The Wall in Our Minds

Negotiating Heritage and Identity in Post-war Dubrovnik

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Abbreviations

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNWTO - United Nations World Tourism Organization

ICOMOS - International Council on Monuments and Sites

ICCROM - International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property

WHL – World Heritage List

ICH - Intangible Cultural Heritage

UPU - *Urbanistički plan uređenja* (Urban Development Plan)

GUP - *Generalni urbanistički plan Grada Dubrovnika* (General Urban Plan of Dubrovnik)

PP- *Prostorni plan Dubrovačko neretvanske županije* (Spatial Plan of Dubrovnik-Neretva County)

PPU - *Prostorni plan uređenja grada Dubrovnika* (Spatial Development Plan of the City of Dubrovnik)

ZOD - *Zavod za obnovu Dubrovnika* (The Institute for the Restoration of Dubrovnik)

DPDS – *Društvo prijatelja dubrovačke starine* – (The Association of Friends of Dubrovnik's Antiquities)

JNA - *Jugoslavenska narodna armija* (the Yugoslav National Army)

HNS - *Hrvatska narodna stranka – liberalni demokrati* (Croatian People's Party Liberal Democrats)

HDZ - *Hrvatska demokratska zajednica* (Croatian Democratic Union)

ICTY - The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia

Guide to the Croatian language

The pronunciation of Croatian words and letters are generally close to their written forms. However, certain letters may be unfamiliar to people outside the Slavic speaking language area and are in need of explanation:

c – is pronounced *ts* as in 'its'

č – is pronounced ch as in 'chatter'

ć - is pronounced similarly, but more like *ty* as in 'future'

đ - is pronounced *j/dj*, like in 'schedule'

j - is pronounced *y* as in 'yet'

š - is pronounced *sh* as in 'shape'

ž - is pronounced *s* as in 'pleasure'

Based on: Harris, R. (2006). 'A Note on Pronunciation', in *Dubrovnik – A History*, Saqi.

Abstract

The thesis provides an ethnographic case study, which explores how the production of Dubrovnik's[1] World Heritage intersects with the reconstruction and consolidation of identities and locality in the post-war[2] context. The thesis addresses the following main research question:

How is Dubrovnik's cultural heritage and its World Heritage, negotiated and produced in the post-war period, under the conditions of global market economy and mass tourism?

Informed by theoretical outlooks of critical heritage studies and practice theory, I argue that 'heritage value' does not 'reside' within the selected heritage, but can be seen as a process, which is socially constituted, produced and continually negotiated in the interfaces of shifting spatial and temporal relations. The thesis ethnographically explores how representations and perceptions of Dubrovnik's heritage are embedded in particular social and political structural conditions, cultural historic processes, cultural practices, materiality and place.

However, historical processes and events occurring in the last quarter of a century have also produced new conditions for communal interactions, practices, cultural representations and meaning making. Recent historical processes have configured the conditions for identity production and contributed towards changing the perceptions and uses of the city's World Heritage. Shortly after Croatia declared its national independence[3], the Croatian War of Independence[4] began. The shelling of Dubrovnik caused huge material damage to

[1] The City of Dubrovnik is the administrative centre of Dubrovnik-Neretva County (*Dubrovačko-neretvanska županija*), at the southernmost part of Croatia. Croatia declared its national independence on 25th of June 1991 and thereafter seceded from the former Yugoslavia on the 8th of October 1991. The full title of the nation is The Republic of Croatia (*Republika Hrvatska*).
[2] The term 'post-war' refers to the period after *The Croatian War of Independence* (1991-1995).
[3] Both Croatia and Slovenia officially declared their national independence from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on June 25th 1991, but did not gain international recognition as two independent nation-states until the following year. The European Economic Community (EEC), acknowledged Croatia and Slovenia as nation-states on the 15th of January 1992 and the USA recognized Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia-Herzegovina on the 7th of April 1992 (Mønnesland 2006).
[4] The Croatian War of Independence, domestically referred to as 'the Homeland war', took place from 1991 to 1995 and followed Croatia's declaration of independence. It was fought between the Serbian-controlled Yugoslav People's Army and Serbian separatists in Croatia, and the Republic of Croatia (Magaš and Žanić 2001). The ideological undertones of the domestic term, Domovinski rat (the Homeland war) need to be problematized. The domestic deployment of the term, 'Homeland war', coined as part of the 'Tuđmanist narrative' (Jovic 2009, Žanić 2007), has clear ideological undercurrents. The use of this term has had lasting effects on the perception of contemporary nationhood and its correlation with ethnic borders (ibid.). Despite waning support for the strongly nationalistic politics of the 1990s, the 'Homeland war' is still a nearly undisputed term used by most Croatians today. Jovic (ibid.) argues that, in the period prior and subsequent to the death of Tuđman, any critical remarks about the 'Homeland war', and especially court indictments against its main 'heroes', were

Dubrovnik's World Heritage site. Not only did the war have long-lasting consequences for heritage restoration, it also had an enduring influence on the interpretations and uses of Dubrovnik's World Heritage in identity consolidation. The fact that the war occurred concurrently with the economic transition from Titoist communism to a global, capitalist market economy, further intensified the use of heritage as an economic resource in post-war restoration and tourism development. The domestically contentious question of EU membership, which belatedly resulted in Croatia's inclusion in the EU in July 2013, has dominated national and local public identity discourse since the turn of the Millennium. Dubrovnik's World Heritage site and the city's historical incarnation as the Dubrovnik Republic has constituted an anchor in aligning Croatia and Dubrovnik within a perceived 'European community', represented in the latest context by the European Union.

The thesis examines how Dubrovnik's cultural heritage is used and negotiated in the reconstruction of post-war identity, consolidation geo-political orientation and ideological discourse by bolstering Dubrovnik's (and Croatia's) desired cultural and political belonging to Western-Europe, and subsequent detachment from the Balkan region. I explore how the perceived cultural and political heritage of the Dubrovnik Republic (1358-1808), is used in local political discourse to re-negotiate Dubrovnik's politically peripheral position within the Croatian nation-state and re-construct centrality and within the parameters of the new nation-state. I also argue that the perceived political heritage of Dubrovnik Republic (embedded in a discourse of international diplomatic skills and *libertas* (freedom), are also central to the symbolism of political stability and amenability within the context of Croatia's identity within the EU.

The thesis analyses how Dubrovnik's status as a UNESCO World Heritage site (since 1979) is interpreted within the framework of the city's broader cultural heritage. I explore how heritage is produced and negotiated, represented and used under the contemporary conditions of market liberalism and mass tourism. The thesis explores the multi-faceted consequences of recent socio-political and economic change (relating especially to intensified tourism and change-over to the global capitalist economy) on local citizens' experiences of daily lives,

presented as an attack on the very essence of Croatian independence (Jovic 2009:2). In the thesis, I will refer to the war as 'the Croatian War of Independence', or 'the war' whenever it is clearly established which war I am referring to. I shall only use the term, 'the Homeland war' when I am relaying the spoken reflections of my informants, who more or less uniformly refer to the war by this term.

inter-communal relations and the construction of locality. I analyse the driving-forces, consequences and responses to 'place branding' and commodification processes of Dubrovnik's UNESCO enlisted walled centre, and how these processes are steered and contested by different interest groups for commercial, political, ideological and cultural ends, and sometimes provoke dissonance and mobilization. I explore how cultural memory, different perceptions of the past and uses of materiality, place and cultural traditions can provoke both dissonance and unity, shape practices and mobilize cultural and political activism.

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My last thanks goes to Dubrovnik! I have thoroughly enjoyed being surrounded by the beauty of the centuries' old walled centre, the lush Mediterranean vegetation, the glittering turquoise sea and all the friendly Dubrovnikans I have met throughout my stays. As a city, you have undergone a lot of hardship and destruction throughout the years, but your residents have repeatedly shown a great sprit to rebuild and preserve your magnificent beauty. May you be left in peace and given renewed life for the future to come – I hope your residents will provide the much needed sensitivity in ensuring that Dubrovnik will be a nice and liveable place in future, which continues to provide its citizens with a source of creative inspiration, cultural life and civic identity.

