

Coffee Culture and Warrior Ethos

About the discourse of Balkanism in Yugoslavian Civil War
tourism in the city of Sarajevo

17-7-2015

Laurie de Zwart, 4077253

Supervised by Dr. Tom Sintobin, Radboud University Nijmegen



Masteropleiding Kunst- en Cultuurwetenschappen

Docent voor wie dit document is bestemd:

Dr. Tom Sintobin & Dr. László Munteán

Cursusnaam:

Master Thesis Creative Industries

Titel van het document:

Coffee Culture and Warrior Ethos: About the discourse of Balkanism in Yugoslavian Civil War tourism in the city of Sarajevo

Datum van indiening:

17-07-2015

Het hier ingediende werk is de verantwoordelijkheid van ondergetekende. Ondergetekende verklaart hierbij geen plagiaat te hebben gepleegd en niet ongeoorloofd met anderen te hebben samengewerkt.

Handtekening:

Naam student:

Laurie de Zwart

Studentnummer:

4077253

Acknowledgements

If I choose to, from now on it will be possible to neglect frequently cursed thinkers such as Foucault, Bourdieu, and Derrida for the rest of my life. If I do not want to, on holidays I never have to ask myself whether the attraction I am looking at is authentic or not, and just enjoy the play the hosts staged. If I want to, I can believe to be a traveler while seeing all the typical tourist attractions. Or can I?

The Creative Industries is a broad area of subjects relating to art, culture and entertainment. A year is too short to make yourself familiar with all these new developments, and the first semester of the master Creative Industries therefore is little more than a short introduction in divergent topics such as media industries, tourism, 'things', and a core course in which the essence of the creative industries was ought to be captured. The truth is, the creative industries are omnipresent.

It took me a while to realize that I had written a first version of the proposal for my master thesis in the very first period of the academic year for the course 'Tourism'. The choice of this topic meant that, as with the conclusion of my bachelor, Tom Sintobin became my supervisor, for which I am grateful to both the department and supervisor. It is suiting; from being my mentor from my very first week as a Nijmegen student, until the closure of my master thesis he guided my time in university, and I would like to take the opportunity to thank him for all of that.

Writing in English would be a good exercise, Tom Sintobin ensured me in one of our first meetings earlier this semester. Since the whole master was in English, this had seemed more than logical, although I still have my doubts on my (perfect) mastering of the language. It is therefore that I would also really like to thank Ewoud Stütterheim for his critical reflection on my use of English, so that it would say what I wanted it to say, and, more important, left out as many spelling- and grammar mistakes as possible.

Michael Palin was bitten by a travel bug, he writes on his BBC travelogue, and will happily stay infected for the rest of his life as there is no known antidote. If I want to, and try really hard, I might be able to stop thinking about my presence influencing a situation and believe there is such a thing as 'objectivity'. I might be able to watch a movie, and read a book without having to analyze an image or read a sentence twice, but I guess the Cultural Studies Department in Nijmegen bit me, and I know I will stay happily infected for the rest of my life.

July 17th 2015, Laurie de Zwart

Table of Content

Abstract	5
Introduction	6
Chapter 1: Tourism and Balkanism	10
1.1 Tourism and traveling	10
1.2 The tourist gaze	11
1.3 Experience and expression	12
1.4 Authenticity, authority, and dialogic narration	14
1.5 Dark Tourism	16
1.5.1 Tunnel of Hope	18
1.5.2 Sniper Alley	18
1.5.3 Gallery 11/07/95	19
1.6 Balkanism	19
1.6.1 Historical Context	19
1.6.2 Connotations and cultural meaning	20
1.6.3 Occident, Orient, Balkan	21
1.7 Conclusion	23
Chapter 2: Discourse and Semiotics	24
2.1 Thought and practice in a social context	24
2.1.1 Critical Discourse Analysis	25
2.2 Reading non-linguistic languages	25
2.2.1 Semiotics of Attraction	26
2.2.2 The tourist prosaic	26
2.3 Conclusion	27
Chapter 3: Balkanism as Orientation	29
3.1 Tourism after the Yugoslavian Civil War	29
3.2 Contemporary Sarajevo tourist advertisement and the Yugoslavian Civil War	29
3.2.1 Destination Sarajevo: A host's welcome	30
3.2.2 Lonely Planet: To the edge of Europe	34
3.2.3 TripAdvisor: Community of tourist experts	37
3.3 Conclusion	41
Chapter 4: Balkanism in Contemporary Sites of Memory in Sarajevo	44
4.1 Reading space: Tourists in the city of Sarajevo	44

4.2 Balkanism in tourist attractions of the Yugoslavian Civil War	45
4.2.1 Tunnel of Hope: Surviving Sarajevo's siege	47
4.2.2 Sniper Alley: Hide and seek	50
4.2.3 Gallery 11/07/95: Srebrenica massacre representation in Sarajevo	54
4.3 Conclusion	59
Chapter 5: Expressing Balkanism	61
5.1 Normalizing the experience	61
5.2 Expressing experience	62
5.2.1 Palin's travels: Travel and explore	63
5.2.2 3 Op Reis: A civil war frame	67
5.2.3 Waarbenjij.nu: Tourist's stories	73
5.3 Conclusion	77
Conclusion: A Balkan trip in Sarajevo	84
Works Cited	89

Abstract

This research is concerned with the signs of Balkanism in the tourist industry of Sarajevo. According to Edward M. Bruner, tourists create narratives in three stages, namely pre-tour, during tour, and post-tour. By employing a (Critical) Discourse Analysis of tourism in the city of Sarajevo the presence of Balkanism and its representation will be investigated. The signs of three attractions connected to the Yugoslavian Civil War (Tunnel of Hope, Sniper Alley, and Gallery 11/07/95) are analyzed with the Semiotics of Attraction. The analysis of all three narratives is supported by a theoretical framework on authenticity and authority of destinations' narratives, the tourist gaze, second gaze, host gaze, experience of a destination, and notion of Balkanism.

The term Balkanism derives from the Ottoman word for the bare cliffs between Romania and Bulgaria, but over time started to be a referent for the countries in the south east of Europe, and later expanded to the cultural paradigm. The Balkan countries are a part of Europe, but travelogues suggest that the overall impressions of the country also bear many Oriental influences. Since the 1930's, Maria Todorova (2009) retraced, it has began to be invested with cultural meanings, rather than mere geographical. Prejudices on the Balkans are for instance that its inhabitants are violent, backward, and poor. The Balkan Wars and Yugoslavian Civil War which both took place during the previous century have confirmed these ideas.

In every chapter, three case studies are analyzed in order to come to a conclusion of the representation of Balkanism in Yugoslavian Civil War tourism in Sarajevo. Noticeable, for instance, is that the producer's or narrator's authority influences the story, but not necessarily the interpretation of signs. A second observation worth mentioning is that the mediation by western sources such as *Lonely Planet*, *TripAdvisor*, *Micheal Palin* and *Patrick Lodiers* more often frame Sarajevo by its prints and traces rather than any other competing narrative. Consequently, the question could be asked what makes that people want to retell the story of the Yugoslavian Civil War and the Balkans.

Introduction

Traveling to Bosnia and Herzegovina is not discouraged by the Dutch ministry of foreign affairs, but tourists should be careful. Since the recent civil war (1991-1999), during which the former Yugoslavia fell apart, the new states have been rebuilding and renovating all places which were affected by the war. Despite these efforts there are still areas that remain dangerous for civilians and tourists alike, such as ruins that are on the point of collapse and active minefields. These are more dangerous than they were before due to floods in the summer of 2014, which have damaged or removed a large number of signs that indicate the presence of mines. In fact, these bombs themselves might have changed position. The war is still a sensitive subject for many Bosnians, and the central government suggests to avoid certain topics when in touch with locals.¹ This means that the traveling advice and warnings nowadays are still based upon the Yugoslavian Civil War that took place almost two decades ago.

This did not keep a friend of mine and myself to go there in the summer of 2014. From Budapest, via Zagreb, Split and Mostar it took us over 20 hours, slowly passing beautiful mountains, alongside camps existing of four wooden huts. Our female travel companion had smiled a toothless smile as soon as she found out we did not speak her language, and kept blowing hand kisses our direction, whereas the man who had joined us kept leaving the carriage to smoke cigarettes in the hallway.

The time schedule appeared to have been let go this made it quite difficult for us to find out what the next stop would be. The capital's train station was in no way different from any other we had seen along the way – maybe it was slightly bigger, but just as empty. We kept repeating the name 'Sarajevo' and our companions kept nodding, so we managed to get out at the capital anyway; at first glance not quite as inviting as the train. The station hall was gray and only decorated with a larger than life coca cola-billboard ('They want to show they are definitely not communist,' my friend said), and the station square was surrounded by gray buildings without glass in their window frames.

Although the presence of only one tram track made sure we could not be wrong this time, a Bosnian man with just a little too much interest in our whereabouts insisted on taking us to our hostel, since it was 'just around his corner' anyway. We felt skeptical at much hospitality. Despite our distant attitude, he told us about his life, his time abroad during the Yugoslavian War and what Sarajevo had looked like those days. His English was accented, but understandably so. We wondered

¹ Rijksoverheid (2014) 'Reisadvies Bosnië', in: *Rijksoverheid*.

<http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/reisadviezen/bosnie-en-herzegovina> (20-10-2014).

why he came back. The answer was simple: he loved his city and his country. This anecdote is not extraordinary; it is in fact quite typical.

Historical context and contemporary impact

The impact of the Yugoslavian Civil War remains visible in contemporary Bosnia and Herzegovina. As a result of the civil war, the Republic of Yugoslavia fell apart in the independent countries of Serbia (Kosovo), Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, and Slovenia. At the origin of the war were ethnic and religious conflicts within the borders of the former Republic of Yugoslavia and with the death of former leader Josip Broz Tito the largest binding factor was lost.² Slobodan Milošević, at the time president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and with its break-up president of the Serbian Republic, reinforced the national sentiments in the area of Serbia, which were voiced in a plan to form a large, pan-Serbian Empire.³ Similar tendencies were noticed in Croatia that loathed the ethnic Serbs. Croatia and Slovenia declared sovereignty in June 1991 and one day later the war started in Slovenia.⁴ Milošević attention could from this moment on be focused entirely on the Serbian areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He did not necessarily mourn the loss of the Slovenian territory because this held no Serbian minority and neither did he have to fear any problems on the borders, as UN peace forces were located there to avoid more skirmishes.⁵

Bosnia and Herzegovina is the most religiously and culturally diverse country of the former Yugoslavia. The country has a Muslim majority, but is also the home of large Croatian and Serbian minorities. When the ethnic and religious diversity became ground for political representation and decisions, Bosnia organized a referendum for independence.⁶ Since the Bosnian Serbs boycott the voting, it is officially illegal as all three ethnicities need to vote in order to be accepted. The Bosnian Serb Radovan Karadžić becomes the most important figure in the establishment of Republika Srpska ('Serbian Republic') in the north of Bosnia and violent encounters are at the order of the day. The Bosnian Serbs in Herzegovina keep fighting with Ratko Mladić as their leader.⁷ His cruel but effective way of warfare by besieging many cities including Sarajevo and Mostar make the number of people killed reach 50.000 by the middle of 1992. Especially the ethnic cleansings that are done in name of

² NPO (2011) 'De dood van Joegoslavië – in 5 delen', in: *NPO Geschiedenis*.

<http://www.npogeschiedenis.nl/nieuws/2011/mei/De-dood-van-Joegoslavi-in-vijf-delen> (10-06-2015).

³ Ibidem.

⁴ Ibidem.

⁵ Ibidem.

⁶ Ibidem.

⁷ Ibidem.

all parties involved and the stream of refugees this evokes, urges the international community to get involved, with the massacre of Srebrenica as an ongoing political and juridical issue.⁸

The newly established country of Bosnia and Herzegovina has not yet entirely overcome the impact of the civil war. Ruins are still to be found everywhere, basic goods might be hard to get and tap water remains undrinkable. Except for physical scars, Bosnia and Herzegovina's Muslim south and the orthodox Christian north have still not found a balance in both politics and everyday life.

Off to Sarajevo

The war in Yugoslavia ended over 15 years ago, but the signs of the events remain visible in many cities, villages and their surroundings. It was the last major violent event in the Balkan regions, but it was far from the first one. Over time, the geographical term 'Balkan' was invested with the cultural meaning of violence, war, death and backwardness.⁹ These connotations are seen as a reason to avoid the destination, but since the beginning of the previous century also became a reason to visit the country as a tourist.¹⁰ It is therefore that this research will be concerned with the connection between this notion of Balkanism and the rising popularity of tourism in the area. There will be a focus on three attractions in the city of Sarajevo, as Michelle Metro-Roland stated that '[c]apital cities in particular are replete with cultural meaning, since it is here that the nation is reified in material form, through government buildings, monuments and museums.'¹¹ In the heart of the Balkans, being besieged for almost four years, the city of Sarajevo was one of the centers of the Yugoslavian Civil War. Sarajevo was also selected as a case study because the Yugoslavian Civil War was the starting point of this young capital, and it is considered 'the heart' of the former federation and the region that is termed 'Balkan'.

The three attractions that were chosen as focal point for this research are the Tunnel of Hope, Sniper Alley, and Gallery 11/07/95. Although there are more attractions connected to the historical events of the Yugoslavian Civil War (such as the Muslim Cemetery, the old Olympic Park and several left-over ruins), these three attractions were chosen because they are all presented as a representative of the war. Where the massacre of Srebrenica is represented in the Gallery 11/07/95,

⁸ Ibidem.

⁹ Todorova, Maria (2009) *Imagining the Balkans*. New York: Oxford University Press: 33-34.

¹⁰ Hammond, Andrew (2005) "'The danger zone of Europe": Balkanism between the Cold War and 9/11', in: *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 8: 135.

¹¹ Metro-Roland, Michelle (2011) *Tourists, Signs and the City*. Surrey/Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Limited: 4-5.

and the everyday fear of the besieged city is symbolized by Sniper Alley, the tunnel stands for the hope that the siege could be overcome without having to give in to the besieging Serbs.

By exploring the notion of 'Balkanism' and mirroring it to a discourse and semiotic analysis of three tourist attractions in the city of Sarajevo, discrepancies, similarities and the overall discourse surrounding the tourist destination can be mapped. The main research question therefore is: In what way is the image of Balkanism present in tourist representations of the Yugoslavian Civil War in the city of Sarajevo (Bosnia and Herzegovina)?

The notion of Balkanism has a historical foundation and therefore one expectation is to find the (references to the) notion in tourist advertising from countries in Western Europe. In the first section of this research Sarajevo's tourist website *Sarajevo.travel*, the online version of the guide that is considered to take you to less touristy places *Lonely Planet* and the famous, peer-reviewed website *TripAdvisor* will be analyzed. Part of the research will be devoted to the question: How can online tourist destination advertisement about the city of Sarajevo be interpreted in connection to the notion of Balkanism?

The second part of the research will consist of information that tourists can find during their trip. A 'semiotic analysis' as explained by Michelle Metro-Roland in her book *Tourists, Signs and the City* (2011) and Dean MacCannell's notion of the 'semiotics of attraction' as explained in *The Tourist* (1976, new introduction 1999) is conducted on three aforementioned tourist attractions in Sarajevo. The question is: How can the signs of the tourist attractions Tunnel of Hope, Sniper Alley, and Gallery 11/07/95 be interpreted in connection to the notion of Balkanism?

In order to reach a conclusion, analysis of weblogs of travelers who visited Sarajevo will be done. This part will focus on two official representations (the Dutch traveling program *3OpReis* with Patrick Lodiers and Michael Palin's adventures for the BBC) and two stories on *waarbenjij.nu*, a blog by 'ordinary' travelers meant to keep family and friends posted. The question answered to measure the experience on expectations is: How can online post-tour narratives about a visit to the city of Sarajevo be interpreted in connection to the notion of Balkanism?

Chapter 1: Tourism in the Balkans

Traveling through the crossroads of Europe

In 1999 a summit was called in Sarajevo to agree upon further support from the international community to rebuild the spaces affected by the Civil War.¹² Over time, some of the old wartime objects, artifacts and places were turned into tourist destinations. This started at the beginning of the new millennium.¹³ The first visitor of the Tunnel of Hope, for instance, was welcomed in 2005. By 2015 the tunnel attracted 80.000 visitors and a substantial amount of the local population tried to tap into the 'industry built around visitors who go to see the sites of Europe's bloodiest conflict since World War II.'¹⁴

1.1 Tourism and traveling

Sociologist John Urry defines tourism in his celebrated book *The Tourist Gaze* (2002 [1990]) as being in a place other than home, trying to find the differences between daily life in his or her place of residence and the tourist destination. The tourist is looking for what is different from the usual and attaches meaning in relation to his or her own life.¹⁵ There are three moments in which meaning is created and molded into narratives, writes ethnographer and tourist guide Edward M. Bruner in his book *Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel* (2004). Tourists attach meaning in pre-tour, during tour and post-tour narratives. In the pre-tour narrative, tourists research their destinations, listen to stories on the news or of this vague acquaintance who has visited the destination before. The information also comes from the internet, brochures and distilled from western popular culture. All these things influence the way in which the actual trip is experienced.¹⁶ During the trip, people look for the gathered narrative in the pre-tour stage.¹⁷ In the post-tour narrative, the story that was

¹² Postma, Renée (1999) 'Sarajevo poetst zich op voor top', in: *Kosovo Conflict*.

<http://retro.nrc.nl/W2/Lab/Kosovo/280799-A.html> (11-06-2015).

¹³ Schuessler, Ryan (2015) 'From Mostar to Sarajevo, Bosnian war sites turn into tourist attractions', in: *America Aljazeera*. <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/4/18/turning-bosnian-war-sites-into-tourist-attractions.html> (11-06-2015).

¹⁴ Ibidem.

¹⁵ Urry, John (2002 second edition, First edition 1990) *The Tourist Gaze*. London/California/New Delhi: Sage Publications Ltd.: 9, 13.

¹⁶ Bruner, Edward M. (2004) 'Introduction: Travels Stories Told and Retold', in: *Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 22.

¹⁷ Ibidem: 23.

anticipated in the pre-tour stage gets personalized and altered by things that were different than expected.¹⁸ Pictures which are taken, and souvenirs which are acquired function as a possibility of support for and focus of the stories told when back from the trip. The tourist then has a chance to reflect on the trip and is able to form a narrative.

1.2 The tourist gaze

While dwelling around the destination of choice, the tourist's eyes never rest, and look for the best views to fix in memory or photo, search for authentic objects and the building which were written about in the guide books. All tourists look, but, John Urry (2002, [1990]) claims, not all of them do so in the same way. There will be differences in intensity, and asked questions and therefore everyone employs its own version of 'the tourist gaze'. These different ways of looking are constructed through differences in the relations between tourists and non-tourists, consciousness and the historical period.¹⁹ Therefore, not all buildings, objects and people lend itself to be objected to all tourist gazes. The tourist attractions are embedded within reality, buildings and history.²⁰ It is only when a certain place is indicated as such (by a text, by a counter where you have to pay, by tourist guides or even a pointing finger), that the site starts working as a tourist attraction.²¹

Although Urry's concept has proven to be a useful one for tourist analyses, Dean MacCannell and Michelle Metro-Roland argue that his description is too structural and institutional. Therefore, they propose a 'second gaze' in which the focus-point is not the extraordinary, but the unexpected.²² Metro-Roland states that: 'This is not to say that landscapes are passive containers filled with significance or that they are simply "texts" to be read.'²³ The object plays a large part in the interpretation, and the tourist also reflects upon the gazed object. Rather than a visiting tourist that attaches meaning in whatever way he or she finds suitable, there is always a negotiation between subject and object.

The second gaze however still focuses solely on the agency of the tourist or visitor that can stare without boundaries to the objects in the destination's culture. Recently this was countered with the idea that the gaze not only takes in what can be seen, but also effects the ways in which the hosts of a destination behave. The volume *The Host Gaze in Global Tourism* (2013), which is edited by

¹⁸ Ibidem: 24.

¹⁹ Urry, John (2002[1990]): 1.

²⁰ Ibidem: 9.

²¹ Ibidem: 13.

²² Metro-Roland, Michelle (2011): 32.

²³ Ibidem: 2.

Omar Moufakkir and Yvette Reisinger, explores this notion of what has been termed ‘the host gaze’. In the introductory chapter, Keith Hollinshead and Vannsy Kuon bring forth the notion of the host gaze by departing from Foucault’s gaze. This is understood as institutionalized power: ‘the gaze is not so much an act of seeing, but an act (in talk (discourse) and in deed (praxis)) of knowing – indeed, of institutional/interest group/social pre-knowing.’²⁴ The concept of the gaze does not so much focus on looking or regarding, but emphasizes the way in which the world is both perceived and judged. By seeing and not seeing, some things are in and others out of focus, which is a form of regulating.²⁵

In the same volume, Bonnie Ganziani and Jennifer Francioni argue that no one gaze is more important than the other and that the act of looking constantly negotiates the position of the hierarchy between tourist and host. The host gaze and tourist gaze are thereby put on the same level. Ganziani and Francioni distinguish three types of host gaze, namely the classifying gaze that looks at tourists to classify and label them into cognitive schemata, the stakeholder gaze that is looking at the effects that tourism and tourists bring to the host destination, and the internalized gaze that incorporates elements of the tourist gaze and makes the host act and reflect differently on self and surrounding.²⁶ The last type of host gaze reflects upon self and identity and is connected to the expectations that tourists have of all kinds of encounters with local residents of their holiday destination.²⁷ The tourists expect these expectations to be met and to be treated in a hospitable way. Even residents that are no part of the tourist industry might be expected to engage in a ‘cultural role performance’, which entails that tourists are ‘expecting hosts in either occupational or resident roles to authenticate the cultural representation carried mentally by the tourist.’²⁸ As the term implies, this might cause residents to perform as they are expected by the visitors of their culture.

1.3 Experience and Expression

Tourists look to find new stories in their destination of choice, but both Urry and Bruner refer to ‘sight’ as the most important sense in traditional tourism studies. Bruner acknowledges that a tourist’s travel is not only dependent on what they see by stating that ‘the full power of a story is

²⁴ Hollinshead, Keith & Kuon, Vannsy (2013) ‘The Scopic Drive of Tourism: Foucault and Eye Dialectic’, in: Mouffakir, Omar & Reisinger, Yvette (eds.) *The Host Gaze in Global Tourism*. Oxfordshire/Boston: CABI International: 1.

²⁵ Ibidem: 3.

²⁶ Canziani, Bonnie & Francioni, Jennifer (2013) ‘Gaze and Self: Host Internalization of the Tourist Gaze’, in: Mouffakir, Omar & Reisinger, Yvette (eds.) *The Host Gaze in Global Tourism*. Oxfordshire/Boston: CABI International: 19.

²⁷ Ibidem: 23.

²⁸ Ibidem: 24.

never felt unless it is realized in an experience.²⁹ This claim is expanded in the volume *Emotion in Motion: Tourism, Affect and Transformation* (2012) by David Picard and Mike Robinson. They theorize that due to change of daily routines and environment that occurs during traveling, emotions and moral order are disturbed and destabilized.³⁰ By temporarily leaving home, deeper emotions can be evoked.³¹ Attractions do not only increase knowledge by representing a (hi)story, but by attaching meaning to certain objects. Attractions 'reveal a wider underlying moral order of modern life in general.'³² To visit tourist attractions adds meaning to tourists' personal lives.

When a tourist first is confronted with an attraction, this evokes an affect, meaning that there has not been a moment to reflect on the experience yet. It is the first unmediated impression of the attraction.³³ This moment of an affective experience is very short, because from that very moment the tourist will start to reflect, or try to express it. The tourist will immediately refer to official or other narratives to normalize and restructure the experience.³⁴ In a first encounter with the attraction the cultural images the tourist has in its arsenal accumulate in the contemporary experience, and form the reflection upon the affect.³⁵ Capturing the experience in words gives the situation a disciplining effect and decrease the affect.

Before the experience is normalized in words, the affect in tourism and traveling relates to forms of 'emotional knowledge'; the tourist undergoes a moral change. Émilie Crossley argues that the physical movement also triggers an 'inner voyage'.³⁶ Emotions and affects play a crucial role in the enabling of moral transformations of the tourist. The visit to a site has to be incorporated in the personal narrative of the individual.

Mike Robinson writes that this principle is not only visible as the tour proceeds, but that it can be useful to approach pre- and post-tour in a similar way. Advertisements do not only rely on the beauty of a certain site, but can also adhere to the way in which it evokes an emotional reaction.³⁷

²⁹ Bruner, Edward (2004): 187.

