



ARTICLES

PHOENIX TOURISM Post-Conflict Tourism Role

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Abstract: This paper explores the processes affecting tourism development following a major political conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H). The adopted critical theory analytical approach resulted in the identification of phoenix tourism, conceptualised as a distinctive period in post-conflict tourism development. Instead of locating tourism in the context of economic enhancement, tourism is located in the context of social renewal of the destination and its people. Although post-conflict tourism is usually conceptualised under dark tourism scholarship, phoenix tourism is not proposed as a type of tourism, but as a role given to tourism in a process through which conflict issues develop into a new heritage. **Keywords:** phoenix tourism, dark tourism, emancipatory knowledge, post-conflict context. © 2010 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

INTRODUCTION

Through the identification of significant issues affecting post-conflict tourism in the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H), this paper explores the transformation of the “memorabilia of warfare” (Smith, 1998, p. 205) into a sentimental tourism action. Empirical research was undertaken in B&H’s capital city of Sarajevo, the city of Mostar and the town of Srebrenica, sites where some of the worst atrocities in Europe since WWII happened in the period from 1992 until 1995 (The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), 2001). The research aims to examine the pre-*‘heritagization’* (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996) process of warfare memorabilia sites in B&H, through utilising critical theory scholarship and social

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(relational) constructionism (Hosking, 2007; Hosking & McNamee, 2007). The methodological approach surfaces issues of personal and social catharsis that are at the heart of phoenix tourism.

Curiosity over memorabilia of warfare sites is one of the outcomes of post-conflict tourism development, and has generated considerable attention from tourism scholars. Most of the memorabilia of warfare scholarship has been grounded in dark tourism which is briefly criticised here in order to provide an overview of current thinking. The issue of tour guiding in contested memorabilia of warfare sites is also briefly reviewed as it is identified as one of the most important insights in shaping tourists' experiences. Subsequently, Bloch's (1982) double burial concept is outlined as an alternative approach to dark tourism followed by a description of the research settings. Given the centrality of critical theory to the study, this little employed approach in tourism is elaborated in detail and followed by examples of findings which have informed the phoenix tourism role described. The conclusions reflect upon the double burial process and the role of tourism in normalising social relationships.

PHOENIX TOURISM AND DOUBLE BURIAL

Although it is possible to find war memorabilia sites variously labelled, for example "atrocities heritage" (Ashworth, 2004), and thano-tourism (Dunkley, Westwood, & Morgan, 2007; Seaton, 1996), they remain elaborated and understood primarily under the dark tourism label and concept (Foley & Lennon, 1996, p. 198), defined as presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real and commodified death and disaster sites. Lennon and Foley's (2000) book 'Dark Tourism' remains the most influential study of the phenomenon (Stone & Sharpley, 2008). Whilst the conceptualisation of dark tourism has rapidly gained a prominent academic niche, it has also been criticised for being unnecessarily inclusive (Dunkley et al., 2007; Stone & Sharpley, 2008). Miles (2002) addresses the definitional issue through inclusion of chronological and spatial components in order to classify dark tourism sites. He contrasts the Auschwitz Site and the Washington DC Holocaust Memorial arguing that Auschwitz is "darker" because it is the actual site where atrocities happened.

Stone (2006) suggests a dark tourism spectrum concept, depending on the intensity of interest and motives to visit the site, ranging from fun-factories, for example, The London Dungeon, to actual sites of atrocities. However, many challenges emerge in conceptualising war memorabilia sites in such a linear and one-dimensional manner. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) argue that in the formal recognition of large-scale atrocities sites as memorials, dissonance among the different groups, such as the descendants of the victims, the perpetrators and their descendants and bystanders, will inherently have an impact on site management and interpretation. They call it a *dissonant heritage*. Poria, Butler, and Airey (2003) argue that motives to visit and post-visit feelings depend on whether a tourist has a personal

connection with the site or feels a sense of humanity, common to any nation, or ethnicity. For example, a Jew whose ancestors died in Auschwitz may feel it as a part of their own identity while *others* may feel connection with humanity, or empathy with the victims.

Lennon and Foley (2000) argue that events which are more recent, are darker than those which have a longer history. However, collective memory also plays an important part in conceptualising conflict memorabilia sites. For example, the historic Battle of Kosovo (former Yugoslavia) in 1389, when Serbian Prince Lazar died defending against the advancing Ottoman Empire, is still passionately commemorated and politicised among some Serbs and factions of Serbian Government (Erjavec & Volcic, 2007). Therefore, it appears difficult to generalise “dark tourism”. The concept of collective memory coined by Halbwachs in 1925, is the relationship between one’s past and public manifestations or verifications of that past. According to Neal (1998), institutions which hold power shape collective memory, i.e. in the context of the process of Tunbridge and Ashworth’s (1996) heritagization, those who own the heritage influence whether it will become a collective memory or social amnesia by placing a political dimension on the heritagisation process.

