stayed there. So actually they just moved to BiH. In Sarajevo, before the war, lived about 400,000 people. In Sarajevo you had about 40% Muslim people, 37% Serbs, and something like 17% Croatia people. So a mix of people. So before that war in Slovenia and Croatia nobody didn't think that war would happen here in BiH. Everyone think that if war happen in Croatia and Slovenia

that there is no chance the war will come here because of the mix of religions, and everyone lived together here. But we make a mistake. At the beginning of 1991 when BiH tried to be an independent country on referendums people voted for one country and at that time many people, about 70,000 Serbian people, who lived in Sarajevo, they left the city. Because they heard that we will win on that referendum and that we will be an independent country. But they get support from Serbia. Some of the people joined the Serbian army, some of them go to Serbia. And on the 1st March when officially we win on that referendum, and officially when we was independent country, 2nd March Serbian forces start attacking the city. Because already they have the power. Already they were on all the hills around Sarajevo. Every thirty metres they put some snipers and some tanks and they started attacking the city. At that time we didn't have any entrance or exit from the city. When they started attacking Sarajevo, they are attacking everything they can see from the hills, including church, mosque, cathedrals, schools, hospitals, houses, buildings, everything. They destroyed many companies, factories. So we tried to get some help and actually we wasn't ready for this war. We didn't have any army in that time and we didn't have any weapons in that time. We tried to get support and we tried to get help from United Nations just to come here and stop this war. Because they are attacking the city, they are attacking the country and they are killing too many people because they want to get more power and more lands. So we didn't get help at the beginning of the war and all people who stayed in the city they see that you need to do something. Because if you don't do nothing, if you just stay at home, you know maybe they will enter in Sarajevo, and they will get what they want because Sarajevo is captured. Because Sarajevo is capital city of BiH, if they enter into Sarajevo they will have control of the whole country. That time also we tried to get some weapons but usually you have some hand made weapons and some from the police, something like that, and you make some small groups and you try to protect your part of the city. You try to protect your street, I don't know, your neighbourhood, just so that Serbian soldiers don't enter into Sarajevo. And Serbian soldiers can see you very easily. And they have much stronger weapons than you. We have handmade weapons, guns, grenades, something like that, but they have tanks and everything and it's too hard to defend from that. But what Serbians want to do, what Serbian soldiers want to

do, they just want to attack the city, they want to destroy the city and kill everyone who lived there. Or just so that people leave the city and then enter into Sarajevo, because they don't want to fight on the street. If they fight on the street they will lose some soldiers and they will lose army. So they think they will do it very quickly because they have a great view of the city, much stronger weapons and all the things. We keep trying to get help from the United Nations. We try to get more weapons in BiH. But by that time the UN had already put an embargo on weapons on BiH. So we can't get weapons into BiH. And if we can it means we have to share weapons. If we get one tank, it means Serbian side also must get one tank. It was very stupid at that time and we didn't get help at all. People stick together and also people try to get support from UN. In 1992, later, six months later, BiH, UN came here, in BiH and we get some supplies from them. They took control of the airport and also the Hotel Holiday which at the time was one of the two safest locations in the whole city, maybe in the whole country. When UN came here, everyone claimed that they would stop the war. We waited so long for them and when nothing finished, the first help we get from the UN was medicals for malaria. Malaria doesn't exist in BiH. We waited so long for help and eventually we get the wrong help. We see that they will not help us too much. If you go in the airport, you can cross into BiH free territory. And free territory was pretty safe to import or export some help and just to leave the city and to leave the country. UN say we can't use the airport. They will help us to leave the city, but you see that this was helping the Serbia. If all people will leave the city then Serbian forces will enter into the city very easily to fight. And we didn't agree with them. 1993, finally, from all of the small groups who stay here in Sarajevo, we make on group called the BiH army. This was the first army in the history of BiH. At that time the BiH army gets this idea to make the tunnel under the airport. So two groups started to make that tunnel. One group from Sarajevo, one group from BiH free territory. About 4 months of work into that project they meet each other in the middle of the underground, about 5 metres underground and also under airport. When we made that tunnel we put inside all the important electricity cables and phone cables, also we tried to import and export some weapons from Sarajevo. Because in Sarajevo in some factories we made some handmade weapons, it was top secret from the UN and Serbian side. When we made hand made weapons

you need to export these weapons to Bosnian free territory. Because you need to protect Bosnian free territory on the Serbian side. At that time it was very dangerous to live near the tunnel. Inside the tunnel you have 800metres full of bombs and grenades. So, Serbian forces, they knew about this tunnel but they couldn't attack it because it was underground and also because the United Nations controlled the airport, which was good for us at that time. After that, about 3,000 people used this tunnel in one day. Everyone who had any chance, who had much stronger reasons for leaving the city, who had a relative in another country just used the tunnel. Everyone who didn't get a chance, or who had a much stronger reason to stay here, they just used the tunnel to get some help, some food and then back to the city. We used this tunnel to import and export everything. In that time people bringing food, bringing health bags, which were heavy, about 60-80 kilos. You're crossing the small tunnel, with 80 kilos on your back and you entering the city. You needed to be fast. But how could you be fast when you have that heavy bag on your back. And all that heavy food. You need to go behind the buildings. Sometimes to go from the tunnel to the city centre, to the old part, could be about one day. Sometimes more. Because it was very dangerous to cross. So they can see you anytime. Because in that time, they attacking the city every day. Every hour, every minute, almost every second. Serbian forces, in Sarajevo, killed about 2000 children and 11000 people. And that's more civilian people. And children who are just growing up. They're just going to school and they die on the way. They just want to stop this generation growing up, Bosnian and Muslim people who stay in Sarajevo. But actually they didn't do that. They killed too many people here. Many people stayed without jobs, without homes, without mother, father, without anything. But by the end of that they didn't destroy that. They didn't get what they want. Their plans was to just get more power, more lands, just for one kind of people, just for a bigger Serbia. They didn't get that. About 1000 days of occupation in Sarajevo in about 4 years of the war here in BiH.

End of the War

Finally someone was sick of this in BiH and they tried to stop this war here. First with peace agreement in Dayton, 1995, between the free countries, Croatia, Serbia and BiH. They stopped the war. They stopped the war in a very easy

way. NATO bombed Serbian positions around BiH. After one month of bombing, they stopped the war. And they were surprised by how very quickly they stopped the war. Just for one month of bombing they stopped the war. And after that came the questions. Why did they wait so long to stop the war? Why did they wait for Serbian soldiers to kill almost 300,000 people in BiH? Why did they wait until nearly 2 million people had lost their homes? Why did they wait until Serbian forces had destroyed schools, churches, mosques to stop the war? You have many questions but all the questions are simple. Maybe now those questions are easy to answer. UN at the beginning of the war, they just sent the wrong information about the situation here in BiH. They sent that in BiH it was safe. Everyone trusted them. Because the UN are much stronger than BiH. Because we are just a small country. But the UN made a huge mistake in this war. They came here and they weren't ready for this war and actually they didn't know what to do. They know that someone is attacking but they didn't know why. And when you try to explain, to UN, that this is not a civilian war, that someone is attacking from the hills to the city centre, churches, schools, hospitals, cathedrals, they are attacking all the things that can't be a civilian war. Because I can't see any reason to kill a child of two or three months. To kill the house, to destroy the school, to destroy the Olympic house, Olympic bobsleigh, the library. About 2 million books were burned in the fire. Just to delete the history of BiH.

Post War

Now, with that peace agreement in Dayton, we get three presidents. And peace agreement in Dayton was good in 1995 because it stopped the war. But actually they didn't think about what would happen after that. Now we have a lot of troubles, a lot of problems, because the three presidents of BiH, Croatia, Serbian and Bosnian, and every eight months they rotate. And we have two countries in one country. 59% of Serbian people who live in BiH, they get their own country, they get Republika Srpska. This wasn't fair on Croatian people. If Serbian people get Republika Srpska, then Croatian people also need to get Croatian part. That Croatian part doesn't exist now. Croatian people live in Mostar in Herzegovina. So that wasn't correct from Dayton. We needed to have three parts, Serbian, Bosnian, Croatian. In front of us is the Federation of BiH, behind

us is Republika Srpska. There is one line on the map. In the future they will delete that line, I am sure. We can't live with three presidents. Too much money is spent on their applications for their jobs when actually they don't give you nothing.

So BiH after the war needed about \$11billion to rebuild, almost every house in the city, almost in the country needed to be rebuilt. But that money went through different organisations and everyone didn't get their part of the cake. And then they split that money into three parts, especially between politicians. Then there wasn't enough money for the people who really needed it. We rebuilt our city very quickly, because Sarajevo is the capital city. But other small cities around BiH, they haven't rebuilt yet.

People who live abroad need to know that this war didn't happen because of the people. This war happened because of some crazy politicians. They tried to put into peoples' heads to hate each other and to attack each other and to kill each other, just because of their religion.

Now, after the war, for some of the Serbian people, Milosevic, Ratko Mladic, they are the heroes. They attacked the city and they killed the civilian people. They destroyed everything as they came through and now they are the heroes. People who lived together happy, before the war, people helping each other in the war also. Big numbers. Still you have Serbian people who live in Sarajevo. Still you have Croatian people who live in Sarajevo. And they are helping each other. For if you are born in this city, you are born in Sarajevo, you are born in BiH. That's it. This is your home. You hosted the 1984 Winter Olympic Games. You built this city together. Together we built Olympic Stadium. Together we built Olympic Bobsleigh. You know some of the people leave the city. Some of the people attacked the city in the last war. They attacked what they built you know? But some of them. They stayed in the city and some of them they joined the Bosnian army. And they helped the Bosnian army. Because if you are born here it is your home you know? You can go somewhere else but you'll lose one part of your soul. If you've lived almost all of your life in that city.....You can

try and live somewhere else and maybe you'll live much better than here but you will have left something else very important behind.

Now after the war, in BiH, because of the political situation, many young people want to leave the country and go somewhere else. To just get some money and to survive. Many people stay here and try to work hard to just get some money for their family. Just to survive and to have a normal life. But, after the war when you arrive here in Sarajevo, you see that many people still think that there is war here in BiH. But you can see that it is safe. Sarajevo and BiH is a pretty safe country. People are still happy. People are happy because it is your city and your home and again you have your freedom. And if someone tries to take that from you, you will give your life. And many people did that. Many people died for our better future that you can see here. A lot of cemeteries and graves here as you can see around the city. We have a lot of cemeteries here because 11,000 people died during the war. We didn't make one huge cemetery for everyone who died during the war because actually you didn't know how many people would die in the last war. And you just needed to build them quickly. But they ran out of space.

So after the war we tried to change people. Many people don't know that after the war, many politicians just arrived here from some towns or small villages, some other small city. We respect that. If you are clever and you know what to do. But if you arrive here from some village and you try to be the president and you try to work in the parliament building, you won't help too many people. You're just killing this country. And people start to hate that. Just like in the elections, they promise new roads, new houses, better jobs, everything. But after one year they forget what it is they promise. And people are disappointed. And they don't like you any more then. People are sick of that. Always they promised. But they never do what they promise. They never change. And the economic crisis and companies here. You know the war destroyed a lot of companies here. Some people who was policeman before the war, now he is the richest man in the whole country. He has about 22 companies in BiH, main companies. They have clever players. They buy food companies and brewery companies. This is good. When you have hungry people they will always buy the food and when you

have crazy people they will always buy the beer. In that last war, it did help somebody. War businessmen. Because they used their position in the last war in some organisation, where you get food, where you get help, they sold food to hungry people you know. For one kilo of sugar, maybe 5 euro. How you can buy that if you don't have money? And how can you get money if you don't have a job? And how can you get a job if they completely destroyed your factory and company where you worked? So you have to find something just to survive. But people survived and I am sure that we will survive.