³⁰ Picard, David (2012) 'Tourism, Awe and Inner Journeys', in: Picard, David & Robinson (eds.) *Emotion in Motion: Tourism, Affect and Transformation*. London: Ashgate: 3.

³¹ Ibidem: 4-5.

³² Ibidem: 10.

³³ Ibidem: 12.

³⁴ Ibidem: 13.

³⁵ Robinson, Mike (2012) 'The Emotional Tourist', in: Picard, David & Robinson (eds.), *Emotion in Motion: Tourism, Affect and Transformation*. London: Ashgate: 30.

³⁶ Crossley, Émilie (2012) 'Affect and Moral Transformations in Young Volunteer Tourists', in: Picard, David & Robinson, Mike *Emotion in Motion: Tourism, Affect and Transformation*. London: Ashgate : 85.

³⁷ Robinson, Mike (2012): 28.

Whittaker agrees: 'The advertisers have suggested, not entirely tacitly, the ever-present possibility of encountering a peak-experience. Uniqueness. The promised escape of the boredom of the everyday. The stunning silence as the noises of life drop away.'³⁸ There is more to be found in the site than a picture can ever show. The tourist needs to experience the site. As the affect is indeed evoked during the tour, the post-tour narrative requires the last step towards expression. Whereas experience is related to 'the actual lived experience by tourists, expression stands for the more concrete way in which this experience is articulated or communicated.'³⁹ The expression of the experience takes place when the tourist returns home.

1.4 Authenticity, authority, and dialogic narration

The pre-tour narratives often promise what Dean MacCannell in *The Tourist* (1999[1976]) calls an 'authentic experience'. Dean MacCannell repeats Erving Goffman's distinction in the perception of society for tourists between 'front' and 'back' regions.⁴⁰ In the front region, tourists are welcomed, entertained and informed by the hosts. In the back region the residents retire in between these performances, to prepare and relax. Although the distinction is primarily a social one, it is carried out in architecture and other physical elements as well.⁴¹

There is no clear way to distinguish the front from back regions and a true 'authentic experience' as many tour operators claim to offer do not allow tourists a real insight in the back region, Dean MacCannell argues. 'Rather, it is a staged back region, a kind of living museum for which we have no analytical terms.'⁴² MacCannell does not make a rigid distinction front and back regions, but instead uses six varieties of 'places', which vary on a scale between front and back regions. The first stage is a typical place for tourists, a façade and a performance, a place tourists usually feel is inauthentic, and does not feel real. The second stage is decorated to appear more like a back region, but is effectively just a front region. In the third stage a simulation of a back region is created – the better the simulation, the harder it becomes to differentiate from the fourth stage, in which MacCannell counts back regions which are sometimes open to outsiders. In the fifth stage, a back

³⁸ Whittaker, Elvi (2012) 'Seeking the Existential Moment', in: Picard, David & Robinson (eds.), *Mike Emotion in Motion: Tourism, Affect and Transformation*. London: Ashgate: 76.

³⁹ Picard, David (2012): 11.

⁴⁰ Erving Goffman in: MacCannell, Dean (1999 [1976]) *The Tourist*. Berkeley/LosAngeles/London: University of California Press.: 92.

⁴¹ MacCannell, Dean (1999 [1976]) *The Tourist*. Berkeley/LosAngeles/London: University of California Press: 92.

⁴² *Ibidem*: 99.

stage is cleaned or altered slightly because of occasional tourists peaking in whereas the sixth stage is a pure back region.⁴³

Bruner broadens the view on authenticity and distinguishes four ways in which the term authenticity can be looked at.⁴⁴ He recognizes the authentic site, the authentic reproduction, the inauthentic reproduction and the authority of a story. A true authentic site would be such that a historical figure who would step into the attraction would recognize it as it had been in the past. This description is based on genuineness.⁴⁵ With the term authentic reproduction the fact that the site has undergone changes or even is a total reproduction is acknowledged and therefore the term is rather based on verisimilitude.⁴⁶ The inauthentic reproduction is a term where the authentic refers to an original as opposed to a copy. Encompassed with this meaning is the idea that all reproductions are, by definition, inauthentic.⁴⁷ In the fourth sense, authenticity 'refers to what is duly authorized, certified or legally valid'. Here the notion of authenticity merges into the notion of authority. Who has the right to tell the story of the site?⁴⁸ This fourth form of authenticity is present in all tourist attractions, and at the same time is the form of which most tourists have no knowledge.⁴⁹

The tourist sites concerning the historical events of the Yugoslavian Civil War in Sarajevo clarify that history is (re)constructed in a narrative. The actual event might have taken place in the past, but this does not keep it from changing in the present or sometime in the future. The events are retold, invented, produced and marketed in a story and representation.

This telling and retelling of the event can be treated as a form of 'knowledge' that is in relationship to the Foucauldian notion of 'power', argues Bruner (2004).⁵⁰ The attraction and the way it invites interpretation is seldom unbiased.⁵¹ Bruner gives an example of difference between representations in popular media, that might 'bend' the knowledge about historical facts to fit into a certain kind of storyline in order to lend itself better to be told. This is not the same as being untrue, but can lead to an overemphasizing of some points while others are neglected. Another chapter in

⁴³ Ibidem: 101-102.

⁴⁴ Bruner, Edward (2004): 149-150.

⁴⁵ Ibidem: 149.

⁴⁶ Ibidem: 149.

⁴⁷ Ibidem: 150.

⁴⁸ Ibidem: 150.

⁴⁹ Ibidem: 151.

⁵⁰ Ibidem: 127.

⁵¹ Ibidem: 128.

the volume analyses the contested site, in which the attraction of New Salem overemphasizes the importance of the years Abraham Lincoln has spent there.⁵²

The way different stories can be told about one site also seems to fit with what Mikhail Bakhtin has called dialogic narration, Bruner adds:

a story cannot be viewed in isolation, as monologic static entity, but must be seen in a dialogic or interactive framework; that is, all stories are told in voices, not just in structuralist oppositions or syntagmatic functions of action. (...) Stories are polyphonic – they voice the narrative action, the reported speech of characters, the tellers' commentary, evaluative remarks, interpretive statements, and audience acknowledgements.⁵³

In other words, the fight is not only fought in a physical manner, but is carried out in words and storytelling as well. Hierarchy in language of authoritative voices dominates contemporary community performances.⁵⁴ In this case, the story is told differently by the Bosnians than the Serbs.

There are a few ways in which a text can be dialogic, namely intrinsic, historical and experiential. The intrinsic dialogue refers to a resistance to a single definitive interpretation, the historical to a response of alternative and challenging histories and the experiential to the dialogue between autobiography and history as each person is aligned with a prevailing cultural tradition.⁵⁵ There are two ways in which this can turn out, namely a paradox or in reflexivity. In this sense a paradox stands for two voices that refer to one another, are mutually important, but contradictory at the same time.⁵⁶ Reflexivity, then, stands for the subject that has to look at itself as an object, needs 'the speaker to speak about the process of speaking'.⁵⁷ This is one of the ways in which the authoritative account can be challenged.⁵⁸

1.5 Dark Tourism

The Yugoslavian Civil War is only one event in a rich historical area, but as it is a fairly recent one it leads to the commercialization and commodification of objects relating to it. In the first chapter of

⁵² Ibidem: 132.

⁵³ Ibidem: 170.

⁵⁴ Ibidem: 172.

⁵⁵ Ibidem: 173.

⁵⁶ Ibidem: 178.

⁵⁷ Ibidem: 179.

⁵⁸ Ibidem: 181.

the book *Dark Tourism* (2010) Malcolm Foley and John Lennon recognize that interest in death, disaster and atrocity has been a growing phenomenon in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. They make a connection to pilgrimages, in which a travel is undertaken to a place where either a person, or a group of people have died. Usually a religious or ideological meaning is the reason to undertake such a tour. In the volume, Lennon and Foley aim to show 'that dark tourism is both a product of the circumstances of the late modern world and a significant influence upon these circumstances.'⁵⁹

The focus on dark tourism is a product of the late modern world, but there are three reasons why it is mostly related to the postmodern era Foley and Lennon explain. First of all, global communication technologies play a major part in creating interest. Due to many (re)presentations of death and war, both the event and the place of the event attract attention. Since many developments in the Yugoslavian Civil War were broadcasted directly on television, this made Sarajevo part of the western European cultural memory. Secondly, dark tourism introduces anxiety and doubt in the great narratives of modernity because it shows the possibility of failure within them. With regards to the Yugoslavian Civil War the great narratives of religion, capitalism and race are shattered in a war that destroyed an immense country and literally let it fall apart. The term 'Balkan' seems to imply some kind of rupture, an impossibility of unity within the European continent, and the horrible effects of war. Thirdly, the commodification of products during capitalism and a commercial ethic increase the number of objects that seem fit to be turned into tourist objectives. Museums can focus on practically anything and sites of war are turned into tourist attractions.⁶⁰

Tony Seaton recognizes five types of behavior in her text 'Thanatourism and Its Discontents: An Appraisal of a Decade's Work with Some Future Issues and Directions' (2009) that are considered dark tourism. In the article she lists travels either to witness public enactments of death, sites of mass or individual deaths, internment sites and memorials to the dead, material evidence or symbolic representation of death in locations unconnected with their museums, or reenactments or simulation of death.⁶¹ The attractions in the city of Sarajevo are, even without knowing it as a tourist, signifiers of and memorials to death connected to the civil war everywhere. In Seaton's distinction, Tunnel of Hope would be material evidence of death, Sniper Alley is a site of mass death and Gallery

⁵⁹ Foley, Malcolm & Lennon, John (2010) *Dark Tourism*. Hampshire: Cengage Learning EMEA: 3.

⁶⁰ Ibidem: 11.

⁶¹ Seaton, Tony (2009) 'Thanatourism and Its Discontents: An Appraisal of a Decade's Work with Some Future Issues and Directions', in: *The Sage Handbook of Tourism Studies* (eds. Tazim Jamal & Mike Robinson). London/Los Angeles/New Delhi/Singapore/Washington DC: Sage: 522-523.

11/07/95 would fit in the category of a museum about death that is unconnected with the museum itself.

1.5.1 Tunnel of Hope

The Tunnel of Hope claims to have 'ended the 20th century' by having been responsible for the survival of thousands of people during the siege of Sarajevo. The siege started in April 1992 and lasted 44 months, earning it the dubious title of longest siege of a capital city in modern times.⁶² The Tunnel of Hope connected the besieged inner city to the free outlands and was the only route that could supply the city center. The entrance to the tunnel is located a few kilometers out of the city center and hard to reach by public transport. On site, the house that hid the tunnel is still standing, but its walls are covered in bullet holes and have fallen into disrepair over the years. The tunnel is commodified by Sarajevo citizens, but aims mostly for foreign tourists.

1.5.2 Sniper Alley

Ulica Zmaja od Bosne connects the Central Railway Station of Sarajevo to the city center (and goes further on both sides), and during the war carried the nickname Sniper Alley for the usage of the road was very dangerous as snipers were stationed at all buildings surrounding it. Reporter John F. Burns from the *New York Times*, for instance, reported about the impossibility of escaping the fire of the Serbian army.⁶³ When driving through this street, it did not matter what the nationality of the passers-by was, but whether the sniper was taking a nap or 'could be bothered to lift his rifle'.⁶⁴ As Sniper Alley connects the street as a place of residence, work and relax (the 'Tito' café is populated with locals that crave for shadow, coffee and cigarettes) and the National Museum, Jewish cemetery and Hotel Holiday that was the only hotel that functioned during the war was bombed on the other side, it is also a place where the tourists and citizens are likely to meet.

⁶² Sindelar, Daisy & Anrnautovic, Marija (2012) 'War Lives On In Sarajevo, 20 Years Later', in: *Europe Radio Liberty* http://www.rferl.org/content/sarajevo_bosnia-herzegovina_siege_war_20th_anniversary/24538689.html (13-05-2015).

⁶³ Burns, John F. (1992) 'Racing Through Sniper's Alley on Ride Through Sarajevo', in: *New York Times*. <http://www.nytimes.com/1992/09/26/world/racing-through-snipers-alley-on-ride-to-sarajevo.html> (11-05-2015).

⁶⁴ Ibidem.

1.5.3 Gallery 11/07/95

Gallery 11/07/95 exhibits documents and other objects on the massacre of 8372 Muslim men and boys in Srebrenica.⁶⁵ In this gallery, the victims are remembered and the story is reconstructed. The collection can only be entered with a guide, who tells a straightforward story without allowing any space for interpretation. In the exhibition an effort is made to make the experience of Srebrenica tangible for tourists by showing pictures, a documentary, maps, and timelines to contextualize the events. The narrative of this museum clearly states the UN Dutchbat force acted wrongly in their role as peacekeepers, whereas this is still widely debated.⁶⁶ The pictures shown are interesting in connection to the city and its history but usually lack aesthetic qualities in itself.

1.6 Balkanism

Throughout history the Balkan countries have been seen more as an overland passage to the east than as a travel destination, writes Andrew Hammond in 'The danger zone of Europe' (2005).⁶⁷ It is only in the beginning of the twentieth century that this part of Europe also became known as a tourist destination in itself. From the early days, especially English travelogues are available, and Hammond discovers a trend that categorizes the Balkans as one of the West's most significant others between the Cold War and the current 'War on Terror'.⁶⁸ In this part of the text, the terms 'Balkan', 'Balkanism' and its derivatives will be introduced. In order to do so, the historical context will be outlined, after which the cultural connotations will be highlighted and the mixture of cultures will be elaborated on.

1.6.1 Historical context

In geographical terms, the Balkans refer to a group of countries in the south east of Europe such as the former Yugoslavia, Romania and Bulgaria, writes Hammond.⁶⁹ The area was discovered in the late eighteenth century by European travelers from which point on travel accounts start to appear ever more frequently.⁷⁰ The travelogues are interesting, and important for the perception of the Balkans

⁶⁵ Gallery 11/07/95 (2013) *Gallery 11/07/95*. <http://galerija110795.ba/en/> (09-05-2015).

⁶⁶ See for instance the recently (April 2015) started process against retired Dutchbat General Karremans by the Mothers of Srebrenica, and the recent report about declined air support by the UN.

⁶⁷ Hammond, Andrew (2005) "'The danger zone of Europe": Balkanism between the Cold War and 9/11', in: *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 8: 135

⁶⁸ Ibidem: 135.

⁶⁹ Ibidem: 137.

⁷⁰ Ibidem: 62.

because the traces of the formation of the Balkans as a separate entity are visible, they were read by a comparatively broad audience, and shaped public opinion.⁷¹

According to Bulgarian historian and philosopher Maria Todorova the term Balkan was the Turkish word for the bare cliffs between Bulgaria and Romania.⁷² These mountains were where the Balkan peninsula had a national border with the rest of Europe.⁷³ In her influential book *Imagining the Balkans* (2009) Todorova retraces the use of the term for anything after the fifteenth century. Although in Turkish 'Balkan' still stands for different varieties of mountains, the name Balkan became increasingly accepted as an overarching indication of the southeastern European countries.⁷⁴ Other descriptions applied to the region were, among others, 'European Turkey', 'Turkey-in Europe', and 'European Ottoman Empire'.⁷⁵ Yet another reference applied to the region was that of the 'Near East', in this way adhering to the habit of the citizens to call themselves traveling west as "Going to Europe".⁷⁶ Presently, the terms Balkan and southeastern Europe are used as synonyms, with an obvious preference for the first one.

1.6.2 Connotations and cultural meaning

The meaning of the term Balkanism started to expand after the First World War and Balkan Wars, but the term reached its peak after the fall of communism.⁷⁷ The warrior ethos was said to be 'deeply ingrained in the psyche of Balkan populations'⁷⁸ and the term therefore gave 'credible explanation for the violence, particularly the one exhibited by the warring Serb side.'⁷⁹ It was seen as a region in which violence was impossible to avoid. The term started to gain a political meaning in the beginning of the twentieth century.⁸⁰ The term Balkanization came to mean a breaking up of nations in mutual hostile parts. In an upraising of uses of the word just after the Second World War, the term also started to apply to the 'hopelessly' multicultural society, its backwardness, poverty, and undemocratic behavior.⁸¹

⁷¹ Ibidem: 64.

⁷² Todorova, Maria (2009) *Imagining the Balkans*. New York: Oxford University Press: 23-24.

⁷³ Ibidem: 25.

⁷⁴ Ibidem: 26.

⁷⁵ Ibidem: 27.

⁷⁶ Ibidem: 28.

⁷⁷ Ibidem: 121-122

⁷⁸ Ibidem: 137.

⁷⁹ Ibidem: 136.

⁸⁰ Ibidem: 29.

⁸¹ Ibidem: 33-34.

Maria Todorova retraced the term 'Balkanization' to twentieth century Europe, where it became to denote 'the parcelization of large and viable political units [and] a synonym for a reversion to the tribal, the backward, the primitive, the barbarian.'⁸² In her book she questions the connection that has been made between Balkanism and barbarism: '[w]hether the Balkans are non-European or not is mostly a matter of academic and political debate, but they certainly have no monopoly over barbarity.'⁸³

Except for a certain locality and the connotation of violence, Todorova shows that the area could be termed 'the land of contradictions', as there is no way to characterize the people in the area in only one or just a few terms. It is therefore an incomplete self, rather than a complete other. This has two reasons, namely the mixture of religion and race. As far as religion goes, the presence of a form of Christianity in the Balkans (Orthodox), next to the Islam has caused difficulties throughout history.⁸⁴ The racial division is even more complicated.⁸⁵ In the next paragraph, this difference will be elaborated on more thoroughly.

1.6.3 *Occident, Orient, Balkan*

To describe the relations between the southeastern part of Europe and the west, researchers often refer to the theory of the Orient as other.⁸⁶ This traditional opposition has dominated the representation of relations between Europe and Asia since Saïd's *Orientalism* (1978), but the term is not applicable to the western and southeastern Europe situation. The opposition between Western Europe and the Balkans is weaker than that of Occident and Orient for two reasons. In the beginning of the twentieth century the self, or the west, has lost its undeniable self-idealized image of being better and stronger than everybody else while at the same time the Balkan other came closer and even to reside inside Europe's borders. Due to political paranoia, lack of clarity, clearness and fragmented identities, the west does not provide an opposition that is as binary and clear to the 'savages of the east'.⁸⁷ The Balkans can be seen as European, despite the influences from especially Turkey; they are the 'other within'.⁸⁸

⁸² Ibidem: 3.

⁸³ Ibidem: 7.

⁸⁴ Ibidem: 18.

⁸⁵ Ibidem: 19.

⁸⁶ Hammond (2005).

⁸⁷ Ibidem: 137.

⁸⁸ Ibidem: 147.

In 'Typologies of the East: On Distinguishing Balkanism and Oriëntalism' (2008) Hammond tries to clarify the differences between Oriëntalism and Balkanism.⁸⁹ Saïd's distinctions between self and other and Occident and Oriënt, have lost their status of definitive truth, but the terms are still considered the starting point for many scholarly discussions and his influence on the concept of Balkanism and the discourse surrounding it is significant. Whereas the role of the Oriënt has been that of a strong and dangerous other, a 'them' that needs constant attention, the Balkans are an 'unstable and unsettling presence loosed from clear identity, an obscure boundary along the European peripheries where categories, oppositions, and essentialized groupings are cast into confusion.'⁹⁰ The Orient reminded us of the boundaries between Europe and Asia, but the Balkans 'remind the West of the instability of those boundaries'.⁹¹ The word Balkanism (and its derivatives such as 'to balkanize', 'balkanized' and 'balkanization') have spread their meaning from the geopolitical realm to those of semantics, race and religion.

Unlike others, Todorova argues that the only similarity between Oriëntalism and Balkanism is that of a power discourse, but they have just as much in common with each other as with every other power discourse. The differences between these categories includes the geographic and historical concreteness of the Balkans, opposed to the 'intangible nature of the Orient' as the image one had of the Orient was depended on space or time, often both. However, the connection is neither strange nor surprising as the culture of the Balkan states relies more on the Ottoman culture than the European. It was only when the countries started to 'Europanize' that their identity became blurry and fragmented.⁹² A second reason why the terms are often confused was the difference between Balkan and Oriental images. The Orients were wealthy, offered excess and in the west had an image of veiled lust, which made the east an escapist (male) dream.⁹³ The Balkans on the other hand had a far less ambivalent (although still mystical) image as it was solely inspired by medieval male activities, poverty and violence.⁹⁴ The most obvious connection between Oriëntalism and Balkanism can be found in Europe's role. In both power plays, Europe wants to have the upper hand at all costs.⁹⁵ Todorova questions however, whether the concepts of postcolonialism and the

⁸⁹ Hammond, Andrew (2008) 'Typologies of the East: On Distinguishing Balkanism and Orientalism', in: *Nineteenth-Century Contexts: An Interdisciplinary Journal*. London: Routledge.

⁹⁰ Ibidem 204-205.

⁹¹ Ibidem: 206.

⁹² Ibidem: 13.

⁹³ Ibidem: 13-14.

⁹⁴ Todorova, Maria (2009): 14-15.

⁹⁵ Ibidem: 16.

subaltern can even remotely be applied to the Balkans, as they never have been colonies.⁹⁶ In the end, Todorova concludes that '[t]he Balkans are usually reported to the outside world only in time of terror and trouble; the rest of the time they are scornfully ignored.'⁹⁷ In short, the image of the Balkans is only spread in times of troubles, which makes them have an image of a failing, violent and backward country to the West.

1.7 Conclusion

In order to analyze the pre-, during and post-tour narratives, the theories described above will prove useful. People travel in order to see and experience, and in the mean time undertake an inner voyage. The touring destination moreover is no 'empty vessel' that can be invested with meaning in whatever way the tourist wants, but meaning is formed in a continuous negotiation between the tourist and the host. Sometimes, this will cause troubles in describing the sources as hosts internalized the tourist expectations and stage a cultural performance. It is therefore not only the West that invests the Balkan countries with meaning, but this is reinforced by the Balkans themselves just as well.

In the following chapter the methods of this research will be explained in more detail. Keeping in mind theories about tourism, the tourist gaze, experience, authenticity, dark tourism and Balkanism the discourse surrounding Sarajevo and the tourist attractions will be investigated. In order to do so, a semiotic analysis of the tours will be supported by the discourse analyses on the pre- and post-tour narratives.

⁹⁶ Ibidem: 17.

⁹⁷ Ibidem: 184.

Chapter 2: Reading the City

Signs of historical death and violence in the contemporary city

Sarajevo is in the heart of the Balkans and suffered heavily during the Yugoslavian Civil War. The contemporary image in the West is influenced by multiple channels, such as representations in the media, popular fiction and travel destination information sources, but also the buildings and objects within the city of Sarajevo itself. In this chapter the methods that will be employed to analyze attractions in the tourist destination of Sarajevo will be elaborated on more thoroughly.

2.1 Thought and practice in a social context

The pre- and post-tour narratives on trips to the city of Sarajevo will be investigated by employing a discourse analysis in order to extract an overall image of the Balkan countries for western European travelers. The case studies subjected to the analysis in the following chapters are web pages and a travel program broadcasted on Dutch TV. The analysis will focus on the presence or neglect of the notion of Balkanism in the descriptions, but first a short introduction to the usage of a discourse analysis will be given.

The term discourse has many definitions, write Deborah Schiffrin, Deborah Tannen and Heidi E. Hamilton in their introduction to *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (2001), but they all fall under one of three categories, being '(1) anything beyond the sentence, (2) language use, and (3) a broader range of social practice that includes nonlinguistic and nonspecific instances of language.'⁹⁸ The discourse is invoked in the relations between language⁹⁹ (in whatever media form). Strauss and Feiz broaden this definition in their handbook *Discourse Analysis: Putting the World into Words* (2014) by writing that it is a system of social semiotics that has its own patterns.¹⁰⁰ All discourses are motivated by a perspective, so no one discourse, argument, sentence or even word is neutral.¹⁰¹ *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* explores many forms, but the most fitting for this particular research is the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

⁹⁸ Schiffrin, Deborah, Tannen, Deborah & Hamilton, Heidi E. (2001) 'Introduction', in: *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. New Jersey: Blackwell Publishers: 1.

⁹⁹ Ibidem: 10.

¹⁰⁰ Strauss, Susan & Feiz, Parastou (2014) *Discourse Analysis: Putting our Worlds into Words*. New York/London: Routledge: 2.

¹⁰¹ Ibidem: 3.