Figure 1. Map of Dubrovnik-Neretva County. The County is subdivided into 5 cities (Grad) and 18 municipalities (Općina). Dubrovnik is the County's administrative capital. Source: Arc GIS, National Geographic World Map.

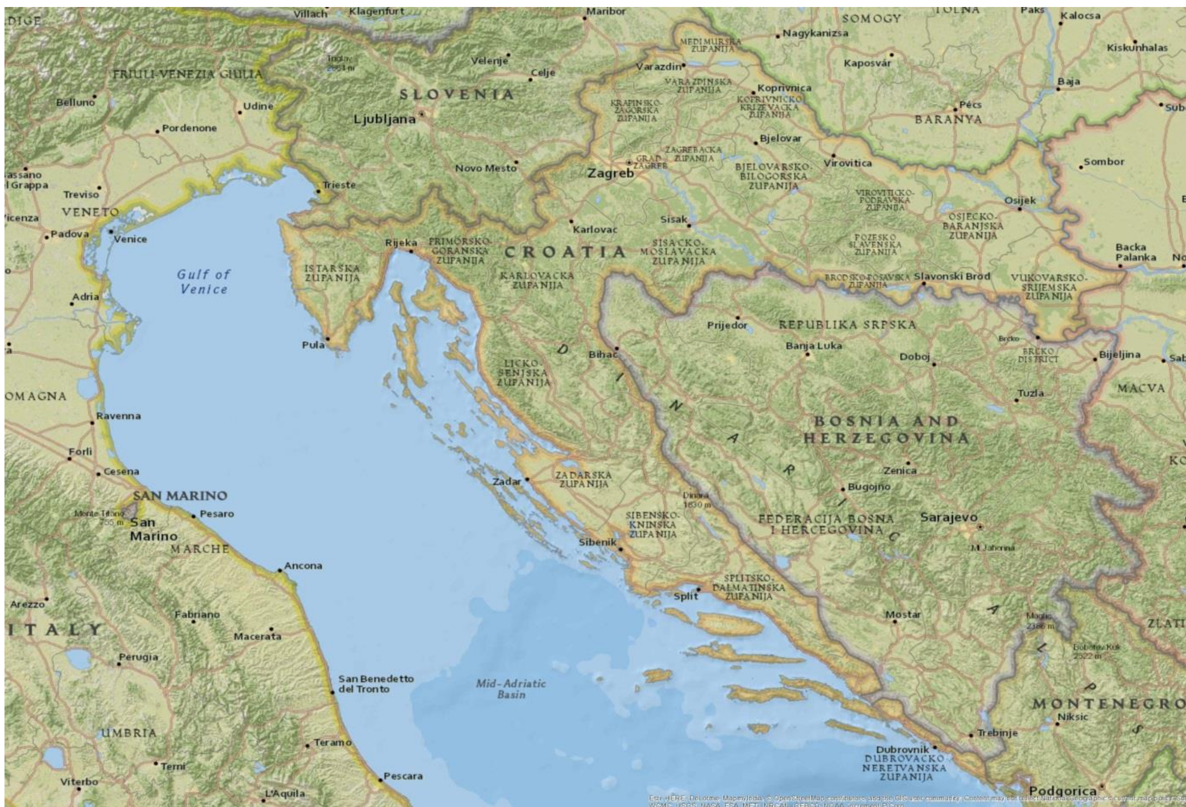

Figure 2. Map of the Republic of Croatia. Dubrovnik is located in the south of the country. Ark Map GIS.

Figure 3. Dubrovnik's UNESCO enlisted walled centre taken from the west of the city and from Mount Srđ. Fort Lovrijenać and the city section of Pile, (at the back of the photographs) and the 17th century quarantines, Lazareti (Lazaretto), and in the city section of Ploče (to the right of the photograph above and the left on the photograph below), have also been under UNESCO protection since 1994. The city section of Pile and Ploče and the northern city quarter of Buža, together form the walled centre's buffer zones. Photographs by Celine Motzfeldt Loades.

Part I – Introduction

1. Heritage at the Margins

Introduction

In recent years, there has been growing academic interest in studying the multi-faceted effects of UNESCO World Heritage sites "on the ground[5]" (Brumann and Berliner 2016, Hampton 2005, Jimura 2011). Ethnographic case studies illuminate that, to the communities living in or near the sites, the World Heritage List represents much more than a legal instrument for heritage protection. Such studies show that the officially sanctioned concept, 'World Heritage', is produced within the contemporary cultural contexts of the World Heritage sites[6], often relating to specific cultural symbols, economic processes, ideological uses and political intentionalities for the near future (Chalcraft 2016, Liao and Qin 2013, Zhu 2016, Berliner 2012, Wang 2016, Wang 2012, Casagrande 2016). This sheds light on the fact that World Heritage, and the sites' more broadly defined cultural heritage[7], cannot be perceived as having fixed meanings that remain the same after the site's World Heritage inscription. Nor can the particular meanings attached to UNESCO's ascription of the sites' "Outstanding Universal Value" be seen as synonymous with how the local populations inhabiting the sites come to understand and use their World Heritage and cultural heritage more generally. The incentives for obtaining status as a World Heritage site are connected to a whole host of socio-cultural and political factors, where the desire to bolster tourism and attract international investments to stimulate economic- and infrastructural development occupies a central position. While some instances of the attainment of World Heritage status produce few evident consequences

5 The terms, "ground" in "World Heritage on the ground" (Brumann and Berliner 2016) and "below" in "heritage from below" (Robertson 2012) can be seen as metaphors for ethnographic contributions to studying the specific lived realities, social and cultural contexts of communities living in or near World Heritage sites (Brumann and Berliner 2016).
6 A World Heritage site needs to "meet at least one out of ten selection criteria" to be nominated as a site of "Outstanding Universal Value" by UNESCO. Dubrovnik's 1979 enlistment on UNESCO's World Heritage List falls under the selection criteria i), iii) and iv) (see Appendix 1).
7 In the thesis, I take *cultural heritage* to be understood as sets of representations and relations (traditions, practices and symbols) which are constructed, hierarchically prioritized and reified and which for political, social, economic and cultural reasons are privileged as 'authentic' and 'traditional' at certain points in history. A culture's heritage can consist of, or be manifested in, both material and immaterial artefacts and practices, but regardless of the forms of selection, heritage is inevitably interlinked with relations of power and cultural memory, and is encapsulated in spatial and temporal relations (Lowenthal 1996, Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996a, Smith 2006b). I will discuss the concept and applications of heritage and its relations to identity and place production in Chapter 2.

on the ground, in many others the World Heritage status becomes intertwined with local socio-cultural relations and power dynamics, and is actively drawn on in the consolidation of cultural identities and nationhood, in mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion and in discourses on development. The potential of the 'signalling' and 'branding' effects of obtaining World Heritage enlistment has led to a "rush to inscribe" (Meskell 2012) and since the initial 12 inscriptions on UNESCO's World Heritage List in 1978, the total number of sites has risen to 1,073 properties[8]. Several scholars and heritage managers are starting to voice concerns about whether the benefits that World Heritage can offer to heritage protection over the long term will be outweighed, or at least hampered by, the lure of short-term commercially motivated prioritizations (Russo 2002, Drost 1996, Jimura 2011). To such critics, it is not the encouragement of tourism in World Heritage sites per se which constitutes a challenge to heritage protection. Rather, the critiques tend to centre on the problems of poorly managed tourism development and uncontrolled constructions near World Heritage sites. Such processes can have adverse effects on the longevity of heritage over time, the values and identification attached to it, and can furthermore have negative impacts on the inter-communal relations of the host communities and on the environment. As such, tourism in World Heritage sites can become a:

> *Menace to the sustainable management of heritage. Therefore, a good understanding of the tourism sector, its markets and trends is instrumental to sustainable heritage management (Salazar 2015:128).*

A locally integrated and culturally sensitive heritage- and tourism management has the potential to safeguard cultural values and local identity (Nasser 2003, Auclair and Fairclough 2015). By fostering a culturally sensitive heritage and tourism management, one can provide the necessary protection of the cultural heritage and local environment, and, at the same time, encourage local economic development and regeneration (Salazar 2013). Without accommodating for a long-term, sustainable heritage and site management, World Heritage enlistment can become a "double-edged sword" to the communities living in or near the site (Xiaoya 2013, Salazar 2013), which can present substantial challenges to the long-term impacts of heritage, and negatively affect the communities' quality of life and the environment in the wider World Heritage area. Ethnographic knowledge of how heritage is produced and interpreted within particular cultural contexts, and of how heritage production

8 https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/.

intersects with – and influences – cultural practices, perceptions and social change, is needed in order to better understand the "global-local dynamics of heritage interpretation" and production, its diverse uses and effects (Salazar 2015).