Some social scientists oppose the idea of a collective memory, not entirely because of the concept itself, but because of the possible misinterpretation (Jedlicki, 2005) and misunderstandings (Bloch, 1998) that the term engenders. ‘Memory’ lasts much longer in those countries which were the victims in a conflict (Jedlicki, 2005), and in that context memory plays a significant role in revealing the multidimensional character of tourism within the post-conflict social setting. The current dark tourism conceptualisation is therefore too simplistic to capture what is an intrinsically multi-layered phenomenon. Alneng (2002) critiques the presentation of memorabilia of warfare sites arguing that they are typically kept separate from other social practices. He argues that just as people watch a Hollywood war movie and the good invariably win against the evil, the experience of the memorabilia of warfare sites is delivered to tourists; its presentation is kept unreal and distant from other social relations. According to Franklin (2007), such a practice contributes to an inadequate and one-dimensional western tourism-centric representation

Tourism is embedded in many disciplines, for instance anthropology, geography, sociology, economics, politics, biology, etc. (Tribe, 2004). However, it is not clear whether dark tourism is grounded in any disciplinary theoretical concept and empirical work. Keil (2005) argues that dark tourism lacks a theoretical relationship with wider studies of violence. The epistemology of dark tourism has never been acknowledged nor has the epistemological relationship between the inquirer and the knowledge created (Guba, 1990) been reflected upon; nevertheless, these considerations must be important when dealing with the sensitive issues raised by the concept. Tourism knowledge has developed largely through positivistic inquiry (Ateljevic, Morgan, & Pritchard, 2007) and a key indicator of viable research has been the degree of generalisation. Although an important part of positivistic

social science scholarship, forced generalisations may result in omitting important perspectives which are not generalisable but are nevertheless significant (Dunkley, Westwood, and Morgan, 2007). In dark tourism scholarship, grouping a fun-factory such as the London Dungeon, and the concentration camp Auschwitz under the same spectrum (Stone, 2006) omits important characteristics of both and results in dark tourism being removed from the social and cultural context in which it takes place thus making dark tourism an inadequate basis for this research.

Tour Guiding and Interpretation

Alderson and Low (1996) suggest that tour guides' interpretation plays an important role in tourists' understanding of history, events, and people associated with a site. Cheong & Miller (2000) argue that tourism systems are nourished by the individual gaze and by power at the institutional level; Foucauldian instances of power relationships are demonstrated through a seemingly non-political system of tourism. Poria, Reichel, and Biran (2006) suggest that in academic research, tour guides are usually looked upon either as information providers, or as site interpreters. Similarly, Cohen (1985) notes two distinct types of tour guide, the pathfinder and mentor. A pathfinder provides a privileged access to places, while the mentoring tour guide facilitates tourists to find meaning. Cohen, Iferganb, and Cohen (2002) employ a third tour-guiding concept, a '*madrich*' derived from a Hebrew word referring to an informal leader, often of youth who may act as an informal educator. A *madrich* guide is usually a student doing a summer job, brought on the Jewish diaspora tours as a source of insight and interaction. Instead of informing, a *madrich* facilitates discussions, thus enabling more interactive experiences (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006).

Matthews and Richter (1991, p. 122) argue that tourism is deemed by many to be intrinsically '*frivolous and not appropriate for mature scholars*' thus making tourism seemingly innocuous. However, there is evidence of tour guiding discourses being used for political purposes. From 1938 onwards, General Franco in Spain used tour guiding to promote his political ideas when the country was still in turmoil (Holguin, 2005). Reisinger and Steiner (2006) argue that the *tourist experience* is thus constructed outside of *tourism* experience, through the intermediation of tour guides. In post-conflict settings it becomes very challenging to achieve a balance between ownership, power and interpretation. Alongside the dominant discourse that guided tours are actually effective discourse instruments used by government (Dahles, 2002), Ap and Wong (2001) argue some tour guides may have their own agenda based on their own political priorities. Poria, Reichel, and Biran (2006) make a link between dissonant heritage (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996), and the individual's tourism experience through the tour guide's interpretation, highlighting the importance of the relationship between the site and the tourist. Interpretation therefore plays an important part in constructing the tourism experience. A lack

of clarity regarding a war's outcomes (Smith, 1998) may result in uneasiness and difficulties in interpreting the events which have happened. The sites become contested. Early work pioneered by Matthews and Richter (see Matthews, 1974; Richter, 1983; Matthews & Richter's, 1991) raised awareness of the embeddedness of political theories in tourism development, arguing that a considerable volume of tourism research could easily be analysed by almost any field of political science.

Richter (1983) specifically argues that without political theory, some important dimensions in understanding tourism phenomena may become neglected. In this regard, Arendt's (1964) book *Eichmann in Jerusalem: a report on the Banality of Evil* makes an interesting contribution to understanding 'dark tourism' phenomenon. Arendt explores the trial of Adolf Eichmann, who was commonly referred to as "the architect of the Holocaust". Arendt concluded that Eichmann was mostly driven by possible career prospects and showed neither an anti-Semitic personality nor revealed a psychologically damaged character:

The trouble with Eichmann was precisely that so many were like him, and that many were neither perverted nor sadistic, that they were, and still are terribly and terrifyingly normal. From the viewpoint of our legal system and our moral judgement, this normality was much more terrifying than the atrocities put together (Arendt, 1964, p. 276).