2.1.1 Critical discourse analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis derives from the view that all discourse is ‘social practice’, or shaped by society.¹⁰² Teun A. van Dijk writes that a Critical Discourse Analysis should meet a number of requirements, including being a ‘better’ research in order to be accepted, a focus on social problems and political issues, have a multidisciplinary character, explaining the discourses on top of describing them, and a focus on the way in which a dominant discourse enacts, confirms, legitimates, reproduces, or challenges relations of powers and dominance in society.¹⁰³ This means that power is a central notion in most discourse analyses.¹⁰⁴ Usually this comes with a ‘power base of privilege access, such as force, money, status, fame, knowledge information, “culture,” or indeed various forms of public discourse and communication.’¹⁰⁵ A different basis of power might change the way in which it is exercised as well.

One particular form of CDA explained in the chapter by Strauss and Feis is called the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) in which ‘the systematic integration of historical background information and prior related discourse is necessary and essential to the interpretation of specific current texts (Engel and Wodak, 2012: 77).’¹⁰⁶ The present text refers to historical events in an intertextual way in order to be able to give meaning to the present text. In this research, the historical references to the Yugoslavian Civil War are crucial in order to be able to read the signs of representations connected to the events. The contemporary interpretation of both the tourist and the report are founded on the references of the present texts made to the historical events.

2.2 Reading non-linguistic languages

A discourse analysis of the attractions themselves needs a slightly different approach. The buildings or objects that are in the center of this research do refer to historical events by being either a monument or refer to an event in the past. Rather than an analysis of literal text and accompanying images, MacCannell’s semiotics of attraction and Metro-Roland’s analysis of the tourist prosaic will be used to ‘read’ the tourist attractions.

¹⁰² Ibidem: 313.

¹⁰³ Van Dijk, Teun A. (2001) ‘Critical Discourse Analysis’, in: Schiffrin, Deborah, Tannen, Deborah & Hamilton, Heidi E. (eds.) *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. New Jersey: Blackwell Publishers : 353.

¹⁰⁴ Ibidem: 354.

¹⁰⁵ Ibidem: 355.

¹⁰⁶ Strauss, Susan & Feiz, Parastou (2014): 325.

2.2.1 Semiotics of attraction

Dean MacCannell uses Peirce's semiotic system of the sign and the signifier to analyze tourist attractions in the chapter 'A Semiotic of Attraction'. MacCannell writes that: a sign 'marks' a 'sight' to a 'tourist'. Each attraction in this sense is a symbolic marker for the tourist destination it can be found in.¹⁰⁷ So, the Tunnel of Hope, Sniper Alley and Gallery 11/07/95 are all markers of the city of Sarajevo. The object can be seen as something of interest in itself, or as a part to make the puzzle of the city of Sarajevo complete; something that must be seen before the 'real experience' can be felt.¹⁰⁸ Markers that offer information are added in order to help the tourist in making sense of the place. These markers are either on-site (a plaque, a guide) or off-site (a tourist-guide, an advertisement).¹⁰⁹

2.2.2 The tourist prosaic

A similar theory is developed by Michelle Metro-Roland in her book *Tourists, Signs and the City* (2011). In it she defines the 'cityscape' as an urban landscape that has an everyday function. Scattered through this cityscape, special tourist spaces are established, she terms these fragments the 'touristscape'. After having distinguished the two, she immediately makes clear that they can never be completely apart.¹¹⁰ The tourist walks through the city, looking for the hotspots of the touristscape, but in the mean time is still gazing, searching and looking for the out of the ordinary. Wanted or not, the tourist will inhale parts of the cityscape, of the everyday life of the inhabitants. In short, the tourist not just looks at what is meant for the tourist, but also to what is meant for the citizen. This image of the city, existing out of many different experiences, texts and representations she terms the 'tourist prosaic'.¹¹¹

In order to analyze the attraction of the Great Market Hall in Budapest, Metro-Roland employs Charles Sanders Peirce's semiotic system, and a similar method can be applied to the three attractions in the city of Sarajevo. In the semiotic system, a distinction can be made between the object, the sign and the interpretant. The object in this case refers to parts of an attraction in the tourist prosaic of Sarajevo. When the tourist's eye is captured by an object, it starts to mean something, which is represented in the sign. The interpretant is then described as the effect that this

¹⁰⁷ MacCannell, Dean (1999 [1976]): 109-111.

¹⁰⁸ Ibidem: 112.

¹⁰⁹ Ibidem: 109.

¹¹⁰ Metro-Roland, Michelle (2011): 6.

¹¹¹ Ibidem: 7.

has on the person who looks at the object.¹¹² As the sign is shaped by the object, the sign in turn shapes the interpretant.¹¹³

In this model, the object has two sides. On the one hand, there is the immediate object, the 'real attraction'. The way it is, unmediated, at all times from every side and in every corner all at once; an object that will never be truly visible. On the other hand Merleau-Ponty describes the dynamic object, which refers to the representation of an attraction on a specific moment from a specific angle give another image of the immediate object.¹¹⁴ In short, the term dynamic object entails that the way the tourist looks changes the view upon the object, and therefore the way in which the object is interpreted.

In the end, then, there are three types of interpretant because interpretation is 'neither transparent, nor straightforward'. A distinction can be made between the immediate interpretant that is represented or signified in the sign (when the tourist can recognize the sign as such), the dynamical interpretant that stands for the actual produced effect on the mind and the final interpretant that stands for the effect that would be produced after sufficient development of thought.¹¹⁵ In a different phrasing it is argued that the 'Immediate Interpretant is an abstraction, consisting in a possibility. The Dynamical Interpretant is a single actual event. The Final Interpretant is that toward which the actual tends'.¹¹⁶ The final interpretant is therefore only reached after having gained enough 'collateral knowledge', having left the attraction, when the tourist has had time to reflect on the site and his or her own behavior. The tourist needs time to place the experience in the familiar discourses and the other events connected to these before it can conclude on this by itself and will therefore only be able to do so in the post-tour narrative. This is why a final interpretant will always remain a personal view of the signs of the attractions and the destination as a whole.

2.3 Conclusion

In order to come to an answer to the research question posted in the introduction, use will be made of two complementing methods. The discourse analysis will be used to describe and analyze web pages that feature the pre-tour narratives and the blogs, reports and videos that are made to represent the trip in the post-tour narrative whereas the chapter on the trip itself will make use of the semiotic system in order to interpret objects the tourist passes along the way. As said before, all

¹¹² Ibidem: 12-13.

¹¹³ Ibidem: 14.

¹¹⁴ Ibidem: 13-14.

¹¹⁵ Ibidem: 15.

¹¹⁶ Ibidem: 15.

trips and all tourists are different, but by analyzing three popular, thematically related attractions, an idea about the experience of Balkanism in the tourist prosaic in the city center of Sarajevo can nonetheless be formed.

Chapter 3: Balkanism as Orientation

About representations of Sarajevo in online pre-tour narratives

3.1 Tourism after the Yugoslavian Civil War

Sarajevo has not entirely overcome the events of the Yugoslavian War yet, though slowly it builds on its identity as the capital of an independent country. The passing of time influences the renovation and interpretation of buildings, attractions, and the way in which it is made suitable for visitors. Spaces that once had the connotation of violence, death and war are turned into spaces to live or representation of history for tourists to visit.

In order to pick a holiday destination, many sources can be consulted which often glorify a city, its inhabitants, and the tourist attractions available on site.¹¹⁷ Images, stories and expectations influence choices about where to go, what to look at and what to notice.¹¹⁸ The 'repetition' of images in tourist advertisement slowly builds the tourist's idea of Sarajevo as a destination, even before departure.

3.2 Contemporary Sarajevo tourist advertisement and the Yugoslavian Civil War

In the online tourist advertisement sources attractions are showcased in order to shape the image of Sarajevo as a tourist destination. The representations analyzed in this chapter are by no means neutral; in terms of Peirce and Metro-Roland they are dynamic objects.¹¹⁹ In this chapter the narratives on which premises tourists visit Sarajevo are investigated in order to answer the question: How is Balkanism represented in online tourist destination advertisement about the city of Sarajevo? In the answer an analysis of the city of Sarajevo itself as well as closer looks at the case study attractions that are central in this research will be included.

In order to conduct a discourse analysis as described by Deborah Schiffrin, Deborah Tannen and Heidi E. Hamilton (2001) three websites will serve as case studies. These three sources are Sarajevo's official tourist website *Destination Sarajevo*¹²⁰, the online version of *Lonely Planet*¹²¹, the guide that promises attractions, spaces and experiences 'off the beaten path'¹²² and the popular

¹¹⁷ Bruner, Edward M. (2004): 22.

¹¹⁸ Urry, John (2002 second edition, First edition 1990): 15.

¹¹⁹ Metro-Roland, Michelle (2011): 13-14.

¹²⁰ Destination Sarajevo (2015) *Destination Sarajevo* Sarajevo.travel (01-04-2015).

¹²¹ Lonely Planet (2015) *Lonely Planet*. www.lonelyplanet.com (01-04-2015).

¹²² Bhattacharyya, Deborah, P. (1997) 'Mediating India: An Analysis of a Guidebook', in: *Annals of Tourism Research*. 24 (2), pp. 371-389.

peer-reviewed website *TripAdvisor*¹²³. After a plain description of the websites as such, the connection will be made to the potential (western European) visitor and his or her gaze and experience, the authenticity or authority of stories, dark tourism and Balkanism. The focus points of analysis will include: Who made the website? What is the aim of the website? How is the online source structured? Which attractions are presented? and: What does the interface of the website look like?

3.2.1 Destination Sarajevo: A host's welcome

The website *Destination Sarajevo* is owned by the Sarajevo Navigator Foundation, a company that aims to market Sarajevo for visitors. The main goal of this site is to attract more people to Bosnia and Herzegovina's capital and provide tourists with plenty of information before they take off.¹²⁴ By highlighting, clustering and explaining different places to visit in the city, *Destination Sarajevo* aims to supply as much information to prepare for a visit as thorough as possible: 'from the range of travel options and accommodation, to providing assistance with getting around and efficiently managing one's time during a stay or visit.'¹²⁵ As the website is organized by Bosnians, it provides an insider's or host's gaze on the city of Sarajevo in order to guide the tourist gaze in a certain direction. The website anticipates the tourist gaze and claims to show Sarajevo's pride and local treasures. In connection to the notions of authenticity and authority, this means that the representation (signs) could be called authentic reproductions.

The structure of *Destination Sarajevo* is formed by a division into four sections that make use of different symbols, with which the tourist can find important travel information. The 'Discover Sarajevo' section provides a basic overview of the important tourist places, in 'Things to Do' he or she can find events, locations and sites to visit, 'Where to Stay' lists accommodations and a way of booking via their partner *Booking.com* and the section called 'Tourist Info' gives an overview of transportation towards and inside of the city.¹²⁶

¹²³ Tripadvisor (2015) *TripAdvisor*. www.tripadvisor.com (01-04-2015).

¹²⁴ Destination Sarajevo (2015) 'About Us', in: *Destination Sarajevo*. <http://sarajevo.travel/en/about-us> (26-03-2015).

¹²⁵ Ibidem.

¹²⁶ Ibidem.

The most important reasons to visit according to *Destination* are listed in the section '10 Reasons to Visit'.¹²⁷ The most important one, they claim, is that it should be an excellent starting point for a tour in all the 'Southeastern European countries'. This reason does not highlight Sarajevo's own distinctive qualities and in the accompanying explanation, the term 'Balkans' is avoided in favor of the descriptive 'southeastern European countries'.

Other listed reasons to visit Sarajevo also let the cultural meanings of the term Balkanism trickle through, such as that it is cheap ('Excellent value for the money'), that it has a lot of historical events taking place on its properties and eagerness to share their rich history and culture with visitors. Moreover, the cultural mix in the middle of Europe and Asia is praised: '[t]his made the country and its capital a crossroads for different worlds – a place where Orient met Occident in the heart of the Balkans.'¹²⁸ In terms of Balkanism, it could be said that Sarajevo is cheap (poor), had a turbulent history (violence, barbarism) and its inhabitants are eager to share and talk, having a warm and welcoming attitude to foreigners (Oriental influence in an Occident area). The term Balkan is moreover used in a dominantly positive way. The crossroads between Occident and Orient is no guarantee for troubles, but according to *Destination Sarajevo* enriches culture.

In the second part of the top ten its 'ideal size' (not too big and not too small) and presence of natural areas just outside the urban borders is mentioned. The good food and drinks and its hospitable and kind people are also listed as a reason to visit Sarajevo. Less convincing is number eight on the list, which states that it is a safe place despite its recent war: 'There are no neighborhoods that should be avoided, but we suggest that you stick to well-lit streets during evening hours'. The section also warns for pickpockets (especially in public transport), the tourist should avoid to park his or her car just anywhere, and exploring the woodlands without a guide might not be the best idea for there are still landmines in some areas.¹²⁹ Both the Balkan and the Yugoslavian Civil War can be read between the lines in this specific part. The capital is new and small in size, and the danger can distinctly be lead back to the war, with as a most clear example the landmines that are still to be found.

The section on attractions in Sarajevo consists out of a list of things to do in and around the city. Among the top attractions of the city the tourist mostly comes across mosques and streets that 'breathe' the atmosphere of the city; the Oriental influences are tangible. Only on the second page of

¹²⁷ Destination Sarajevo (2015) '10 Reasons to Visit Sarajevo', in: *Destination Sarajevo*.

<http://sarajevo.travel/en/discover-sarajevo/meet-sarajevo/10-reasons-to-visit> (26-03-2015).

¹²⁸ Ibidem.

¹²⁹ Ibidem.

attractions are the churches, bridge and first attraction related to the Yugoslavian War (Tunnel of Hope) presented. Gallery 11/07/95 and Sniper Alley do not appear in the list at all. Explanations on the Tunnel of Hope are given in a factual manner without any references to personal stories, contemporary impact or individual survivors. The visitor can read about its length and height, the time it took to be built and the conditions under which it was built.¹³⁰ The tourist is invited to direct its tourist gaze to regard it a successful outcome of a lot of effort, rather than to experience the tunnel or attach emotional value to the stories. Contradictory to what Picard and Robinson expect, the website hardly uses experience and emotion to advertise the tourist attraction.¹³¹

In four accompanying pictures the front of the house under which the tunnel was built, the tunnel itself and a part of the exhibition are shown. Only one image includes people, descending the stairs to walk through the tunnel. The people are dressed as tourists; either in shorts or half-long trousers, wearing summer hats, T-shirts and cameras, all looking down the stairs in anticipation. The pictures present the tunnel as an organized tourist space. This and the image of the average tourist waiting in line for the tunnel contribute to a discourse surrounding the attraction as one among others, something that could be chosen to see or to neglect and not as one of the forming aspects of the (tourist) city. Other attractions that can be linked to the siege of Sarajevo in particular or the Yugoslavian Civil War in general are not mentioned.

A separate section is linked to the spots of nature that can be visited in Sarajevo and to nature/outdoor sports sections located just outside of the city.¹³² The website also lists a lot of upcoming events, tours (organized by *Insiders Sarajevo City Tours and Excursions*) and activities other than sightseeing during holidays such as swimming, hiking and visiting beauty studios. There is a large section in which accommodations can be selected by type, or location with a brief introduction to the city of Sarajevo.

The positive, happy and hopeful representation of the city by *Destination Sarajevo* is underlined by the interface of the website. The colors help to carry this meaning, as do the sections about reasons and places to visit. The homepage shows idyllic representations of spaces in the city and its surroundings. The shown dynamic objects are represented in static front views of the most beautiful buildings, coziest streets and most dazzling panoramic sights.

¹³⁰ Destination Sarajevo (2015) 'Tunnel of Hope', in: *Destination Sarajevo*. <http://sarajevo.travel/en/things-to-do/sarajevo-war-tunnel-tunnel-of-hope/180> (27-05-2015).

¹³¹ Picard, David & Robinson, Mike (eds.) (2012): 28.

¹³² Destination Sarajevo (2015) Sarajevo Nature' and 'Around Sarajevo', in: *Destination Sarajevo*. <http://sarajevo.travel/en/discover-sarajevo/meet-sarajevo/10-reasons-to-visit> (26-03-2015).



Figure 1 Homepage Destination Sarajevo: <http://sarajevo.travel>

Destination Sarajevo presents the city as a cozy destination that is easy to be seen within a day. It is small and full of friendly people, suitable for a layover in a longer trip and connected to the other former Yugoslavian countries by being at its geographical center. There are many churches and mosques worth visiting and the multicultural atmosphere is unique and exciting.

Destination Sarajevo does not neglect the Yugoslavian war entirely, but it remains underemphasized. An example of this is that the gallery and Sniper Alley do not appear in the (long) list of attractions. There is an emphasis on other parts of history, preferably with a happy or positive tone, and the largest part of this is connected to the influence of the Ottoman Empire.

The connotation of the word Balkanism is supposed to be either geographical or very positive; it offers a 'rich' environment, the 'crossroad' of cultures, its 'multiculturalism' is celebrated and the place is 'steeped in history'. One particular aspect fails to become light and happy, as it points out the dangers of the city for potential visitors. The environment is not entirely safe yet.

By using the word 'Balkanism' only in its geographical meaning or with sole positive connotations, it does not become a part of the repetition of the discourse surrounding southeastern Europe. When only visiting the website of *Destination Sarajevo*, the connotations of the term Balkanism as described by Hammond and Todorova would not be the main storyline of a visit to the heart of 'the southern European countries' but an answer to the Balkan representations in Bruner's dialogic narration.¹³³ An answer of hope, wealth and cultural richness. The 'reality' of the Yugoslavian Civil War is marginalized in favor of a multicultural and hospitable narrative.

¹³³ Bruner, Edward (2004): 170.

3.2.2 *Lonely Plane: To the edge of Europe*

The story of the first *Lonely Planet* travel guide is that it was written in the '70's by the English Tony and Maureen Wheeler, right at the kitchen table. After a trip through Asia, friends kept urging the young couple to write about their experiences in the east 'on the cheap'. This book was published in 1973 and after that the community grew quickly and still does so today – it is one of the most well-known travel guides across the world.¹³⁴

The aim of the *Lonely Planet* is to inspire people like Tony and Maureen to travel. Roads of the beaten path, not being a tourist but a 'traveler', is the message of the guide and its online equivalent. The online editorial states that: 'we tell it like it is, without fear or favour'.¹³⁵ Travelers can expect the writers of the pieces to have 'really been there', had a look for themselves and express their honest opinion without giving in to commercial gain. The image given of the *Lonely Planet* is that of passionate travelers, people that cannot be stopped by such trivial things as money to go from Europe to Australia overland, write a book about it, sell 1500 copies in the first weeks and decide to travel more. Their motto: 'All you've got to do is decide to go and the hardest part is over. So go!'¹³⁶

The authority to tell the story is given to a certain type of traveler, probably best to be characterized as alternative, often young, maybe a bit naïve, enthusiastic and curious. Except for a certain kind of audience, this means a certain type of writing and story. People will 'have been there', but this is different than suggestions by locals. Instead of a focus on 'authenticity' and the 'real' Sarajevo, there is a focus on the experience of Sarajevo as a visitor and the tourist will be pointed towards the different unique sights and attractions in the city from an Anglo-Saxon, western perspective.

Lonely Planet's website is structured like a story, layer by layer revealing must-sees, hidden pearls, and the easiest, cheapest or best flights and hotels. The website introduces Sarajevo on the top of the page with a text and some pictures. On one side of the homepage two sections with 'best things to do' and 'best places to stay' are highlighted. When scrolling further down, a section with 'inspiration' (cycling, hiking, strolling through the city and so on) is featured, just as ideas on where to stay, how to travel and which sights to see.

In the introductory text on the city of Sarajevo its having been besieged is mentioned in the first sentence as a deciding factor of both the country's and city's history, and the development of

¹³⁴ Loneley Planet (2015) 'About Us', in: *Loneley Planet*: <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/about/> (26-03-2015).

¹³⁵ Ibidem.

¹³⁶ Ibidem.

the city as a tourist destination. Later on it is stressed how the 'bullet holes are plastered' and that the Ottoman and Habsburg mixture in architecture remains among the most beautiful in the area. The different atmospheres of all parts of the city center and its surroundings is emphasized, representing Sarajevo as a multi-faceted city with things to do for every type of visit.

In the 'Sights' section that appears scrolling lower on the homepage, the Tunnel of Hope is the first attraction to be mentioned. High on the list moreover are a historical house from the eighteenth century, a Muslim neighborhood on a five minute walk from the city center and the national museum. Many other museums make it to the top of the list, as do churches and mosques. Except for the Tunnel of Hope, attractions related to the Yugoslavian Civil War are not presented in the list early on. Sniper Alley is no part of the list at all and Gallery 11/07/95 only turns up on one of the last pages.

The Tunnel of Hope is described as a 'visceral' attraction; a place in which a connection to the Civil War is made tangible for its visitors.¹³⁷ Admittedly, it is not the easiest attraction to reach. *Lonely Planet* states: 'Getting here by public transport is a bit of a fiddle.'¹³⁸ Seeing it is worth it though. The featuring picture of the Tunnel Museum in the attractions section shows the deserted tunnel with wooden stacks. It is low (which means it is impossible to walk up straight and gives the impression of hiding and fear) and the warning about the limited possibilities to reach the attraction enforce the idea that Sarajevo's infrastructure is bad (meaning they are backward and are either incapable of or too poor to improve the attainability of the attraction) more apparent.

Although the word visceral is not repeated in the description of the Srebrenica gallery, the commentary does appeal to the tourist's experience and emotional response: 'This new gallery uses stirring visual imagery to create a powerful memorial to over 8000 victims of the Srebrenica massacre, one of the most infamous events of the Bosnian civil war.'¹³⁹ The history presented is treated with respect to the deaths and those responsible (the Serbs and UN peacekeepers). Both the attraction of the tunnel and the gallery appeal to an experience, to the emotion connected to the Yugoslavian Civil War and hope to invoke emotional understanding rather than mere factual, and looking at the displayed objects is encouraged.

¹³⁷ Lonely Planet (2015) 'Tunnel Museum', in: *Lonely Planet*. <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/bosnia-and-hercegovina/sarajevo/sights/museums-galleries/tunnel-museum> (26-03-2015).

¹³⁸ Ibidem.

¹³⁹ Lonely Planet (2015) 'Galerija 11-07-95', in: *Lonely Planet*. <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/bosnia-and-hercegovina/sarajevo/sights/museums-galleries/galerija-11-07-95> (08-7-2015).

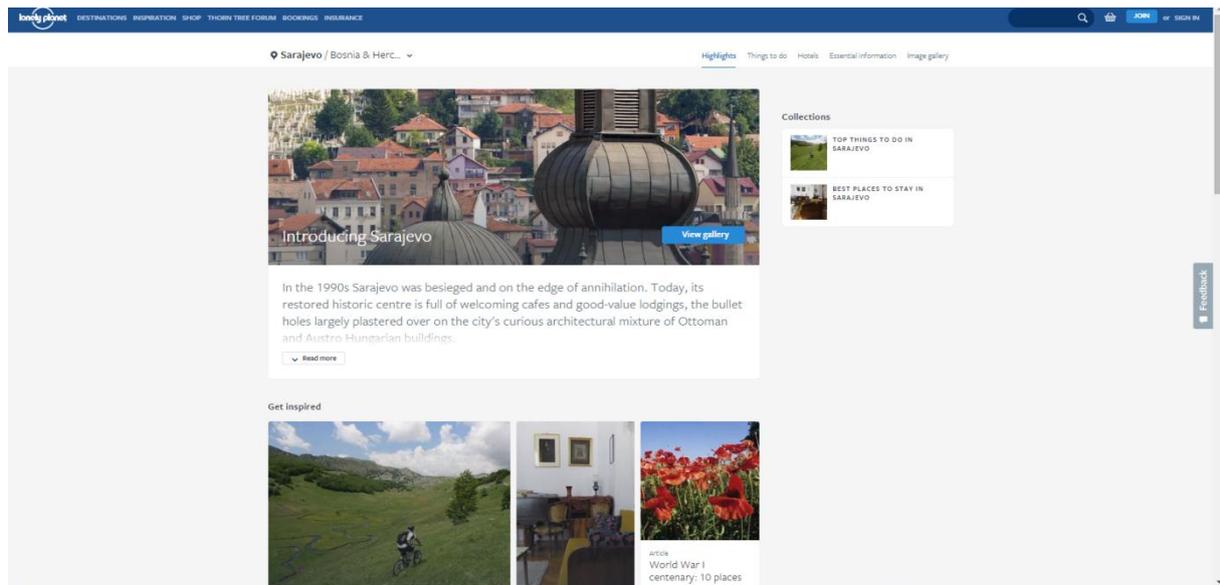


Figure 2 Homepage Lonely Planet: <http://www.lonelyplanet.com>

The interface of the website is rather simple. A white background with blue highlights and buttons gives the website an easy accessible outlook and provides a direct overview. The important features are clustered by theme and accompanied by many pictures, sunny, bright, usually wide and clean, to encourage curiosity and immediate connection. There is a large diversity in the information which is offered and in the advice about interesting places to go. This underlines the idea of experience rather than factual knowledge. By providing snapshots, the scene works for itself rather than the text that normalizes it.¹⁴⁰

To summarize, *Lonely Planet* presents itself as a community of passionate travelers who ‘just go’, whatever it takes. The information offered is not influenced by ties to the space or its people, but aims to inspire the traveler: people who want to experience different cultures in foreign destinations. The website of *Lonely Planet* alludes to the idea of traveling as an inner voyage.¹⁴¹ By making tourists experience and feel, the destination is mystified and curiosity is encouraged.