This thesis is a contribution to these ongoing debates. The thesis provides an ethnographic case study, which explores how the production of Dubrovnik's[9] World Heritage intersects with the reconstruction and consolidation of identities and locality in the post-war[10] context. The thesis addresses the following main research question:

> *How is Dubrovnik's cultural heritage and its World Heritage, negotiated and produced in the post-war period, under the conditions of global market economy and mass tourism?*

As one of the world's earliest UNESCO World Heritage sites, Dubrovnik's inscription on the World Heritage List in 1979 occurred under a very different political, economic and cultural context, that of Josip Broz Tito's communist Yugoslavia (1945-1991)[11]. In the period following national independence in 1991, the country has gone through and is still undergoing dramatic changes, all of which create new conditions for identity constructions and shape the particular meanings and uses of the city's World Heritage.

A main argument developed in the thesis is that historical processes and events of the recent past influence how Dubrovnik's World Heritage site is perceived and used by its current inhabitants. In particular, the city's condition as a post-war society, influences communal interactions, cultural perceptions and practices. The post-war condition has refocused the meanings attached to the city's World Heritage site and the way it is used in identity discourse and geo-political, spatial re-orientations.

Dubrovnik's status as a World Heritage site has helped to unify and anchor identities within the new geo-political context, following the turbulent 1990s war and political upheavals. Yet the use of the city's World Heritage in post-war political discourse and economic development has equally produced new power dynamics, lines of social differentiation and

9 The City of Dubrovnik is the administrative centre of Dubrovnik-Neretva County (*Dubrovačko-neretvanska županija*), at the southernmost part of Croatia. Croatia declared its national independence on 25th of June 1991 and thereafter seceded from the former Yugoslavia on the 8th of October 1991. The full title of the nation is The Republic of Croatia (*Republika Hrvatska*).
10 The term 'post-war' refers to the period after *The Croatian War of Independence* (1991-1995).
11 Internationally, Yugoslavia's political ideology is generally referred to as *communism*. In domestic context, the term *socialism* is largely used, as a way of distancing itself from the communist political model of the Soviet Union. Arguably, *Titoism* or *Titoist communism*, are perhaps the most ideologically neutral terms.

exclusion mechanisms. Consequently, the interpretations and uses of Dubrovnik's World Heritage in contemporary society have led, in certain areas, to dissonance and outright conflict.

The strong emphasis globally on the use of World Heritage in tourism development and in presenting new investment opportunities, has, to a certain degree, distilled the 'value' of heritage into something quantifiable, which can then be commoditized as a 'product' for sale. Due to the large benefits which cultural heritage potentially brings to economic development, the protection of cultural heritage tends to be viewed in terms of 'investment decisions', *"where a 'return' is expected from an 'investment' in culture or heritage (Labadi and Gould 2015)*". This type of thinking is present in Dubrovnik's urban management and political prioritizations. It must be emphasized, that to use World Heritage in economic development per se is not necessarily problematic and can potentially constitute a positive force for community development. However, without also recognizing and integrating other aspects and roles which heritage fulfils to the communities inhabiting the sites, one risks losing the important 'lifeline' embedded in heritage to practices, cultural values and place. This can ultimately induce communities' sense of feeling deprived of their identification with their World Heritage, its perceived roots in the past and continuity to the present.

In post-war identity discourse, Dubrovnik's World Heritage is often narrowly interpreted as virtually synonymous with the heritage of the Dubrovnik Republic (1358-1808). The history of the Dubrovnik Republic, and the tangible heritage from this epoch, also constituted valuable resources for identity formation and tourism promotion in the former Yugoslavia. The Republic's cultural history and materiality are also recognized in UNESCO's inscription of the World Heritage site. However, the longevity of the autonomous Dubrovnik Republic and its cultural, mercantile and political connections internationally, is interpreted through the prisms of the recent experiences of war, Yugoslavian rule and the new geo-political conditions following Croatia's independence.

UNESCO's dialectic of World Heritage as being both of universal value and locally unique, as simultaneously expressing the diversity and unity of humanity, is interpreted and reinterpreted within pre-existing and changing local and national contexts. Dubrovnik (and Croatia's) perceived Western European character, and the perception that the city has always been a stable and peaceful cultural oasis at the fringe of the turbulent and politically fragmented Balkans, are historically embedded themes in identity discourse. The continuing

importance of Dubrovnik's (and Croatia's) position as a borderland between Europe and the Balkans and as a European cultural and religious 'frontier' is embedded in heritage discourses and interpretations of the city's World Heritage. Rather than simply representing *World* Heritage of *universal* value, the cultural and symbolic values which World Heritage nomination epitomizes tend to be incorporated into the pre-existing discourses of Dubrovnik and Croatia's intrinsic, but 'long denied', *Western-European* cultural identity.

Dubrovnik's World Heritage, is viewed by local residents as a technical, 'professional' denomination, which over the last four decades has become integrated into 'local realities'. To many Dubrovnikans I encountered, World Heritage largely relates to the materiality of the UNESCO protected site, and constitutes something which 'adds value' and international acknowledgement to the city's walled centre. In daily life, however, interpretations of the World Heritage site are melded into discourses of Dubrovnik's *kulturna baština* (cultural heritage) in a much deeper sense. This understanding of the World Heritage site, in its embedded cultural history and regional ethnography, includes a whole host of 'intangible' cultural values, regional, historical and political relationships and past events, which are repeatedly drawn on in the present. Consequently, Dubrovnik's broader cultural heritage cannot be separated from the attempts to make the city's World Heritage meaningful to the inhabitants.

This thesis' ethnography reveals that how Dubrovnikans understand and use the city's World Heritage status - and the multiple ways this status becomes connected to the broader cultural heritage - constitutes a source of both unification and dissonance. This is of paramount importance in attempts to foster a sustainable, community-based management of World Heritage.

Heritage and Temporality

Selected pasts, conveyed as heritage, have provided a major resource in the production of similarity and alterity throughout history in the territory comprising contemporary Croatia. Heritage production has abetted creating and maintaining notions of ethnic and religious distinction and remains central to the establishment and growth of nationalism. Central to such nation-building is the attempt to reify perceived historical 'Golden Eras' and promote perceptions of cultural purity and superiority of the 'collective self' as opposed to the inferiority of constructed otherness.