Arendt called him the embodiment of the "Banality of Evil", as he appeared at his trial as a very ordinary personality, displaying neither guilt nor hatred.

LaCapra (2001) argues that tourist interest in "dark" sites represents a transformation of an uneasy social experience into a narrative which suits tourism. Certain sites in Vietnam, for instance, the Cu Chi tunnel, became banalised (Alneng, 2002: 474) for the sake of tourism and thus meaning and respect for that site is lost. Eichmann wanted to improve his career through creating the extermination process giving rise to what became known as the holocaust. It may be argued that the touristification of war sites and the interpretation of events may actually be trivialised in order to serve the purpose of tourism, money gain, or specifically interpreted in order to promote the values which the major political party cherishes. This practice breeds the potential to endanger the heritagisation process, through falsification and replacement of 'real' events with a more frivolous narrative suiting tourism development. Through the touristification of sites which carry the burden of atrocities, the evil which happened there may be trivialised if it is put in dark tourism drawers and analysed in the manner of a Hollywood movie. Perhaps there is a certain *Eichmannism* inherent in building tourism after a conflict and inherent in the dark tourism conceptualisation.

A Double Burial

This section introduces an alternative approach to the concept of "dark tourism". Bloch's (1982) double burial concept focuses on the

symbols of rebirth in funeral rituals, emergent from research into the meanings of death within indigenous Merina tribe communities in Madagascar which practice a double burial ritual. In each community, the first burial takes place immediately after a person dies. It is a moment of sorrow. The corpse is buried as an individual, in the normal manner. The remains are buried until the body becomes dry. The next stage is exhumation of the bodies and moving to ancestral land. This ritual is joyful. The dead are initially individuals with a name and family name. However, the ritual of being reburied on ancestral land makes them an eternal ancestor. The name does not exist anymore. The first burial process is sad, but the second ritual is joyful. Time has passed. People celebrate that their beloved ones are now their ancestors, or when translated into tourism terms, that they have become part of their heritage.

There are three stages to this ritual: the first stage is sorrow, the second is resurrection, through the journey from the graveyard to the sacralised and eternal place, and the third is heritage. According to MacCannell (1976) the first stage in site sacralisation is when a site is marked off from similar sites as worthy of preservation. The time and space matrix plays an important role in the process of site sacralisation. For example, with the Merina community, the timing of the sacralisation is when the corpse is dry. However, this process is multidimensional and depends on the socio-cultural and geopolitical settings of the potential tourist site. Thus, the next section introduces the socio-cultural and geopolitical settings of the study, describes the research methods employed and considers the critical theory approach adopted to address the challenges of the study.

Research Settings

The 1974 Yugoslav Constitution represents a critical factor in understanding the political conflict in former Yugoslavia as it gave a legal right to any of the Yugoslav “peoples” to hold a referendum for independence (Yugoslav Constitution, 1974). Following Slovenia and Croatia, B&H proclaimed its independence on March 1st 1992 and became recognised by the United Nations (UN). The Yugoslav People’s Army (YNA), falling under the influence of the late Slobodan Milosevic (Sell, 2003), empowered by various Serbian paramilitary groups and local Serbs (ICTY, 1998; Bec-Neuman, 2007), attacked B&H. Political conflicts began in April 1992 and ceased in December 1995 with the Dayton Peace Agreement. Demographical changes have been “dramatic” (Bringa 2005, p. 187).

Before the conflict, Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs lived together; there were no “ethnically clean” territories; in urban areas, the vast majority of marriages were mixed (Malcolm, 1994). Multiculturalism had been a facet of Bosnian identity for centuries (Balagija, 1940). Bringa’s (1995) anthropological study of Bosnian villages argues that dealing with cultural differences was a part of everyday experience.

Until “ethnic cleansing” started, Bosnia consisted of ethnically mixed local communities where mutual acknowledgement and acceptance of differences constituted the dynamics of social life. Dealing with cultural differences was part of people’s most immediate experience of social life outside the confines of their home, and... an essential part of their identity (Bringa, 1993, p. 75).

Today’s B&H Constitution is complex. There are three levels of authority, as well as an international body, the Office of the High Representative (OHR), whose role is to ensure the implementation of the Dayton Agreement. B&H’s central government is weak, having three presidents (Serbian, Croat and Bosniak), with hardly any decision-making power. The most powerful authorities are the Republic Srpska (49% of the territory of B&H) and the Federation of B&H (51%); in political jargon these territories are called *the entities* (Figure 1). Both entities have their own president, parliament, government and jurisdiction. The laws within each of the entities helped post-conflict consolidation, but were not designed to assist in normalisation of social relations (Dahlman & Tuathail, 2005). The Federation of B&H (one of the entities) is further divided into ten cantons, depending on whether an area is inhabited by Bosniaks or by Croats. The cantons have their own parliament, government and legal functions. Located on the border between Croatia, Serbia and B&H, is Brcko District. Assessed as strategically important to all three sides, it was excluded from the Dayton Agreement. It functions as a multi-ethnic District under the provision of OHR, where people of all three nationalities still share power (United Nations, 1998).