As the introduction gives away, *Lonely Planet* frames Sarajevo in the recent events of the Yugoslavian Civil War. *Lonely Planet* is not afraid to use the word ‘Balkan’, although it is unclear whether the website uses it merely as a geographical term or that the negative connotations of backwardness, pre-modernism and violence are supposed to trickle through. Unlike the website of *Destination Sarajevo* Balkanism does not necessarily have the positive connotation of multiculturalism, rich history and atmosphere nor the focus on the Oriental or Ottoman background

¹⁴⁰ Picard, David & Robinson, Mike (eds.) (2012).

¹⁴¹ Ibidem.

of the country. The term is neutralized and Sarajevo is represented as an original city, neither formed by the Occident nor the Orient.

The main page of the Sarajevo section of the website shows desolate areas around the city and the mixture of architecture that is apparent in its center. The introductory text mentions the Balkans and the Civil War, but in the featuring images another idea is invoked. The tours offered ('Hiking the Balkans', 'Croatia and the Balkans' and 'Eastern Europe, Croatia and the Balkans') do connect Sarajevo to the Balkans, but only in relation to a larger geographical environment. The picture of the Tunnel of Hope on the other hand, does lead the visitor to believe the country is a kind of backward, hard to navigate and not necessarily friendly to visitors. *Lonely Planet* tries to incorporate an objective view, but does not manage to transcend the gaze of the western tourist. The website tries to sketch an authentic image, but features western reproductions and therefore displays an in genuine authentic reproduction, unaware of its lack of authenticity. The (power) discourse of the Balkan is repeated at least in parts of the online representation of the city of Sarajevo from western point of view.

3.2.3 TripAdvisor: Community of tourist experts

The website of *TripAdvisor* first saw the light in the year 2000 and was founded by a group of Americans. *TripAdvisor* claims to be world's largest travelling website, based on a research by comScore Media Metrix, and thus has many visitors daily.¹⁴² In this digital environment a tourist can find more than just useful information and trustworthy advice, the site states, because the future tourist can make use of the option to book accommodation, transport and excursions immediately. Originally the website meant to provide an online collection of information that could be found in travel guides, newspapers and other official media, but the commentary section quickly grew out to be the largest and soon there were more user comments than professional descriptions. For the authority of the website this means that a frame is established by the editors of the website, but the possibility exists to add one's own experience and complete the story. The dialogic narration and nature of what Bruner has termed the contested site here is gathered in one community.¹⁴³

The structure of the website is easy and gives a clear overview of everything a tourist might need. When the website is opened, a picture of the city of Sarajevo takes a large part of the site, but next to it a number of hotels, holiday houses, flights, activities and restaurants are listed. After the image

¹⁴² TripAdvisor (2015) 'Over TripAdvisor', in: *TripAdvisor*. http://www.tripadvisor.nl/pages/about_us.html (10-07-2015).

¹⁴³ Bruner, Edward (2004): 170.

and the list, the main page of Sarajevo firstly lists the best ('top rated') accommodations. Following this, a list of cheap flights that were found on the internet is integrated and the best-rated restaurants are shown in a small picture.

Part of the website is 'TripAdvisor for Business', in which the tourism branches can connect to the millions of customers the website attracts every month. The website helps owners of accommodations, restaurants, cafés and cultural sights/visiting places to connect to the interested traveler. He or she can assemble an own ideal holiday from home whereas the hosts get attention and, if rated well, can gain from having their name on the website.

The tourists do not only take in the information, but the website also provides the possibility of reacting to the cities' atmosphere, attractions and accommodations. The community of *TripAdvisor* has over 200 million reviews and is active in over 45 countries all over the world.¹⁴⁴ *TripAdvisor* provides the opportunity for individual travelers to actively participate in the creation of an image of a destination and rate it and its attractions via a 5-star system. Members are invited to post comments, add pictures of their own experiences and thus share their experience. Tourists share their gaze and perception below a general description of the attraction.

Not only is there the possibility to rate attractions, visitors can also evaluate the comments made by other contributors. Peers can rate comments as 'useful' or not. Since the pictures are taken by tourists, many of them show a face of the contributor and their family or friends. A lot of pictures have a similar approach in angle, zoom, width and frame. The attraction is represented as a tourist attraction. It is not a building that belongs to the cityscape, but one that is photographed by tourists to fit their tour narratives. Therefore, the website does not pretend to give an authentic representation, but rather represents an authentic reproduction. It is clear that the tourist will visit places that have been altered over time and that have been visited by tourists more often.

The attractions are exhibited to the audience in a similar way as on the other websites. An extra feature however is that all of them are contextualized in both space and theme by connecting them to attractions that were looked at by people interested in the same type of attractions and its surroundings. *TripAdvisor* lists Gallery 11/07/95 as its top attraction, just followed by the district of Bascarsija and a walking tour through the city. The fourth attraction of Sarajevo is the Tunnel of Hope. Later on the page a mixture of attractions is listed; the Srvo House, several museums, hikes and walking tours seem to have found their place in the rating at random. Once again, Sniper Alley is left out of all descriptions.

¹⁴⁴ TripAdvisor (2015) 'Over Tripadvisor', in: *TripAdvisor*. http://www.tripadvisor.nl/pages/about_us.html (28-03-2015).

With 333 reviews, Gallery 11/07/95 is rated with an average of 5 in the 5-star system. Especially memorable for the visitors are the images and videos used in the museum and the guides helping the people understand the stories. The presentation of this very recent part of history, also identified as the Balkan war, is said to be well done. There is a lot of material that needs contextualization by a guide and although the gallery does not concern Sarajevo but a village in the east of Bosnia and Herzegovina, this attraction complies with the imagination of Sarajevo, Bosnia, the Yugoslavian Civil War and the Balkans.¹⁴⁵ The overall emphasis of the attraction is on the historical events, and not on the experience of tourists. It is an important site to understand more of the destination, rather than part of the atmosphere of the city itself.

Several pictures were added to the description of the attraction. The title picture shows a large room with official images of the Srebrenica Civil War but it is too hard to recognize anything in particular. The first picture is an official one, followed by a series of other pictures, most frequently of the names or portraits of the perished, the quote 'You are my Witness' in the elevator towards the museum, Edmund Burke's 'All that is necessary for evil is that good men do nothing' and a picture of a worn female face, staring in the eyes of the passing tourist intensely. The museum and the online representation in *TripAdvisor* appeal to people's affect. The attraction very clearly represents violence, but as Todorova argued: the Balkans do not own a privilege to this.¹⁴⁶

The Tunnel of Hope is described as an important part in the understanding of the Civil War. 546 people rated it with an average of 4,5 stars, stating it 'is worth the trip', and the three most recent reviews all refer to the attraction as a museum, not as a site of heritage.¹⁴⁷ The importance of the Tunnel of Hope is always related to the Sarajevo Siege. It is never called beautiful in itself, well-organized or even remotely interesting in aesthetic terms. Although the tunnel is far, overwhelming, hard to comprehend and even ugly, seeing the tunnel is a 'must' and helps the tourist to understand the events of the last years of the previous century better.

The pictures of the tunnel are mostly of the wooden stacked part or the front house, sometimes zoomed in on the skull on one of the plaques or the bullet holes. There are hardly people in the pictures and if there are, they pose in front of the house. It is especially the story that interests the audience. Once again, it is the past violence that becomes very apparent in this representation of the tunnel and the city of Sarajevo, which could also refer to Balkanism.

¹⁴⁵ TripAdvisor (2015) 'Gallery 11/07/95', in: *TripAdvisor*. http://www.tripadvisor.nl/Attraction_Review-g294450-d3661931-Reviews-Gallery_11_07_95-Sarajevo_Sarajevo_Canton.html (28-03-2015).

¹⁴⁶ Todorova, Maria (2009): 7.

¹⁴⁷ TripAdvisor (2015) 'Sarajevo War Tunnel', in: *TripAdvisor*. http://www.tripadvisor.nl/Attraction_Review-g294450-d668457-Reviews-Sarajevo_War_Tunnel-Sarajevo_Sarajevo_Canton.html (28-03-2015).

The interface of the website is green and white and always features an abstract owl in the top left corner. Besides a menu on the top that lists the most important practicalities of a holiday, the homepage introduces all of them in more detail. In this way, the visitor can make sure to get there, be able to sleep and eat before they have to figure out what to do. Many texts and pictures only give a short notice of impracticalities or definite must-sees rather than a thorough description of the site.



Figure 3 Homepage TripAdvisor: <http://www.tripadvisor.com>

TripAdvisor's approach to tourism advertisement and information appears to be less about providing information, and more about a way to create a community of travelers. By allowing the individual traveler to contribute to the website, the gaze of the tourist is represented less in what the tourist wants to hear and more in what the tourist has experienced. The website focuses on both gaze and experience, as it incorporates pictures and very personal descriptions of visits to the city.

A possible downside of this approach is that it certainly does not contribute to the authentic outlook of an attraction, but does relinquish the authority of telling a story to those who are actually visiting the website – the tourists. The webpage provides the frame, such as which attractions are featured and a sentence or two on the content, but the interpretation and rating of the attraction is provided by tourists themselves.

Both the Tunnel of Hope and the Gallery about Srebrenica are listed in the attraction section as very high. It shows a tourist interest in the attractions connected to death and war, but also connects to the larger story of the Yugoslavian Civil War and Balkanism in general. As an unbalanced region, the gallery and tunnel fit into this picture perfectly. Also the other attractions that are listed high include Muslim and Christian attractions and references to the architectural and cultural mixture of the city. In this destination source, the overall story does not point to Balkanism, but the

separate pieces of the puzzle do especially point towards the violence, the splitting of a larger unity and hostility.

3.3 Conclusion

This chapter tried to find an answer to the research question: In what way can online tourist destination advertisement about the city of Sarajevo be interpreted in connection to the notion of Balkanism? In the analysis of *Destination Sarajevo*, *Lonely Planet* and *TripAdvisor* that represent the destination Sarajevo, a few striking differences should be noted. Except for practical differences such as the makers of the website and their aim, this includes differences that go deeper such as the approach to the city, the cultural mix, or the Yugoslavian Civil War in general.

All three websites mention the events of the Yugoslavian Civil War, but not all of them do so in the same way. *Destination Sarajevo* tries to bend the negative results of the recent war into positive ones and claims safety while the need still exists to list the things tourists need to look out for. The website is afraid to write about the 'Balkans' as a homogenous group and only uses the term with positive connotations. At the same time, the main reason to visit Sarajevo mentioned is that it is at the heart of the Balkans, so the tourist can easily reach the whole region, implying that Sarajevo is too small for a holiday on its own and that a visit to the rest of the region enhances the visit. *Destination Sarajevo* describes the city from the point of view of the host. In the internalized host gaze that Keith Hollinshead and Vannsy Kuon distinguished, the tourist gaze is inseparably connected to the discourse and praxis of the hosts themselves.¹⁴⁸ The hosts represent themselves in a factual manner. They do not invite tourists to experience culture, but to expand their knowledge on the region.

As remarked before, the host gaze of *Destination Sarajevo* approaches Sarajevo and its story in another way than *Lonely Planet* and *TripAdvisor*. These two websites both employ the tourist gaze in their description of the city and invite the tourists to experience this different atmosphere, but they do so in different ways. The English, alternative guide *Lonely Planet* introduces the city with the civil war, frames it as such and shows representations of the city and its surroundings that are desolate, where the hard times the civil war are still apparent and are shown with a few attractions connected to it. *Lonely Planet* sent an informed tourist to Sarajevo and therefore employs a second gaze. Both the Tunnel of Hope and the Gallery 11/07/95 are high in the lists of attractions worth visiting and put Sarajevo in the context of its recent civil war. The city of Sarajevo is an excellent destination for 'dark tourists'.¹⁴⁹ The Tunnel of Hope is described as 'visceral' and the description of

¹⁴⁸ Hollinshead, Keith & Kuon Vannsy (2013) in: Mouffakir, Omar & Reisinger, Yvette (eds): 19.

¹⁴⁹ Foley, Malcom & Lennon, John (2010).

the Srebrenica gallery also emphasizes the 'experience' of the attraction. *Lonely Planet* sees a trip to Sarajevo as an inner voyage that makes the tourist relate to himself and its home as well as to the destination he or she visits.¹⁵⁰

TripAdvisor forms a community that offers a tourist view on Sarajevo as a destination. The new gallery about the Srebrenica massacre located in the city center is rated highest by other tourists and especially the way in which the experience is made tangible is praised in the comments. It is probably here that the expectations beforehand work through best. The short descriptions of (mostly western European) travelers often refer to the civil war and the images of the area that resonate in the home culture. Instead of looking for authenticity, *TripAdvisor* looks for an authentic reproduction of the pre-tour image, which then once again is reproduced on the website.¹⁵¹ The tourists share their findings and therefore the website gives a pure tourist gaze to the destination.

The dynamic object of the city of Sarajevo and its attractions are presented differently in all three online pre-tour narratives. A compilation of the website offers a dialogic narration of the sites connected to the Yugoslavian Civil War. *Destination Sarajevo* markets the city from a host perspective, *Lonely Planet* wants to inspire travelers to just choose a destination and go. If this happens to be Sarajevo, the website offers advice on how to go about. Lastly, *TripAdvisor's* dynamic object shows the tourist the city as a destination through the eyes of a western European tourist including their prejudices. According to Metro-Roland, 'layers' such as these together form the image of Sarajevo as a Balkan destination, but there is no particular core. Some descriptions contradict one another whereas others are merely interpreted in different ways.¹⁵²

Discourse is formed by repetition, argue Foley and Lennon, rather through representation than by reality.¹⁵³ As far as the discourse of Balkanism is concerned, the sites of the Yugoslavian Civil War do offer the most prominent aspects of the notion, but do not necessarily connect to all of them. All sources mention the term Balkanism and refer to the geographical area (without marking it clearly). *Destination Sarajevo* focuses on the encounter between eastern and western culture, but looks upon these cultures as equivalent rather than with an Occident superiority as Hammond claimed.¹⁵⁴ *Lonely Planet* and *TripAdvisor* on the other hand emphasize the denotation of a 'parcelization of large and viable political units but also [...] a synonym for a reversion to the tribal, the backward, the primitive,

¹⁵⁰ Picard, David & Robinson, Mike (2012): 85.

¹⁵¹ Bruner, Edward (2004): 149.

¹⁵² Metro-Roland, Michelle (2011): 17.

¹⁵³ Foley, Malcom & Lennon, John (2010): 78.

¹⁵⁴ Hammond, Andrew (2005): 135.

the barbarian.¹⁵⁵ Inconveniences, taboos and a lack of safety are emphasized besides a description of beautiful landscapes and a mixture of culture and architecture. *Lonely Planet* seems to see this as a positive aspect whereas *TripAdvisor* makes it sound as a warning.

The western discourses rely on news broadcasts in times of trouble, Todorova argued.¹⁵⁶ This claim could be confirmed by the differences between *Destination Sarajevo* on the one hand and *Lonely Planet* and *TripAdvisor* on the other. Together, these three websites capture the whole notion of Balkanism, but without using the term itself, and while all three choose to (over)emphasize one of its aspects. The major differences in the interpretation of the signs lie with the authority of the text. This makes the internet part of the intrinsic dialogic narrative concerning Sarajevo as a contemporary tourist destination.¹⁵⁷ The three representations of Sarajevo show there is no single definitive interpretation in online tourist advertisement that captures the contemporary state of affairs, including its turbulent history, in an overarching discourse.

¹⁵⁵ Todorova, Maria (2009): 3.

¹⁵⁶ Ibidem: 184.

¹⁵⁷ Bruner, Edward (2004): 173.

Chapter 4: Contemporary Sites of Memory in Sarajevo

Signs in the City, the Yugoslavian War and the notion of 'Balkanism'

4.1 Reading space: Tourists in the city of Sarajevo

After arrival in the tourist destination, the first look around in the city asks for orientation. To see new things, eat and drink local specialties and experience the atmosphere the tourist will encounter objects that fit the destination, things he or she saw in advertisements and things or views that are out of the ordinary. This chapter centers around the image that the tourist can form while being on a trip. Focusing on the three attractions (Tunnel of Hope, Sniper Alley and Gallery 11/07/95), the aim of this chapter is to read the 'signs' of the attractions in the city of Sarajevo (semiotic analysis), using the terms of attraction semiotics by Michelle Metro-Roland, and (staged) authenticity by Dean MacCannell, completed with notions of the gaze, experience, authenticity, authority, dialogic narration and dark tourism. The question that is central in this part of the research therefore is: How can the signs of the tourist attractions Tunnel of Hope, Sniper Alley and Gallery 11/07/95 in the city of Sarajevo be interpreted in connection to the notion of Balkanism?

In its search for attractions, tourists wander around in spaces that are created for them and are designed to satisfy their needs. As the mentioned attractions are especially designed or arranged for tourists, they will be part of what Metro-Roland in *Tourists, Signs and the City* (2011) describes as the touristscape. In these places tourists are invited to enjoy the culture and be educated about its history and contemporary manifestations.

As explained in the methodology, the extraordinary signs that the tourist starts interpreting, can be analyzed with Peirce's semiotic system. To be able to use semiotics, this chapter will treat the attractions as entities consisting out of objects that turn into signs as soon as they acquire meaning for the tourist.¹⁵⁸ To interpret these signs, the tourist comes first to an immediate interpretant, followed by a dynamical and final interpretant. In this chapter only the immediate and dynamic interpretation will be discussed, as the final interpretant can be analyzed in the post-tour narrative.

The three attractions that are the focus of this chapter work as memorials or collections of historical events. *Lieux de Memoire*, or sites of memory, Pierre Nora called them in his text 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire' (1989).¹⁵⁹ Sites of memory are functional and symbolic sites of remembrance, physical tokens of the past. In this way, the history of the Yugoslavian Civil War is materialized in all three attractions. The importance of the places cannot be found in their

¹⁵⁸ Metro-Roland (2011): 12-13.

¹⁵⁹ Nora, Pierre (1989).

extraordinary architecture or baffling façades, but rather depends on the events that are connected to the place or collection of objects.

Metro-Roland's chapter 'Landscape and Tourism' considers the relation between tourism and the landscape/urbanscape of a tourist destination. Travel destinations are locations which might be very different from the place where tourists are in their everyday lives and therefore invite to be invested with meaning.¹⁶⁰ People and the space surrounding them interact with one another intimately and this is connected to interpretation as a process. The interpretation is thus dynamic and constantly negotiated.

The surroundings acquire meaning through the presence of buildings, which are primary objects for the tourist gaze. Both architecture and the material form of the façade are constructed in a distinct, specific and context-dependent way.¹⁶¹ To take buildings and façades as a central object of observation is logical, Metro-Roland argues, as cities are 'full of buildings, and a key element of the tourist prosaic is the general composite of the façades.'¹⁶²

In the destination, municipality, and citizens can help to identify tourist attractions for their visitors. The markers of tourist attractions help the tourist to make sense, and to clarify what exactly the tourist is looking at.¹⁶³ Urry stresses that the marker could be anything from a pointing finger, to a guide that is directing the tourist's attention, to a text (on a plaque, attached to the building). Dean MacCannell sees two ways in which to mark an attraction, either off-site or on-site.¹⁶⁴ An off-site marker does not have physical proximity or a direct connection to the physical object, whereas the on-site marker provides visitors information about a certain 'here'.¹⁶⁵ If there is nothing to see, there can still be a story or part of cultural heritage that makes the place or attraction important. Sometimes the tourist needs the story to be able to understand an attraction as such.¹⁶⁶

4.2 Balkanism in Tourist Attractions of the Yugoslavian Civil War

The Gallery, Tunnel and Alley lie scattered over the tourist prosaic of the city of Sarajevo. Gallery 11/07/95 was founded in an old but renovated apartment building, located directly next to the

¹⁶⁰ Metro-Roland, Michelle (2011): 25.

¹⁶¹ Urry, John (2002): 115.

¹⁶² Metro-Roland, Michelle (2011): 94.

¹⁶³ Urry, John (2002): 77.

¹⁶⁴ MacCannell, Dean (1999): 111-112.

¹⁶⁵ Ibidem: 112.

¹⁶⁶ Ibidem: 112.

'Cathedral of Jesus Heart' in the center of the modern part of the city. The Tunnel of Hope can be found quite far out of the city center. The tunnel has not been indexed as a tourist attraction in the city center or in the space itself: there is a lack of markers in physical space. Lastly, Sniper Alley is not entirely in the city center but attaches to its outskirts and leads to the Central Railway Station.



Figure 4 Location Attractions Sarajevo

In the next sections, the three cultural heritage artifacts that remind of the Yugoslavian Civil War will be analyzed by employing attraction semiotics. Questions that are central in this part of the research are: To which events can the place be connected? What does the attraction look like (exterior)? Is the attraction marked to tourists and if so: how? Is the original space of the attraction altered to make it fit for tourists? Foley and Lennon (2010) pose three attractions that support the analysis: What are the facilities (despite the exhibition) of the site? Are there souvenirs/educational materials for sale? And; is there a translation available?¹⁶⁷ Attention finally will be given to the questions: Which signs are likely to attract the attention of the tourist (focus on five per attraction)? and; in what way can the signs be interpreted in connection to Balkanism? In order to be able to analyze the attractions, the prototype of a tourist in this chapter will be someone with interest, but without knowledge of the events in Sarajevo, reading history as it is presented in the attraction.

¹⁶⁷ Foley, Malcolm & Lennon, John (2010): 112.

4.2.1 Tunnel of Hope: Surviving Sarajevo's Siege

The Tunnel of Hope was built in the siege of Sarajevo in order for the Bosnian army to bring weaponry and military power into the city center. The lives of many Bosnians were saved because of it. The tunnel was dug in an ordinary family house at the other end of the valley. Only 25 meters of the once 800 meter long tunnel is preserved for tourists to walk through and a collection of objects is displayed.



Figure 5 Tunnel of Hope

Driving up the parking space, a cluster of three houses can be deduced. Nothing can distinct the house that comprises the Tunnel of Hope from the other two, except for two texts (in Bosnian) that read: 'Tunel B' and 'Kuća Kularevih'.¹⁶⁸ The façades look old, bare the traces of fired bullets and are poorly maintained. The house has a balcony and a small shelter on its left.

No actions have been undertaken to preserve the place or commercialize it other than placing a counter, shelter with wooden benches turned towards a screen and two toilets in one of the corners. There are no other facilities on site, neither is it possible to buy souvenirs, post cards or educational material. Without a guide, the tourist would actively have to search for a way in, as the counter is tugged around a corner in a dark space of the hallway. To introduce the tourist to the tunnel, the tourists are lead to the wooden shelter to watch an 18-minute documentary about the building of the tunnel, its use and stories about personal experiences.

It is hard to recognize the Tunnel of Hope in the physical space despite the attraction scoring highly in the pre-tour narratives of *Lonely Planet*, *TripAdvisor* and *Destination Sarajevo*. The Tunnel of Hope is located a 20 minute drive from the city center and takes the tourist over Sniper Alley, through green outlands and along Sarajevo's airport. The wide environment does not show any sign of other houses. Within the space of the museum this is no different. Objects are displayed without clear markers and if they are, no other language than Bosnian is available. The gaze of tourists is not guided in specific directions but rather invited to wander over the objects, the tunnel itself and the

¹⁶⁸ Translated as 'Tunnel B' and 'Kularevih House'.

environment. The documentary however does provide translation in several languages (such as English, Spanish, German and French).

The affect on the tourist is ambivalent. Is it even the right place, what does the text mean, where are the other people? Whatever the tourist expected, there are no markers to lead the gaze of the tourist, so the signs are picked by what the tourist finds different or interesting. From a first impression, the five signs that can be taken from the Tunnel of Hope that acquire meaning are the 'bullet holes' or 'decay' on the outer wall, the texts 'Tunel B' and 'Kuca Kularevih', the 25 meters long Tunnel, the objects displayed inside and the screen on which the documentary is shown.