Now where we are is (sp?) and you have cable car. Cable car was built in Austro-Hungary. The main house for the cable car was there – near the National Library – on the other side of the river. People parked down there and took the cable car up. You needed about 15 minutes to drive up from the Old Town, from the city centre, and then you have fresh air and great food here. Now that this mountain is completely destroyed that cable car doesn't exist anymore. It would need about 10 million euro to rebuild that cable car. Olympic Stadium was built before the Olympic Games, officially it was the Olympic Stadium in 1982. The towers were built the same year. Also the Olympic buildings here were built between 1980 and 1984.

Questions

What do you see as the future of your business?

I hope business will get better. I hope there will be more trips to BiH. I try to bring people here because we have a lot of things to offer to tourists. Actually I don't have too much support from the government or politicians. I hope so though. This is my second year of running the travel agency here. I'm working on school trips, day trips, excursions.

Do you have any visitors from Serbia?

Maybe in the six years of this business, I have had two or three guests maximum from Serbia.

Why do people visit? (question misunderstood)

You have good and bad people from Serbia. Just like from Bosnia. Because of the war....I don't know...many people from Serbia, from Croatia and also from Bosnia, they don't what is a hostel. They don't stay in the hostels. They usually stay in hotels or something like that. Private accommodation. But in hostels not yet. That's good for us. Sometimes you know they came, they pay cheap and also they use the whole room. They sometimes eat in the room, they make some damages and other things. But we have a lot of Croatian guests also. In the winter they come here to ski.

Why do your international tourists visit?

Most of them come because of the war. Only a small number come because of the beauty of BiH. Because only a small number of them know what we have. I hope the next tourists come here because they are interested in the history of BiH. They want to know about it and they want to learn it. So that they can try not to make any similar mistake in the future. You know the war is not good. It is between politicians. It is not between people. People always lose and politicians always get what they want.

Do you ever have any unusual requests?

Of course. I always get questions. Why did they start the war? I don't know. Is it still dangerous around here? Do you still have landmines around city centre?

Many people here, American guests some of them, when they are in my hostel, they just ask ‘is it safe here? Do you have a lot of landmines here in this street?’. I live here...so if it’s safe here for me. But you have many, many stupid questions you know.

I have been to the bobsled track and to Mount Bjelasnica many, many times. Probably hundreds to the bobsleigh track. If the cable car comes back into operation ever maybe I won’t have to go so much.

What pre-tour knowledge do your guests have?

Do they know a lot about the war? Some of them do. They know the war. Some of them they don’t know at all. More people don’t know about the war than do know about it.

Do movies play an influence on attracting guests?

Yes movies have an influence. They do. And especially this new short movie they say has an influence, this *Enjoy Life*.

Observation driving past the Holiday Inn

This was one of the fastest rebuilt areas after the war.

How do you feel about the various war memorialisation projects?

A destroyed building is just a bad memory of the war. And every time you cross that building, you remember the war. You remember the hard times. So maybe for tourists it’s good to see what is happening or what was going on here. But for you, you are there, and you survived that and you try to find some better future...but again in front of you is that destroyed building. It should stay in the past. So that’s what I think. Maybe the lady in Vukovar is right and I am wrong. My house was destroyed with nine grenades. I was downstairs with my parents. I didn’t go to school. I tried to eat something but I couldn’t because we had no food. You tried to watch cartoons but you couldn’t because you had no electricity. And if you get electricity, you can just watch the news. And on the news, nothing special, just see how many people died. The streets, destroyed buildings burning, burning houses and that. And that’s something that will stay

in the memory. Because I can never forget what I can never forgive. That's what I think.

Please tell me about dissonant heritage in Sarajevo (term explained).

Other local people who stayed here in Sarajevo during the war, they don't really like to talk about the war. They just tried to forget it so much. And also young people they are not very interested to talk about the war. Young people who are born after the war, 1995, 1996, who didn't survive the war, and know almost nothing about the war, they are now in a conflict with people who were born in the war, who lived in the war and grew up in the war. You can't hate people. There are good and bad people on both sides, Croat, Serb, Bosnian. Just try not to make the same mistakes again. Now we can cooperate with Serbia, with Croatia, with Slovenia, with everyone.

What is your relationship with the tourist board?

I have problems with the tourist board. You know for them it is easy, they have salary, it does not matter to them if people do not come. For many years I have been going to their office to tell them about my hostel and still they do not know about me.

Appendix V

Interview with Tourism Association of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Tourism Association of Sarajevo

Sarajevo, May 2010

We are the Tourism Association of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. I am an employee of the federation and my colleague is an employee of the Tourism Association of Bosnia Herzegovina. So you have state level and federal level. As you know the law of tourism here has entity levels.

What is the structure of tourism policy in Bosnia?

(Leila) Officially in the government tourism does not exist. There is a department within the ministry of economic relations and foreign trade but the department does not have a budget for tourism so the activities which are implemented by this department are on a variable level. The tourism association of Bosnia Herzegovina has been formed according to the agreement of the tourism association of the federation and the tourism association of Republika Srpska. The OHR, the office of the high representative helped with the idea and the main reason why it was formed was because we realised that we had quite a negative impact when we went to foreign fairs and we had different booths at different events. Because of the two entities. So there were a lot of questions about 'can we travel between the two entities' so we realised that we should form one organisation which would be better, so then we could market Bosnia-Herzegovina as one destination. The Tourism Association of Canton Sarajevo which is part of the 10 tourism associations within the Federal tourism board is in charge of the promotion of travel attractions and tourism attractions in the region of Sarajevo. It is not in charge of development. So any forms of development, infrastructure and everything they go into the scope for the ministry of tourism and the environment. They have the budget for developing this. The people in charge of promotion are the tourism associations. Our main goal is promotion of Bosnia Herzegovina as a travel destination. So each and every organisation which is formed is just to promote the region. This is its scope, it's sole task really.

What are your main challenges at present?

(Sanela) There is a problem. The Tourism Association of the Federation, let's say it is a supervisor of these ten cantons, or associations. The biggest problem is that the Tourism Association of the Federation is based on a different level and a different organisation than the Tourism Association of the Republika Srpska. Because the Tourism Association of the Republika Srpska is a semi-governmental. Its budget depends on the government, on their decisions and people who are working in the government. Rarely are they really related to the tourism sector. The Tourism Association of the Federation, their tourism board are people from the tourism sector, from private tourism sector. They are the ones who bring decisions and clearly they already are in the branch, they know what tourism means and their decisions can be really focussed on tourism. There are no politicians there.

What do you promote?

(Leila) In general the Tourism Association of Canton Sarajevo which promotes Sarajevo did an analysis of the major perceptions of tour operators from abroad, mainly regional countries, of what they see and recognise within Sarajevo. So with this analysis and daily encounters with tourists in the tourist information centres, they got feedback from tourists, let's say what they liked best, what they were interested in, what could be improved. These were altogether used to form and to put in to frontline major activities. Because it's neutral concept. It has to promote everything, all hotels, all travel, all tourist attractions. But based on this perception of the tour operators the major frontline attractions are promoted. Cultural and historical tourism was recognised as the first attraction. Eco tourism is now very important. We think that people would rather go to untouched areas because there are lots of them surrounding Sarajevo. But they still voted on cultural and historical sites as the main reason for their arrival. Including the Olympic mountains and their heritage. Also there is potential for spa tourism, thermal springs in Ilizda. So in Sarajevo you have many types of tourism.

How does the association feel about war tourism?

(Sanela) Not so many people come here because of the war. We have a tunnel museum which is very popular. It's something like a museum and it's promoted as a museum but it's not that we so much....eh, avoid the internal politics, tourism development does not go in the direction of promoting war tourism that much. One part wants to, one doesn't. You can't avoid that there are two sides. It should be promoted one says, it should be promoted the other says. But tourists visit it. It's the first attraction. And the major one, The Sarajevo Tunnel Museum. It's privately owned, the family which owned the house during the war. They are the ones who manage the museum.

Who do you collaborate with?

(Sanela) We co-produce a calendar of events. This is supported. A certain percentage of the assets which are collected from the private sector memberships and from accommodation fees has to be allocated to the Ministry of Culture for the Federation. So when they start developing a programme for which subjects or which things they want to support, they contact the Tourism Association of either Canton Sarajevo or the Federation to see what they think are the best projects or festivals which should be supported. Which have the greatest significance for tourism. So this project was one of these. It's one of the many we have (the daily Sarajevo guide). They come to us with the project. It needs to be non-profit, because we don't support commercial projects. And it needs to be of interest to the city, to the tourists, to improve tourism offer in Sarajevo, in the canton, in the region, in the city, in the country. So if you find interest in that project, in that sense that I have mentioned, then we support it. Why not?

Example: This local guide is an example, Sarajevo film festival, Bascarsija nights.

We go as the Tourism Association of Bosnia-Herzegovina in general. So we talk about the tourism offer of Bosnia. Of course, the Sarajevo canton, the other cantons, also Republika Srpska, under the one roof. One Bosnia, one destination. That's in general. Last year we had a great cut in our budgets, 50%,

so naturally the fairs are now reduced. It used to be around 22-25, with some regional manifestations, which are not fairs but are cultural and tourism festival manifestations. Some canton tourism associations were represented, disregarding the Tourism Association of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Because they are familiar with us, the regional countries know the cities in Bosnia-Herzegovina, so they can go and represent themselves. But the more distant, say the European market we go under the one roof as the Tourism Association of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The fairs, as I said, we went to 22-25, now it is reduced to 15. We had to put our focus into more important markets, rather than just going and presenting at some regional stations, because they are familiar with our offer already.

Do you have any staff abroad?

We don't have any staff abroad, we use our embassies. We have something there. They have activities and brochures. In 2006 we developed a project called Diplomacy in Tourism, in cooperation with our Minister for Foreign Affairs. Since we do not have enough assets to open representative offices in foreign countries we try to collaborate with our embassies and our consulate offices around the world and deliver them material which they can distribute for us. We also have presentations, meetings with tour operators. First would be Austria if we could have someone abroad. Because according to our statistics these are the markets which have the greatest number, outside the regional countries. Austria and Germany.

What statistics do you have on tourism in the region?

We have an agency for compiling statistics, the Agency for Statistics for Bosnia-Herzegovina, and also canton offices are in charge of collecting, publishing and distributing the statistics. We do have them naturally, but you had to mention them. I know that statistics are a problem in every country, they never are what they really are, but, here in Bosnia-Herzegovina, it's a specific problem. We have, let's say unofficially, from the officers who work in Medjugorje for example, they report a greater number of arrivals in nights in Medjugorje solely than we have for the entire Bosnia-Herzegovina. So I know it's a problem, because I mean the private sector, that is hotels and other places, which should

be recording tourists who stay nights, they really don't do that. Because then they don't have to pay taxes or the accommodation fees. So it's a huge problem.

What other nationalities visit Bosnia-Herzegovina?

Holland would be third. Not so many Australians. Top ten for BiH for Canton Sarajevo, regional countries then Germany, Italy, Turkey, Austria, Holland, France, Montenegro. That's in terms of arrivals. There is an agency for statistics for Bosnia-Herzegovina who provide an entire list of our tourists who come to Bosnia-Herzegovina. At one stage we had, in 2003/ 2004, the greatest number of tourists were from the United States. But they aren't in the top 10. But they paid with a credit card so it was easier to pick up the statistics.

What other challenges will you face in the coming years?