The socio-political divisions appear to be an institutionalised phenomenon created as a consequence of the ethnic cleansing (Bringa, 2005; ICTY, 2002). Bosnian Bosniaks and Croats live now in the Federation, Bosnian Serbs live in the Republic Srpska. Multiculturalism, which Bringa (1993) describes as a part of B&H identity, has been

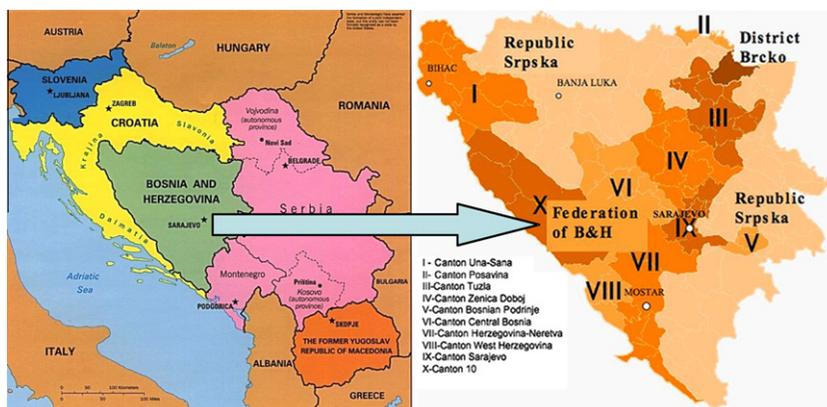


Figure 1. Bosnia and Herzegovina in Former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1943–1991) and After Dayton Agreement (1995)

denied. The nationalist authorities have even used the education system in B&H as a tool which would help them to achieve their own goals and objectives (Brkic, 2008). Relationships between different ethnicities in B&H remain vulnerable, leading to a vicious circle of divisions and political disputes. In this study the fieldwork took place in Sarajevo, Srebrenica and Mostar, three B&H locations associated with a significant conflict event. Sarajevo is the capital of B&H. Its civilians were besieged for more than 1,000 days, from April 1992 until December 1995. The besieging army targeted civilians and revered heritage sites, for instance, the National University Library. The military strategy was to destroy the morale of those besieged (Riedlmayer, 2002).

According to ICTY verdicts (1996- to date), on July 11th 1995, genocide happened in Srebrenica despite the UN having declared it as a safe area, and 400-armed Dutch peacekeepers were present. The instances include children, women, and elderly civilians killed in massacre (Manning, 2000). The list of people missing or killed in Srebrenica by the Army of Republika Srpska (VRS), (former Yugoslav People's Army (YNA)) and a paramilitary Serbian unit called the "Scorpions" compiled by the Federal Commission of Missing Persons so far includes 8,373 names. General Ratko Mladić (still fugitive) commanded the massacre, (ICTY, 2001).

Mostar is a city named after the people who guarded the bridge (*mostari* in Bosnian). The bridge in Mostar, a World Heritage site, stood for more than 500 years but was destroyed in 1993 by the Croatian Defence Council (ICTY, 2004). According to Glenn (1999) the act of destroying the bridge symbolised the misery and senselessness of the entire conflict. Today's Mostar is still a segregated city reminiscent of other divided cities like Belfast (Causevic & Lynch, 2008). Mostar has become a segregated city; despite having the highest percentage of mixed religion marriages in former Yugoslavia before the conflict, the majority of couples in such marriages have left the city. Whilst the Croatian and Bosniak communities live in the same city, they do not share the same civic social space. The city has two city centres, and two universities, one Bosniak and one Croatian.

Research Methods

In order to explore the views of the key B&H decision makers and the local tour guides, the research methods employed were semi-structured and unstructured interviews and overt participant observation. Thirty-seven tourism decision makers and sixteen tour guides were interviewed. Interviews lasted an average of 2–3 h. Overt participant observation was added as an auxiliary method, observing themed, war themed and general city tours. In total, there were nineteen tours observed, nine publicised as themed, and ten as general city tours in Sarajevo and Mostar. The majority of the field-work took place during the summers of 2006 and 2008. The decision makers from both public and private tourism sectors in B&H were chosen by virtue of their bureaucratic post. The tour guides were interviewed after the first author observed the tour.

According to Maynard and Schaeffer (2002), without the interviewer and interview participants' ability to share common and overlapping social worlds, an interview would not be possible. An interview draws on issues common to the interviewer and interviewee, i.e. the interviewer is not a neutral observer, but a part of the research whose role needs to be reflected upon during the data analysis (Fontana & Frey, 2005). The interviewees had their own perceptions of the researcher (Hertz, 1997) and they framed their answers accordingly. For instance, there was a significant difference between the decision makers and the tour guides at the beginning of the interviews. The decision makers initially performed their bureaucratic role. Later on, with the exception of one interviewee who was a part of the entity Ministry and who kept to her functionary ambassadorial performance, the decision makers revealed their Bosnian-self, drawing on the common social world shared with the interviewer.