The façade of the house in which the tunnel was dug is covered in spots and pieces of material are missing. The immediate interpretant then, is the broken wall which could use some repairing. A dynamical interpretation is the produced effect on the mind. A lot of the spots are caused by bullets, although decay has faded the lines of the bullet imprints. When the tourist has been inside and has been made acquainted with the story, he or she comes out with more knowledge, maybe aware that not only decay was part of the destructive process in the neighborhood. Evaluation might take place, and the dynamical interpretant could be that there were shootings and the city is still in a stage of reconstruction.

The second object is a literal text. On the façade of the house, a solid material, most likely metal or steel forms the words 'Tunel B' and 'Kuca Kularevih'. The words are in Bosnian, so not meant for (western) tourists, the immediate interpretant would say. The meaning of the word 'tunel' is however easy to deduct from Germanic or Anglo-Saxon point of view. The dynamical interpretant is a foreign language, meaning a tunnel, but no clues to what the letter 'B' or 'Kuca Kularevih' might mean. Not without effort, it can be retraced that Kularevih refers to the family name of the inhabitants during and exploiters of the tunnel after the war. In hindsight, the text marks the presence of the tunnel for visitors.

Thirdly, there is the object of the tunnel itself. It has undergone some changes and can therefore be seen as an authentic reproduction.¹⁶⁹ Stacked with wood to keep the passage way from collapsing the tunnel provides the most embodied experience of the siege of Sarajevo. The tourist is invited to walk through the tunnel and feel its narrowness. The immediate interpretant for the unknowing tourist therefore could be that it is a tunnel that was used to transport people and goods from the city center to the outskirts underneath the airport for whatever reason. The dynamical interpretant is possibly the experience of walking through the tunnel: a claustrophobic feeling, the attempt to become conscious of what people had to go through. The way the tourist needs to bend

¹⁶⁹ Bruner, Edward M. (2004): 149.

his or her back with the stories in its head bring the tourist closer to the understanding of the siege of Sarajevo. The ankle-high water that is spoken about in the documentary is missing, leaving the real circumstances still to the imagination of the tourist.

In the fourth object, the small exhibition hall, original items such as carts, clothing, and tools are exhibited. The immediate interpretant will not be more than this: tools, clothing and vehicles, some with dirt, others merely faded with the years. They do not refer to a past directly, but nonetheless contribute to the project of the tunnel that wants visitors to embody the events that have occurred here. The dynamical interpretant that can be reached after having watched the documentary and walking through the tunnel makes the tourist realize that these were connected to real people during the siege of Sarajevo

The last object in the tunnel does not refer to the war and the events themselves, but the way in which the place represents it nowadays. The screen on which the documentary about the Siege of Sarajevo and the tunnel is played is located in a space with three walls and one open side, wooden benches that remind of picnic lunches put in lines behind one another. When taking place on the benches, the screen draws attention to itself as soon the documentary starts playing. The dynamical interpretant once again has to take its former use into account to be sure to understand its meaning. The object is new and put there in its entirety when it was decided the places should gain a place in the collective memory of Sarajevo and its visitors. The documentary is shown just aside the physical enclosed nothingness of the tunnel, the space that 'ended the twentieth century'. The screen literally refers to the (power of) representation, the telling of a story and the authority to do so.¹⁷⁰

Although the pre-tour narratives give a lot of attention to the Tunnel of Hope as an attraction in connection to the Yugoslavian Civil War, the city and attraction itself provide little markers to guide the tourist to or through. The tunnel has undergone little changes. This could point to an attempt to keep the site as authentic as possible and present it as a destination 'off the beaten track', but rather will be interpreted as backwardness or poverty in the Balkans. The tourist might believe that there is too little means and money, whereas it could just as well be a host's strategy to meet the tourist's expectations.

The attraction itself points to the siege of Sarajevo in which many people died and lasted more than 4 years. Especially the shown documentary and the presence of bullet holes in the façade point towards the violence present in the area. The source of conflict is moreover 'Balkan', as most references are made to the multicultural environment with a mixture of religious backgrounds that

¹⁷⁰ Ibidem: 150.

have been fighting for years. The former Yugoslavian Republic was not capable of fixing the issue in a democratic way, and decided to take up arms. The only cultural issue that is not mentioned explicitly is the dual influence of Ottoman and European, or Occident and Orient.

There is no mention of the geographical meaning of Balkanism, as this attraction focuses on the siege of Sarajevo. The cultural meaning however trickles through in a far more obvious way. The conflict is not seen as something that happened because of its location in-between western Europe and Asia, but rather is characterized as something uniquely Balkan. The interpretants of all signs refer to a cultural meaning of the word Balkanism and thus reinforce the discourse of Balkanism for the western tourists. The Tunnel of Hope is an attraction that uses western expectation,¹⁷¹ and employs the host gaze in order to anticipate on the dominant discourse in the area.¹⁷²

4.2.2 Sniper Alley: Hide and seek

Sniper Alley owes its name to the ever present snipers on the roofs along the Ulica Zmaja od Bosne during the Yugoslavian Civil War. The site is large and acquires meaning in a different way than the Tunnel of Hope. Nowadays it connects places to live, work and relax to destinations of tourist interest, forming a perfect example of the tourist prosaic as theorized by Metro-Roland.¹⁷³ Interestingly enough, this space that is frequently featured in news bulletins and mentioned as an important part of the story of the Yugoslavian Civil War that will be known to many people over the world, is hardly commodified. There is no need to pay an entrance fee to walk it, there is no way in which the tourist can learn more about the history on-site without online or citizen help, translations are not available and neither are souvenirs or educational material. There is no memorial, enactment, interment or symbolic representation of death or violent events.

Nowadays, Sniper Alley is one of the busiest streets of the city of Sarajevo. Hotel Holiday is renovated, drivers are fearless, and along the street a museum, cafés, apartments and universities are established. This causes it to be easily overlooked by tourists unless it is pointed out by an off-site marker (a book or tour-guide). Tourists see a street, admittedly partly in a more modern style than the rest of the city, but nonetheless nothing extraordinary. For a western European tourist, it might even be argued that the street looks more familiar than the historical Ottoman parts of the city center. Except for the mountains in the background, the street has the view of a western European city: large, gray buildings, cars, and trams. As there are no objects that are connected to the

¹⁷¹ Hammond, Andrew (2005): 147.

¹⁷² Moufakkir, Omar (2013): 1,3.

¹⁷³ Metro-Roland, Michelle (2011): 7.

Yugoslavian Civil War directly, the tourist gaze as introduced by Urry is in this context misleading. Even the 'second gaze' as proposed by Metro-Roland does not provide the outcome in connection to this particular example, as even the unexpected gets minimized in this part of the city center.¹⁷⁴ Only in connection with a host gaze,¹⁷⁵ that is willing to share a social pre-knowing, and functions as a temporary on-site marker, the historical destination of the *lieu de memoire* can be recognized.



Figure 6 Sniper Alley

In order for an object to become a sign, it must attract the attention of the tourist. Sniper Alley's objects that might attract the gaze of the tourist are for instance 'Hotel Holiday', the street 'Ulica Zmaja od Bosne' itself, the 'Tito Café', the 'Historical Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina', and the 'National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina'.

Hotel Holiday is a bright yellow hotel on the Ulica Zmaja od Bosne, located about a ten minutes walk from the city center. The architecture of the hotel has no extravagant appearance, but is asymmetrical as blocks are sticking out of the façade. This description of the façade coincides exactly with the immediate interpretant, in which the hotel in the present – fixed, and without traces – invites guests to stay. The dynamic interpretant however occurs as soon as the history comes into play. The hotel was built for the 1984 Olympic games and was demolished during the Yugoslavian Civil War when it was the only functioning hotel in the area. It was bombed many times and did not provide a safe refuge for the foreign journalists at all.

The second object is that of the street Ulica Zmaja od Bosne itself. The immediate interpretant is that of a street in a medium large city, lots of traffic and fast drivers. In the dynamical interpretant, the story of the Serbian snipers comes up. The only cars driving were madmen trying to

¹⁷⁴ Metro-Roland, Michelle (2011): 32.

¹⁷⁵ Moufakkir, Omar (2013): 1.

get passed the three miles without getting killed. When this is pointed out, the road might change for the tourist, as beneath their wheels somebody might have been bleeding, even have died.

The Tito café offers food, drinks and a place to relax in the shadows of the trees and roof, and is especially popular in summer times. The immediate interpretant of the Tito café therefore that of a café where you can get food and drinks. From outside, the parasols, small tables and gently babbling crowd give the café a cozy atmosphere. The dynamical interpretant connects to Josip Broz Tito, the former Yugoslavian leader. Tito ruled the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia between 1953 and 1980, and although he was not seen as a great leader at the time, nowadays his rule is looked upon with nostalgia. He was in power after the Second World War and with his death the country lost its major binding factor.¹⁷⁶ His popularity at the time can be explained by the wealth in the Yugoslavian states under his rule, and the influence this made on his image. The Tito café thereby marks the pre-war era. Although there is no direct relation to the former Yugoslavian leader, the interior is decorated with a lot of pictures of communist times. Attaching the name Tito to the café charges the space ideologically by going back to a pre-war era that might have been strict; 'more democratic than the west and more communist than Russia'¹⁷⁷, but wealthier and healthier than the present split nations.

The fourth object of analysis is the Historical Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The building has a grand posture, therefore attracting the gaze of the passing tourist. The immediate interpretant is that it is most likely a building of national importance. In the dynamical interpretant the actual produced effect on the mind might be either to go in, or to not go in as the tourist finds out it is a museum. The museum tells the history of the country from the sixteenth century until today.¹⁷⁸ The stories contest slightly or rather, Sniper Alley is or was one historical event which effected the city. The recent hardships are given attention as well, but more important are the glorifications of events further in history.

The last sign of importance to the Ulica Zmaja od Bosne is the National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina that was founded in 1945, just after the end of the Second World War. The immediate interpretant is that the building belongs to the cityscape of the Ulica Zmaja od Bosne and belongs to the campus of Sarajevo's university. As the university was built in order to establish the role of a national library in the new Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and functioned as the

¹⁷⁶ Hengel, van, Guido (2006) 'Josip Broz Tito (1892-1980), in: *Historisch Nieuwsblad*.

<http://www.historischnieuwsblad.nl/nl/artikel/6795/josip-broz-tito-1892-1980.html> (02-06-2015).

¹⁷⁷ Ibidem.

¹⁷⁸ Bosnia and Herzegovina National Museum (2007-2008) *Historijski Muzej Bosne I Hercegovine*.

<http://www.muzej.ba/index.php?lang=en&sel=2> (21-06-2015).

central research library as well,¹⁷⁹ the dynamical interpretant is that it has its roots in Yugoslavia, but started to gather Bosnian texts before the Yugoslavian Civil War broke out. It is therefore both a product of the federation and of its separation. Munevera Zećo writes in her article 'The National University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the current war' (1996) about the cultural and historical influence of the war on the library which were quite large.¹⁸⁰ Since the Serbs destroyed the Oriental institute that was Bosnia and Herzegovina's pride it represents an incredible loss.¹⁸¹

Although the on-site markers of Sniper Alley are absent, Sniper Alley is a site of history of the Yugoslavian War. In it, both citizens and tourists are brought together in the national museum, the university library and are even likely to meet in the Tito Café. History is not shown on the streets but directed to certain buildings that preserve history. Of course, there has been violence on the streets that is drawn attention to by many western European off-site markers. Politically, the Yugoslavian Civil War belongs to the past, but playful references such as Tito's café deconstruct the connotations with these events. As such, the same goes for the signs of multiculturalism, backwardness and poverty. Rather than a lack of signs, it looks like there has been made a conscious choice to veil and erase all references to the recent past on the Ulica Zmaja od Bosne. The tourist gaze or experience of earlier times is turned away towards a story of wealth and capitalism.

The different historical events are part of a dialogic narration of the area of the Ulica Zmaja od Bosne which is in full progress at this very moment.¹⁸² As was already concluded in the previous chapter about pre-tour narratives, Sniper Alley is not regarded as a tourist attraction by the official providers of information about the destination.¹⁸³ The site is interpreted as a cityscape, a road that transport citizens and connects the city center to the large public transport system such as the train station and the airport. The individual dialogue gives stories of the buildings a fragmented image of this part of the city of Sarajevo. The historical dialogue could be said to refer to the ways in which the history of Ulica Zmaja od Bosne as Sniper Alley is slowly being erased, by for instance renovating Hotel Holiday, building the historical museum, and by adding places to live, study, work and relax.

¹⁷⁹ Zećo, Munevera (1996) 'The National University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the current war', in: *Library Quarterly*. University of Chicago: 294.

¹⁸⁰ Ibidem: 294-301.

¹⁸¹ Ibidem: 297.

¹⁸² Bruner, Edward (2004): 170-172.

¹⁸³ Unlike the Tunnel of Hope and Gallery 11/07/95, Sniper Alley is never regarded a tourist attraction in itself by destination advertisement. Only several buildings alongside the street, such as the historical museum, are mentioned. Interestingly enough, 'Hotel Holiday' also does not use this part of history for its marketing or even presentation, either on its own website or on *TripAdvisor*, *Visit Sarajevo* or *Lonely Planet*.

The historical dialogue of the site changes in the exact visibility of the historical events. In the experiential dialogue lastly, the autobiography of a single person and history are contested. News reports tend to generalize stories or leave out details. It is therefore a summary of the story rather than a complete capture of the events. There is no single, definitive interpretation. The history of the Yugoslavian Civil War is present, and left visible traces, but it is veiled by the reconstruction of the site.

No connection made to the notion of Balkanism and it rather looks as if the Sarajevo citizens consciously try to erase the painful memories to the time when Ulica Zmaja od Bosne was called Sniper Alley. The street has become a token of hope and progress relating to western Europe, rather than a living memorial to itself and the dying. An active attempt is made to start erasing memories and signs to the Yugoslavian Civil War.

4.2.3 Gallery 11/07/95: Srebrenica massacre representation in Sarajevo

Gallery 11/07/95 opened its doors fairly recently on the 12th of June 2012 in the city center of Sarajevo and centers around the events of the 11th of July 1995 when in Srebrenica one of the bloodiest massacres of the Yugoslavian Civil War took place. The village was attacked by the Bosnian Serbian army under command of general Mládić, after which the Bosnian men and women tried to flee to the UN protected base in Potocari. The 600 UN Dutchbats stationed there however could not protect all the refugees and did not allow many of them on the base. The Bosnians tried to flee to Tuzla through a region controlled by Mládić and his army, but they were trapped. Mládić offered to take care of the transport of the Bosnians and he did so by separating the men from the women and children in busses. All men and boys in the buses were killed by the Serbian Bosnian army.¹⁸⁴ Even today, many of those who were executed remain unfound and mass graves are still discovered on a regular basis.

The website of the exhibition states that its main goal is 'to preserve the memory and honor the suffering of the innocent masses murdered in Srebrenica'.¹⁸⁵ Except for a permanent exhibition on the Srebrenica massacre, the exhibition offers space to related collections such as photography on the siege of Sarajevo, Anti-Masonic posters and a photography collection on the Balkan war.¹⁸⁶

Behind the gallery's counter books about Srebrenica and linked topics are displayed. There are no souvenirs, but the tourist can enrich him- or herself with accompanying literature on the

¹⁸⁴ NIOD (2002) 'Srebrenica rapport: pers-samenvatting rapport', in: *NIOD*.

<http://www.niod.knaw.nl/nl/srebrenica-rapport/perssamenvatting-rapport> (21-06-2015).

¹⁸⁵ Gallery 11/07/95 (2013).

¹⁸⁶ *Ibidem*.

historical events. A lot of information is offered on the site although the area remains sober. A guided tour is provided in several languages such as Bosnian, English and German.

The gallery shows pictures that offer historical information. Taken by journalists, they are meant to represent the story rather than be beautiful as pictures in themselves. The story however remains unfinished as yet. The ‘mothers of Srebrenica’ are still looking for their lost fathers, sons and husbands, and every year new mass graves are discovered. In the Yugoslavian War Tribunal the Netherlands and army leader at the time Thom Karremans are still sued – not always without success.¹⁸⁷



Figure 7 Gallery 11/07/95

John Urry claims that more and more events are worthy of an exhibition nowadays. The influence on the set-up of the postmodern museums is considerable, he adds, and describes three developments. In the first place he sees a broadening of objects that are worthy of preserving. Not only the great narratives deserve attention, smaller fragments in the outskirts of history are worthy to be told just the same. In the case of Gallery 11/07/95, this can be seen in a sense that the history of a small village is represented as a key event in history. It is part of the Yugoslavian Civil War, but also an unnerving event on its own. There is a fragmenting of history rather than one overarching narrative. Secondly, the nature of museums is changing. The information transfer is not the only important aspect, but experience has become a central product of museums. The Sarajevo gallery

¹⁸⁷ Eigenraam, Anouk (2014) ‘Moeders van Srebrenica procederen al jaren – een overzicht van rechtzaken’, in: *NRC*. <http://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2014/07/16/de-moeders-van-srebrenica-procederen-al-jaren-een-overzicht-van-de-rechtzaken/> (10-03-2015).

states that 'Visitors of the Gallery 11/07/95 are not just passive observers of the exhibit – they are living witnesses to the horror and injustice.'¹⁸⁸ Thirdly, the relationship between museums and other social institutions has changed.¹⁸⁹ Gallery 11/07/95 collaborates with several individuals and institutions. The website states that:

The authors of the permanent exhibitions are: the Memorial Center Srebrenica – Potocari, the Association of Mothers of Srebrenica and Zepa, the Missing Persons Institute of BiH, the Youth Initiative for Human Rights YIHR / Fama, Cinema for Peace Foundation / Video Archives Genocide / Genocide Film Library Bosnia-Herzegovina, and photographer Tarik Samarah.¹⁹⁰

In terms of Picard and Robinson, this leads to an exhibition in which the tourist is more than an innocent visitor, the tourist is supposed to experience history as an eye-witness.¹⁹¹ The disturbance and destabilization of the tourist's everyday life leads to an affective experience that makes the history stand out to others. Pictures, numbers of people who have died and a documentary on the deaths and surviving of the Srebrenica massacre have the ability to affect the tourist in an emotional way.¹⁹²

For the analysis of this attraction, the selection of five objects that attract the attention of the tourist are the façade of the apartment building that the gallery is established in and the billboard before it, the wall of pictures with the deceased in the exhibition, the alternative interpretation of UN as 'United Nothing', the screens and earphones with elaborate information, and the Burke quotation: 'All that is necessary for evil is that good men do nothing'.

Whereas the façade itself looks like the other buildings around the Sacred Heart Church in the middle of the square, and the Habsburg architecture does not necessarily connect to the content of the exhibition, it is the billboard that marks the presence of the exhibition. On it, a close-up photograph of a worn female face is shown who looks in the camera sadly. The text 'Gallery 11/07/95' is printed over the poster. An immediate interpretant is not really present in the walls or stones: the façade signifies a living room in the city center. The dynamical interpretant, when the tourist has left the bustling streets and presses the elevator buttons, is of being cut off of the streets.

¹⁸⁸ Gallery 11/07/95 (2013).

¹⁸⁹ Urry, John (2001): 118-119.

¹⁹⁰ Ibidem.

¹⁹¹ Picard, David (2012): 12.

¹⁹² Crossley, Émilie (2012): 85.

The inside of the building is clean and shiny, there is no reference to death or violence, only a small text that tells visitors to go to the top floor.

The second object that can be interpreted by visitors is the wall of pictures with the Muslims who were killed in the Srebrenica massacre. An endless line of headshots gives the opportunity to grasp how many people were killed. The mere number is abstract and does not invite personal involvement as the number literally lacks a face. The wall in the gallery solves this issue. It might not even be the first time for tourists to see such a wall as many Second World War Concentration Camps or museums about genocides use similar tactics¹⁹³, but it nonetheless provokes emotion. The signifier of the wall is death. This might be interpreted by the people looking at the visitors from the wall are not amongst the living anymore and therefore it has the character of a memorial, an honor and respect for those who have died for which silence seems the right response. In the dynamical interpretant questions to the nature of the disaster might be asked: why, who and when? An interest in the story of both this collective and the individuals that form it might rise.

The statement 'United Nothing' might count as the third object that draws attention of the western tourist, decorating a wall near the entrance of the exhibition. As an immediate interpretant it could refer to Yugoslavia that was far from united after Tito's death or even refer to the contemporary state of affairs in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In fact however, the tourist will see in the dynamic interpretant, the words stand for a newly invented meaning of the abbreviation UN (United Nations). Internationally known as peacekeepers, and a symbol of international cooperation, their performance in Bosnia in general and Srebrenica in particular lead the Bosnian survivors to call them 'United Nothing'.

The fourth object that draws the attention of the tourist is a formation of screens and earphones with elaborate information. The gallery does not claim to hold any authentic objects or connections to the events of Srebrenica, but it does present itself as an exhibition telling the story authentically. The immediate interpretant allows the audience to elaborate its knowledge about the war in the former Yugoslavia. There is more than meets the eye and has been in the news on western television broadcasts. The dynamical interpretant can regard the devices as ways to tell a story; not in an objective way, but bending all the facts in the interpretation of the Bosnian government. The story is told by many organizations, institutions and individuals that are somehow connected to the events that took place in Srebrenica. On the other hand, other involved parties are left out.

The last object that attracts the eyes of tourists in the Srebrenica exhibition is the prominently located Edmund Burke quotation 'All that is necessary for evil is that good men do nothing'. The quote is stickered in black on the white wall. In the immediate interpretant, that can be

¹⁹³ See for instance Auschwitz and 'Terror Haza' about the Nazist and Communist era in Hungary.

given when entering the exhibition for the first time, this quote can be interpreted broadly. If bad people trigger events that are not stopped by good people, bad intentions will cause bad events. In the dynamical interpretant, this might start to be connected to the Srebrenica massacre, in which according to the story Dutchbats and UN command did not stand up for the Muslim men that were likely to get killed. The sentence can be interpreted as a complaint to the United Nations for failing to protect the Bosnian men.

The massacre in Srebrenica was a violent event that was met with disbelief and shame in the international community. The political, racial and religious disagreements that lie below the events are obvious, and even by blaming the eventual massacre on the 'good men' from the UN, doing nothing, the origin lies with the Balkan warriors. At the same time, Bosnia itself is left out of the Balkan countries and the Bosnians are rather represented as victims of the surrounding savages that tried to conquer their lands. In the gallery there is no lack of markers. Rather, it is marked so well and one-sided that there is almost no space left for interpretation. The screens and earphones add stories in the same line of thought, which causes there to be no sense of dialogue within the museum and the authority clearly lies with the Bosnians.

The gallery goes to emphasize the present influence of the Srebrenica massacre on contemporary everyday life of many Bosnian descendants. The Mothers of Srebrenica is an active group of relatives that still tries to sue the UN and Dutch individuals for their performance, many bodies remain unfound and people keep living in uncertainty. This is not only to blame the UN for having failed to intervene, but nowadays to the Bosnian government that even after 20 years fails to conclude the historical events. In this respect, backwardness and poverty can be used as reasons why the Bosnian government is unable to handle this on its own.

Another effect of the way in which the massacre is represented, is the evoked experience in the tourist. By trying to involve the audience, the tourist gaze is directed not only at the historical events, but also at the influences on contemporary Bosnian lives and the effects on the tourist as an individual. The gallery is aware of the fact that it employs a representation and that they offer an inauthentic reproduction, which also has to do with the nature of galleries in general. The curators do not stress that the authority of the story lies with Bosnia, and it is presented in a more objective manner.

In sum, the notion of Balkanism is repeated, though the Bosnians try to present themselves as different. The site displays many pictures of mourning women, explorations of possible mass graves and degrading of the Serbian and Dutch commanders: no lack of violence, death and war. It therefore evokes a story that places the Bosnian in a victim role, shows the Serbians to be the bad guys and portrays the UN as those who just looked the other way. Culturally, the discourse of

Balkanism is repeated although the exhibition tries to leave out the Bosnians themselves out of the range of fire.

4.3 Conclusion

In the attractions, the authority of representation lies with the Bosnians themselves, although the act of interpretation still lies with the (western) tourists. The attractions are therefore represented with an internalized host gaze that anticipates the tourist's expectations. The answer to the question of this chapter: How can the signs of the tourist attractions Tunnel of Hope, Sniper Alley and Gallery 11/07/95 be interpreted in connection to the notion of Balkanism? therefore gives a different view than could be expected from the pre-tour narratives.

The objects of the Tunnel of Hope invite an interpretation connected to the notion of Balkanism. The bullet holes, stories on the survival of the siege of the country's capital and tunnel itself relate to violence, danger, war, and poverty. The tourist experience is related to the historical event of the siege of Sarajevo during the Yugoslavian Civil War. There are little markers in the present presentation of the tourist attraction, which does comply with the idea that the city of Sarajevo is not rich enough to optimize the tourist attraction for visitors. It could be argued that the Sarajevo tourism industry wants to meet tourist's expectations, but this does not change the interpretation.