I would say that our main problem is finance. We don't have much, our budget is very low. So we cannot do promotional activities as we want to. So that's our main problem.

Do you receive any international funding?

We just applied for the EPA project, in consortium with the national organisations in Serbia and Italy. But even if you apply for the international funds, you need to have some sort of fee to be a part of that project. If you don't have enough money in your budget, you can't apply. You need to provide this.

What political challenges do you face?

That's also a problem. My colleague mentioned that in the beginning of 2009 the government cut our budget by 50%. The Tourism Association is financed by the membership fees and taxes. And the membership fees are 99% of our budget. And they cut membership fees by 50%. So if the government do not recognise that tourism is the main potential of developing this country, economically. That's a problem yeah. They are not supporting tourism.

They say tourism is the only economic branch in the country which is not negative, not causing deficit. But it's just like one sentence, we need to develop

tourism, and that's it. They developed a plan to lower costs but it's the global recession too.

But it's the percentages which the private sector pays for tourism etc, it's really ridiculous. Compare it some other industry, they don't really feel it, with millions of income. But we do. This reduction.

What services do you offer?

Training, it's done by Ministry for Tourism. We develop learning materials, but the education and providing them with certificates is done within the Ministry. Unfortunately, so far, they do not have an association of tour guides. Which is difficult, because when people contact us we have to just give them the numbers of those guys we know. Having an association would help them to get work. A lot of people even who walk around are even uncertified people. And that is a big problem. But this problem has to be solved by the Ministry. We do not have any jurisdiction than proposing, when people send us letters, 'We were taken by an uncertified guide', it is just our recommendation to the Ministry to try and improve this. USAID and similar organisation also provide training activities for this kind of activity. They did collaborate with the Tourism Association of Bosnia-Herzegovina while they were organising these workshops, making materials and trying to set standards and to educate the private sector. And they did some really good projects and I think they managed to raise the quality in the private tourism sector, in hotels and restaurants, etc. But it's still really needed. And every international organisation proposes a different type of tourism. Let's say UNDP they would rather rural and eco-tourism, whereas USAID and others they would rather focus on camps or the environment. USAID had a lot of environment duties.

Please tell me about Olympic Tourism in Sarajevo.

It's got huge potential in the country. It could be developed. But again, it's difficult. Jahorina for example is under the jurisdiction of East-Sarajevo, but it has a much more hotels and it's developing conference tourism. They have the capacity for larger groups. Bjelasnica and Igman have huge development potential but accommodation is really rare. There are two agencies which try

now to arrange private accommodation and people are starting to go there, to Bjelasnica, but at a really low level. The organisation which was formed during 1984, prior the Olympics, is in charge of that. They are in charge of all Olympic facilities within Sarajevo. Bjelasnica, Igman, Zetra and other hotels.

What was Olympic Tourism like between 1984-1992?

There was much more than there is now. But here, after the Olympic Games, we had a lot of arrivals. But a lot of experts in tourism say that we didn't use the potential. We could have developed it more and it started to go down instead of up. So the year after, in 1985, we had a lot of visitors. But in 1986 it started dropping. That was because Bosnia-Herzegovina in ex-Yugoslavia was mainly an industrial republic. It was not like a tourism destination. Croatia was a tourism destination, as was Macedonia, Montenegro and those republics. But not Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In relation to whether the government recognises the importance of tourism, I think that even though we realise we have lots of potential, still the government cannot realise just how much tourism can improve the economy. It's just the level of consciousness it could be.

You cannot avoid that we had the Olympic Games, it was the best organised Olympic Games at that time. The first question from the majority of tourists is the War Tunnel, the second one or the third one is Olympic Mountains, or Franz Ferdinand. You can try and avoid the fact that World War One happened here, but the fact is that it was. And people see it as a very important thing. And they try and go and find the footstep of Gavrilo Princip, so it's very important. If people are always asking these questions, we must determine that these are the most important 3 questions and attractions in Sarajevo.

We bid for the 2010 Olympics but it was too early. I think we are more ready now and maybe it will happen again in the future but you need a lot of money to do it. But maybe, in a couple of years, why not? We have a tradition of hospitality.

But infrastructure requires huge development. Because I don't think that, with some individual projects, for example the Olympic Mountains, they did a business plan for developing the centre, but the plan is way too ambitious for us. We would need huge investment, important, rich investors. Now it's just a plan. Existing infrastructure is included in the plan. There are no directives on how we should attract them, how we should contact, what can be really done, the plan was more like a dream. With no assets, you can't implement it.

The 2007 WTM, that was a huge problem and it still continues. Our assets are very low so our participation at fairs cannot be compared to the participation of Croatia for example. They have a lot more assets to participate in such a fair. That year we were supported by USAID. A lot of other organisations were involved in the project. But now we do not have enough assets. But it's a different type of promotion, you can't go there without travel packages, so it's a little bit different to other markets. So if you go to WTM the costs are huge. You need to have private sector with you. They support the economic centre. It's very important.

Green Visions is one of the most important examples here. They are very professional about their work. So it's not difficult for us, the Tourism Association of Bosnia-Herzegovina, when they go to these bigger fairs, they invite the private sector to participate. So, as we are non-commercial, naturally the person who comes along and stands up there and offers their material, they come for free. But they need to bring their products. They don't have to pay, we provide additional space, as much as we can according to our budget, but they need to pay for their own trip. But because many of them are not really professional about their work, they want us to pay them and of course, we don't have enough assets. But Green Visions, and some other agencies from Mostar, who are very serious about their work, always want to have the opportunity to come and participate in the Tourism Association of Bosnia-Herzegovina. And also, they have the interest.

What has been your biggest success?

The film festival is the most successful. It really goes beyond the region, it's big and it's international. And the Sarajevo region also has potential in the film industry. So it's also a huge attraction. The festival is in July, at the beginning, because of Ramadan. We don't know who is coming yet but important people come to it.

What has not been successful?

In general, the projects which are already recognised, you can see their potential and their impacts. It attracts a lot of visitors. Then again, projects which are new, it doesn't have to be successful, it might not always be to do with the assets. Sometimes some other elements hold up a project. We try to support the private sector, we often try to help them print materials. But if for example, if some information is untrue, we try to go through them and let them know.

Private accommodations during the film festival are all full. And popular actors and actresses are coming here. So the focus is on Sarajevo. We are famous. There are a couple of weeks where we are global. If you host, I don't know, Brad Pitt, who was here the last time...Mickey Rourke or some of the famous actors, the focus is on Bosnia-Herzegovina those couple of weeks. It's huge. The festival itself, as publicity, regardless of the Tourism Association, you can see the number of arrivals when the festival is here. It helps to change the negative imagery of the country, of Bosnia-Herzegovina. It's a huge tourist attraction. Tourists come from the region, from Croatia, from Montenegro, from Serbia even at that time, they come to Sarajevo to visit the festival to see the red carpet in front of the National Theatre, something like that. And also the Tourism Association had, during the last three festivals, a tent, a promotional tent, which we didn't have before, and a lot of people came and took materials. Hopefully they will bring it home and distribute it. And also, very important, the Tourism Association of Canton Sarajevo organises every year the opening of the Winter and Summer season. During the opening ceremony they try to promote the cultural tradition which brings the private sector along. People who make organic food, crafts from Bascarsija and they strive to sell and promote.

What current projects are you engaged with?

We're waiting back from EPA on a project on cultural heritage. The Tourism Association of Canton Sarajevo opened a new tourist information centre in Sarajevo. They used to have a centre near the cathedral, now they have it on Bascarsija, near the old part, and it's very important because it's very frequent and much more frequent than the street which they had been on. The one that you visited was the one they had for years. The new one was just opened last month. The new one is very, very frequent. Even though assets are reduced, the city of Sarajevo is developing a signage project. They are nearly finished, they have done a large part of it. These are all local projects you know.

What is the future of tourism in Bosnia?

It will be the number one cultural tourism destination in the region (*tongue in cheek*). But seriously, why not? There is the potential to do that. I think a couple of years ago the premier of the Sarajevo canton wanted to develop a target of 1 million tourists a year to Sarajevo. So we are going in the right direction. Now we have some figures but the official statistics, are not accurate. In 2009, here are the arrivals and nights.

What access issues do you have in Bosnia?

There was a three times per week flight from Sarajevo to the UK. But they cut it. In general there is a huge problem with flights in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We do not have low cost companies. They are expensive to get. But unless you want to fly to Croatia and then come on a bus, I don't know does it pay off. That's a problem with people in the government who do not recognise the importance of the whole sector collaborating and working as one, towards one goal. Everyone says tourism is really important and is the third economic branch, but that's just it. Not just investment, but these regulations and rules. They need to change.

What other regional countries do you cooperate with?

We have a good cooperation with Croatia, with Serbia, with Slovenia also. And mostly within these projects like with EPA, especially now because it's cross border cooperation. This is good because at least now our presidents of the associations know each other with this cooperation.

How do backpackers contribute to the market?

Yes we recognise their importance. It's why we developed niche tourism. They were the first tourists to come to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Our plans are created for the backpackers.

There is an Olympic Museum, now it's located within Zetra. It used to be located near the British Embassy. But unfortunately it still hasn't been renovated. The one in Zetra is operating but that's not really it. Zetra is very often used for concerts and conferences.

War – Policy Development

I wouldn't say the war affects our policies. I'd say the Dayton Peace Agreement makes things very difficult for us. We cannot be what we want to be because of the actual regulations. The Dayton Peace Agreement also restricts tourism because it divides the country into two entities and that's why we have entity laws and the reason why we have two tourism associations, one for Bosnia and one for Republika Srpska. It is probably yes. It's a political question. The law is too complex, it is very expensive, you have huge administration because everything is doubled. Not just doubled, tripled. Regulations for FDI are very complicated because you have two different regulations and laws. You have this unnatural divide. It's not like dividing Bosnia into its five economic regions which is the natural way to do it. This one is completely unnatural. It's not just tourism it affects though. It's also economic, if you are in the private sector, you have two or three different types of paper you have to fill in and you have two or three different types of laws to meet. Let's say someone starts developing a strategy for the development of tourism in Canton Sarajevo. To have all Olympic facilities included would be impossible because Jahorina is not under the jurisdiction of Canton Sarajevo and The Tourism Association of Canton Sarajevo. That's a huge minus. It's impossible to develop real policies on how you want to develop something or improve something if you cannot take the region which can naturally be seen as one. So that's why we need a strategy for tourism at state level and recognition of tourism at state level.

What other plans have you for the future?

We support minority groups but we do not work directly with them. The Tourism Association of Canton Sarajevo, together with the Federation, they are also working on a project of bringing in tour operators. This project is developed together with Turkish Airlines. Now they have the first group of tour operators from Turkey, around twenty and there will be another three groups soon, from Finland for example. This is also very important if we expect to increase tourists. Arrivals have increased but not nights. There was an increase in the last year, which was very important for us because of the global crisis, etc. This year there was also an increase of 12% arrivals in the first 3 months and 13/14% in nights (Bosnia). Lonely Planet also placed Sarajevo as a top 10 destination for 2010.

Appendix VI
Guest lecture from Tim Clancy
Hotel Hecco, Sarajevo, May 2010

A lot of the time Sarajevo is not a very good representation of the state of affairs in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Because it is the capital city, its economy makes it look like a very normal European city. It looks fairly well to do here in a lot of ways with its high street and things like that but it's not necessarily indicative of the economic or social situation in the country. As soon as you get outside of Sarajevo you'll see there are still a lot of destroyed villages, the infrastructure is fairly poor. There is a lot of unemployment, a lot of men sitting in cafes smoking cigarettes, drinking beer, similar to Ireland.