The interview process thus evolved into being more like a conversation, where the first author was included as a part of the research process. Thus the first author and the respondent connected through their common or overlapping social worlds; in this case, a world of both fieldworker's and interviewees' personal encounters with the political violence and their common interest in tourism. During the interview, the first author became researcher-as-Bosnian, someone who personally experienced the conflict and ethnic cleansing, sharing the common ground of the social setting. The first author thus became an insider. Subsequently, the position of a researcher as insider needed to be reflected upon. By reflecting on this common ground, interviews became more meaningful, honest, rich, long and empathetic. A few respondents reflected on how the interview was different to what they had expected, because '*they did not feel ashamed*' about their challenges and they could honestly reflect on them.

Denzin and Lincoln (2002) argue that qualitative research has evolved and asks for more self-reflexivity and inscription of the researcher into the research process. They argue that these are signs that qualitative research has reached its "seventh moment". The researcher, whose role is inscribed in the research process is becoming a prominent characteristic of tourism as a social science research, for instance Lynch (2005), Ateljevic and Hall (2007), Ren, Pritchard, and Morgan (2010). Scarles (2010) argues that the connection between the researcher and the respondent is achieved through intersubjective negotiation.

Here, the first author was embodied as a part of the settings under scrutiny and one more voice within the research process, thus enabling the inclusion of the field-researcher's own Bosnian background and experience of the war which became central in the process of the emancipatory knowledge creation. According to Lincoln (1995), reflexivity enhances trustworthiness of the research process, thus a fieldworker's personal reflections and introspections are recognised as an important part of critical constructionism (Hosking & McNamee, 2007). Mauthner and Doucet (2003) argue that research which relies on the interpretation of the subject accounts, needs to include a

degree of reflexivity. According to Mauthner and Doucet (2003) and Hosking and McNamee (2007), epistemological accountability is more important than theoretical concepts, i.e. it is important to understand the nature of knowledge, its scope and construction. Although many oppose personal reflection (for instance Lynch, 2000), and rightly question so called “transparent reflexivity” (Rose, 1997, Maton 2000) for being overly indulgent and narcissistic, Pels (2000) argues the importance of reflexivity in order to tie the story back to the narrator and display the performative projective relationship between the spokesperson and that which is spoken for. Reflexivity thus analyses the relationship between the subject of the research and the researcher. During that process it questions epistemological and methodological research underpinnings and political implications of the research (Ateljevic, Harris, Wilson, & Collins, 2005). Therefore, the field-researcher’s Bosnian background and identity was acknowledged as a key research tool, shaping the research and giving rise to the findings described below. Self-reflexivity was aided through maintenance of a research diary and aided by discussions with a co-researcher. The personal and epistemological reflections, ontological and epistemological assumptions which have been built into the data analysis, have been examined and inscribed into the process of building new theories.

The study adopted a critical theory approach, and employed thematic analysis of the interview transcripts and recorded observations. Although critical theory is usually associated ontologically with critical realism, ontology itself appears to be an anathema of critical theory (Kisiel, 1978). Critical theory is thus defined by its epistemology, i.e. knowledge creation seeking political emancipation of historically silent voices leading to the creation of new social theories and consequently expanding on existing knowledge through the production of emancipatory knowledge (Habermas, 1978). According to Tribe (2004), emancipatory knowledge is to a great extent lacking in tourism research. In order to bring new knowledge and to highlight previously marginalised B&H issues and settings, this research approach is in line with bell hooks (1994, p. 4) ‘to unite knowledge learned in classrooms with life outside’ and, through that process, challenges normative theoretical assumptions. There is no single critical theory; it is constantly evolving. However, emancipation and empowerment is common to all streams of critical theory. The methodological discourse of this paper supports the concept of various discourses of possibilities implied within “the natural construction of the social experience” (Kincheloe & McLaren 1998, p. 262).

Social critical theorists, influenced by Marxist ideas, believe that marginalised people go with the flow, playing along with their systematic marginalisation, yet deepening it further. A psychology of periphery and marginalisation has been overshadowing B&H social and cultural settings since the demise of the Bosnian Kingdom in 1463 (Malcolm, 1994). Then, B&H was peripheral to the Ottomans, Habsburgs, Fascists, Communists, and nowadays to the EU (Bec-Neuman, 2007). Following Douglas’ (1978, 1999) cultural theory

framework, Bosnian society is largely fatalistic by nature (Sahovic, 2007). B&H citizens consequently went with the flow and their behaviour in fact marginalised them even more through acceptance of the roles of ridicule and of lesser importance in the former Yugoslav federation (Malcolm, 1994). Besides societal marginalisation, tourism as a sector is relatively marginalised in B&H. In the former Yugoslav federation, tourism was associated with the seaside (Kobasic, 1981); in that context, people in B&H lacked the confidence to create other forms of tourism.