However, the particular pasts utilized as heritage and the meanings they convey are shaped and changed by the specific circumstances of each historical present. Different uses are made of the same heritage in different historical periods and are connected to different social and political processes and power dynamics of each time. After the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia, Dubrovnik's cultural heritage has especially been marshalled to align the geo-political borders of the new nation-state to the perceived cultural borders of *Croatianness*[12].Throughout Dubrovnik's history, the city's religious and cultural borderland condition have asserted strong influences on local identity constructions. Cut off from the Balkan interior by the Dinara mountain chain and positioned next to the Adriatic Sea, the narrow strip of land which today makes up Dubrovnik-Neretva County (*Dubrovačko-neretvanska županija*), has both forced and allowed its citizens to develop a culture of both separation and of long-distance, socio-political connections with the Mediterranean. The real and imagined threats of invasion from interior Balkans and Central Asia throughout its history were formative in Dubrovnikans' development of diplomacy, espionage, military strategies, and its perceived frontier position influenced the development of the longstanding libertas (freedom) discourse (see Chapter 5). However, the establishment of the new national borders following the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia have made Dubrovnik's borderland condition even more pronounced in local identities[13]. Post-Yugoslavian national borders divide Dubrovnik-Neretva County from the Croatian mainland by the Bosnian border-crossing at Neum. This has, metaphorically speaking, exacerbated the contemporary uses of heritage in Dubrovnik to build 'walls' against the interior parts of the Balkans and 'bridges' towards Western Europe, particularly the Mediterranean. The experiences of geographical, socio-cultural and political marginality is multi-layered. The Croatian nation-state exists at the geographical margins of Europe, Dubrovnik exists at the geographical margins of Croatia ('the margin within the margin'), and the rural areas of Dubrovnik-Neretva County, which also forms my ethnographic material, is situated at the margins of Dubrovnik ('the margin within the margin within the margin').

Contemporary Dubrovnikan identity constructions are strongly informed by the city's peripheral territorial position not only within Europe, but also within the Croatian nation-state. By foregrounding the history of Dubrovnik Republic (1358-1808) as the city's 'Golden

12 *Hrvatstvo* (Croatian nation-hood, Croatian-ness). Hrvatstvo is inter-changeably referred to as Croatian-ness (Ragazzi 2009) and Croatianness (Josipovič 2012). In the thesis, I use the latter term.
13 The air distance from the City of Dubrovnik to the national borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro is respectively around 5 km. and 33 km. (Source: https://www.distancefromto.net/).

Era' and as a central cultural, political, mercantile seafaring republic in the development of 'European identity', local identity discourses attempt to reverse Dubrovnik's peripheral position and instead claim its centrality in forging a historic continuity of Croatia's European bonds. In upholding a perception of continuity, Dubrovnik's UNESCO World Heritage status becomes a resource in reconstituting a centred sense of self in a population which in the last 27 years has felt increasingly peripheral to both national and European political and cultural affairs. The centrality of Dubrovnik's cultural heritage in stimulating a recovery of tourism and the national economy in the post-war period, while at the same time feeling marginalized and under-prioritized in national context, constitute a major source of ambivalence and dissatisfaction amongst its citizens.

The cultural, economic and political history of the Dubrovnik Republic has provided a source of local identity constructions; providing a model of cultural cohesion, distinctiveness and historic continuity for centuries. The 19th Century Slavic cultural movement, Illyrianism, popular in most parts of Dalmatia, employed the history of the Dubrovnik Republic to explain the combined presence of Slavic and Roman aspects in the region's culture (see Chapter five). The symbolism attached to the historic city-state in post-war Dubrovnik, on the other hand, attempts to eradicate any traces of Slavic cultural or ethnic elements from its history, whilst accentuating a Mediterranean cultural historical origin, particularly by emphasizing its connections with ancient Rome and the Venetian Empire.

The heritage of the Dubrovnik Republic is also central to Dubrovnikans desire to reconstruct continuities with a past devoid of conflict and is especially relevant in reshaping the city as a cultured, peaceful, economic and political centre rather than a national and European periphery. Forging continuity with this distant historical epoch furthermore aided in forming the contours of the Croat people as an ethnically homogenous group and it gave credence to the existence of a Croatian national consciousness throughout history.

Heritage Production as Process

The thesis analyses how heritage and cultural identities are constructed, negotiated and produced within particular local, regional, national and global conditions. Inspired by critiques of the local-global dichotomy (Smith 2006b), I perceive the processes and conditions for heritage production occurring in Dubrovnik as being consequences of hybridization of a range of inter-connected processes occurring simultaneously at different scales. The particular forms and meanings in which 'the local' and 'the national' take on to Dubrovnikans are not

reliant on discernible processes happening either ‘here’ or ‘there’, but are continuously co-produced and altered by varying spatial and temporal scopes.

The perceptions, representations and applications of heritage in a culture are ingrained and habituated in its inhabitants' bodies and practices, and, in amongst others, public discourses, memory, rituals and in acts of commemoration. Heritage thus tends to be reified and naturalised as stable and unbroken components of a culture’s perceived collective identity. Selected heritage often provide important means of demarcating a society’s cultural and political borders against that which is considered as external. However, the particular meanings, representations and uses of heritage are continuously negotiated and contested amongst individuals and groups, both within and between societies.

A main argument developed throughout the thesis is that the perceptions, representations and uses of cultural heritage, as well as the local responses and conditions of life in World Heritage sites, are intimately contextual and processual. Heritage is continuously shaped and re-shaped in the interfaces of shifting spatial and temporal relations. What cultural heritage and World Heritage status means to the population inhabiting a World Heritage site, how it is represented and used in different contexts, are intertwined with processes of social, cultural, economic, political and environmental change. By focusing on the inter-relationships between local perceptions and practices, I explore the particular ways in which the perceptions and the management of heritage are historically, politically, economically and culturally embedded.

In large parts of the 20th Century, the population living in the Croatian territory have been subjected to political upheaval and conflict, wars and economic change. This has particularly been the case in the so-called borderland regions of the country, like the Dubrovnik-Neretva County. Historical processes occurring in the 20th and 21th centuries are of great significance in understanding how Dubrovnik’s cultural heritage is produced and frequently used for ideological purposes, both in consolidating post-war nationhood, and in local attempts to re-negotiate Dubrovnik’s centrality within the new nation-state and in relation to Europe.

While the strong sense of marginality has created a relatively stable element in identity constructions throughout much of Dubrovnik’s history, cultural identities are also conditioned by the particular socio-cultural and political circumstances of each historical present. The turbulent and traumatic period which followed the dissolution of Yugoslavia, coupled with regional ethnic-religious homogenisation following large-scale forced or voluntary migration, have both created and revivified many internal and regional narratives and discourses of the

near and distant pasts and their relationships with and influences on contemporary society. As a young nation, Croatia has undergone considerable, in part traumatic, transformations, which have had substantial effects on the ways in which heritage, places and identities are perceived, used and represented. The memory of the war and of hard-fought independence is particularly strong in identity production in Dubrovnik, and other Croatian cities, such as Vukovar, where the citizens had direct and transformative experiences of shelling and being under siege.

With an ethnographic focus on specific transformative socio-cultural processes, events, public discourses and individual life-stories, the thesis will explore the ways in which Dubrovnik's World Heritage is shaped within a post-war context and intersects with identity constructions. Dubrovnik's cultural heritage in a broad sense, and the interpretations and use of its World Heritage status within a post-war context, are constructed and re-constructed by multiple groups and individuals. The multiple meanings of heritage are mediated through public memory and cultural practices, and become embedded in place. As heritage production entails processes of selection (Logan 2007), and therefore inevitably builds on inclusion and exclusion, dissonance and power relations are always inherent elements in heritage (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996a). Perceptions of the present and desires and hopes for the future are intimately interwoven and influenced by Dubrovnikans' differing perceptions, experiences and representations of the 'past in the present'. My ethnographic study illustrates that the fact that the transition from Titoist communism to global market-liberalism, coincided within the context of war, has contributed towards intensified ambivalence, vulnerability and contestations of heritage, identities and place.

The sense that the population have shared experiences and traumas of the Croatian war of independence have been utilized in forging nationhood. However, the thesis demonstrates that different understandings, experiences and memories of this past also constitute major sources of dissonance in contemporary Dubrovnik. As public depictions of a culture's temporal and spatial relations are strongly embodied and naturalized within individuals from birth, individuals tend to integrate their own experiences and memories within the culture's overarching narratives. However, discord between individuals' personal experiences of the war and public discourses of the 'past in the present' can lead to 'dissonant heritage' (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996a). This is particularly manifest in conflicting discourses on development of Mount Srđ, overlying Dubrovnik's walled centre, due to the mountain plateau's embedded cultural symbolism of war, defence and freedom (see Chapter 9).