The signs of Sniper Alley however point towards an act of erasing the recent civil war, or at least an attempt to place them to the same level as other important historical events. There is a lack of on-site markers whereas news reels, and historical sources keep referring to the historical site over and over. The tourist needs either a guide or (online) written source in order to understand the historical importance of the attraction of Sniper Alley.

Gallery 11/07/95 finally acknowledges the notion of Balkanism but does not regard it as a discourse that is applicable to Bosnia. The signs of Balkanism are presented in the tourist attraction, but the gallery itself is rather a way to present themselves as victims of the barbarian Serbs. They tend to the Occident and European, the narrative states, but their Occident allies decline and fail to protect those in danger. This also ties in with the postmodern idea of a less strong 'Self' that is imperfect, and the close 'Other' they failed to protect. The surroundings are 'infected' by the Balkan issue, the gallery seems to claim, but the Bosnians have tried to keep far from this.

The tourist destinations are regulated by Bosnians themselves who are less keen on the 'Balkan' representation of western Europe and do not overemphasize this part of their history. There is a focus on experience, but less so on authenticity or the presence of a mixture between Orient and Occident. As this is an everyday fact that Bosnia has to deal with, it rather becomes a premise than

an emphasized feature of the city that tourists cannot miss. The Bosnian presentation of the signs allows for an interpretation of Balkanism, but in a subtle way all three attractions try to tweak the story towards a more Occident and less Balkan presentation.

Chapter 5: Expressing Balkanism

About Post-tour Narratives and Balkanism in the City of Sarajevo

Soon enough, all that is left of the holiday are memories. Family and friends await back home to hear about what there was to be seen and experienced. Bruner describes the post-tour narrative as a summary of the events that were noticeable or different than expected.¹⁹⁴ It is a compact story of the most beautiful, surprising, and disappointing elements of the trip. These post-tour narratives are formed by the tourist, and supported by souvenirs or photographs that capture the destination.¹⁹⁵ The physical memorabilia in turn influence the mental idea and the story that is transferred to the listening audience.

5.1 Normalizing the experience

Metro-Roland clarified that tourists will not only visit the touristscape during their tour, they will see a part of the cityscape as well.¹⁹⁶ No two tourists and their experiences are alike, but the tourist prosaic is dynamic as well. The idea of the 'host gaze' and the presentation of the country itself might therefore be of primary importance for the way in which the expectations of the tourist reconcile with their experienced reality, which in turn might influence the tourist experience of the 'authenticity' of the destination. In the post-tour narratives, the tourist's interpretation of attractions and destinations is brought together, creating a new object that signifies something and is interpreted by an audience. The experiences are reflected upon and normalized by putting them into words.¹⁹⁷ The expression coincides with the final interpretant in Metro-Roland's semiotics of attraction.

In the last chapter of this research, three post-tour narratives will be compared in order to find out which discourse is brought home from Sarajevo. The research question of this chapter then becomes: how can online post-tour narratives about a visit to the city of Sarajevo be interpreted in connection to the notion of Balkanism? The writers of the travelogues used as a case study stayed in Sarajevo for a shorter period of time. The three sources used are either texts supported by pictures, or a film that is shot on location for Dutch television. In order to come to a complete understanding of the storylines, attention will be paid to the background of the organization or person, its aim, structure, the narrator of the travelogue, the attractions visited or described and the way in which

¹⁹⁴ Bruner, Edward (2004): 24.

¹⁹⁵ Ibidem: 24.

¹⁹⁶ Metro-Roland, Michelle (2011): 6.

¹⁹⁷ Picard, David (2012): 13.

they are depicted and the interface of the page. Theoretical concepts such as the gaze, authenticity, experience, and dark tourism will help analyzing the descriptions and in order to answer the research question the analysis of the story will be put alongside the notion of Balkanism.

For the written travelogues, textual and visual analysis will be conducted in order to come to a (Critical) Discourse Analysis. The use of words and description of attractions will be analyzed and questions that help to come to an understanding are: what makes certain aspects strike whereas others do not and what effects does this have? Which attractions are mentioned and which are not? Are the word 'Balkanism' or any of its derivatives used or purposefully neglected? If the word is used, what is the connotation that is evoked? With the analysis of the travel program *3OpReis* the same strategy will be used, but with the addition of film analysis as proposed by David Bordwell and Kristin Thompson (2010).¹⁹⁸ The questions of its form, narrative, style and genre will be added. Extra attention will be paid to the camera technique, framing, shots and narration of the overall story.¹⁹⁹

The visual sources of the travelogue will be involved as well, as looking is an important aspect for both the tourist and the reader of the travelogue. Urry's *Tourist Gaze* (2002[1990]) stresses the behavior of the tourist as a modern photographer, who is attracted by 'every possible object, event and person.'²⁰⁰ The pictures tourists take complete the hermeneutic circle: the tourist is looking for photographic images that he or she has seen in company brochures or TV programs, which in turn can be shown in post-tour narratives.²⁰¹

5.2 Expressing the experience

In the post-tour narratives the tourist has had time to contemplate his or her thoughts, actions and behavior and to normalize the experiences by expressing them in words and images. In the semiotic system therefore, the tourist has arrived at the final interpretation of the objects. The case studies chosen are those of Michael Palin's BBC online travel stories, national travel program *3OpReis* that is broadcasted on Dutch public TV, and two recent travel stories (2014) from the Dutch travel blog *waarbenjij.nu*.

¹⁹⁸ Bordwell, David & Thompson, Kristin (1979 [2010]) *Film Art*. New York: McGraw-Hill Education.

¹⁹⁹ Ibidem.

²⁰⁰ Urry, John (2002[1990]): 127.

²⁰¹ Ibidem: 129.

5.2.1 Palin's Travels: Travel and explore

Turning from a very silly person into a very silly explorer; that is what happened to Michael Palin on September 25, 1988.²⁰² By the virtue of sharing his trip going around the world in eighty days with a large audience in a book and via a TV broadcast, he made traveling his profession. This story was just the beginning: 'Once the travel bug bites there is no known antidote, and I know that I shall be happily infected for the rest of my life.'²⁰³ The website contains versions of Palin's travels that he undertook for the *BBC* program with the same name, but also hopes 'to share with you some of the places I slunk off to when the BBC wasn't looking, as well as some of the dream destinations I still yearn to see.'²⁰⁴ The aim of the website is to give an insight in the travels Palin undertook and to make the reader a companion on his journeys, to inspire and to 'infect'.

The structure of the website is up to the audience; the traveler can explore his or her fields of interest by choice. Except for his themed tours, such as '80 Days', 'Pole to Pole' and 'New Europe', there are photographs and other search facilities, such as a searchmap that visualizes all the travels and enables the visitor to click on a certain country to get to know more of it.²⁰⁵ There is a possibility to follow the trip as Palin took it, but also to jump from one destination to the other.

In 'New Europe', Palin travels through different former communist countries, an undertaking started in 2007 out of curiosity to the part of Europe that had been closed off for him physically and ideologically over his youth and young adult years. The explorer hopes that the future will present the opportunity for the whole of Europe to cooperate in an 'us', since that would make it so much more secure.²⁰⁶ The title 'New Europe' was chosen because of a strong sense of vitality and a hopeful search to the unique identity of the 'far end of Europe'. It is a lack of knowledge about the 'other' that keeps the division nowadays, Palin believes. The aim of the trip is to look for the 'true' New Europe to overthrow the dominant discourse in western Europe. He is aware that he is not free of prejudices, but feels the moment has come to break with these stereotypes:

The predominant colour was grey, the predominant images were of scarcity or conflict. I couldn't believe that Eastern Europe was as depressed and lifeless as the clichés portrayed it

²⁰² Palin, Michael (2002) *Palin's Travels*. palinstravels.co.uk (27-05-2015).

²⁰³ Palin, Michael (2002) 'Welcome to Palin's Travels', in: *Palin's Travels*. palinstravels.co.uk (27-05-2015).

²⁰⁴ Ibidem.

²⁰⁵ Ibidem.

²⁰⁶ Ibidem.

and set out to make a series which would hopefully show the other side of the far side of the continent.²⁰⁷

This seems to be quite difficult. Palin enters the city of Sarajevo by train from the tourist town of Mostar in the south. The environment is beautiful, until he passes the last tunnel and enters the grayest part of Bosnia's capital: 'a grimly bleak aspect as we trundle through an industrial wasteland bordered by tall concrete blocks broken up by scrapyards and factories that look derelict until you see people moving about.'²⁰⁸ Palin arrived in New Sarajevo, a part of the city with a clear communist influence. Despite the form of transmission to his audience, Palin employs a 'show, don't tell' manner of representing his story. He tries to make the reader feel the way he felt; the rain underlines the atmosphere Palin becomes aware of.²⁰⁹

Palin behaves like a tourist and employs an unreflective tourist gaze; the western knowledge and representations resonate in his descriptions of the environment.²¹⁰ Connotations such as poverty, backwardness and the recent civil war come up in his mind without him being able to transfer them to the positive he hopes to encounter since his take-off. He is unable to reflect on his own gaze and therefore fails to employ the second gaze. Immediately after arrival, Palin meets several inhabitants of Sarajevo. His hosts do not feel like talking about the past but cannot stop once they start. Palin cannot leave out the question to the recent past and tries to get firsthand stories about the civil war. Immediately, he frames the hosts in relation to the civil war and asks questions about the experienced violence.²¹¹

Despite his focus on stories of the civil war, Palin does not connect the Ulica Zmaja od Bosne (Sniper Alley) to the Yugoslavian Civil War while passing. The only mention made of the street is Holiday Inn. The reference of the hotel is to the Olympics, and the construction of the hotel in 1984 rather than its demolition in the 90's. The importance of the site for the Yugoslavian Civil War is underemphasized and gives a different side of the dialogue.²¹²

The second day of his stay, Palin visits Sarajevo's Tunnel of Hope. Palin introduces his readers to the Yugoslavian Civil War, the siege and its horrors. Estimated is that the tunnel saved about 300.000 lives. The text is accompanied by two pictures of Palin, in the first one walking in front of the

²⁰⁷ Palin, Michael (2007) 'Welcome to New Europe', in: *Palin's Travels*. <http://palinstravels.co.uk/static-207-15> (28-05-2015).

²⁰⁸ Ibidem.

²⁰⁹ Ibidem.

²¹⁰ Urry, John (2002[1990]): 1.

²¹¹ Foley, Malcolm & Lennon, John (2011): 3.

²¹² Bruner, Edward (2004): 170.

Kularevich house and in the second inside of the tunnel, having to bend his tall body over to be able to pass through. Both these pictures reproduce well-known images of the tunnel.²¹³ Especially the picture in which he walks in the tunnel helps to enhance the feeling of authenticity to the place as it has not undergone many changes so far.²¹⁴ Moreover, it offers a way for Palin the explorer to experience history rather than reading the story and listening to the survivors.²¹⁵ This time, Palin's efforts to make the audience part of the experience are in vain. Even his vivid expression lacks the possibility of a physical experience.

The third day in Sarajevo does not change the image of the war for Palin. The yellow-black tape separating the safe area from the minefield roughly breaks into Palin's idea of a comfortable walk. Landmines had been found in the area only the day before.²¹⁶ Together with a European funded ordnance disposal he makes his entry in the field and even with a flak jacket he feels vulnerable.²¹⁷ The fact that he had to sign a disclaimer and needed to enter his blood group does not help to lessen this sensation. This section at the same time shows the past violence and war and the way in which contemporary society deals with it. Palin joins men whose job it is to clear minefields, close to a popular Sarajevo picnic site: the war and violence are still present in the everyday Sarajevo life.

Palin returns his descriptions to the city center and notices the mixture of Orthodox, Muslim and Jewish religious buildings. Going on the streets, Palin notes that it breathes a lively atmosphere: 'It was always the focal point of the Balkans, a place where travelers and traders on their way between Central Europe and the Mediterranean and Western Europe and the East met and mingled, and it remained cosmopolitan and tolerant during the Ottoman occupation.'²¹⁸ The multiculturalism of the city is not only explained in pure facts and a slice of history, but also made tangible in the streets. The words however do not mean the same as the feeling.

The interface of the homepage of Palin's online travelogue features a moving header with different pictures from his trips. The page is white and has blue and beige accents. On the left hand of the webpage his travels are indexed, photography and the way in which the visitor can contribute are listed. The simple design does not make the audience expect this to be a well-developed and easy to

²¹³ Palin, Michael (2007) 'Day Fourteen: Mostar to Sarajevo', in: *Palin's Travels*. <http://palinstravels.co.uk/book-4340> (28-05-2015).

²¹⁴ Bruner, Edward (2004): 149.

²¹⁵ Picard, David (2013): 3.

²¹⁶ Palin, Michael (2007).

²¹⁷ Ibidem.

²¹⁸ Ibidem.

navigate website; as Palin, you can become an explorer in an online interface. Once again, this is a way in which Palin tries to engage his audience in the experience of his travels.

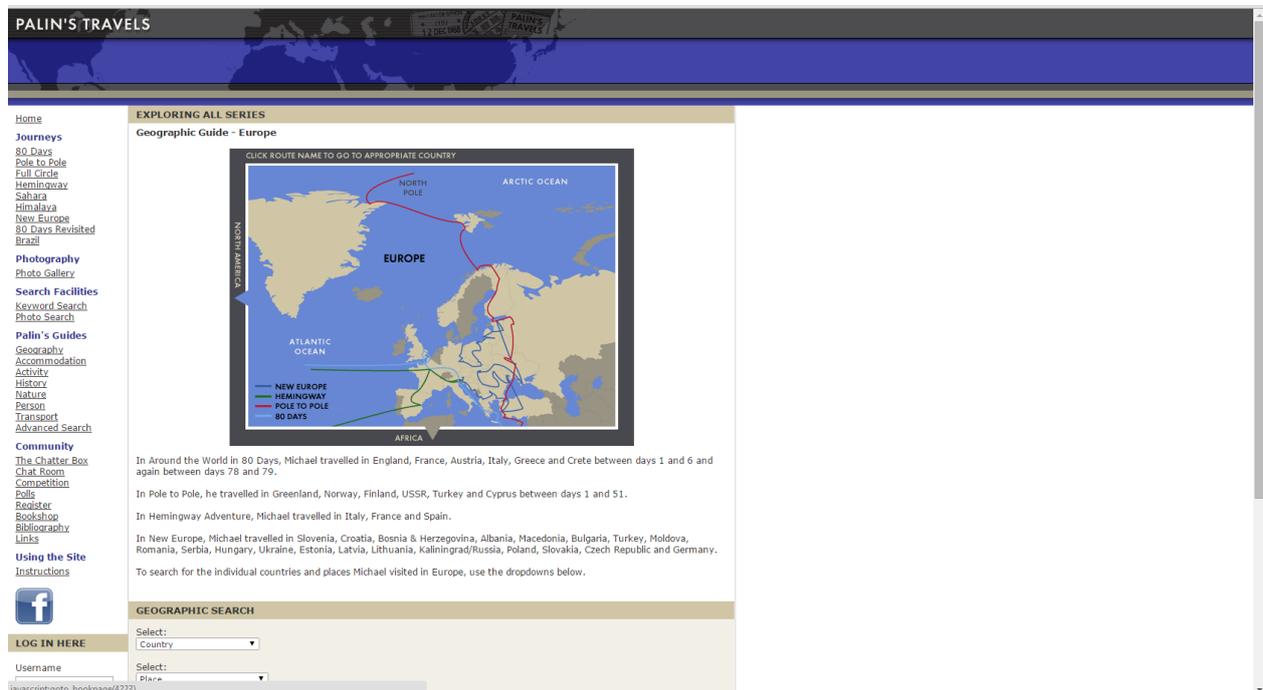


Figure 8 Palin's Travels

Palin's descriptions of Sarajevo's violent past dominate his travelogue, but in a fairly late state of the writing the contemporary easygoing atmosphere captures his attention: '[w]hatever has happened here before, I feel very much at ease in Sarajevo.'²¹⁹ People are characterized as open and friendly, the atmosphere is bustling with energy and the mixture of history, religion and the hope and the energy of the people help Palin to feel at ease.

Palin concludes the description of his experience in the city of Sarajevo positively. The way the inhabitants of Sarajevo got out of the war is worth praising and despite many problems they have steadily been working towards a solution. Before coming to this conclusion however, he needs to get through all the western expectations and prejudices he aimed to overcome. One of the problems, for instance, is that the Balkan is not in the news anymore, as one of the workers in the minefields complains. This makes it hard to raise funds for the necessary operations and the cleaning of the mines is slow. This money is largely provided by the European Union and still many square kilometers of the land potentially have hidden landmines. The frustrated mine cleaner is the only character in the travelogue that uses the word 'Balkan' straightforwardly. The word is used in the geographical

²¹⁹ Ibidem.

sense, but in this case also implies more: the southeastern part of Europe as an area of troubles is neglected by the rich and wealthy west. Moreover it refers to the war in the former Yugoslavia indirectly, carrying the meaning of violence, war, and death.²²⁰

Palin's European descent has formed his expectations Sarajevo as a city that still bears visible and tangible scars from the Civil War and the break-up with the other former Yugoslavian countries come true. The site of mass death, a lack of guaranteed safety and the stories of the inhabitants do not enhance the image of Sarajevo as a tourist destination. Only in conclusion short mention is made of the multicultural nature of the city, but the Yugoslavian Civil War itself returns in almost all descriptions. Palin articulates the western European prejudices clearly: the media only broadcast the Balkan's troubles and refuse to see its beauty. Somewhat half-heartedly Palin mentions that this violent atmosphere is something of earlier times. People do not like to talk about it and rather look at the future. Slowly but steadily the dangerous sites are cleared of mines, the streets sound with joy and activity, and the multicultural composition of the inhabitants gives the city an atmosphere that is hard to describe and express to an audience.

Both Palin's introduction and writing style make clear that the Englishman tries to engage his readers in his travels, if possible to inspire them for the future, but as soon as it comes to real experience, affect or feeling, the form of representation requires a different form and he normalizes it in something the audience is able to relate to without having to experience it personally.²²¹ Although Palin was planning to emphasize the beauties and positive sides of the ideological other within Europe that used to be behind the iron curtain, he does so by departing from that what does fit the western discourse of Balkanism. As Hammond expected, the tourist Michael Palin fails to transfer his focus from the negative to the blooming future.²²² Only the end of the travelogue makes up for this slightly: walking around the city, Palin tries to erase the negative feeling he evokes in the previous sections.

5.2.2 3 Op Reis: A civil war frame

The Dutch equivalent of Michael Palin can be found in professional traveler Patrick Lodiers. He visited Sarajevo in 2010 for *3 Op Reis*, a travel program founded and overall presented by Floortje Dessing. She is supported by other well-known Dutch personalities such as Patrick Lodiers, Dennis Storm, Geraldine Kemper and Chris Zegers. The aim of the program is to present interesting destinations all over the world and provide inspiration, facts, figures and advice on the easiest, cheapest, best or

²²⁰ Todorova, Maria (2009): 14-15.

²²¹ Picard, David (2013): 13.

²²² Hammond, Andrew (2005): 147.

most beautiful locations to visit.²²³ Since 2008 the BNN series has been broadcasted on public TV channel Nederland 3, and in 2015 the 8th season of the series was produced.

Bordwell and Thompson note that the target audience is of large importance to the way in which the story is told as the broadcasting company²²⁴: ‘BNN staat als begrip voor een eigenzinnige, verfrissende en op jonge mensen gerichte omroep.’ BNN intends to be a critical and young news network that has developed from the Veronica broadcasted *Barts News Network* (1997) by TV personality Bart de Graaff to *Brutaal News Network* in 1998. The network mainly focuses on people aged between 15 and 25 and young adults until 35 years old, but the term ‘young’ is not only applicable to age.²²⁵

Lodiers’ story is structured as a traditional book narrative with an introduction, middle and an end. During his visit, the 16th edition of the famous Sarajevo Film Festival was taking place.²²⁶ Cheerful music accompanies images of the festival, smiling people and Patrick on the catwalk. Cameras flash, the audience applauds, and Patrick goes inside among many celebrities. The 16 minute part of the series opens with this particular festival because it was established in 1995, close to the end of the siege of Sarajevo, Lodiers explains. People risked their lives to go see a movie, and it therefore became a symbol for survival and hope in dark times.

Patrick Lodiers introduces the city as a ‘begrijpelijkerwijs niet voor de hand liggende bestemming’, by which he immediately places the city in the recent history of the Yugoslavian Civil War. To underline the quote, a large graveyard on a slanting hill is shown. Leaves rustle in the wind, the white gravestones stand out sharply against the mountains surrounding the city and the oriental houses in the background of the image. Patrick contextualizes the city: Sarajevo is a medium-sized (400.000 inhabitants) city in a valley and has only one entrance. Sarajevo had a hard time, but at the moment has the strongest economy of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and maybe even of the whole Balkans.²²⁷ Even the contemporary Sarajevo is a mix of cultures. At first, the old Ottoman part is introduced. The Turkish influence is especially visible in the tea and coffee culture in the surroundings, and we see that Patrick buys a coffeemaker in a tourist shop, while by Oriental music is played. Not only tourists take a beverage on one of the many sun-drenched terraces, citizens behave alike. When the first electronic tram of the world is shown, the images are accompanied by a popular

²²³ 3 Op Reis (2015) ‘3 op reis’, in: *BNN*. 3opreis.bnn.nl (17-05-2015).

²²⁴ Bordwell, David & Thompson, Kristin (1979 [2010]): 34.

²²⁵ 3 Op Reis (2015).

²²⁶ 3 Op Reis (2015) ‘Sarajevo’, in: *Bnn*. 3opreis.bnn.nl (17-05-2015).

²²⁷ 3opreis (2010).

Snow Patrol song (*Shut your Eyes*).²²⁸ This intermezzo guides the story and Patrick to the more westernized part of the city.

The *3 Op Reis* episode acquires meaning not only with the accompanying voice of Lodiers, but also by the images it broadcasts. Bordwell and Thompson regard all video systems of relations that can be perceived in the film.²²⁹ In these systems, all elements and relations carry meaning. Except for the words Patrick speaks about the city, this means that the *mise-en-scène* of the film (setting, costume and make-up, lighting and staging) and shots can be analyzed.²³⁰ As the program can be labeled as a kind of document of reality²³¹, the setting, costume, make-up, lightning and staging of the film could be characterized as neutral. The things that are important to note and analyze are the way in which the attractions and their surroundings are filmed, represented, and framed to the audience.

Lodiers is the narrator of the story represented in the *3OpReis* item on Sarajevo. Due to his interaction with the city and the people, with his personality, his Dutch background, and his language that the city is framed in the story of the Yugoslavian Civil War and the specific event of the siege of Sarajevo. The story is accompanied by images that fit the words. After the introduction, the program cuts to an overview of the city from a hill, stating that Sarajevo is the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina and lies in the heart of the Balkans. The images are wide, and (opposed to in Palin's story) the sun is shining. Lodiers explains that Sarajevo only became the capital after having been in a bloody conflict with the Serbian Republic, which could take place right 'under the eyes of western Europe.'²³² It is not the first conflict in the area, Lodiers elaborates, and the intertwining of different cultures does more than provide a whole new borderline culture.

The history of the Yugoslavian Civil War is explained over a montage of archive material and this underlines the idea Malcolm and Foley stress in their volume²³³: the tourists visit attractions that they have seen in news reports or other representations. At the time the episode was transmissioned, the siege was about 15 years ago and therefore slowly started to become part of the tourist attractions. The *3 Op Reis* editorial moreover chose to leave out other Yugoslav parties involved in the war. In this way it seems as if Bosnia and Serbia were the only parties fighting, and the fight appears more polarized. After the films from the archive, the program shows contemporary

²²⁸ Ibidem.

²²⁹ Bordwell, David & Thompson, Kristin (1979 [2010]): 57.

²³⁰ Ibidem: 118.

²³¹ Ibidem: 349.

²³² *3OpReis* (2010).

²³³ Foley, Malcolm & Lennon, John (2010): 55.

traces of the war, such as bullet holes in buildings and gaps in the middle of a street that clearly used to be built on and leads Patrick to his guide Nihad Kreševljaković; a survivor of the Civil War and contemporary citizen of the Bosnian capital. The tourist gaze thereby clearly slides into a host gaze. As Ganziani and Francioni described, the host gaze internalizes the expected tourist gaze and tweaks the stories in order to answer the tourist's expectations. This mechanism can be clarified by the Lodiers' regulation of what the Dutch audience will see. Kreševljaković is introduced via an image of one of the huge Muslim graveyards, and an explanation of the bad circumstances during the siege (no food, electricity, or medicines). Lodiers then turns to Kreševljaković and directly digs deep into his personal memories. Kreševljaković recalls: 'I remember watching the city from the window, thinking: should we ever be watching the city without that we could be, you know, hit?' Despite the danger, he and many others decided to stay to protect their homes and lives. They had to remain fighting.