The Hegelian dialectical method which has previously influenced many scholars, for instance Karl Marx, Adorno and Horkheimer, is a cornerstone of the critical theory approach (Finlayson, 2005) The dialectical method is relational and dynamic, with a seed of contradiction embedded within itself: a process of dynamic friction between a thesis and an antithesis, two separate historical entities. A harmonious society where its citizens obey the rules is defined as the thesis (Singer, 1983). In B&H the thesis is represented as a fake social balance which is achieved through imposed societal ghettoisation along national lines (Causevic & Lynch, 2009). The questioning of the thesis results in antithesis, a stage known as the freedom of oppression. However, antithesis is not a stable entity and finally the friction between thesis and antithesis results in a synthesis which is more stable, but again has a seed of conflict in itself and in the right momentum will again be questioned with the help of a strong agency which recognises the momentum. The interaction between war and peace, “social balance” and multiculturalism, communism and capitalism, was reflected on during the field-data collection and influenced the analysis of the findings. Illustrative findings are now presented with regard to the importance of tour guiding in contributing to social and personal catharsis and form part of the study giving rise to the phoenix tourism concept.

Tour Guiding, Social and Personal Catharsis

As seen in the literature review, tourism academics usually present dark tourism as separate from other social practices. However, in Sarajevo, the generic and war themed tours have merged. War themed tours explain history through a war. General city tours explain war through a historical perspective. The focus of each tour is different, but both types explore the socio-cultural context through different perspectives, thus making it difficult to distinguish dark tourism. One of the tour guides in Sarajevo, reported:

Tour guide 1, Sarajevo: In order to understand why the war happened, I have to explain the emergence of Milosevic, then the change in the Yugoslav Constitution in 1974, then I have to explain Tito, then WWII, then WWI as without WWI there would not be WWII. Then I have to explain why there are so many Muslims here, then I have to explain about the Ottoman Empire and Bogumils. . . But it all starts with the war, with what had happened here.

Politics in B&H is seen in almost every discourse of day-to-day life. In each administrative zone, the jobs are allocated pro rata the indigenous ethnic mix leading to a situation where in applying for a job, individual competences may be less important than one's nationality. One might assume that tour guiding mirrors ethnic discourses. However, official politics' role in shaping tourism in B&H is less important than expected. As the ordinary citizen, in this instance a tour guide, is exposed to the politicisation of his/her everyday life, the tour guide typically avoids nationalism and politics during the tour. Instead, the tour guide usually conveys the meaningful experience of the ordinary citizen and argues passionately about it.

Tour guide 1, I realise that when I am taking people to the war tours...the most important thing is to understand what the ordinary people were going through.

The Sarajevo Tunnel has become the most visited site. The story of the conflict is explained through the ordinary people of Sarajevo, people in every sense similar to the tourists themselves, those who needed to pass through the Tunnel in order to bring the supplies and the medication into the besieged city. One of the tour guides explained:

Tour guide 2, Sarajevo: The Tunnel is currently the most visited site in Sarajevo because it is a story of the people from Sarajevo. This is in a way an illustration of what we as humans are able to do in order to survive. It sends a message to the world which glorifies human life.

Depending on the tourists, the script may vary, the tour guide uses different approaches and wording, but the message conveyed is against the war. For instance:

Tour guide 2, Sarajevo: Sometimes we would not like to talk about it. I think that we should talk about that war, but not as it were exclusively our problem, but as a global problem. Nobody should go to war. ...People die and tragedies are everywhere. Look at the statistics; the majority of people in Sarajevo and Bosnia lived better before the war than they live now. These are the facts which are the theme of this tour... The main message of my tour is that war is stupid and does not bring anything good to anybody.

Despite tourism in B&H developing under very challenging socio-political conditions, tour guides in Sarajevo and Mostar are even more motivated to recreate a discourse which is able to send a message of hope, as reported:

B&H Tourism Association pre-conflict president, Mostar: Tour guides in Mostar should not just concentrate on the destruction of the bridge. The tour guides ...should tell the authentic story about how the bridge was built, about the span on the bridge, why it is so attractive...

Bringa (2005) argued that being multicultural is a part of Bosnian identity which has been erased and denied in the post-Dayton B&H. The tour guide delivers that multiculturalism through the tours.

During the process, they undergo moments of personal catharsis, and bring solace to themselves. Personal catharsis is usually not completely intentional, but a by-product of the interaction between tour guide, site and tourist. Tourists join the guided tour through Sarajevo or Mostar, and many unintentionally experience cathartic moments, reflecting on themselves and their everyday life after the tour. It appears that personal catharsis is an important part of tourism formation as it gives a sense of uniqueness to the experience. The tourists talk about their experiences after the tour:

British middle class tourist, Sarajevo: I was born in one continent and I settled in another. We speak English, yet at home we speak Russian, we are from different nationalities, for instance Cecilia...Father Orthodox and Mother Muslim. When you realise that, you can see that we are all the same and let's celebrate that diversity and that is what we found here.