The intersections between heritage, identity consolidation and tourism have become even more pronounced in the period following the Croatian war of independence. The uses and meanings of the city's World Heritage status – which dates back to 1979 – appear to have changed in this period. Local heritage production is particularly influenced by the fact that Croatia is a *post-war* society. At the same time, a strong process of *heritagization* of Dubrovnik's World Heritage site has occurred in the post-war period, which bears striking similarities to many urban World Heritage sites globally. Harrison (Harrison 2013) defines *heritagization* as *"the process by which objects and places are transformed from functional 'things' into objects of display and exhibition"* (Harrison 2013:69). Adhering to Harrison's (ibid.) definition, Dubrovnik has been transformed from a "functional 'thing'" [a city centre shaped by and for its inhabitants] into a site of "display and exhibition" (mostly) for touristic consumption. The city centre has undergone a significant depopulation – work sites and central amenities designed for the local population's daily needs have been moved out of the centre to be replaced with heritagized and touristified products, experiences, sites and places aimed at attracting and catering for a growing number of tourists.

A major objective in the thesis is to explore the often contradictory uses of Dubrovnik's cultural heritage in contemporary cultural and political identity discourse. On the one hand, cultural heritage continues to create and perpetuate cultural distinctiveness, and therefore exclusion. However, in line with processes paralleled across the Western hemisphere, Dubrovnikan cultural heritage production in the 21st Century has also played an important part in processes of modernization, democratization, economic growth and socio-political developments. These processes are particularly evident in Dubrovnik's marketing of its World Heritage status in post-war tourism promotion and in shaping strategies of achieving post-war economic recovery and growth. Dubrovnik's cultural heritage has provided an important resource in Croatia's post-war economic development strategies. The connections between heritage management and tourism have become much closer aligned.

Moreover, these processes are also found in the uses of Dubrovnik's cultural heritage in nationhood discourse, particularly relating to Croatia's EU membership. In these contexts, Dubrovnik's World Heritage status, and especially the political and cultural heritage from the Dubrovnik Republic, are used in demonstrating Croatia's desire and willingness in achieving European integration. The emphasis on heritage is here on creating inclusivity, cultural diversity, regional reconciliation and in demonstrating its cultural, and therefore also political stability in a region perceived as turmoil. When cultural heritage is used in the capacities of

tourism promotion and in positioning, legitimizing or negotiating the role of Croatia as an EU member-state, it often fulfil purposes of being encompassing rather than excluding. For many Dubrovnikans, the traumas of the recent past heighten the desire to 'move on' from associations with the Balkan past altogether. The use of cultural heritage in representing the city as a peaceful and politically stable place, sits centrally in this. Furthermore, the acute need for economic and infrastructural recovery and growth through tourism development, have induced a need to suppress the more autochthonous, excluding elements of heritage as this would be counter-productive to tourism development. The importance placed on the return of tourism and the growth of international investments in Croatia, where Dubrovnik's tourism plays a highly central role, rely on the promotion its cultural heritage as inviting and inclusive, and furthermore on presenting convincing images of the population as being reconciled with regards to its turbulent past. Public identity discourse in contemporary Dubrovnik reifies the history of Dubrovnik Republic[14] as a 'Golden Era' of peaceful, diplomatic relations and autonomy. This reification simplifies the complex past and the many historical processes, which do not fit with the overarching freedom (*libertas*) discourse (see Chapter 5). For instance, the recent Yugoslavian past and Croatia's allegiances to Nazi-Germany, and the acts of ethnic cleansing carried out by the *Ustaša* during the Second World War, are actively suppressed in public memory and the representation of Dubrovnik in tourism promotion. While the thesis' theoretical framework is indebted to social constructionist approaches, I simultaneously emphasize that in the territory comprising Croatia, there are certain underlying historic and geo-political structures which can be seen as having a large degree of continuity and have conditioned and shaped identity constructions and cultural practices throughout much of the region's history. As the thesis' ethnography demonstrates, Dubrovnikans' sense of constituting a cultural cross-road and borderland in the context of a wider 'Western hemisphere' have permeated Dubrovnikan cultural identities for many centuries and have contributed towards marginality, fragility and ambivalence as central components in identity perceptions and self-representations.

14 The Dubrovnik Republic (1358-1808) was a maritime and mercantile republic, which historical territory largely conforms to the contemporary territory comprising Dubrovnik-Neretva County. The Republic was first named *Communitas Ragusina* (the Ragusan Community) in Latin, but was renamed *Repubblica Ragusina* (the Republic of Ragusa) in the late 14th century. The Slavic name for the republic was *Dubrovačka Republica* (Dubrovnik Republic) (Harris 2003). I shall herein refer to the historic republic as the Dubrovnik Republic or for matters of convenience, the Republic.

However, historical processes and events occurring in the last quarter of a century have produced new conditions for communal interactions, practices, cultural representations and meaning making. Recent historical processes have configured the conditions for identity production and contributed towards changing the perceptions and uses of the city's World Heritage. Shortly after Croatia declared its national independence[15], the Croatian War of Independence[16] began. The shelling of Dubrovnik caused huge material damage to Dubrovnik's World Heritage site. Not only did the war have long-lasting consequences for heritage restoration, it also had an enduring influence on the interpretations and uses of Dubrovnik's World Heritage in identity consolidation. The fact that the war occurred concurrently with the economic transition from Titoist communism to a global, capitalist market economy, further intensified the use of heritage as an economic resource in post-war restoration and tourism development. The domestically contentious question of EU membership, which belatedly resulted in Croatia's inclusion in the EU in July 2013, has dominated national and local public identity discourse since the turn of the Millennium. Dubrovnik's World Heritage site and the city's historical incarnation as the Dubrovnik Republic has constituted an anchor in aligning Croatia and Dubrovnik within a perceived 'European community', represented in the latest context by the European Union.

Cultural Heritage and Commodification in a Post-war Context

In the aftermath of the Croatian War of Independence, cultural heritage and tourism have been central to stimulating infrastructural recovery and economic development. The role which

[15] Both Croatia and Slovenia officially declared their national independence from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on June 25th 1991, but did not gain international recognition as two independent nation-states until the following year. The European Economic Community (EEC), acknowledged Croatia and Slovenia as nation-states on the 15th of January 1992 and the USA recognized Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia-Herzegovina on the 7th of April 1992 (Mønnesland 2006).

[16] The Croatian War of Independence, domestically referred to as 'the Homeland war', took place from 1991 to 1995 and followed Croatia's declaration of independence. It was fought between the Serbian-controlled Yugoslav People's Army and Serbian separatists in Croatia, and the Republic of Croatia (Magaš and Žanić 2001). The ideological undertones of the domestic term, Domovinski rat (the Homeland war) need to be problematized. The domestic deployment of the term, 'Homeland war', coined as part of the 'Tuđmanist narrative' (Jovic 2009, Žanić 2007), has clear ideological undercurrents. The use of this term has had lasting effects on the perception of contemporary nationhood and its correlation with ethnic borders (ibid.). Despite waning support for the strongly nationalistic politics of the 1990s, the 'Homeland war' is still a nearly undisputed term used by most Croatians today. Jovic (ibid.) argues that, in the period prior and subsequent to the death of Tuđman, any critical remarks about the 'Homeland war', and especially court indictments against its main 'heroes', were presented as an attack on the very essence of Croatian independence (Jovic 2009:2). In the thesis, I will refer to the war as 'the Croatian War of Independence', or 'the war' whenever it is clearly established which war I am referring to. I shall only use the term, 'the Homeland war' when I am relaying the spoken reflections of my informants, who more or less uniformly refer to the war by this term.

cultural heritage plays in post-independence national politics builds on the double purpose of utilizing heritage as a vehicle for forging “exceptionalism” as well as for increased national revenue and tourism development (Jelinčić and Žuvela 2014:88). Turning heritage into a commodity generally rests on two processes; on the one hand heritage is made sellable, for example in the form of souvenirs, local crafts and food products. On the other hand, heritage is commoditized by making it into tailored ‘heritage experiences’, typically through guided tours, museum exhibitions, visiting buildings and monuments, urban environments and landscapes. The two processes are often interwoven and are shaped by a complex web of producers and distributors which foster heritage as ‘unique and authentic’ in order to increase product potential. In several of the European urban World Heritage sites, the so-called ‘historic’ towns and cities, the entire centre comes under UNESCO protection and the urban fabric is made up of a relatively ‘unified’ architectural style dating back to one or a few particular historical epochs. In these ‘historic cities’, the whole city centre is often represented and commoditized as a heritage experience so that by visiting the World Heritage site one is, metaphorically speaking, ‘consuming the city’. While in many instances, commercial market interests and political interests of the state or local community harmonize, some of the roles that heritage plays in nation-building are obscured in certain contexts. For instance, heritage models built upon mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion based on religion, ethnicity and decent are actively concealed in tourist promotion and communication with international organizations such as the EU and UNESCO.