I came here in 1992, I'm Irish-American by the way, my grandparents are from County Meath and County Mayo, they came to America after the second world war so I'm not that far displaced. I'm not the classic Irish-American that you guys don't like too much. It's the classic American tradition to finish your degree and travel across Europe. I was squatting in South London, got involved with the anti-war movement for Yugoslavia. And a few months later I found myself hitchhiking to Bosnia. I found myself working in a refugee camp with Bosnian Muslims, mainly women and children who were processed through concentration camps in the north west. There were no men, because obviously we know what happened to them. I came for three weeks and 17/18 years later I'm still here. I did emergency relief during the war, mainly social work with women and children. After the war I started doing some development work and after a few years of that I was sent to Albania and Kosovo during the NATO bombing in 1999. To make a very long story short, I got a death threat for speaking the enemies language. Here they all speak the same language, they just all call it a different name. And I said, enough of the Balkan wars, came back to Sarajevo, took a year off and did a lot of hiking. And then I had a green vision in the year 2000. Basically 5 of us, a Dutchman, 2 Americans and 2 Bosnians who were sort of discouraged about the lack of vision on behalf of the Bosnian – you would ask them 'where do you see yourself in 5 or 10 years?' and one answer from the mayor of a municipality we asked, said 'it depends on how many donations we get'. That was a sign that things were not going in the right

direction. Then we had the international community, who in my opinion really didn't have a clue what they were doing. They loved the catchphrases 'capacity building, institutional strength, sustainable development'. We loved those catchphrases. But I didn't see the loaf of bread that you could bite into. There was just air. Lots of training, lots of seminars, lots of foreign consultants coming in and not really getting any results. So, we were very disillusioned with the local community, very disillusioned with the international community. We were all nature lovers, tree huggers, whatever you want to call us. It's very, very difficult in any country, let alone a post-war, transitional country, to say don't do this, don't do this. So don't cut the forest down the way you're cutting it. Don't build hydro-electric dams. So Green Visions was basically our answer to environmental exploitation. It's very difficult to say no, no, no, you have to say no, do this. We see the 'do this' as eco-tourism. My year hiking in the mountains definitely enlightened me to how incredibly beautiful and wild this country was. By default most people practised organic agriculture. People in rural areas did this because of the economic situation or tradition or correct environmental conditions. People didn't use pesticides as much as we do in the west. So we saw a great opportunity. So, Green Visions is a company, which in the UK we could be called a charitable enterprise, in the States we would be called a social business, here we are just simply a limited liability company. Because here, there is no other name for it. So we're registered as a classic limited liability company. Our profitable activities are eco-tourism, where we bring foreigners for 10 day hiking, biking, rafting, village tourism excursions. We do a lot of educational programmes for universities from the UK, US, Slovenia, Ireland. We do a lot of environmental things, most of our environmental stuff is pro-bono and we do a lot of community development. The community development aspect is that we take money from the international community and we funnel it into local communities. We have found that a lot of times local communities don't have the capacity, don't have the vision, don't know what their options are. Because a lot of people have been doing this for hundreds and hundreds of years. Passed down from generation to generation. Particularly in the highlands, it's a shepherd community. If you go into the highland villages most people have a massive flock of sheep. So when you talk about eco-tourism, when you talk about bed and breakfasts, when you

talk about these types of things, you're speaking Chinese. They are naturally hospitable, they are very friendly, but the concept is so foreign to them. We found that the international community didn't speak their language, they didn't speak the language of the international community. So we're sort of the middle man who represents both sides. And I think that's a key aspect of sustainable development. When the EU money comes in, it's a very top down approach. Unfortunately, you also have in Eastern Europe, in the Balkans, these mafia types who are very good at figuring out how to write a project and to get the money. They sort of form these monopolies in different areas that basically make them king of the mountain and the local community has to answer to them. It can be fairly brutal and exceptionally unfair. So we try to be that middleman. We're celebrating ten years of being in business and being in business for ten years in Bosnia-Herzegovina is not an easy thing to do. Hopefully we'll make it another ten.

At the moment, I wear many hats. I work for the European Union as a consultant in tourism and environment. I developed their new tourism policy which is called limited democracy. Before, the EU just had open tenders, if you had an idea you write a project, if you get enough points, we give you money. It didn't have to be interlinked with other tourism products, it didn't have to recognise competition in the region, it didn't recognise whether you had the human resources to do the things you said you were going to do. It was a very fake points system, where of the 13 projects which the EU funded I did an evaluation and 10 of them were not sustainable. One of them was sustainable, one was sort of sustainable. So now, we have a completely new approach to tourism. Now we give a framework of what we want, where we want it, what the target groups are, what education and training there needs to be, as well as marketing. There needs to be marketing. Marketing was a very huge issue where local communities did not have the capacity to know what they're selling and who they're selling it to. I also worked for WWF, doing economic development of protected areas. I worked for the UNDP. I'm also a travel writer. At the moment we're doing something ala Time-Out, regional tour guides for Sarajevo, for Herzegovina, for the whole country with my colleague and friend Alex, who has worked for National Geographic, Time-Out, NY Times, stuff like that. I'm an

environmental activist. I do a lot of activities, whether it is setting up parks in the local community, to fighting guys who are trying to build hydro-electric dams, cut down trees. I'm in court, being sued for libel for 50,000KM, my court case is on Monday. And I'll see if I win, I will. I didn't lie, I told the truth. So, I wear many hats and part of our fight is that, at least inside the EU there is some ruling law, here it doesn't exist. It's very difficult for the truth to come out, it comes out in the end. But it takes a long time to get there.

Questions

I have a broad knowledge of this country. I speak the language fluently. I understand the mentality. A lot of you, I assume, are from Western Ireland. Can you imagine all these foreigners coming to Bosnia and telling the Bosnians what they feel like? Even if you come to Western Ireland from Dublin people are suspicious of you. Let alone if you come from London or New York or Brussels. There's generally a lot of suspicions of peoples' intentions. And I think that's one of the reasons why development moves so slowly here.

What does the future hold for Bosnian tourism?

In 5 year's time Bosnia will be struggling with EU accession. I don't think 5 years is enough time. This election time coming up in October is key. If there's even a slight swing in this general election coming up then there's a chance for constitutional reform. Again, everyone will talk about constitutional reform. Since the April packets of 2006 which was a set of constitutional reforms which were introduced by the international community which were rejected by the parties here, since then, the country has been in a complete stalemate. It hasn't moved forward more than an inch or two. Quite literally. Politically, socially, economically. Both entities are on the verge of collapse. We're definitely on life support from the international community. The economic situation was much, much better 4 or 5 years ago. In terms of tourism, tourism is definitely a bright spot in the country. Not in terms of how we organise ourselves, not in terms of our approach to tourism, but in terms of regardless of all that, we're still moving forward. The locomotive is definitely the private sector. And people are coming. Tourists are coming more and more. We get 10-15% increase in tourists every year, both at Green Visions and in Bosnia as a whole. I don't think we're going

to be able to meet the market demands to be quite honest with you. Sarajevo in the past 3 or 4 years you have seen a doubling or tripling of tourist capacity, which is fantastic. Most of them have been a la Haris, small family owned Bed and Breakfast types, that we personally like to see. That puts money straight in to the local communities instead of the 5 star hotels and the Holiday Inns hotels that are usually foreign owned anyway. So the money doesn't get siphoned in to the local community. But the charm of the old town, the charm of Bosnia and its people and the bed and breakfasts are very similar to Ireland. I use the Irish model very often when I talk to people. Because Ireland didn't do everything right, but they did a lot of things right. And I think one of the things they did do right was understanding that the Irish people were a huge asset. That people generally liked the Irish people. That they are generally conceived of being open and friendly. 'Let's go have a pint here, let's go have a coffee'. And opening people's homes, opening bed and breakfasts were a huge hit in Ireland, I think they should be a huge hit here. We don't see that many bed and breakfasts here. Particularly in the rural areas. The charm of rural Ireland is that you can take a walk through the rolling green hills and have a Guinness in a pub on the corner. But you get to stay with the Irish people, you get to stay with someone you have a hard time understanding because they're from Cork. So that's something I think we're really trying to push here, our bed and breakfast cultures, but again, Ireland has done really well in contact development, product development. You come to fish, you come to walk, you come to kiss the Blarney stone or whatever. That's one of the big milestones in this country. There's a lot of potential, people are coming here anyway. But, as great a city as this is, in 2 days, been there done that. There's so many things that we could develop, whether it be north, south, east or west, that we haven't done. I think that's our weak spot. So I think hopefully we'll be working more on contact and product development to keep people in Sarajevo for 5 or 6 days instead of 2.

Please tell me about tourism entrepreneurship in Sarajevo.

There's a lot of positive things that come from the socialist era. One of the negative things is that you always wait for someone else to do it for you. There's not that self-initiative that has been developed in the west. So people think, 'well the government is not doing that for me, they aren't giving me money to set up a

Bed and Breakfast'. You're going to wait a long time if you wait for the government to do that. Everyone here says that the government is the most corrupt in Europe and we're rated as the top two corrupted countries in Europe. And everyone here will say that the government is incompetent. Everyone will say negative things about the government, yet the next thing sentence is 'I'm waiting for them to do something for me'. And I'll say, 'well you're going to be a grandfather by the time your waiting is up'. They aren't going to do anything for you, you have to take the initiative and do it yourself. And a lot of people don't take the initiative. And Haris, he has a small hostel, but he's a huge success story. If you Google hostels in Sarajevo, he's going to come up first, every single site, whether it be Lonely Planet Thorn Tree to various trip advisors to all different kinds of hotel reviews, all top notch. And he started out with three bedrooms in his family house. He's done an exceptional job. And we need more of that. We see more of that. But again, he's from the city. So I think city folk, they see the opportunities, whereas people in the rural areas...they see Green Visions come. And the first few years they saw us coming they saw us bring a group of 15 foreigners. These foreigners might buy some socks or something like that and we would go back. And they would be very suspicious when we would go to them and say 'look, why don't you guys prepare lunch for these people' or say 'your son lives in the city, you have an empty room, why don't you get that room ready and we'll sleep here and pay you for it'. It took them four years to understand that every single week, over the weekends, we're going to bring 30 people to the village. They want to eat. They find your culture fascinating. A lot of them might want to sleep. A lot of them will pay for your services. 4 years for the light bulb to go on and say 'hey'. And it was 4 years of us going there and saying 'please do it, these people would love a traditional lunch'. And now we do that. But it takes a really long time. I was speaking with a German gentleman, he's the president of the Rural Tourism Association of Europe. And he said, unfortunately, a lot of the time in Western Europe, in rural areas it takes someone from the city, or it takes someone from the village who has moved to the city and come back to the village with an idea to set up a bed and breakfast or to set up an ethno-village or restaurant. And then the light bulb goes off and people start to copy and paste. And that's generally the tendency for rural development. The only trick there is, is that incentive that comes from

the city right or wrong? Because you can do it right, but you can also do it wrong. Like coming in and building big, fluorescent, obnoxious villas in the middle of national parks and things like that.

Before we started Green Visions we were already hiking in all these areas. So we were their friends by the time we set up Green Visions. And part of the reason we set up Green Visions is because we saw that, particularly the rural areas, the highland villages, they were dying. They were almost completely extinct. And this is a window to ancient European history. You can still find it in a few places in rural, Western Ireland. You can't find it in too many places in continental Europe, except when you go to the east, to Slovakia or Romania. The eastern borders of Europe is where you can find it, maybe Portugal and Spain. But you know the ancient, traditional, I could even say medieval lifestyles are not only important from a cultural aspect but from a tourism one as well. It opens up another option for them to sustain their lifestyle. But for me, the tricky part is that local communities will adjust themselves to accommodate the tourists. How do we find that balance where we encourage the tourists to adopt to the lifestyles of the locals. Because we very often see that those traditional things that are so genuine and dear to us, they start to die out once it becomes a tourist destination. So the balance is very difficult. I mean tourism isn't all pluses, there are plenty of minuses to this type of tourism. So it's a tricky business.