Kreševljaković takes Patrick to three 'landmarks of the war', attractions that connect to the Yugoslavian Civil War. The three attractions visited in the program are the Tunnel of Hope, Sniper Alley and the Olympic bobsled track. Kreševljaković combines historical facts with personal experiences, which except for an addition to the program story also helps the audience to feel affected emotionally.²³⁴ The same goes for Lodiers himself. His reactions to Kreševljaković's story have not been reflected upon as yet. Whereas Lodiers cannot tweak his reactions after the filming, the editors did form all footage into a 16 minute narrative.

First of all, Kreševljaković and Lodiers visit t, which also took an important place in Kreševljaković's personal history. He explains why it was built, its length and height, the things that belong to the museum and the historical facts. The tunnel was the 'lifeline' of Sarajevo, but it was under heavy protection by the Bosnian army and not that many people could go in or out: 'Generally, the Tunnel was the reason how the city survived,'²³⁵ Kreševljaković says. He himself crossed the tunnel four times. To describe the feeling when he saw the tunnel for the first time he says: 'It was a bit like the Angelina Jolie of Sarajevo. *Finally* I saw the tunnel. It was very exciting.'²³⁶ By mirroring the tunnel to Angelina Jolie he treats the tunnel like a movie star. Then finally, the audience is allowed a glimpse into the tunnel itself as well. The images do not show the outside of the house, nor the objects that are displayed in the museum.

²³⁴ Picard, David (2013): 13.

²³⁵ 3OpReis(2010).

²³⁶ Ibidem.

The second attraction Nihad takes his Dutch guest is Sniper Alley: 'een straat waar je tijdens de belegering de term "rennen voor je leven" heel letterlijk moest nemen.'²³⁷ The street had been in the news almost every night during the siege, as Serbian snipers shot many soldiers and civilians alike. Kreševljaković recalls the situation of people and how they continued to live and go to work while archive images of fleeing inhabitants roll over the screen. Lodiers listens to the story and concludes by asking: 'Do you want to go for a stroll? Or is it too dangerous?' Kreševljaković laughs a smoky laugh, a little uncomfortable but assigns: 'No, it's okay. You have to look out for the cars. They drive like mad.' At this moment, Sniper Alley still carries signs of the war. Houses are demolished, bullet holes in walls remain unrepaired, but the progress of rebuilding is well under way. There is no claim of authenticity or even authentic reproduction, as the site is not maintained or rebuilt as a tourist attraction.²³⁸ The historical dialogic narration is in full progress. Whereas Sniper Alley (or Ulica Zmaja od Bosne) itself does not represent the Civil War and the city of Sarajevo tries to clean all signs that remind of it, *3 Op Reis* chooses to emphasize this particular part of its history.

The last 'scar' of the war is bobsled area of the 1984 Olympic Games; the pride of the city, until Serbian militants took it over at the beginning of the siege. An apocalyptic image of a silent city is shown; early sunbeams crawling through the leaves and clouds, a vague shim of mountains in the background. Sarajevo's pride was destroyed and became the frontline of the siege. The change was not even so much in the physical undertaking of the area, but rather in spirit. The Olympics had all been about bringing people together, whereas only 9 years later it had become the stage of war. Kreševljaković however remains optimistic: 'Even today I see no reason why there should not be a new dream. We have managed to keep that Olympic spirit, obviously.'

Even during the siege, Kreševljaković would always choose Sarajevo over any other city as he just loves it. Moreover, the Bosnian guide sees an interesting future for the city of Sarajevo: 'It is a city where I believe that we can build a picture of the world that is not just speaking about tolerance but about practicing tolerance and enjoy the different of this world in which we live.'²³⁹ Nihad expresses the hope to being able to live multicultural tolerance and cultural acceptance in practice. Patrick's commentary summarizes Kreševljaković's story and the effect it had upon him, the tourist: 'Door deze tour heb ik een goed beeld gekregen van de ellende die de inwoners hebben moeten doorstaan in de vierjarige belegering van hun stad, maar ook van de veerkrachtigheid om door te gaan met hun

²³⁷ 3OpReis (2010).

²³⁸ Bruner, Edward (2004): 149-150.

²³⁹ 3OpReis (2010).

dagelijks leven.²⁴⁰ During the voice-over Patrick pours Turkish coffee in a cup and lets his view go over the bustling city center.

Finally, Patrick returns to the film festival. Founded in 1995 it stands for hope in worst times. Nihad described his view on the siege: 'The one who is not shot, he manages to survive,' but according to founder of the Sarajevo Film Festival Mirsad Purivatra this is not the whole story. Besides not getting hit, the question is: how to survive the war mentally? The festival is a kind of the opposite of war.²⁴¹



Figure 9 Sarajevo episode 3 Op Reis

The interface of the story can be seen as the interpretation of the employed genre. In the conventions of a travel program the audience is taken on a journey, outside of him- or herself, to inspire or evoke emotions in the audience. Bordwell and Thompson make a distinction between the emotions presented and the emotional response.²⁴² The emotions presented in the documentary are mostly those of hope, but because of Lodiers' questions also involve looking back in history and the brutal civil war. The emotional response of the audience should be one of compassion for the inhabitants who survived, of seeing how with little means there is still the possibility to be hopeful (inspiration) and to evaluate Sarajevo as a holiday destination.

²⁴⁰ Ibidem.

²⁴¹ Ibidem.

²⁴² Bordwell, David & Thompson, Kristin (1979 [2010]): 61.

In summary, the image of the city of Sarajevo sketched by Patrick Lodiers in *3OpReis* is two-fold. On the one hand, the Dutch presenter introduces the city with the Yugoslavian Civil War and refers to the events in the first half of the '90's all the time. The image is a bit simplified and sometimes facts are left out to make the story more comprehensible in little time, with the result of it becoming more polarized. On the other hand, Bosnians that are asked to comment or express themselves are hopeful. They want to leave the past behind and look at what the future will bring.

By getting Nihad Kreševljaković to speak about the history of Sarajevo and his personal experiences on camera, the program is able to transcend the typical tourist view. With the host gaze, the program is able to create an atmosphere that is more authentic, but at the same time shows how difficult it is to see the destination from a host's perspective. Kreševljaković still takes Lodiers and his crew to the touristscape, and therefore the representation could be seen as an authentic reproduction. The frame is of a tourist gaze (the cameraman is a Dutch professional), but the guide enhances the story of the Yugoslavian Civil War. Kreševljaković does not mention Gallery 11/07/95 and instead takes his Dutch visitors to the bobsled area.

The story of the *3 Op Reis* episode of Sarajevo is carefully framed in the narrative of the Yugoslavian Civil War. The term 'Balkan' is only used in a geographical way, but has vague connotations that are made more explicit throughout the film. Lodiers states for instance that the war took place 'under the eyes of western Europe': that the Balkan countries could not solve it themselves is understandable, they suggest, but even Western Europe was not able to stop the Serbs from killing many Muslims. In other parts the multicultural nature of the region is stressed by showing images of three different religious locations. Lodiers calls Sarajevo a crossroad, where many people past and many products from both sides travelled past. The program makes it look as if the connotations of violence and death came up only at the point of the Civil War. The dominant discourse of the Balkan area is taken over from western sources unquestionably, only disputed slightly by Kreševljaković, whose vision is itself framed in the overarching story of Balkanism.

5.2.3 Waarbenjij.nu: Tourist's stories

With the rise of digital media, it has become easier to share travel experiences online for everyone. Instead of scribbled postcards with expensive stamps that take days to arrive, an internet connection and a few buttons suffice to bring a whole story to the other side of the world in a second. The democratization is visible in websites such as *waarbenjij.nu*. By analyzing two travel stories about Sarajevo from 2014 on this website, the individual, informal travel story will be added to the analyzed material.

The Dutch website *waarbenjij.nu* was established as a result of a personal experiment for an easy online tool for personal use in order for the traveler to keep in touch with family and friends. The project expanded in 2003 and evolved into a broad website with traveling stories. There are more than 265.000 stories and over 2.6 million visitors that read the online travelogues.²⁴³ The main goal of the website is to allow people who travel to stay in touch with their family and friends.

The website is structured as a collection or database of personal travelogues that can be searched by name and destination. On the homepage the last diary updates are featured. The writers of these travelogues are tourists *pur sang*, tourists that want the people who stay at home to see what they experience, which makes them all very personal. ‘Experience’, and ‘emotion’, as described in the volume by Picard and Robinson (2012) are often foregrounded in this kind of reports. The tourist makes an inner voyage.²⁴⁴

The first blog is written by Arjan, a Dutch university student spending half a year in the Slovenian city of Maribor for his studies. He traveled the Balkans in 6 days with Slovakian friends with a rented car and next to cities travels through the natural environments of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In his report ‘Balkania Trip’ he mentions the poor facilities and bad circumstances the Bosnians live in. There have been recent floods and this effected the roads quite severely. Sarajevo itself does not really meet Arjan’s expectations. He calls the mosques beautiful, but frankly finds the city kind of boring. Throughout the report it moreover becomes clear that he does not necessarily interest himself for its history and does not know anything about it, and mostly refers to inauthentic reproductions such as the bazaar where the girls of their group can buy whatever they like.

The report is accompanied by a few pictures. One is of the eternal flame on the edge of the Christian part of the center next to the cathedral, another of the objects sold in the bazaars on the Ottoman part of the city, and one depicting the street corner where Franz Ferdinand was killed.²⁴⁵ In the pictures no fellow-travelers are featured; it is merely the sites themselves. The Yugoslavian Civil War is mentioned in the report only indirectly and the tourist attractions in the city of Sarajevo are neglected. Arjan nonetheless notices the mixture of culture, the poor condition of the roads and the

²⁴³ Waarbenjij.nu (2003) ‘Over waarbenjij.nu’, in: *Waarbenjij.nu*. <http://waarbenjij.nu/over-waarbenjijnu> (29-05-2015).

²⁴⁴ Crossley, Emily (2013): 85.

²⁴⁵ Arjaninmaribor (2014) ‘Balkania Trip’, in: *Waarbenjij.nu* [http://arjaninmaribor.waarbenjij.nu/reisverslag/4781320/balkania-trip#!prettyPhoto\[reportGallery\]/19/](http://arjaninmaribor.waarbenjij.nu/reisverslag/4781320/balkania-trip#!prettyPhoto[reportGallery]/19/) (29-05-2015).

traces of the Civil War. Apart from the name of his travel report, he also manages to capture the signs of 'Balkanism' in the city of Sarajevo, but does not connect them to the Yugoslavian Civil War.

In the second report, Danielle starts her 'Summer 2012 Eastern Europe' Diary²⁴⁶ in a whole different manner. Danielle has read a lot about Sarajevo's recent history and introduces her audience to its tragedies, the fear and their only hope: the tunnel. Mentioning the bullet holes in the house and the collapse of the largest part of the tunnel, she states that the documentary made her feel even worse: 'Ondanks dat het neutraal wordt gebracht, kun je niet anders dan concluderen dat die Serviërs een stel barbaren waren.'²⁴⁷ Her travel to the tunnel took a long time, but she did not mind as this made it possible for her to see a bit more of the city. She passed Holiday Inn (and therefore Sniper Alley) and remarks that it was the only functioning hotel during the Yugoslavian Civil War. Nonetheless the name Sniper Alley is not used, although she does point out the Serbian snipers shooting everything that moved both inside and around the hotel.

The expression towards the documentary about the siege and the tunnel point towards the will to experience the city, its atmosphere, and its past. Reading about it beforehand is different than seeing the representation in the *lieu de memoire* itself. The attractions are treated as authentic reproductions, as she is aware that she is not looking at the real tunnel, but feels that the rebuilt version can bring her closer to history nonetheless. Wanting to get closer to the affecting stories of the civil war, rather wanting to understand than merely know, she overlooks the authority of the stories being told within the tunnel.

Danielle is impressed by the open-mindedness of the inhabitants of the city. She passes a synagogue, mosque and church next to each other and spots a 'compleet gesluisde moslima vrolijk kletsend flaneren met een vriendin van haar, op stilettohakken en met een uitdagend décolleté.'²⁴⁸ It is special, she says, how even after the war the people around here can still be so respectful and friendly.²⁴⁹

The interface of the webpage allows a reader to search and browse in different ways. There is a map that orders travelogues by continent, the reader can look for a name or destination, and there is a gallery with pictures that attract the reader's attention and a list of recently posted travelogues. On the background a picture of a woman with a backpack has set down and is looking over a green

²⁴⁶ Danielleindisney (2012) 'Sarajevo', in: *Waarbenjij.nu*

<http://danielleindisney.waarbenjij.nu/reisverslag/4343979/sarajevo> (29-05-2015).

²⁴⁷ Ibidem.

²⁴⁸ Ibidem.

²⁴⁹ Ibidem.

valley; the impression is given that she is far away, because the environment does not look European. The travelogue is mostly meant for people that undertake longer trips instead of shorter holidays and keep in touch. This is underlined by the design of the interface as the average trip to another continent usually does not merely take a few days.

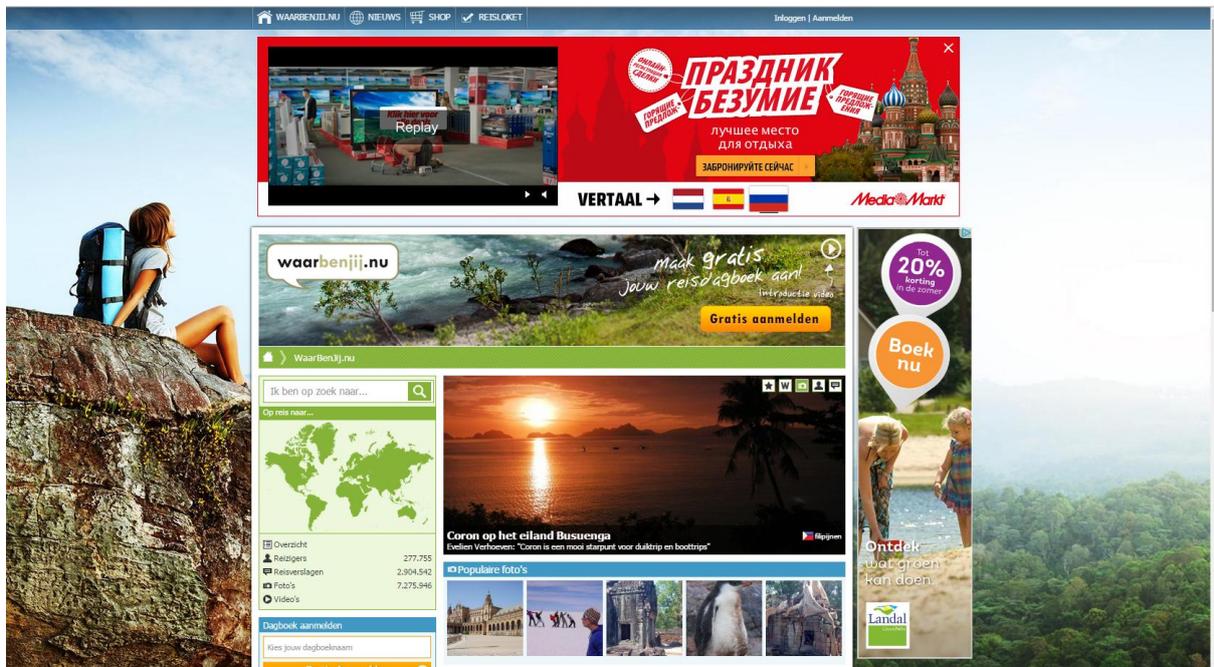


Figure 10 Waarbenjij.nu

The travelogues by Arjan and Danielle offer a great opportunity to investigate the tourist gaze of young people traveling abroad. The reflections on their trip are brought together in the online travelogue *waarbenjij.nu* and serve both as a way to keep friends and family posted and a source of inspiration for future travelers. Arjan clearly went to Sarajevo unprepared and is more satisfied by the beautiful surroundings of Sarajevo than the city itself. He looks for things which are different then at home, noticing the Ottoman influences, poverty and cheap goods. Danielle's story on the other hand is well-prepared. She employs a second gaze, reflecting on the different and the unexpected she encounters. In her story, the recent civil war takes a prominent place and therefore the connotation with political and physical violence is more obvious.

Whereas Arjan prefers to inauthentic reproductions such as Turkish markets and the street corner with Franz Ferdinand's replica car, Danielle finds authentic reproductions such as the Tunnel of Hope more interesting. In Danielle's piece, the authority of this site is made apparent as well.²⁵⁰ As she proceeds in the story of Sarajevo's history, the image of the 'Serb barbarian' cannot escape the audience's mind.

²⁵⁰ Bruner, Edward (2004): 150.

To conclude it could be argued that the website *waarbenjij.nu* provides a different outlook on travel stories. More than on the destination, the travelogues focus on the experiences and the person who had them. Some historical references are given, but most of the times the reactions to the destination and its attractions are emotional and affective rather than reflexive.

The difference between the gaze of every tourist becomes even more obvious. Every person is different, has other expectations and backgrounds, and looks for different things.²⁵¹ In both blogs Sarajevo is described in a different way and framed differently. Where Arjan calls the entry in his travelogue 'Trip Balkania', therefore clearly referring to the geographical notion of the Balkans, his gaze captures mostly the poverty, the backwardness and multiculturalism. Danielle on the other hand mentions the terms that are connected to both the civil war and Balkanism, such as violence and political disruption, moreover doing this without mentioning the term Balkan even once. Her attention in one of the later paragraphs also turns to the mixture of Orient and Occident influences in this part of Europe, and the challenging dress of the young Muslim woman. This part however connotes a far more positive message. She is surprised, as the image is different from what she expected.

5.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, that was written to answer the question: how can online post-tour narratives about a visit to the city of Sarajevo be interpreted in connection to the notion of Balkanism?, it became clear that all tourists experience destinations in a different way and that the target audience is a large influence on the way in which the destination is represented. Palin traveled through 'New Europe' in order to find the beauty and hope and look past the western European discourse. This turns out to be harder than he thought. He has knowledge about the civil war, but his aim is to neglect any signs referring to the events. He does not manage entirely, and his hosts reply by stating that instead of the past they want to focus on the future. In the *3 Op Reis* travel program with Patrick Lodiers the second gaze frames a host gaze. By letting the stories of the Bosnian host and guide Nihad Kreševljaković focus on the Yugoslavian Civil War, both Lodiers and the audience can expect to see poverty, violence and political issues, but it is Kreševljaković who tries to relativize the stories that are known from the news. Danielle travels to Sarajevo with a similar intention. She has read a lot about the civil war and goes looking for its signs; she expresses a similar experience. Arjan's travelogue on *waarbenjij.nu* is the only investigated source that does not enter Sarajevo with this expectation, but he also admits he finds the destination kind of boring and prefers the natural

²⁵¹ Urry, John (2002[1990]): 1.

surroundings. The hosts might dislike it, but it seems as if the Yugoslavian Civil War provides the city with an interesting story.

All three travelogues try to involve their audience in their experience. They give background information on the destination and visited sites, but this turns out to be harder for Lodiers and Palin than it is for Arjan and Danielle. Whereas Palin and Lodiers have to transfer their personal story to a broad audience of people who do not know them personally, Danielle and Arjan write their stories thinking about their family and friends. Especially Palin tries to create an atmosphere in which his audience is his fellow traveler, where Lodiers focuses on the knowledge on the war and Arjan and Danielle about the smaller and more personal experiences such as the hard to reach Tunnel of Hope or the girls who like the stroll over the Ottoman bazaar. The 'inner voyage' of travelling is especially expressed by Danielle.

Palin treats the sites he visits as authentic or authentic reproductions. He is aware that the Tunnel of Hope has undergone changes, but also visits the remains of a minefield which is clearly not reproduced (and also not a tourist attraction, but a real problem). He is looking for a challenge of authority in his 'New Europe' trip, but fails to lay off his western gaze and therefore leaves the authority in western Europe. When speaking to Bosnians, he cannot leave out a question to the Civil War and therefore frames the city and its civilians. The same goes for Lodiers. He does not find any authentic sites as the Tunnel of Hope has undergone changes to make the place accessible for tourists, Sniper Alley has been rebuilt for daily use and the bobsled area is cleared of soldiers and has fallen into decay. In the frame of the western European authoritative story however, Lodiers leaves space for Kreševljaković and festival director Mirsad Purivatra to speak of hope rather than of the past violence. Still, these are framed by a western discourse, and part of the dialogue of the Sarajevo narrative.

Maria Todorova has argued that Balkanism began to denote a hopelessly multicultural society in whose psyche violence is ingrained, backward, poor, undemocratic and that politically breaks up in mutual hostile entities.²⁵² Todorova blames the persistence of this stereotype on the western news broadcastings, that only report on these countries in the times of war and trouble and are otherwise ignored.²⁵³ The same can be seen in the accounts that represent Sarajevo as tourist destinations. The story has to be one of either violence or poverty. The clearest example is that of *3 Op Reis*, in whose report the leading narrative obviously centers around the Yugoslavian Civil War, around dark tourist stories and attractions, and the suffering inhabitants. Kreševljaković tries to bring in a positive note,

²⁵² Todorova, Maria (2009).

²⁵³ *Ibidem*: 184.

but even this is put in the light of the warrior ethos: never give up, no matter how bad things get. A similar attitude can be seen in the travelogues by Palin and Danielle. Their tone might differ, but the discourse of especially the Yugoslavian Civil War is very apparent in their expression. The traveler that refers to history the least is Arjan. He notices bullet holes, the poverty and multiculturalism and is amazed by the Oriental influences in this part of Europe, but does not refer to the events in the Yugoslavian Civil War. It could be concluded that the more is referred to history and context of the city, the more the tendency is to recall the western dominant discourse of Balkanism; the pre-tour narrative has a large influence on the experience and its post-tour expression.

Conclusion: Balkan Trip in Sarajevo

The geographical area of the Balkans has not been a frequently visited tourist destination since long, and it did not gain popularity among western European travelers easily.²⁵⁴ The term 'Balkan' does not only refer to a group of countries, but from the Ottoman word for the bare cliffs between Romania and Bulgaria it spread its meaning to the cultural and political realm.²⁵⁵ Especially highlighted thereby were the violence that seemed to be executed in every conflict in the area, the 'hopelessly' multicultural society and the denotation of the word 'Balkanization', which meant the 'parcelization of large and viable political unites but also had become a synonym for a reversion to the tribal, the backward, the primitive, the barbarian.'²⁵⁶ Todorova stressed that the area does and did not have a monopoly over violence and barbarism,²⁵⁷ but the representation of the Balkan in western sources suggests otherwise.

The aim of this research was to find out what the relation is between the presence and repetition of the discourse of Balkanism in contemporary tourism in Sarajevo and tourist destination representations. In order to do so the question: in what way is the image of Balkanism present in representations of the Yugoslavian Civil War in tourist attractions in the city of Sarajevo (Bosnia and Herzegovina)? was posed. The representations were divided in three different parts, because Edward M. Bruner argued in his *Culture On Tour* (2004) that travelers go through three different stages in their trip, being pre-tour, during tour and post-tour.²⁵⁸ In all three stages a narrative about the destination is formed that highlights respectively the tourist expectations, the experiences and the expression of those experiences.

Balkanism as Orientation

The Yugoslavian Civil War is present in all analyzed pre-tour narratives, but not all websites present the events in the same way. The discourse has multiple facets of which parts are open for interpretation. *Destination Sarajevo* is owned by the Sarajevo Navigation Foundation and fulfills the part of the official tourist bureau in the city of Sarajevo. The website acknowledges the fairly recent hardships of the city, but tries to neutralize the contemporary influences on everyday and tourist going-about. The violence and poverty are mentioned, but in a factual and neutral way as if it

²⁵⁴ Hammond, Andrew (2005): 135.

²⁵⁵ Todorova, Maria (2009): 121-122.

²⁵⁶ Ibidem: 3.

²⁵⁷ Ibidem: 7.

²⁵⁸ Bruner, Edward M. (2004): 22.

belongs to the past and its influence is marginal. Rather, the website emphasizes its multicultural character, describing it as 'a place where Orient met Occident'. A similar strategy is employed with poverty, as this is translated to a destination where the tourist gets excellent value for his or her money. The lack of focus on the experience of tourists is quite telling. *Destination Sarajevo* offers a host gaze on the city of Sarajevo and turns the expectations of the tourist into a positive idea. The authentic experience of Sarajevo is found in its multicultural atmosphere, they claim. Therefore, *Destination Sarajevo* is no real or total repetition of the discourse of Balkanism, and it merely takes certain facets and tweaks these into a more positive story.