Bendix (Bendix 2008) perceives heritagization processes as tied to cultural practices, which in themselves have a long history connected to “late modern life worlds”. The European Classical tradition and Western aesthetic, artistic and architectural criteria and ideas of authenticity in conservation and restoration are evident in Dubrovnik’s heritage production. As such, the city’s heritagization processes can, indeed, be seen as connected to historic processes and cultural traditions of Europe and the Western hemisphere, which have embedded themselves in particular cultural practices and ideals. However, the heritagization processes that Dubrovnik underwent in the former Yugoslavia and is experiencing today are relatively dissimilar and strongly marked by the particular political and economic models of each period. Contemporary heritagization processes in Dubrovnik are largely governed by the logic of the neo-liberal market economy and the growth and increased competitiveness of global tourism. Although tourism was an important factor in Dubrovnik’s heritage production under Yugoslavian Titoist communism, the majority of the city’s work sites and amenities in

that period were located in or near the city centre, and tourism, to a much larger degree, complemented other industries and artisanal production (Racusin 2012). Prior to the economic transition following Croatia's independence in 1991, the UNESCO protected walled centre had a population of around five times higher than today's figure and the city centre nowadays mainly functions as a site for tourism consumption. This illustrates the processual and relational nature of heritagization processes and makes the synchronic heritagization processes at work in many World Heritage sites today relatively comparable, at least in the more culturally similar sites such as Venice and Dubrovnik (Casagrande 2016).

From the very early stages of World Heritage enlistment and often even before its realization, its symbolic and commercial potential is utilized and shaped by a whole range of interest groups. Dubrovnik is representative of how the heritagization of practices and places generates social, cultural and economic stratification, although local culture and history, as well as the established power relationships in each World Heritage site, will steer the ways in which these heritagization processes unfold. Generally, however, some citizens benefit from UNESCO World Heritage status, while others loose out. Similarly, while some groups and individuals are, or feel themselves to be, included as being the 'owners', 'bearers', producers or distributors of a particular cultural heritage, others feel excluded and disowned. It is important to emphasize that the two-fold process of utilizing heritage as a commodity and a means of cultural identity production long predates the establishment of the post-Yugoslavian era. In fact, in the increasingly globally saturated tourism market, the quest for defining and promoting heritage products and experiences in terms of their 'uniqueness' and 'authenticity' is intimately intermixed with the driving-forces of the capitalist market. Consequently, heritage tourism often become a means of global or regional competition in order to attract the highest tourist numbers and increase tourist generated revenue. However, in post-war Croatia, the economic exploitation of cultural heritage has strongly intensified, which in turn intensify local feelings and reactions to these processes.

Growing out of 19th Century national romanticism and attendant ideas of architectural and archaeological conservation, Croatian heritage perceptions and management are embedded in a European tradition of reifying particular buildings, monuments and artefacts as heritage. This tradition is strongly evident in Dubrovnik's heritage management. The reification of particular architectural expressions, cultural artefacts traditions (especially traditions associated with Catholicism) were central in creating a notion of a distinct 'Croat' heritage during the 19th century, Illyrian movement. Since Croatian independence, however, the

concept of heritage has undergone a significant expansion, to include intangible elements of cultural identity, such as local practices, skills and traditions. Many cultural artefacts and practices formerly regarded as *cultural traditions* are today increasingly managed and disseminated as *cultural heritage*. To a certain degree UNESCO's 'heritage vocabulary' is being appropriated by the 'heritage practitioners' themselves. In the context of Croatia, the reorientation of cultural traditions as intangible heritage is situated within the context of the country's EU membership (Zebec 2014). Since the turn of the new Millennium, the question of EU membership has divided Croatia's population, shaping identity politics and the role of heritage. With the hard-fought national independence in recent memory, EU debates have been marked by a strong sense of vulnerability and ambivalence with regards to whether EU membership will compromise the new found national identity, Croatia's perceived cultural borders and distinctiveness. The question of EU membership has also resuscitated sentiments of vulnerability to foreign rule and fears of exploitation of resources, real estate and land areas by private companies. In the period of 2009-2012, Croatia gained 13 UNESCO intangible heritage enlistments[17]. These enlistments served an important political symbolic function in the nation state's attempt to unite a divided population and legitimize EU membership. The process was two-fold: cultural traditions formerly considered peripheral were valorised as central building blocks of contemporary nationhood. Furthermore, UNESCO's heritage enlistments (both World Heritage and intangible heritage enlistments) provide a framework for cultural protection so that EU membership would not compromise the locally and nationally unique. The discursive reorientation of cultural traditions to intangible heritage is also tied to global processes relating to the growth of international tourism, and is embedded within a capitalist market logic. Aspects of both material and immaterial culture are de-contextualised and converted into 'heritage attractions;' discrete units of touristic consumption. In an increasingly saturated international tourism market, and set within the context of the accelerated flow of and access to global commodities, these 'heritage units' become commercial assets in the 'competition' between holiday destinations. At the same time, it would be unjust to merely emphasize economic incentives as being the prime driving-forces behind these processes. The heritagization of traditions in Croatia is also deeply rooted in the search for cultural borders, re-defining connections with Western Europe and fostering

17 Croatia shares a 14th UNESCO intangible heritage enlistment, *'the Mediterranean diet'* with six other countries part of the Mediterranean region. Croatia also gained a 15th intangible heritage enlistment, *'Community project of safeguarding the living culture of Rovinj/Rovigno: the Batana Ecomuseum'* in 2016.

a sense of continuity with epochs perceived as peaceful, such as the Dubrovnik Republic, in a region marked by its borderland status and turbulent past.

Heritage and Post-war Tourism Development

The management and marketing of Dubrovnik as a tourist- and cultural heritage destination is a well-established practice which long precedes its UNESCO inscription. However, the interrelationships between heritage as identity politics and as an economic resource have become even closer interwoven in the post-war period and often tend to be imbued with a much stronger emotional intensity and ambivalence than in the former Yugoslavia.

Dubrovnik's walled centre was also a tourist magnet before it achieved status as a World Heritage site, particularly since the dawn of modern tourism in the 1950's. A large part of Dubrovnik's tourism appeal can be ascribed to its well preserved historic city centre, with its medieval urban lay-out, abundance of well-preserved Renaissance, Gothic, and Baroque architecture and its impressive 1940 meters long intact city wall encircling the city centre. However, Dubrovnik's early tourism development also related to the favourable, Mediterranean climate and high sea temperatures. Moreover, the low tourist prices and 'under-exploited' coastline compared to other Mediterranean tourist destinations was also part of its success as a tourist destination in former Yugoslavia. These aspects tend to be under-communicated in contemporary tourism promotion, where the connotations of being a 'beach and sun' destination do not harmonize with the desired self-image of being a luxurious destination for 'heritage tourism'. In co-operation with the tourism industry, the local municipality go to great lengths to foster an image of Dubrovnik as a 'high culture' destination. 20 per cent of the annual city budget[18] is spent on the culture sector, most activities of which are aimed at tourists and a relatively small segment of the local population interested in the so-called 'high arts'. On the Adriatic coast, post-war urban and rural reconstruction have predominately been connected to tourism developments. In Dubrovnik, tourism has played a central role in stimulating economic recovery in the post-war period. Despite the city's small population of 42 615 inhabitants[19], Dubrovnik receives nearly 2 million tourists annually[20] and has become the third most popular cruise-ship port in Europe.