Appendix VII

Interview with Tarik, Sarajevo Tours

In Sarajevo and also Sarajevo to Srebrenica, 19th & 21st May 2010

What competitors do you have?

My friend, who you know, Haris, also runs tours. He is cheaper and visiting much more places than we do. He is visiting the Bobsled Track, not just the Tunnel. But you know, the position of the Information Centre is good and a lot of people who walk around there see it. There are two, one across from the Hotel Europa and one in Saraj Street, in the Old Town. But you know that's just the position. Haris's office, does not have a lot of tourists [passing by]...I mean he has his guests and with them he is going to the Tunnel and around. He is doing much better. There is another guy at Ljubicia. They make big business with accommodation. They started first in Sarajevo with that, with cheap accommodation. For example, Haris' story, his parents, before Haris opened the hostel, gave part of their house to this agency. Ljubicia gave them 3 euro per night. They make big business with accommodation. They have a few places there in the centre of town and they have very small prices, 6 euros, 5 euros, even 4 euros out of the season. But it's very bad places, I mean 10 people in one room. They share a bathroom of course. And I know a lot, this season for example, Haris called me a few times, can you go to that place and take some people to your flat there. They wanted to leave the Ljubicia place. It wasn't good and it's happened a few times. They wanted to change so I drove them to my place and they stayed there. Haris also sometimes has groups and he doesn't have enough space so he calls me.

How do you advertise your tours/

I work with Sarajevo Tours. He owns Sarajevo Tours Agency, you typed this into Google? But I knew him for a long time, maybe 10 or 12 years. Together we wanted to college, we met each other there. He said that he wanted to study but I had 2/3 free months after that. I met him and he said he had a very good job, I think I will not study anymore. So he gave up the studies. After that he started working in the Tourism Information Centre. His father was a very big authority in tourism in Yugoslavia before the war. Here in Sarajevo he was chief

of the information centre. Now he is the director of a tourist high school. He made this position for his son. He started to see that tourists were coming and he started to work in tourism with the Tunnel Tour and all the other tours. Then he and Amela started to work together in Sarajevo Tour Agency. They don't have an office, just at home. But if you're looking for that tour. If you compare what they do to what Haris does, it's two completely different routes. Haris studied it but someone made a position for him. It's classic interest against interest. You cannot officially work in information centre, official information centre of the old town area and have your own tours. And you're taking all the money for them. For example, you're working there, have a salary and when tourists come to that information centre he must say, ok I am here working, I can give you information on where you will find the tunnel tour and accommodation. But you cannot say, I have a hostel, go there, I have a tour...you know it's a conflict. You know, Haris is alone. He started from zero. He is making his position. Nobody said to him come here, work here. He was on his own from the beginning. It's like you need some water and someone puts you at the beginning of the river. Like my friend, he is at the beginning of the river. Haris is up there on the hill. Outside. He needs the water. They prefer the other hostel in the information centre. They send them to the Hostel City Centre. It's all about who you know.

What is your most popular tour?

Tunnel tour is most popular. There are two we run. A 25 euro one which visits more places and has a little longer duration, 3 hours. Tunnel tour is maybe 1 hour and a half. It's 12 euros. There is similar demand for both. But sometimes like this tour I go to Mostar, Medjugore, some other places also. Sometimes to Dubrovnik. I travelling and sometimes they also want to ask something about the areas.

Where do they come from?

All around the world. We have a lot of Americans, many British people, a lot of people from New Zealand and Australia who are working in the UK. They live and work in the UK but travelling here in Europe. They always seem to be from New Zealand and Australia. We have also a lot of Americans during the summer

months. A lot of Germans, Italians and those people from countries around. The tours are just in English, I don't know any other languages. Some of my colleagues do. Haris also just knows English. But we have some guides in the information centre who know 3 or 4 languages. I would like a chance to learn Spanish.

Have you brought many people to Srebrenica?

I have brought people here many times. People heard about the massacre and they want to see the memorial. They want to feel the atmosphere here and to see that place. Some of those people were professors, some history people who have a lot of interest about the history come here. It's not such a big number of young people. Most of the cases are older people. Some journalists and also some people who have prepared activities in Srebrenica, some foreign organisations who wanted to help and they went there to see the situation and to meet some people and to see what they could do.

Please tell me about dissonant heritage in the region?

No, it's not a problem. It's not. They are trying to make tourism a business there. You will see, it's very difficult. It's an empty town. They got a lot of donations, money from foreign countries and this is used to rebuild the houses. But still it's not such a good atmosphere there. I mean all those people who were killed there, and their families who came back, sometimes they see people who are suspected of being killers there, you know. That's the biggest problem there. Also, all Serbian people around the town, if you ask them, they will say that no kind of massacre happened there. Some people were killed but it's not a great number. And they will say also, we had our victims taken and killed our people. They will talk just about that. It's the main problem here. There is also a Serbian memorial in Bratunac for their victims. For example, in Germany and some other places you cannot talk about the war and say there was no Holocaust of the Jewish people in WW2. Here it's not the case. That's the big problem. It's not so much uncomfortable for me coming here. I am feeling bad at that memorial and at the atmosphere at that place but I am not feeling so much uncomfortable here also. I could walk around the town. We are in the Republika Srpska entity now. I don't need to try and find some troubles here, but I can. I can walk

around here without problems but I must be careful. I have never heard of any case for tourists though, no kinds of problems. People who survived, they want to show what happened to the world here. But, also most of them don't like to talk about that. Especially people who lost relatives. Even old family. The Muslim population is very small there now. They got many donations for mending houses. They are trying now still but it's not enough to just repair some house for somebody. It's not enough for him to live there. He must feel comfortable there. It isn't possible for him to leave there and meet some people around there which he has information from somebody, somebody said to him, oh that guy shot your family. He is seeing them, meeting those people everyday. It is not possible for him to live there. Most of them build their houses and spend some time there, maybe during summer months, but not living there. To live there you must also find a job. It's very difficult for Muslims to find a job there. It's also very difficult and uncomfortable to live there and send your children to school there. Because this is the Republika Srpska entity, majority Serb population. And they say what we can or what we cannot do. That's the main problem, you know. There is one guy from here, Hasan Nuhanovic, the translator working for the UN, his story is very sad. His parents are buried here. Because as I told you, I feel uncomfortable here when I hear the stories and see the documents and memorial with the names.

Please tell me about the construction of the memorial.

The memorial started in 2001. But every year they bury more people. When they find more people they bury them every 11th July. They make a big ceremony and bury the new people there. The bodies are analysed in Tuzla. Most of them are moved many times because they were trying to keep it secret where they buried the bodies. And they must collect all those bodies in making the DNA investigation. They must have some relative, mother, father or someone and they must give blood. After many tests they will say, ok this is him. Some of the people will never be completely found. You know, they find one hand here. Or just head. It's very, very sad for me when I hear about that.

What is your own personal background?

I spent the war in Sarajevo. I saw many things. I can talk about that easily because I didn't lose any family members, my father, brother, sister, anything like that during the war. But it's very difficult to talk with people about it too in a way. Some of the people who don't want to remember, people who survived the massacres you know, will speak of it and stop and say, I cannot speak of it anymore, I told you.

What is the future of tourism in Bosnia?

Not only because of the war. Sarajevo is a good place for those people. And for people on the way to the coast. But yes, also it's sad, but most of the people are interested in war history, about the tunnel, about the conditions during the siege, they are interested in how life was during the siege and about what we did. How we went back to school, or how we tried to make it better. Because they saw it happening in their countries. They saw it on television but they didn't understand it. Most of them didn't understand what happened here. It's very difficult for someone who's not here to understand the reasons for the conflict here and for the war. The sides. Because people are very confused here. For example, because it was very different situation from one part to another part of the country. Different sides. Different, opposite sides. For example in one part of Bosnia, Bihac in the west, up there, we had a war between the Muslims. And that's very difficult for someone to understand. Why we had a war between Muslims. It needs a lot of reading about the history and the conflict to have a real picture of what happened here. Also, every side here, here Bosnian Muslim side, here Serb side, here Croatian side, have different way of talking about it. Different history. Different history of the war. That's also a big problem.

I think in 5 years time there will still be people coming here. We still have a bad situation here, even without the war. You saw we passed the entity borders, separated territories. You see these police cars, different police cars than in Sarajevo. Different alphabet. If you're looking like that, it's a divided country. Most of the people are confused for example with the name Republika Srpska. Is it a state? Is it not a state? What does it mean? How is it an entity? How does

it have name as Republic but is not a Republic? Also, how it's organised, the organisation of the state.

Do tourists have good knowledge of the war?

Many of the people coming here, I am surprised but they know a lot about it. Very good understanding of what happened here. But some of the people you know do not know anything. They just heard about it from tourists, they heard about the tunnel for example, but they have no interest in what's happened here and they do not try to understand. They just want to see it. But some of the people surprise me with their deep understanding when they come here.

Are movies as an influence?

I am sure some people have come here because of films. Not many people but there are many interesting films. Many people saw Welcome to Sarajevo and No Man's Land, something like that.

What are your opinions on tourism policy

Of course the government is aware that people come here because of the war. But those people, they don't have an interest in making the country better. They're just trying to keep their positions. They are so deep in corruption. Personally they don't have any kind of interest in bringing the people here.

Appendix VIII

Interview with Hasan Hasanovic, guide at Srebrenica Memorial

Potočari, 21st May 2010

Background to the Srebrenica Massacre

Before the war Srebrenica had approximately 36,000 population. 75% used to be Bosnian, Bosnian-Muslims, 25% used to be Serbs. This area here, this Eastern part of Bosnia, had a Muslim majority. As well as in Srebrenica, the same thing. This area was attacked in 1992 by Bosnian Serb army. A significant number of people from Eastern Bosnia came to Srebrenica. Why? Because Srebrenica, was together with another place (Zepa?) one of only two places under control of Bosnian army. All other places where Bosnian Muslims used to live here were occupied by Bosnian Serbs. The Serb Republic of Bosnia is doing that. They took all of this part, all of this region of Eastern Bosnia. Srebrenica and Zepa remained under control of Bosnian Armed Forces. So all of those refugees from Eastern Bosnia, they had to flee their homes and a significant number of them came to Srebrenica to shelter. At that time there were 55,000 people in Srebrenica, I told you before the war there were only 36,000. When they came here it was really difficult to accommodate them. Civilian authorities used all public buildings to accommodate those people. From 1992-1994 Srebrenica was surrounded on all sides by the Bosnian Serb. Siege conditions which people lived through were very difficult. Without electricity, food, basic humanitarian supplies. Above all, the situation was really difficult regarding attacks from the Bosnian Serbs. They used to shell the city. Everyday we used to have a lot of wounded people at the hospital. It was full of patients. They did not have enough medical supplies to treat those patients. People died because of some minor injuries and diseases which could be very easily treated in normal situations. People starved from 1992-1993 because at that time we had no humanitarian supplies. At the beginning of 1993 the Bosnian Serb army began with a strong offensive in Srebrenica. They attacked Srebrenica from the south, from the direction of Serbia. They took all the villages and they reached Srebrenica town. Many people had to flee their homes and they came to Srebrenica. It was really hard to accommodate them. People actually had to live on the streets you know, because it was not possible to find a place for them to

sleep. People died when the Bosnian Serb forces used to shell Srebrenica, each 5 minutes. The hospital was overcrowded with patients. It was hell you know at the time. Srebrenica was close to falling. But in March of 1993, the French General, Philippe Morillon, he came to Srebrenica to see whether those reports which used to be sent from Srebrenica, about the situation, were true. He came to see you know. When he came here he realised that the situation was really difficult and he wrote a report to the security council of the United Nations and the security council passed a resolution in April 1993 which declared Srebrenica a Safe Area. That's how Srebrenica became a Safe Area of the United Nations. From that moment we had negotiations between Bosnian government and Serb forces, how can we establish the Safe Area. And both parties signed the agreement which established the Safe Area. According to the agreement Bosnian soldiers gave up all of their positions to UN soldiers. Bosnian Serb forces were obliged to withdraw all heavy artillery outside Srebrenica. They didn't do that. Bosnian government forces, they surrendered all weapons to the control of the UN and from that moment the Bosnian government did not exist in Srebrenica. All people were now civilians because Srebrenica was demilitarised. Because Srebrenica was now demilitarised, no army movements were allowed inside Srebrenica, because it could not be attacked under the agreement. A Canadian battalion under the UN they came after signing that agreement. They came here to observe that both parties kept the agreement.