However, social catharsis in B&H has not happened yet which makes the interpretation difficult. Some Bosnians from all three nationalities have attained their personal catharsis, and some informants suggested only these individuals should be tour guides. For instance:

Academic-consultant, Mostar: Some people think that talk about last conflict should be avoided because in B&H, the question of moral and social catharsis has not been completely addressed yet... Those who did not go through the moral and social catharsis should not be tour guides in Bosnia now.

Tour guides seek to present a message of peace. Although empathy is regarded as the most powerful emotional force in engendering a transformation of human consciousness (Rifkin, 2005, p. 272), tour guides do not seek empathy through their tours. They seek to escape everyday politicking and division and strive to achieve social catharsis, a process which has been stalled due to the complex regulatory and political systems. The outcome of the tour is indeed empathy, catharsis and emotional enhancement. The presentation of the sites of conflict in B&H has an almost esoteric character, which renders political opinion less important. That empathy, self-reflection, and personal catharsis, shapes the experience of the visit. The people and the places are being resurrected through the personal and social cathartic experiences which are being channelled through the tour. In order to capture the cathartic moment and the transition of experience, the term phoenix tourism was developed. It is not only the war memorabilia sites, such as the Sarajevo Tunnel that radiate cathartic experience, it applies to B&H as a whole, and tourism plays a part in the process of recognising the moment of transition. Through time, reflection and catharsis, the conflict is in the process of becoming a part of Sarajevo's history. However, in some parts of B&H, this still has to happen. Whilst rising from the ashes dominates the day-to-day experience, the tragedy of the conflict is still alive.

Srebrenica

Many studies deal with tourism at sites of historic battles. For instance Weaver (2000) studies the influence of the historical battles on Butler's tourism area life cycle. Applying MacCannell's (1976) site sacralisation concept Seaton (1999) deals with the battle of Waterloo. Alneng (2002) focuses on the Vietnam War. A conflict like the one in Vietnam, or B&H, and historic battles are very different, as one of the respondents said;

B&H Tourism Association pre-conflict president (retired): In Moscow, there is a museum devoted to the battle of Borodin. It was a battle of two big armies. The civilians could watch it almost like a football match. Civilians would get killed, only by throwing themselves in front of the cannon. The type of conflict here, it should not even be called a war, since 80% of the victims were civilians. I do not like wars like the Borodin battle, but I can understand it in a sense of a battle between two armies. But this here, it was complete dehumanisation.

Srebrenica is unvisited most of the year and then, on July 11th, on the anniversary of the genocide, a remembrance service and a funeral for all the victims found in the mass graves since the last anniversary takes place. As one informant said:

Historian and tour guide: The place is quiet. Serbs who live there are quiet. Bosniaks are also quiet. This is a place where you can come and contemplate, write a poem.

The place is one that inspires reflection and meditation.

In Sarajevo, emphasis is placed on the ordinary people and their struggles. However, the setting of Srebrenica cannot be written in the past tense. Srebrenica's Genocide and struggle is still not a history (Van den Berg, 2008). Some of the repatriated citizens have returned, but the bones of their beloved fathers, brothers, sons and husbands are still not identified. The people accused of committing war crimes have not faced justice yet. Families are still waiting for their loved ones to be identified, clinging on to the hope that they might hear the phone ring which will tell them that their remains are found. Tour guides from outside Srebrenica may escort the tours, but they are not comfortable speaking about the genocide. Those from Srebrenica usually utilise audio-video equipment in order not to talk about it. A decision about the most appropriate way of developing tourism in Srebrenica has yet to be made. Whatever is decided, the benefits from tourism should remain with the returnees and within the local communities in Srebrenica (van den Berg, 2008). On January 15, 2009 the European Parliament reached a decision, that the 11th of July will be observed as the Srebrenica Genocide Remembrance Day, thus moving the cause towards the phoenix stage, and second burial.

CONCLUSION

Through the context specific account of the main issues of tourism development in post-conflict B&H, this research has highlighted that

memorabilia of warfare are core to the concept of post-conflict tourism development, but only if they are removed from a dark tourism discourse. This research shows that memorabilia of warfare, if categorised as a part of dark tourism brings to the forefront a number of challenges, for instance oversimplification and conceptual reductionism in order to fit extant thinking. Consequently, some important issues which cannot fit into current conceptual frameworks risk being excluded from tourism scholarship. It is argued that memorabilia of warfare should be perceived within its own geopolitical and socio-cultural context, and not separated from other social practices. Further, B&H research has shown that studying conflict memorabilia sites in the context of dark tourism, reduces their meaning to a rather narrow tourism context, where memorabilia of warfare are objectified, in the manner of a Hollywood movie (Alneng, 2002). Such a practice of abstracting both tourism researchers and tourism research from the time and space where the study occurs is inherently antithetical to and destructive of the creation of new knowledge and actually resembles the observation at the Eichmann court case, in the case of dark tourism, it is *the banalisation of evil*.