18 Statistics provided by Dubrovnik municipality in 2012.
[19] Source: 2011 census (https://www.dzs.hr/eng/censuses/census2011/censuslogo.htm.)
20 In 2016, Dubrovnik received 1.013,116 tourist arrivals ('land-based' tourism only, cruise ship tourism is not included in this figure). 958,817 of these were foreign tourists and 52,200 were domestic tourists. The figures for 2016 were 12 % higher than the previous year. Dubrovnik received 3.5 million overnight stays in 2016. This is a

In 2014, 22 % of the gross domestic product (GDP) derived from tourism and the current trend of tourist growth, tourism derived GDP is expected to increase at a rate of 7,5 % annually (Jelinčić and Žuvela 2014). That tourism is a potentially fragile industry is common knowledge to many citizens, whose source of livelihood was disrupted during the war and in the period of post-war restoration. Recognition of this fragility, however, is largely absent from national and local tourism development strategies, which envision tourism growth as the desired development goal for the Croatian economy. Post-war rebuilding required much external economic assistance, from both international institutions and private bodies. This has created a strong sense of vulnerability and a fear of exploitation, fears which manifest frequently in public discourse on heritage management, conservation and construction schemes. While Dubrovnikans tend to be very appreciative of the international monetary and technical assistance accompanying the World Heritage status, many Dubrovnik citizens likewise express a strong degree of suspicion towards private investors and fear that EU membership makes the young nation more susceptible to economic- and resource exploitation.

In the post-war context, the connection between tourism development, heritage management and nation-building has grown even more intimate. Croatia allocates proportionally much larger funds for heritage management, restoration and conservation projects than the other former Yugoslavian neighbours (see table 1). Although Croatia's cultural heritage financing has been reduced significantly in the period of 2003-2013 - most likely due to a combination of global financial crisis and time elapsing since national independence (and thus a diminished 'need' to consolidate nationhood through cultural heritage), the nation still has the highest level of financing in this sector in the region. Furthermore, cultural heritage restoration and conservation receives the largest slice of funding from the Ministry of Culture's total annual budget compared to other cultural sector activities (Jelinčić and Žuvela 2014:100).

13 % increase from that of 2015. (Source: Dubrovnik Tourism Board). The numbers of cruise-ships mooring in Dubrovnik have equally increased the last years. In 2016, 529 cruise ships called at Dubrovnik, with a total number of 799,916 passengers. In comparison, 475 cruise ships in 2015 and 463 cruise ships in 2014 called at Dubrovnik. (Source: Dubrovnik Port Authority.)

Country	Public expenses for cultural heritage (in '000 000 euros)		Expenses for cultural heritage per capita (€)		Structure of finance for cultural heritage PIL sites			
	2003	2013	2003	2013	private	state	EU	donors
Albania[a]	2.8	6.8[c]	0.78	2.26	Low	Low	High	Medium
Bulgaria[a]	2.38	5.35	0.32	0.77	Low	High	Low	Low
Romania[a]	6.8[b]	9.4[c]	0.31	0.43	Low	High	High	Low
Croatia[a]	37.1[c]	27.1	8.39	6.06	Medium	Medium	Medium	Low
Serbia[d]	12.2	8.4	1.62	1.16	Low	High	Low	Low
Montenegro[a]	0.6	2.4	0.46	3.85	Medium	Medium	Low	Medium
Bosnia and Herzegovina[e]	2.6[b]	0.93	0.65	0.24	Low	Low	High	Medium
"the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia"	2.9	6.2	1.41	2.97	Low	Medium	Medium	Medium

Note: [a] only investment of the Ministry of Culture; [b] 2007; [c] 2012; [d] all levels of government; [e] only levels of entities and the federation.

Table 1. Cultural Heritage Financing in the Southeast European Region, 2003-2013. Source: Rikalović, G. et.al. 2014. 'The Ljubljana Process: more than rehabilitation of our common heritage in South-eastern Europe', in Rikalović, G. et.al. 2014, *Heritage for Development in South-East Europe*, Council of Europe.

Heritage and Dissonance

The cultural and political processes which World Heritage sites undergo following heritage enlistment are diverse and dependent on particular circumstances relating to local and regional historic relations, the existing economic situation, the social and political infrastructure of the community, and the degree of transparency, corruption and hegemony of certain groups over others. However, despite the particular cultural and political circumstances of World Heritage sites in different parts of the world, it is also possible to identify many similar consequences which large numbers of World Heritage sites experience when the World Heritage status is used as a major resource in attracting tourism- and economic development. Some of these are: increased contestation over limited land and real estate, depopulation of city centres (especially in the so-called 'tourist-historic cities'(Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000), increased commodification of 'tangible' heritage, cultural artefacts, cultural traditions and experiences as sellable products in tourism promotion. Other processes following the pressures of tourism in World Heritage sites can be the replacement of central facilities and infrastructure for the local population with tourism commodities, differentiation between those who benefit from tourism and those who do not, social exclusion and sometimes also conflict (Porter and Salazar 2005). The impacts of mass tourism in World Heritage sites on the environment and existing infrastructure are also often evident. World Heritage sites in the developing word or in areas recovering from a natural

catastrophe or armed conflict may experience difficulties in adapting in time, to the demands of increased tourism. Although there is not always a correlation between World Heritage enlistment and tourism growth, it is of importance that all sites *"implement a management plan to mitigate tourism impacts and sustain site significance* (Landorf 2009:53)*"*. For a sustainable heritage management to aspire, a long-term and holistic management, which encompasses the multiple interest groups living in or near the site, is essential (ibid.). As we shall see in the thesis, this is also of importance in order to diminish conflict.

A large number of UNESCO World Heritage sites are increasingly forced to come to terms with the multiple, frequently undesired and contradictory consequences of tourism-based development. Although large segments of Dubrovnik's population are proud of its World Heritage status and many experience an increased material living standard due to the return of tourism after the war, there is a dawning awareness that Dubrovnik's heritage is not an inexhaustible resource. Many local residents feel offended by commercialisation, crowding and privatization of public places. To many, this reduces their identification with and feeling of belonging in the city. Consequently, many Dubrovnikans feel divorced from their cultural heritage. Such paradoxes and the dilemmas they create for populations inhabiting World Heritage sites are not unique to Dubrovnik. However, the process is played out and grounded in each particular local circumstance; for Dubrovnik, that of its *post-war* context. This is fundamental for apprehending Dubrovnik's heritage discourses and the particular mooring of spatial and temporal dimensions in re-constructing locality and self in the aftermath of war and emotional trauma. The emotional and social trauma, material and infrastructural damage wrought by armed conflict tend to permeate community interactions, cultural discourses and responses to change for many years. Although many features of the public discourse on identity and difference were present before the Croatian war of independence, war-related traumas have undoubtedly intensified and re-focused these debates.

The war experiences have polarized identity constructions and contributed to a more antagonistic cultural climate. In the context of the strong heritagization and commercialization of culture and traditions in Dubrovnik's post-war era, heritage both binds the local population into having a sense of shared identity, but it also becomes an area of contestation and dissonance (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996a).