So when Srebrenica became a Safe Area of the UN, people had hope that they would have enough food, enough supplies, above all, enough security. Still, trucks of humanitarian aid were stopped at Bratunac by the Bosnian Serb forces. They used to only allow a few trucks through, most of them they kept for themselves. Also, the Bosnian Serb soldiers used to violate the UN security council resolution by attacking the areas on the edge of the Safe Area and by targeting civilians. In 1993 UNSCR organised the transportation of 15,000 refugees by trucks towards Tuzla, because they wanted to make it easier, the situation in Srebrenica easier for the authorities. But after that approximately 45,000 people remained in Srebrenica.

In February of 1994 the Dutch came here to relieve the Canadians. When the Dutch came here the Serbs they began to attack the Safe Area of Srebrenica more frequently. The situation culminated in July of 1995, on the 6th of July when the Bosnian Serb soldiers attacked the observation point held by the Dutch battalion. Because the Bosnian Serb soldiers wanted to physically divide Srebrenica and (zepe) by attacking the observation point at that place. When they attacked that observation point the Dutch soldiers just fled. Then the Bosnian Serb forces realised that the Dutch are not ready to defend the observation points, that they can go ahead and take the other points and even go ahead and take Srebrenica. From the 6th of July until the 11th July the Bosnian Serb soldiers took all of the observation points and they advanced all the way towards Srebrenica. All the time the commander of the Dutch Battalion was here in his office and allegedly he never went out to the observation points. He stayed here and did nothing. Finally he showed up in Srebrenica at the post office the day before the fall of Srebrenica and he told the people that the UN had sent an ultimatum to the Serbs around Srebrenica to withdraw to positions, otherwise they would be targeted by NATO planes. The deadline was six o'clock on the 10th of July. So all the people in Srebrenica waited for the deadline to see airplanes from the sky bomb the Serbs. Unfortunately Ratko Mladic had 40 Dutch held in Bratunac, in nearby town. And when NATO started to bomb the Serbs, they only dropped three bombs. Ratko Mladic then blackmailed the whole international community. He said, if you continue with these bombings, I will kill the Dutch soldiers. The international community decided to stop the bombing because of these Dutch soldiers and a few hours later Srebrenica fell on the 11th of July. Most of the refugees came to this Dutch Battalion base to that building there. Approximately 25,000 people came there. All of them wanted to enter inside because they wanted the Dutch soldiers to protect them. But the Dutch only accepted women with babies and very sick people. All other civilians were not allowed to enter. But when they realised that all people were entering inside that gap they managed to close it up again and only 5,000 people had made it inside. More than 20,000 people remained outside. Those who had managed to enter inside were held there for two days and two nights. They locked the doors. 20,000 people remained unprotected. They waited for the Bosnian Serb soldiers to come from Srebrenica and they came here the next day,

on the 12th of July. They could not come any quicker because of the refugees coming from the centre of Srebrenica. They came here on the 12th of July. What they did first was to block the area where those houses are. They got inside the crowd of 20,000 people and used to look for men and boys. They would take them across to those houses and torture them. They killed between 100 and 400, we don't know how many exactly. We don't have that information. They killed a lot of people inside that white building, the smaller one. Behind that white building there is a water spring. 20,000 people used to go to that spring to pour some water because it was very hot. Many people were killed at that spring by Serbian soldiers. Some of these killings were photographed by ex-Dutch soldiers. But the Dutch say now that they do not have the negatives. On the 12th of July, Bosnian Serb soldiers and the Bosnian Serb authorities, they had brought hundreds of busses up the road from Bratunac to the entrance of the Dutch base. They came up to that point there. The Bosnian Serb soldiers only allowed women with children to get on those busses to go to the Tuzla area. Men and boys, they were not allowed to get on those busses. They were separated. They separated approximately 2,500 men and boys there. They told them to put all of their things into a pile which was then set on fire by the Serbian soldiers, to hide evidence. They told them, from this moment on you will not need any of these things, so it was obvious that they were going to take them elsewhere and kill them. They took them from there on separate busses to Bratunac, those approximately 2,500 and they held them there for some time. Then they took them elsewhere, to other parts of Eastern Bosnia and they killed them. On the 13th July they transported all women and children in front of the Dutch Battalion base and they separated those men and boys, 2,500 of them and they took them to those places and they killed them.

On the 14th of July there was nobody in front of the Dutch Battalion base. There were no civilians. The only civilians we had at Potočari were inside, 6,000 of them who had made it inside the base. So on 14th July the Bosnian Serb soldiers came inside the base and told them they had to leave. They told them to get out through this entrance. And the civilians realised they would have to go through the same procedure as those who were outside the Dutch Battalion base, those before. Bosnian Serb soldiers separated men and boys from the women and

children. So when the Dutch came out of the base they had to face the separations you know, they separated men and boys, approximately 200 of them and they [Serbs] took them to those places where they killed them. All women and children were allowed to get on busses to Tuzla, like the women who were outside the base on the 12th and 13th of July. On the 15th July there was nobody left at Srebrenica except for the Dutch soldiers who were negotiating with Mladic, how to get from here to the Netherlands safely. At the end it was their main concern, how to get to the Netherlands safely, not how to defend the civilian population of Srebrenica safely. But of course, we had another group of civilians, mostly men and boys and a few women who decided not to come to Potočari but to walk through the hills. They walked in a column, one by one, through mines, it was kilometres. They tried to break Serbian lines and they were attacked by the Serb soldiers. The Bosnian Serb soldiers tried to part that column into two groups. The first group managed to head towards Tuzla and they came there after 6 days of walking. The second group could not cross the road in that village where the Bosnian Serb soldiers attacked them. Bosnian Serb soldiers managed to destroy that group. Most of them were captured, approximately 6,000 of them. A significant number of those were killed on the spot. The rest were taken elsewhere where they were killed. They used to either arrange lines for them where they would blindfold their eyes and tie their hands. While one group was being executed, the other group was watching the execution. The second way of killing them was by bringing them inside of settlements where Serbs were living and they used public buildings like this. They used to kill them inside, using hand grenades. In schools. They used to take them away in trucks and prepare holes which we call mass graves and then cover them up with heavy machinery, bull dozers and so on. Sometimes they were afraid, the Bosnian Serb soldiers, and they decided to remove the bodies. Because they knew that NATO had photographs from the air of the mass graves. They used to break them up so it made it almost impossible to find one full skeleton of an individual. The pieces of a person are found in a few mass graves.

Please tell me about the construction of the Memorial Centre

Here we have 3,749 graves. We still need to find 5,000. All the remains of the people found in the mass graves are sent to Tuzla. There is a building where

they hold those remains. You will see it on these photos here and on the signs. There is a building inside where they hold all those remains. And international organisations work on the identification of those remains. Those teams go to each of the families of the missing persons and they take blood samples from the fingertips of close family members. They compare the DNA with the bones.

This memorial was established by the international community in 2001. The OHR issued a decision which designated open land for the burial for the victims of genocide. They started to construct it that year, finished it in 2003 when it was officially opened by ex-US president Bill Clinton in March 2003 when we had the first identified burials of the victims of genocide. From that time we previously buried victims of genocide on 11th July each year when we have common burial and recognition of these victims of genocide.

In 2003, ex-Dutch battalion base was not part of this memorial centre. The second high representative, Paddy Ashdown, he issued a law which transpired that this battery factory became part of the memorial. Because he knew that here we do not have enough space for the future museum and other facilities. That's why he made this decision. In 2007, we had one very important decision of the international community in BiH, the OHR, a German, who excluded the cemetery from the jurisdiction of the Republika Srpska. He placed the memorial centre under the jurisdiction of the State of Bosnia-Herzegovina, at a federal level. By doing that they needed to bring back some justice to surviving relatives. By knowing that this is not part of Republika Srpska it's easier for them to come here and visit.

Who owns the land?

The land is owned by the memorial trust. They are my employer.

What is the purpose of the memorial?

I would hope that this would be a binding point for Serbs and Bosnians. And where we could make peace. Where we could reconcile. This place should not divide us. This place is just to remember these people. This is not somewhere where we want to stigmatise Serbs you know.

Who comes to Srebrenica?

We have schools from the Federation. We have students from all around the world. Students from Republika Srpska don't come here. We would like them to. We have lots of Americans, Germans, UK, not so many Irish. Some journalists, students and people who want to learn about what happened here. People who come from abroad are mostly students, journalists, tourists. Sometimes we have individuals who are very interested in Srebrenica because of the tragedy and they want to see with their own eyes, this place.

What knowledge do international tourists have?

They come prepared. They read about it and know something about the place. They come here and ask a lot of questions but they already know a lot about the place. We are very happy when we have visitors from abroad.

What are the plans for future development at the centre?

This part is where we bury the victims of genocide. That part is called the memorial part. The only thing we have there now is the memorial room, where those civilians were held. We have the memorial room where we have an exhibition in two black boxes. First black box we have a documentary which was just made for the purpose of the memorial. In the second black box we have exhibitions from 20 of the personal stories of the victims of the genocide. They tell the story of all of the victims of the genocide. With those personal stories we have items found with them in mass graves. Those stories tell of the people of Srebrenica. Those items were just selected at random you know, they weren't particular choices. We have a governing board for the memorial centre which makes all the necessary decisions regarding the construction and maintaining of memorials. To maintain this memorial centre we are funded by the state. We are on the payroll of the state. But in terms of to construct here we need to raise money, from donations. We have a project where we want to turn all of this old building into a new building, where we would have inside a large museum, with at least 12 rooms like this, where we might give an opportunity to different artists all around the world to express genocide in their own way. We will have a large library where we can study genocide all around the world. We will have all the large facilities we need. In terms of constructing this, we will need at

least 15million euro. We will organise donor conferences all around the world to raise enough money. I think we won't have any problems getting the money. A centre will also be built in Sarajevo which will involve Hasan Nuhanovic, the guy who is suing the Dutch government.

Is dissonant heritage an issue?

So far we have had no problems. We hope that we will not have any kind of problems in future. I have never heard about any problems for tourists.

What is your own personal background?

I was a civilian in Srebrenica during the war. I was walking over the hill with those men. I made it. My two brothers and father did not. They are buried here. So I have a personal and emotional bounding to this place. I came to Tuzla after Srebrenica and I stayed there for more than ten years. I studied in Sarajevo. I came back here two years ago because they offered me a job here. I thought because I have a lot of knowledge regarding Srebrenica, because I know the facts, I am able to meet visitors who come here.