Lonely Planet rather employs a second gaze that reflects on the destination and its presentation. The website is an online equivalent of a series of travel guides launched by an English couple in the '70's of the previous century. They rather see tourists as travelers and explorers that want to see things in the beautiful world they happen to live in: money and time are not limiting factors. The focus of *Lonely Planet* therefore lies on the experience of the individual, on the informed tourist, and refers to sites as authentic reproductions. The city of Sarajevo is introduced with the story of the Yugoslavian Civil War. Both the Tunnel of Hope and Gallery 11/07/95 are listed in the section of top attractions. *Lonely Planet* encourages its visitors to make an inner voyage, rather than a mere physical one. The term Balkanism itself is used directly in the geographical sense and does not attach to any cultural implications. The implications themselves however do appear in the description of the destination. Not only the violence of the Yugoslavian Civil War and the past is emphasized, mention of religious and racial conflicts, poverty and backwardness are present as well.

TripAdvisor, the last pre-tour narrative, is an online traveler's community that frames the different interpretations of one site by allowing the possibility to share experiences with fellow tourists. The website does not claim authenticity, but rather emphasizes the value of (in)authentic reproductions and of advice by fellow tourists. The visitors repeat their own pre-tour narratives, altered by possible surprises met on tour. Similar places and attractions as with *Lonely Planet* are highlighted, but *TripAdvisor's* descriptions are less positive than those of *Lonely Planet*. The problems and inconveniences are emphasized, just as the backwardness of the region and lack of safety.

The question underlying the first chapter was: how can online tourist destination advertisement about the city of Sarajevo be interpreted in connection to the notion of Balkanism? Together, the three websites form an accurate representation of the notion of Balkanism. All of them have another aim and point of view, and the ways of expression influence the pre-tour image a great deal. All sources mention the Tunnel of Hope as an important attraction and all of them neglect Sniper Alley entirely. *Lonely Planet* and *TripAdvisor* repeat the negative connotations of the notion of Balkanism most obvious (although *Lonely Planet* sees this as one of the reasons to visit the city), but *Destination*

Sarajevo tries to tweak the cultural differences as something merely positive; though not always successfully.

Contemporary Sites of Memory and Balkanism

In pre-tour narratives, some kind of Balkan image of the city of Sarajevo is sketched, no matter who produced the narrative. During a tour, the tourist will look for these signs, which will appear out of the ordinary, and highlighted by the consulted tourist destination sources. The three *lieux de memoire* analyzed necessarily refer to a space where violent events took place, but one of the questions is whether this also came back in the contemporary representation of these sites. Unlike in the pre-tour narratives, the authority to tell the story lies with the Bosnian hosts entirely. The internalized host gaze of the tourist industry commodifies the recent history in order for the whole international community to see.

The Tunnel of Hope gives a paradoxical idea of Balkanism. Of course, it has been build because the city of Sarajevo was besieged, the house bears visible scars of the war and has been maintained poorly, which points towards violence, poverty and backwardness. On the other hand, it becomes clear that it is a Bosnian attraction, and not a Yugoslavian or Balkan one. History is presented in such a way that the Bosnian people have tried to be elevated above the Balkans, above the Serbian Bosnians and attempted to bring up their case in the international community.

In Sniper Alley references to the civil war are not presented at all. Although some buildings still bare traces, it is even likely that the objects do not so much acquire meaning for the western tourist, as they are used to grey tall buildings and fast driving cars in their own country of residency (and if not, at least from TV). This is underlined by the (repaired) Hotel Holiday, the Historical Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina that focuses on different time frames, the Tito café and the National University Library. Only in the national University Library there is a slight reference to the disintegration of Yugoslavia, although the Bosnians started to collect their own writers well before they split from the rest of the former Federation. The only way to see this as a tourist attraction is through off-site markers such as tourist guides, old news reels, or an accompanying guide.

Gallery 11/07/95 calls to mind the infamous Srebrenica massacre in which more than 8.000 Muslim men were killed. The representation and commemoration of this event is the goal of the gallery, rather than a creation of an exhibition with aesthetic qualities. Inside, a wall with pictures of those who have died draws people's attention to the death and violence in the village of Srebrenica, the Burke quote 'All that is necessary for evil is that good men do nothing', the new interpretation of UN as 'United Nothing' and the extra provided information give an idea as to the effects of these events. This attraction leans on the imagination of the visitors, and therefore makes an effort to

make them part of it: they are living witnesses to the horror and injustice. Just as with the Tunnel of Hope, this gallery tries to present the Bosnian village, and thereby its whole society, not as part of the Balkans, although here they are neither Occident. Attacked by the one (Bosnian Serbs, Balkan) they are forgotten or neglected by the other (Occident). In other words, they try to leave themselves out of the discourse of Balkanism, and frame themselves as a neglected ally, a small and neglected party in the large western covenant. The discourse of Balkanism exists, but not in Bosnia and Herzegovina; they are a mere victim of their barbaric neighbors.

The chapter on narratives during a tour centered around the question: how can the signs of the tourist attractions Tunnel of Hope, Sniper Alley and Gallery 11/07/95 be interpreted in connection to the notion of Balkanism? In the attractions the host gaze of Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina guides the tourist through the history and contemporary ideas of the country. As Ganziani and Francioni argued, the hierarchy between tourist and host is constantly negotiated and this is exactly what happens in the attractions. The stories of backwardness, poverty and hopeless multiculturalism have to be balanced with that of beauty and bad luck in order to withhold the audience from not visiting the country at all. The repetition of the discourse of Balkanism therefore remains partial. Bosnians defended their countries to their barbarian neighbors, and therefore cannot be blamed for violence. Sniper Alley even erased the references to the civil war as good as possible, and imitates the style of western (European) large cities.

Expressing Balkanism

In post-tour narratives the most noticeable, special or different than expected events are summarized in one story. The stories are often supported by souvenirs or photographs of the destination and they are reflected upon by the travelers. In order to be able to express the experiences into words, they need to be normalized. It is necessary for the traveler to frame the experience in a way possible for an audience to understand.

Micheal Palin traveled through the east of Europe that was closed off for him ideologically and physically throughout his youth and young adult years. Despite his efforts to transcend the Balkan discourse and look for the 'New Europe' beyond the former borders of the Iron Curtain, Palin arrives at the (representations of) the Yugoslavian Civil War quickly. The first thing he notices is the mix of cultures and religion in the center of the bustling city, but with this observation he immediately refers back to the underlying conflicts of the Yugoslavian Civil War. Introducing the story via its prejudices about poverty and violence, Palin half-heartedly tries to turn this image around in later sections. The term Balkan is only mentioned once by a frustrated mineworker in mere

geographical sense. In his text, Andrew Hammond already argued that tourists do not want to see something original, but they look for what they have seen in the news. The tourist Palin does exactly as he is expected to, even though it might be with different intentions.

The *3 Op Reis* Sarajevo episode frames its trip through Sarajevo with regard to the past civil war as well, but it does so more explicit and conscious. The presence of the film festival in the city is connected to the civil war and this opens and closes the documentary. The time in-between is concerned with Nihad Kreševljaković, who guides Patrick Lodiers past three of the civil war's remains. Two things are striking. In the first place, the choice of attractions is different than both in pre-tour advertisement and other post-tour narratives. Gallery 11/07/95 lacks on the tour in favor of the bobsled area located further out of the center and the first narrative that mentions Sniper Alley as one of the attractions. Second of all, *3 Op Reis* does not regard a mere western gaze enough and adds a guide, a host gaze, to the story. After simplifying and polarizing the Yugoslavian conflict, Patrick's first question to Kreševljaković digs deep into his personal memories. The combination of experience and history alters the representation of the city, and gives it a sense of authenticity. Lodiers and his audience are lead alongside places of the Yugoslavian Civil War, and this is confirmed by an on-site host and survivor. Even when Kreševljaković tries to tell a different story of the 1984 'Olympic Spirit' he hopes Sarajevo's citizens will live after, Lodiers and his team still have the authority and frame the story in a western perspective of Balkan violence. Lodiers' story of the city focuses on the difference between the Occident, Orient and New Communist part of the city. The geographical term Balkan returns in the descriptions, but the historical references to the term do not turn up. At the same time however, the side-effects of the term do trickle through in the story.

On the website *waarbenjij.nu* personal experiences and stories have the upper hand. A tourist gaze is employed and they display a different type of knowledge. The analyzed stories by Arjan and Danielle differ greatly. Danielle travels eastward from the Netherlands and has prepared her trip thoroughly. She frames Sarajevo through the Tunnel of Hope, which convinces her of the rights of the Muslim community in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Multicultural and religiously she calls the country open-minded (for seeing two Muslim women walking over the boulevard with one in provocative dress) and she sees the Orient influence in the geographic Occident area. It is only Arjan who escapes the expectations of Sarajevo as a country devastated by the Yugoslavian Civil War. He does see bullet holes and decay, he can see there is poverty, but does not connect it to the violence two decades ago. Instead he focuses on the beautiful surroundings and the bazaars in which the girls on his trip can buy all the Oriental souvenirs they like. The signs that are on the surface are visible for Arjan, but he does not attach much meaning to it, and actually finds the city kind of boring.

The post-tour narratives on the city of Sarajevo refer to the Yugoslavian Civil War as a leading narrative often. In order to answer the question: how can online tourist post-tour narratives about a visit to the city of Sarajevo be interpreted in connection to the notion of Balkanism? it is therefore also interesting to look at the one report that does not. Michael Palin tries to look for New Europe, but in his story refers to 'Old Europe', the gray environment and contemporary hardships regularly. He is influenced by history and his education too much not to notice. Patrick Lodiers and his team on the other hand do not try to give a different image of the Balkans. Instead, they focus on the dark tourist attractions and by incorporating Kreševljaković give their report an authentic hue. The same happens to Danielle, who has read a lot about the civil war, and wants to look at its consequences in person. It is only Arjan who goes to Sarajevo unprepared and finds inauthentic reproductions of the coffee culture more interesting than the plastered bullet holes of many houses. He does not refer to history, and therefore does not attach meaning to its traces. At the same time, poverty, backwardness and Oriëntalism are part of his expressed observations.

Balkan Trip

All parts of the Balkan discourse (in geographical sense or with the cultural connotations of poverty, backwardness, violence, death, multiculturalism, Oriental influence in an Occident area, and even the political 'breaking up in mutual hostile parties') return in some way or another in the narratives on Sarajevo. So, in what way is the image of Balkanism represented in representations of the Yugoslavian Civil War in tourist attractions in the city of Sarajevo (Bosnia and Herzegovina)?

First of all it could be concluded that the pre-tour, tour and post-tour narratives form a perfect circle and strongly influence one another. The pre-tours aim to convince a possible tourist of a destination, or highlights sites that are interesting to visit. Some secrecy is involved, there is a certain atmosphere to be experienced that is different than at home. The narratives that represent the civil war in Sarajevo itself are *lieux de memoire*, they stand for the history in itself and thereby refer to the (ethnic) grounds of the war, and to the Occident/Orient mixture of people, and the violence which occurred. The Tunnel of Hope takes the event seriously and is informative. There is a documentary, but since this story is told from Bosnian perspective, the authority lies with the Bosnians. The same goes for the gallery, although the effect is a little different and the intention is to leave Bosnia itself out of the discourse of Balkanism at all. Sniper Alley's signs are erasing the war and the siege of Sarajevo. Instead, it is attempted to build a new, entirely Occident area within the city. The narrative could be interpreted as if Bosnia and Herzegovina used to be Balkan, but this is not the future. In the post-tour narratives finally, most western tourists confirm pre-tour ideas. The Balkans are poor, the area is built on violence, and the Oriental influence is tangible. Even Palin, looking for

the new face of Eastern Europe, Patrick who asks the help of Nihad Kreševljaković to guide his trip and Danielle, who forgets to see the authority of the Bosnians in the documentary in the Tunnel of Hope, fail to alter their view on Sarajevo. It is only Arjan, who has very limited knowledge about the historical events who partly manages to avoid the expectations of a visit to this part of Europe, and he frankly finds the city kind of boring.

Secondly, from this follows that the importance of a sender or producer of the message plays a large role in the communication of the discourse. Sarajevo citizens will not write post-tour narratives and it is here that the discourse of Balkanism has the strongest negative undertone, whereas the attractions, which are merely managed by Bosnians, make an attempt to relate to these negative connotations as little as possible. The same interpretation can be given when considering the pre-tour narratives, as *Destination Sarajevo* emphasizes different objects and interprets these signs in another way as well. The question however is what this matters when the interpretation of western tourists does not change and even with the creative altering and bending of objects and signs, a Balkan interpretation can be given.

And thirdly, this research suggests that the story of the Yugoslavian Civil War at this moment in time is the most interesting one to tell. By traveling the city with this story in mind, the lack of buildings and the presence of bullet holes in houses or empty lots where houses used to stand, make the emptiness and poverty meaningful. It is especially the story of Arjan that confirms this idea, as the lack of the war narrative makes him find the city 'boring' and long back to the natural environments just outside of the city's border.

It could be concluded that the discourse of Balkanism is present in all interpretations of Sarajevo as a tourist destination, but the story is influenced by several factors, such as the authority to tell and present a timeframe. Apparently, at this moment in time it is the Yugoslavian Civil War that deserves to be told most and appears most interesting to tourists. In the dialogue of the narratives of Sarajevo, there has been reflection on the importance of the Yugoslavian Civil War. The other stories that are told do not form a paradoxical reaction to the story. Rather, they make the producers aware of the emphasis they do or do not put on a certain narrative. It also confirms the idea of Bruner that pre-tour narratives influence the interpretation of tours, no matter how much the attractions try to slowly change the ascendant discourse, and that the interpretation of objects is just as, or even more important than the way it is presented. Even if the Bosnian tourism industry tries to alter the narratives, it are the western tourists who choose to either bring back the previously known discourse, or go along with the newly suggested, slightly changed story.

In short, Balkanism is a power discourse, and like with every power discourse, the expectations of the audience are a consequence of the dominant view. The fact that western sources only report about

countries in the southeast of Europe during times of trouble and violence, give the general audience the expectation of a troublesome environment that is hard to navigate, communicate, and where many people still endure hardships. Finally, the use of the notion of Balkanism is never a conscious one. Most often, the term itself is used in the geographical sense, but in many narratives this either includes explicit references to its cultural connotations, or implications with the use of the notion itself. Therefore, the influence of pre-, during, and post-tour narratives upon one another is especially what keeps thriving the tourism discourse on Balkanism. The narrator or producer of the narrative might differ, the interpretation will follow the dominant discourse despite a change in the signs quickly.

Limitations and points of discussion

In order to bring this research to a satisfying conclusion, several choices were made. These choices were necessary, but also created possible limitations to its outcomes. First of all, there is the methodology. Discourse analyses could be conducted from online sources on Sarajevo as the destination of a city tour. The focus on online sources fits the time frame, but at the same time leaves out printed sources such as guidebooks and newspapers, oral sources, visual sources, and travel agencies. The methodology to research the attractions themselves required a different approach. 'The tourist' does not exist, many researchers argue. I would like to underline this statement by pointing out that although this research has been written in an un-personal form, many impressions and interpretations derive from my own experiences in Sarajevo. The attractions can be grouped thematically and in terms of time, but the true binding factor in this work, is me having visited them, unlike, for instance, the Olympic bobsled area. It is my guide who pointed out Sniper Alley, it was me who asked questions about the missing pieces in the façade of the Tunnel of Hope and in Gallery 11/07/95 me and my friend discussed the UN and peacekeepers' impact on the temporary political influence on the Dutch government. In short I have to admit: I am my own tourist model.

This ties in with the second problem of the analysis of attractions. Since I am the one who points out what objects of attractions will acquire meaning, these signs might not be what will attract the attention of all tourists. There is a branch of research in which questionnaires and on-site interviews are conducted in order to get answers, but this is both out of my field of interests and would not fit in scope of the time-frame. Nonetheless, the methodology employed here can say something about the way in which the implications of the term 'Balkanism' form a part of the (re)presentation of contemporary tourist sites. They might not necessarily fit for all places, for all

tourists and at all times, but as the capital, and its tourist attractions are relatively young, a large part of the dialogue remains unspoken so far.

Thirdly, there is the limitation of the theme of attractions. The question could be asked whether the answer to the research question would be answered in the same way if the attractions would not center on the Yugoslavian Civil War but, for instance, the 1984 Olympics. Attractions would then include the Eternal flame, the bobsled area (from a different perspective), and skiing in the hills around the city, while the tourist would stay in Hotel Holiday on 'Sniper Alley' (or the Ulica Zmaja od Bosne, as it would then be called). In other words, was my answer not already predestined in my question? The answer, I expect, is not so biased. It could be easily argued that even places not so directly connected to the Yugoslavian Civil War have undergone changes, their meaning is veiled by the more recent events, and acquire meaning despite the fact that they are not in focus. Stories change, and who knows what events will take place in the upcoming years, decades, and centuries.

Sarajevo Tourism and Balkanism: Opportunities for Further Research

In this research was investigated in what way the discourse of Balkanism is repeated or neglected in tourism in connection to the Yugoslavian Civil War. Except for a broadening of the case study's corpus, the research can be expanded to the city of Sarajevo as a whole. By expanding the theoretical framework with ideas on how a city is organized, experienced and represented such as Steven Pile's *The body and the city: psychoanalysis, space and subjectivity* (1996) and Kevin Lynch's *The image of the city* (1960). This particular research was too limited in both time and space to consider the representation of Balkanism in Sarajevo as a whole as well, but it would form an interesting addition and way of comparison to this particular research. Finally, a repetition of the research could be conducted in five years to see whether the discourse has changed, the host gaze internalized the expectations of tourists differently and the tour narratives changed their tone.

Works Cited

3 Op Reis (2015) '3 op reis', in: *BNN*. 3opreis.bnn.nl (17-05-2015).

Bhattacharyya, Deborah, P. (1997) 'Mediating India: An Analysis of a Guidebook', in: *Annals of Tourism Research*. 24 (2), pp. 371-389.

BNN (2015) 'Over BNN', in: *BNN*. over.bnn.nl (17-05-2015).

Bordwell, David & Thompson, Kristin (1979 [2010]) *Film Art*. New York: Mcgraw-Hill Education.

Bosnia and Herzegovina National Museum (2007-2008) *Historijski Muzej Bosne I Hercegovine*. <http://www.muzej.ba/index.php?lang=en&sel=2> (21-06-2015).

Bruner, Edward M. (2004) *Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Burns, John F. (1992) 'Racing Through Sniper's Alley on Ride Through Sarajevo', in: *New York Times*. <http://www.nytimes.com/1992/09/26/world/racing-through-snipers-alley-on-ride-to-sarajevo.html> (11-05-2015).

Canziani, Bonnie & Francioni, Jennifer (2013) 'Gaze and Self: Host Internalization of the Tourist Gaze', in: Mouffakir, Omar & Reisinger, Yvette (eds.) *The Host Gaze in Global Tourism*. Oxfordshire/Boston: CABI International: 19-32.

Cotter, Colleen (2001) 'Discourse and Media', in: *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. New Jersey: Blackwell Publishers: 416-436.

Crossley, Émilie (2012) 'Affect and Moral Transformations in Young Volunteer Tourists', in: Picard, David & Robinson, Mike *Emotion in Motion: Tourism, Affect and Transformation*. London: Ashgate : 85-98.

Destination Sarajevo (2015) *Destination Sarajevo*. Sarajevo.travel (01-04-2015).

Dijk, Teun, van (2001) 'Critical Discourse Analysis', *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. New Jersey: Blackwell Publishers: 352-371.

Eigenraam, Anouk (2014) 'Moeders van Srebrenica procederen al jaren – een overzicht van rechtzaken', in: *NRC*. <http://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2014/07/16/de-moeders-van-srebrenica-procederen-al-jaren-een-overzicht-van-de-rechtszaken/> (10-03-2015).

Sindelar, Daisy & Anrnautovic, Marija (2012) 'War Lives On In Sarajevo, 20 Years Later', in: *Europe Radio Liberty* http://www.rferl.org/content/sarajevo_bosnia-herzegovina_siege_war_20th_anniversary/24538689.html (13-05-2015).

Foley, Malcolm & Lennon, John (2010) *Dark Tourism*. Hampshire: Cengage Learning EMEA.

Gallery 11/07/95 (2013) *Gallery 11/07/95*. <http://galerija110795.ba/en/> (09-05-2015).

Hammond, Andrew (2005) "'The danger zone of Europe": Balkanism between the Cold War and 9/11', in: *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 8: 135-154.

Hammond, Andrew (2008) 'Typologies of the East: On Distinguishing Balkanism and Orientalism', in: *Nineteenth-Century Contexts: An Interdisciplinary Journal*. London: Routledge.

Hengel, van, Guido (2006) 'Josip Broz Tito (1892-1980)', in: *Historisch Nieuwsblad*. <http://www.historischnieuwsblad.nl/nl/artikel/6795/josip-broz-tito-1892-1980.html> (02-06-2015).

Hollinshed, Keith & Kuon, Vansy (2013) 'The Scopic Drive of Tourism: Foucault and Eye Dialectic', in: Mouffakir, Omar & Reisinger, Yvette (eds.) *The Host Gaze in Global Tourism*. Oxfordshire/Boston: CABI International: 1-18.

King, Curtis (2002) 'The Siege of Sarajevo, 1992-1995', in: *Global Security*. <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/2002/MOUTKing.htm> (15-05-2015).

Lonely Planet (2015) *Lonely Planet*. www.lonelyplanet.com (01-04-2015).

MacCannell, Dean (1999 [1976]) *The Tourist*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press.

Metro-Roland, Michelle (2011) *Tourists, Signs and the City*. Surrey/Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Mouffakir, Omar & Reisinger, Yvette (eds.) (2013) *The Host Gaze in Global Tourism*. Oxfordshire/Boston: CABI International.

NIOD (2002) 'Srebrenica rapport: pers-samenvatting rapport', in: *NIOD*.
<http://www.niod.knaw.nl/nl/srebrenica-rapport/perssamenvatting-rapport> (21-06-2015).

Nora, Pierre (1989) 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire', in: *Representations*. No. 26.

NPO (2011) 'De dood van Joegoslavië – in 5 delen', in: *NPO Geschiedenis*.
<http://www.npogeschiedenis.nl/nieuws/2011/mei/De-dood-van-Joegoslavi-in-vijf-delen> (10-06-2015).

Palin, Michael (2002) *Palin's Travels*. palinstravels.co.uk (27-05-2015).

Picard, David & Robinson, Mike (eds.) (2012) *Emotion in Motion: Tourism, Affect and Transformation*. London: Ashgate: 1-47.

Postma, Renée (1999) 'Sarajevo poetst zich op voor top', in: *Kosovo Conflict*.
<http://retro.nrc.nl/W2/Lab/Kosovo/280799-A.html> (11-06-2015).

Schiffrin, Deborah, Tannen, Deborah & Hamilton, Heidi E. (2001) 'Introduction', in: *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. New Jersey: Blackwell Publishers: 1-10.

Schuessler, Ryan (2015) 'From Mostar to Sarajevo, Bosnian war sites turn into tourist attractions', in: *America Aljazeera*. <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/4/18/turning-bosnian-war-sites-into-tourist-attractions.html> (11-06-2015).

Seaton, Tony (2009) 'Thanatourism and Its Discontents: An Appraisal of a Decade's Work with Some Future Issues and Directions', in: *The Sage Handbook of Tourism Studies* (eds. Tazim Jamal & Mike Robinson). London/Los Angeles/New Delhi/Singapore/Washington DC: Sage: 522-523.

Sindelar, Daisy & Arnautovic, Marija (2012) 'War Lives On In Sarajevo, 20 Years Later', in: *Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty*. http://www.rferl.org/content/sarajevo_bosnia-herzegovina_siege_war_20th_anniversary/24538689.html (13-05-2015).

Strauss, Susan & Feiz, Parastou (2014) *Discourse Analysis: Putting our Worlds into Words*. New York/London: Routledge.

Todorova, Maria (2009) *Imagining the Balkans*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Tripadvisor (2015) *TripAdvisor*. www.tripadvisor.com (01-04-2015).

Urry, John (2002[1990]) *The Tourist Gaze*. London/California/New Delhi: Sage Publications Ltd.

Waarbenjij.nu (2003) *Waarbenjij.nu*. waarbenjij.nu (29-05-2015).

Zećo, Munevera (1996) 'The National University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the current war', in: *Library Quarterly*. University of Chicago: 294-301.