This research has perceived memorabilia of warfare through the contextualisation of its own socio-spatial and chronological dimensions, resembling Maurice Bloch's (1982) double burial concept giving a rise to the concept of phoenix tourism. Socio-spatial and chronological dimensions give meaning to the context of phoenix tourism. The chronological dimension is defined through the time between the first and the second burial, which presents the transformation of feelings through the ritual journey to the site of a second burial on the ancestral land. In the first stage the feelings are sorrow and sadness. The houses are ruined, and the bridges are burned. This is the stage the town of Srebrenica had reached at the time of the study, where the wounds had not become scars yet. The next stage is the journey where emotions are transforming, commencing when the bodies are dry and then excavated, and the bones buried again, but now as ancestors and in another location.

The second burial is not only a new physical location, but a new mental location as well. The process which characterises the transformation of the feelings is conceptualised here as a phoenix stage of tourism development. This depiction is the message the tour guide delivers through the story of multiculturalism and peace thus revealing the need for both personal and social catharsis. At this juncture of both social and personal catharsis, tourism plays an important role. Through the talk about the war, tour guides go through their personal catharsis, making B&H slowly enter into a social catharsis circle which is a precursor of the normalisation of social relations. Further, the tourists help in the process, as they experience moments of personal catharsis, making these sites attractive to tourists in a non-classical tourism sense, trying to find meaning, philosophical underpinnings and understanding life itself. Not to recognise these moments of phoenix tourism would be a failure in contemplating tourism in B&H. Through the phoenix stage, war inherited sites

become transformed into a cultural heritage through the agency of catharsis. Cathartic experience was thus shared between the interviewees, fieldworker and tourists. The agency of catharsis was revealed through personal reflexivity. At the same time the first author was the insider, Bosnian who shared experiences *of the recent conflict*. Simultaneously, the fieldworker was the outsider, *a researcher*. Both positions have been reflected upon and inscribed into the process of building emancipatory knowledge.

The research has presented a wider focus on post-conflict tourism within a context of social renewal. In the context of B&H, the current political system divides people spatially along national lines, bringing nationalism to the forefront. As in other former Yugoslav countries (Goulding & Domic, 2009), right wing nationalist rhetoric holds sway in B&H. The difference between B&H and other former Yugoslav republics is that there are three constitutive nations in B&H and each holds power, having very similar rhetoric, values and philosophy. Each nationalist grouping, Bosnian Croats, Serbs, and Bosniaks, seeks prosperity for its own followers. Those who believe that multiculturalism is a part of their own identity, feel lost, deluded and handicapped, as they do not belong to the created ghettos of Croats, Serbs and Bosniaks. They belong to an alternative discourse grouping that wants prosperity for all the citizens of B&H. However, multiculturalists have less power than the nationalists. Multiculturalists thus try to disseminate their message through more alternative sources, one of them being tourism and tour guiding.

Tourism and Normalisation of Social Relationships

The last stage in the phoenix tourism process is the second burial. Ancestors do not have an individual name anymore. They are buried again, but on ancestral land. Scars, i.e. war memorabilia sites, are there as a reminder that the atrocities should never happen again, but the wounds are healed and celebration of multicultural diversity is put to the forefront. In order to calculate the chronological moments of each stage, socio-political and cultural settings need to be consulted. These moments depend on the mechanisms of moral and social catharsis. Due to the difficult reconciliation process, and the complex political and regulatory systems, the phoenix stage can be seen to be lasting a long time in B&H. Social catharsis is happening slowly, leaving war memorabilia sites in a pre-heritage stage. Poria and Ashworth (2009) argue that the heritagisation process recreates differences thus leading to new conflict. Therefore it is important to continue recreating the discourse of tolerance and multiculturalism in B&H, while it is still in the pre-heritage process. Bringa (1993) argues that multiculturalism was a part of B&H identity for centuries. Bandyopadhyay, Morais, and Chick (2008) argue that heritage is correlated with identity creation. In the case of B&H, tourism activities may act as agents reigniting differences and hatred, or recalling a common identity and love. Bosnia and Herzegovina is in the

period between the first and the second burial. Tourism thus plays a part in the process of heritagization and needs to be included in the wider attempts at reconciliation, as normalisation of social relations is a precursor for further economic development. Previous research has seen post conflict tourism mostly through an economic lens. The concept of phoenix tourism implicitly argues for the recognition of the role tourism plays in social and emotional catharsis as a necessary precursor to “harder” forms of tourism economic models and developments. Phoenix tourism is not a label; it rather resembles the role which tourism has in the process of social renewal through the transformation between the emotions of sorrow and codification of the heritage. It has a potential to establish sophisticated tourism research applying evidence of phoenix tourism in wider post-conflict settings and situations, leading to a deeper understanding of the role of phoenix tourism in society, and through phoenix tourism research creating emancipatory knowledge. Furthermore, this research suggests acknowledgement of self-reflexivity in order to reveal the dynamics of the research process and to challenge the significance of normative assumptions of tourism theory.

Phoenix tourism deepens our understanding of tourism through the recognition of the role of tourism in normalising social relationships after a political conflict and its role as an emotional precursor to “harder” forms of tourism economic models of development. With a potential to establish a sophisticated tourism research agenda, this paper calls for further evidence of phoenix tourism in a wider range of post-conflict settings and situations, and a deeper understanding of the role of phoenix tourism in society. **A**

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