Is film an influence?

I think some people will have seen this A Cry From the Grave Documentary. But they would come without this. We have a similar documentary here. I suppose some would see this film and then want to see the place without it. Books too will bring people.

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 Sarajevo Hiroshima
 Tunnel under the Sarajevo Airport
 King Fahd Mosque
 War Cemetery, Maternity Hospital, Orphans Village, and much more. You can ask, I will answer. (politics, statistics, Sarajevo by the numbers, past and future of Sarajevo, situation today) Coffee break 20 min.
 Vraca - Memorial from Ww2
 Ex Yugoslav Army Camp Marshal Tito (today American Embassy and University centre)

Appendix IX
 Advertising leaflet for the Zijad Jusufovic 'Mission Impossible Tour'

THE DISCOVER - DUBROVNIK WALK

Departure: Every Day at 10:00 & 18:30
Duration: 1 hour
Price: 90 KN
Meeting point: The Big Onofrio's Fountain

Would you like to be introduced to the main sights of Dubrovnik? This unique tour gives you the opportunity to explore the stunning architecture and history of this world famous City.



Witness Dubrovnik's rich history and discover its magnificent buildings, palaces and treasures.

Accompanied by our experienced guide, who will entertain you with interesting details and stories, you will be given a tour which covers all the major sights of Dubrovnik's Old City.

Starting at Onofrio's Fountain, which for centuries has brought fresh drinking water into the city, our route leads us along Priječko Street to the Old Port, once the key of Dubrovnik's trading and maritime success.

St. Saviour's, the grandiose Franciscan and Dominican church, will be seen along the route, as well as a vine believed to be more than 100 years old.


While in the Old Port, the legends of the famous Quarantine and the nearby fortresses of St. Luke and St. John will be explained.

Ships from Dubrovnik were known throughout the Mediterranean: galleons and karakas, all of which were built and loaded in the legendary Arsenal, today the popular City Café, will be seen along the way. Stories and legends about the church of St Blaise, Dubrovnik's patron saint; the Cathedral; the Rector's Palace; Sponza Palace, and Orlando's Column will give you an overview to better understand and further explore the multi-layered past of the city.

Discover Dubrovnik is your tour. In just one hour you will be introduced to the most interesting sites in Dubrovnik's Old City.

STORY ABOUT THE WAR

Departure: Every Mon / Tue / Thu / Sat at 11:30
Every Wed / Sat / Sun at 20:00
Duration: 1 hour
Price: 90 KN
Meeting point: The Big Onofrio's Fountain



At the very start of the 20th century the Balkan Peninsula was perceived as 'the restless corner of Europe'. Many who endeavor to explain what was actually going on feel that the deep, underlying reasons were not easy to understand.


The historical background will help you to see how recent conflicts have their roots in the past. Find out some of the misconceptions people had about the recent war, what it was like to live in a besieged town, and how everything returned back to normal. First-person accounts by your guide, stories from the ancient and modern history of the region, all in the spectacular setting of the Old Town, will give you a deeper insight into the true nature of Dubrovnik and its people.

THE OLD JEWISH QUARTER

Departure: Wed / Fri / Sun at 11:30
Duration: 1 hour
Price: 90 kn
Entrance fee to The Synagogue included.
Meeting point: The Big Onofrio's Fountain.

Did you know that one of the oldest synagogues in Europe is located in the heart of Dubrovnik's Old town? Jews came to Dubrovnik in the 15th century and made an important cultural contribution to the development of the Republic.

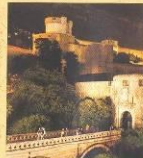
This walk provides an opportunity to understand Jewish life in Dubrovnik and how it has changed through history.



The walk starts in front of Onofrio's Fountain and continues along Stradun, the main street, to Židovska Street where the Jewish community was once situated. Here, in this street, you will visit the famous Synagogue established in the 15th century, re-built in 1652 and still in use today.

SIGHTSEEING BY NIGHT

Departure: Every Day at 21:30
Duration: 1 hour
Price: 90 KN
Meeting point: The Big Onofrio's Fountain



Exploring Dubrovnik by night is truly the best way to experience the contrast to the daytime bustle of life in the Old City. The night-time sights, sounds and even the evening air offer a different perspective, a more laid-back feel.

Starting every evening at 21:30, this tour encompasses the most famous attractions of the Old Town, accompanied by fascinating historical insights from your guide. The tour takes you through the serene beauty of the Old Harbour and follows onto Buza which offers you a magical view over the shimmering sea to the island of Lokrum.

With most of these main sights tastefully illuminated and the murmur of the city at night echoing through the cobbled streets, you will certainly get an alternative, but just as unforgettable, flavour of Dubrovnik.

HOW TO JOIN US

To go on a Dubrovnik Walking Tour
THERE IS NO NEED TO BOOK
Just turn up 10 minutes beforehand.
Tickets available on the spot from your guide.

Group Bookings / Questions
Please call +385 (0)91 2442 201

We recommend that very large groups book a private walking tour since it is more cost effective.

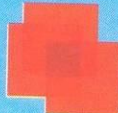
All walks start by The Big Onofrio's Fountain.
Look for a red umbrella with our sign

Program runs from 01st of May to 31st of October 2008

Doživljaj Mediterana d.o.o., Bartola Kašića 5, 20236 Mokošica, MB: 1920146, IC: HR-AB-20-090011580
tel: +385 (0)20 436 846 fax: +385 (0)20 436 847 cell: +385 (0)91 2442 201 www.dubrovnik-walking-tours.com www.mediterranean-experience.hr info@mediterranean-experience.hr

Appendix X

Advertising leaflet for Dubrovnik Walking Tours



**HRVATSKI
MEMORIJALNO
DOKUMENTACIJSKI CENTAR
DOMOVINSKOG RATA**

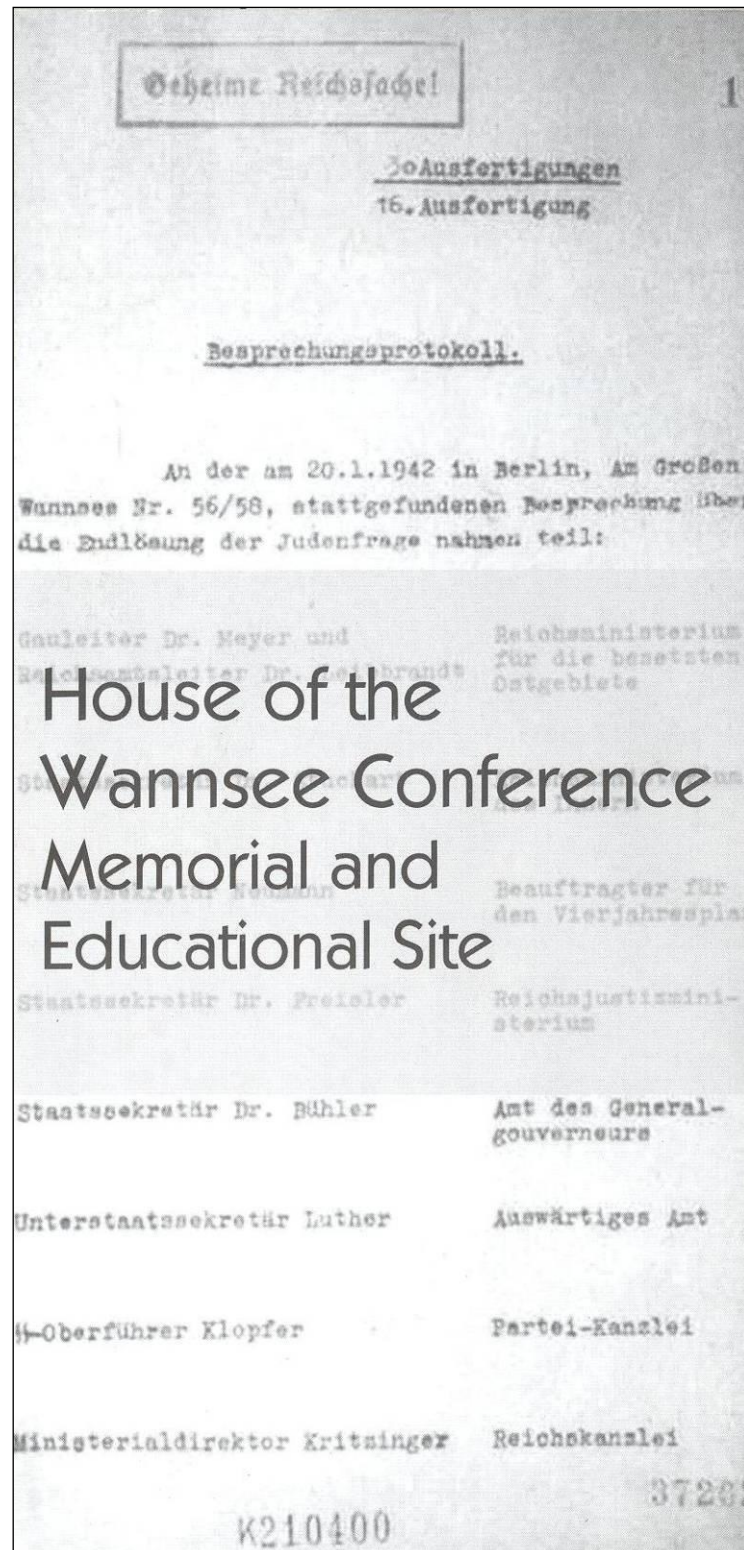


In Eastern Slavonia, Republic of Croatia, five kilometers southeast of Vukovar, the Ovčara farm is situated. That farm is one of the Vupik working units engaged in agriculture and pig-breeding. In agricultural part of the farm, there are hangars where the equipment for cultivation is stored. Huge sliding metal doors are on each hangar, which are used for the equipment to be brought into hangars, and on each of these doors there are small doors for workers. These hangars were convenient for confined persons to be kept in under a close watch. The Serb aggressors turned those hangars into a concentration camp for non-Serbian prisoners that were captured in the Vukovar area. At the camp, the uniformed members of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) and of paramilitary Chetnik's formations who were drunk and out of control, commanded by the JNA officers (M. Mrkšić, V. Šljivčanin, M. Radić, and others), had beaten up the prisoners from Vukovar with sticks, baseball bats, clubs, chains, rifle stocks, and various other objects. Even the mayor of Vukovar, a Serb S. Dokmanović, beat up his fellow-citizens. Four prisoners lost their lives due to extensive beating up in those hangars (Kemo, Damjan, Željko, and Siniša), while other prisoners were transported to the place of their execution, a ditch located approximately 900 m away from the Ovčara-Grabovo road. They were murdered there on November, 20 1991, and thrown in a mass grave. The victims were mostly wounded people and medical personnel from the Vukovar hospital. In September and October of 1996, there were 200 bodies exhumed from the mass grave (192 persons that were killed there, their age ranging from 16 to 72, were identified until July of 2006).

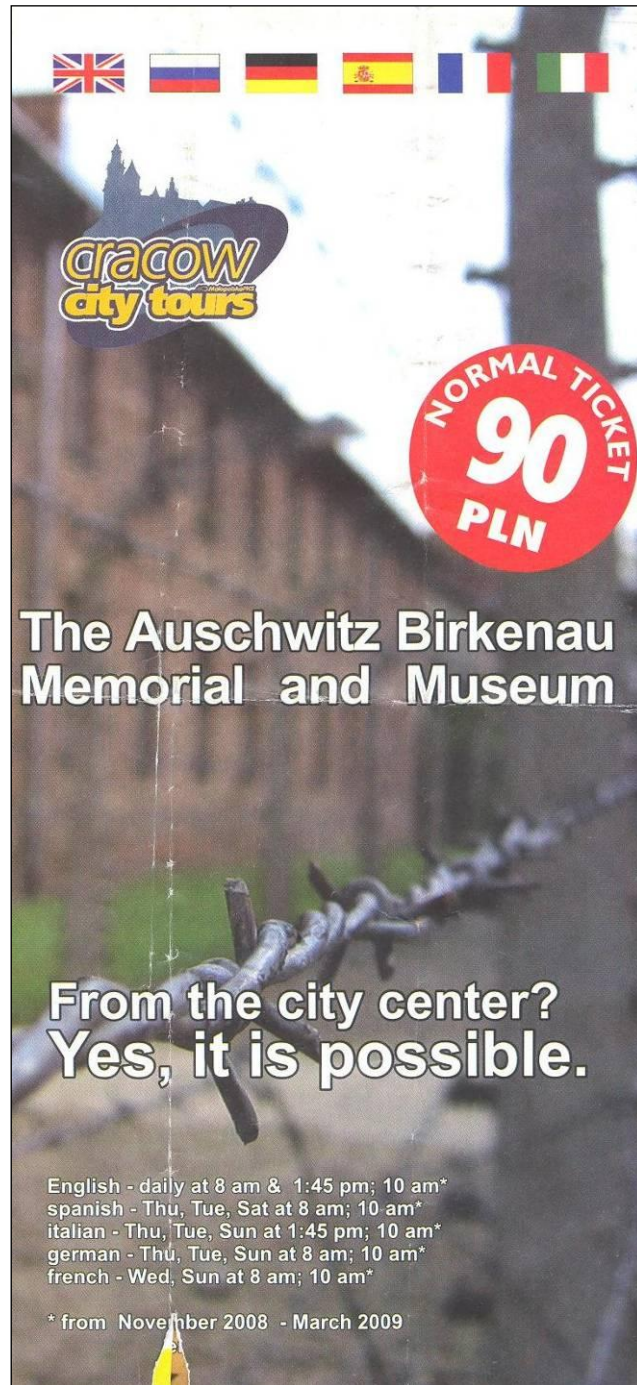
During their aggressive attack on Vukovar, the JNA and Serb paramilitary formations killed at least 1739 persons. In the Vukovar-Syrmian district, 52 mass graves and several hundreds single graves were discovered, and the remains of 1970 victims were exhumed (the remains of 1693 victims were identified). The Agency for Imprisoned and Missing Persons is still looking for 500 persons from the Vukovar-Syrmian district. Out of these, 354 persons disappeared or were forcefully taken away from Vukovar. Moreover, at least 2796 persons captured in the Vukovar-Syrmian district in 1991 the Yugoslav Army took away and imprisoned in Serbian camps and prisons in Negotslavci and Stari Jankovci, and in Vojvodina and Serbia (Šid, Sremska Mitrovica, Ruma, Novi Sad, Stajčevo, Begejci, etc).

(Information source: Temporarily register: Agency for confined and missing persons; Ministry of the Family, Veteran's Affairs and Intergenerational Solidarity, 2. X. 2006.)

Appendix XI
Part of the Ovčara Memorial Centre information leaflet



Appendix XII
Part of the Wannsee Haus information leaflet

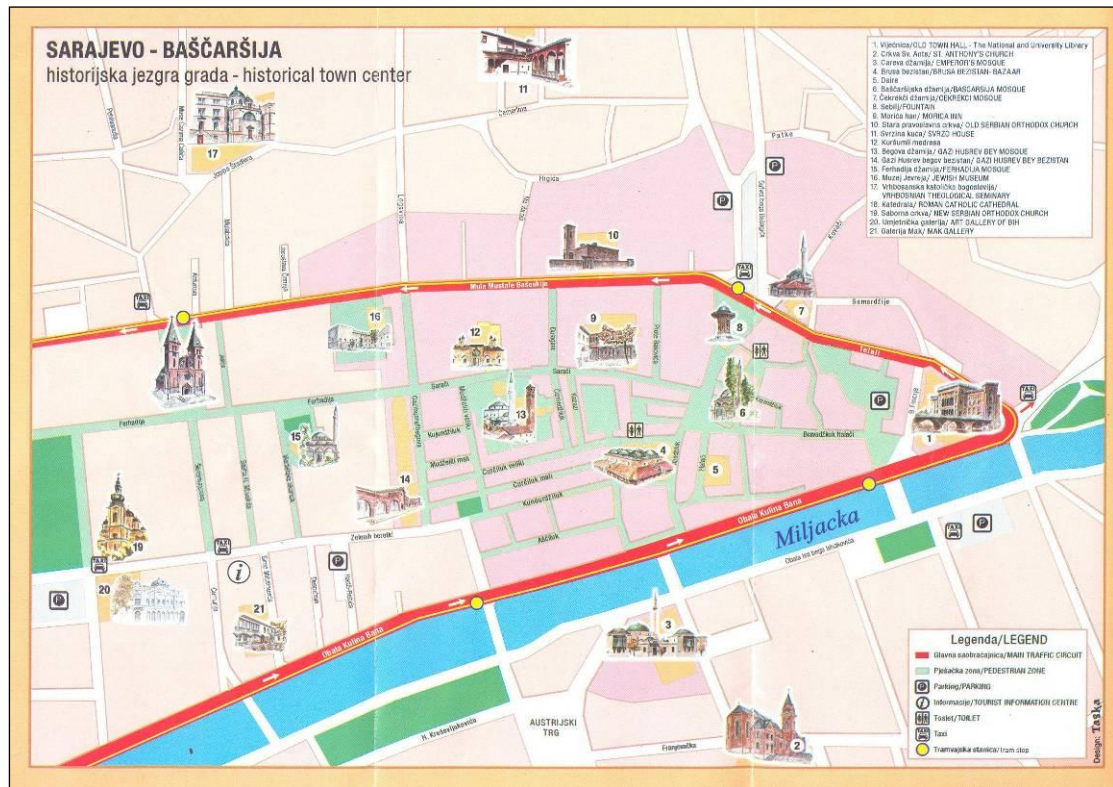


Appendix XIII

A leaflet from Krakow advertising tours to Auschwitz



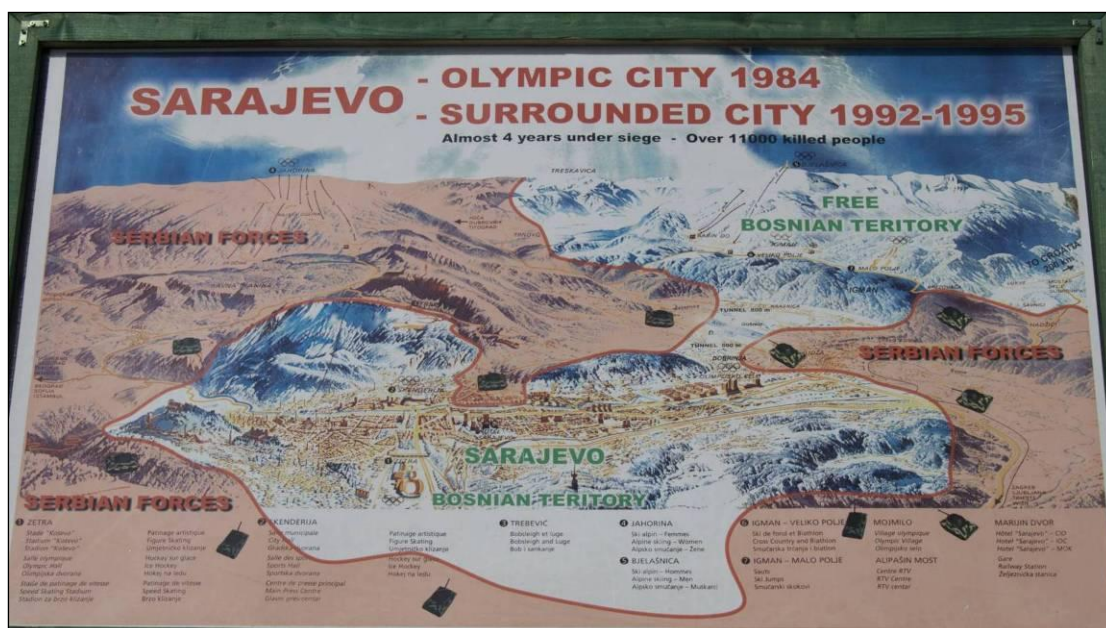
Appendix XIV
Map of the former Yugoslavia,
http://blikk.files.wordpress.com/2009/11/map_yugoslavia.jpg



Appendix XV
Map of Sarajevo

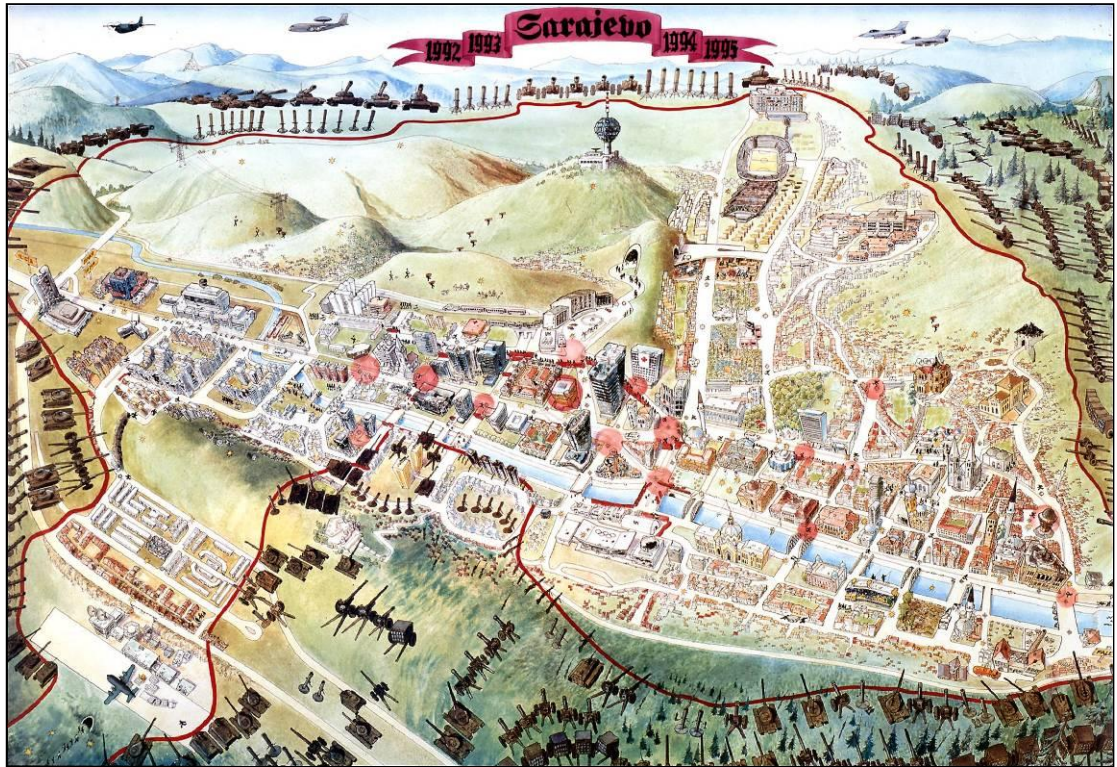


Appendix XVI
Map of Sarajevo (produced by Zijad Jusufovic)



Appendix XVII

Olympic siege map of Sarajevo



Appendix XVIII
War map of Sarajevo (FAMA)