Dubrovnik's *post-war* context does not only influence the present, but it also shapes debates about the future. Many Dubrovnikans wish to see the country develop in a more liberalist and

democratic direction, identifying Croatia more closely with Western-Europe and detaching it from the Balkan region, perceived as the source of so much recent pain. At the same time, the war experiences have opened up many emotional wounds, which many Dubrovnikans find it hard to distance themselves from. Therefore, reconciliation with the turbulent past following Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia is far from being achieved and the legal and political foregrounding of heritage politics sits quite uncomfortably with this situation. Disputes over the turbulent past, the composite present and the uncertain future, repeatedly cast shadows over urban and rural development plans in Dubrovnik. This is for instance evident in the negotiations, dissonance and outright resistance in which the planned golf- and real estate construction on Mount Srđ, positioned on the hill above Dubrovnik's UNESCO enlisted World Heritage site, has undergone for well over a decade (see Chapter 9).

'The Wall in our Minds'

The inspiration for the title of my Ph.D. thesis comes from a young informant – Maša, a media student at the University of Dubrovnik. She was very frustrated with Croatian society, how the culture and people's mind-sets are always 'stuck in the past'. She compared this mentality to Dubrovnik's city walls and argued that:

> *Like Dubrovnik's city wall which surrounds the city, it's like we also create these walls in our minds, which stop us from seeing what's on the other side and stop us from being able to change.*

To Maša, heritage mainly represented a burden to the population – a burden from which they cannot escape. Her reflections harmonized closely with my fieldwork observations, where I repeatedly observed a community engaged in constructing 'walls' or borders, but also 'gates' and 'bridges'. People were continually negotiating what fits within these imagined borders and what doesn't – what should be allowed to pass through the 'gates' of the 'walls' and what should be refused entry.

The metaphor of 'the walls in our minds' operates at many different levels:

a) The significance of the actual Dubrovnik City Wall (*Dubrovačke gradske zidine*), constructed between the 12th – 17th centuries, in identity construction, heritage discourses and management, economy and power dynamics.

Without the city wall Dubrovnik would be nothing special! We would just be like any other old, Mediterranean city. The wall is what makes Dubrovnik into a heritage city!

These reflections of Jadranka, a female Dubrovnikan in her fifties, reveal much about the intimate relationship between the urban fabric of the city and its citizens. By locating the city's 'heritage value' in the particular materiality of the city wall, she appears to echo the 'authorized heritage discourse' (Smith 2006b). This predominant discourse, which derives from a 19th Century European tradition, naturalizes *"a range of assumptions about the innate and immutable cultural values of heritage that are linked to and defined by the concepts of monumentality and aesthetics (Smith 2006:4)".* The 'authorized heritage discourse' has strongly influenced Yugoslavian and Croatian heritage management and heritage perceptions up to the present. It constitutes a strong influence on how my informants talk about and relate to their cultural heritage. Jadranka's insistence that Dubrovnik's uniqueness resides in the city wall can only be deciphered as a sign in relation to a signifier. Without having a contextual and historical knowledge of the Dubrovnik Republic, the city wall would not be imbued with the same meaning to its citizens. Through engaging in long-term ethnographic research and gaining my informants confidence, it became evident that the city's cultural heritage, and its World Heritage status, contained many, and often contradictory, layers of meaning, which constituted both a source for unity, but also for exclusion. The city wall's meanings to Dubrovnikans are by no means 'innate and immutable', but are shaped within the particular ethnographic cultural context in the present, as well as by different spatial and temporal processes. The cultural meanings of the city wall undergoes negotiation in each historical present and can thus be seen as relational and processual cultural heritage.

b) The city wall's cultural and political symbolism of defence and its role in ensuring long-lasting freedom, autonomy and longevity is central to Dubrovnikan identity discourse. However, my research indicates that while the city wall's symbolic connotations of freedom persist, the wide-spread feeling of being both trapped within and excluded from the city's cultural heritage, is imbued in the city wall's meanings to a population which increasingly depends on tourism and the city's cultural heritage for its sustenance. This sense of alienation is strongest when it comes to the citizens' most potent cultural and political symbol, the city wall. New meanings attached to the city wall are emerging, such as confinement, exclusion and commercialization.

c) Another component to the thesis' title draws on the historically embedded metaphor of the Croat people and Croatian territory as an *antemurale* (*murus* - wall), where Western Christianity and European civilization is 'heroically defended' against threats (perceived or real) from the East (Žanić 2005, Kolstø 2005).

The Ethnography of Heritage

This thesis is an ethnographic contribution to ongoing debates on the consequences of heritage production in the lived realities of World Heritage sites. I argue that to the inhabitants living in or near the enlisted site, Dubrovnik's World Heritage is only made meaningful to its citizens within the horizon of the city's wider cultural heritage, historical relations and embedded cultural historical structures. The thesis explores how the Dubrovnik's World Heritage is interpreted and used in the specific context of being a post-war society. In the aftermath of war and trauma, the city's World Heritage both constitutes a resource for unification and anchoring identities. However, the use of Dubrovnik's World Heritage in post-war economic development and tourism also produces dissonance and conflict.

The ethnographic approach offers a fruitful lens for understanding the local specifics of the "global heritage regime" (Bendix 2008) and how this is unfolded in the particular, lived realities of citizens inhabiting World Heritage sites. 'Global heritage' and 'World Heritage' are themselves imagined concepts, which only become meaningful when they are realized and interpreted in particular socio-cultural and political, lived realities (Macdonald 2013). Although the manifestations of World Heritage 'on the ground' are strongly influenced by the particulars of each locality, the large growth of World Heritage enlistments has contributed towards the emergence of a collectively imagined heritage-scape (Di Giovine 2008). As such, studying World Heritage 'on the ground' represents an enlightening means of exploring the global-local dynamics of heritage- and identity interpretation and production (Salazar 2015).

With the large increase in UNESCO World Heritage nominations in the 21st Century, I see a strong need for ethnographically founded research that examines the multi-faceted motivations and effects of heritage enlistment. With its capacity to pay close attention to local and personal heritage discourses, ethnographic research can contribute towards a better insight into the ways in which World Heritage enlistment conditions, and is conditioned by, inter-communal relations, cultural practices and perceptions. Ethnographic research can furthermore highlight the roles in which heritage plays in power relationships, processes of inclusion and exclusion, and how it may lead to contestation between different groups

inhabiting a heritage site. By illuminating disparities and discord between different heritage discourses and local people's experiences and memories, one can gain a fuller insight into how cultural memory and perceptions of the past are inscribed into places, are situated within relations of power, and become central in shaping the future uses and access to places.

In research directed at finding sustainable solutions to a range of contemporary urban and rural challenges, localized narratives and oral histories are increasingly featuring in methodological approaches. Harvey argues that *"confidence in meta-narratives of heritage purpose is being questioned" (Harvey 2008:20)*, and one can see a certain turn in attention towards 'small heritages' (Harvey 2008) or 'heritage from below' (Robertson 2012) in policy and practice. The strong focus on 'intangible heritage' in Croatian local and national politics in the last decade or so is indicative of this process. An exploration of the 'small heritages' may potentiality offer new lenses in understanding the effects of and responses to the role of heritage in economic growth, sustainable development[21] and in shaping and re-shaping cultural boundaries. However, the underlying motivations and driving-forces steering a re-orientation to 'small heritages' differ significantly and need to be analysed ethnographically.

The many-sided and often problematic consequences of tourism-based developments in Dubrovnik's local context is of global relevance. The depopulation and 'museumification'[22] (Di Giovine 2008) of World Heritage sites, and increasing environmental and infrastructural pressure, are challenges shared by many UNESCO World Heritage sites, especially 'tourist-historic cities' (Ashworth and Tunbridge 2004, Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000). Many World Heritage sites worldwide have undergone dramatic transformations, such as the sudden onset

21 The concept of sustainable development has roots in particularly two publications; the Brundtland Commission Report, Our Common Future, published by the World Commission on Environment and Development, and in the first international sustainable development agreement Agenda 21 (1992), which was developed at the UN Earth Summit. In the Brundtland Report sustainable development is defined as follows; "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Keeble 1988). Central to Agenda 21's conceptualization of sustainable development was "the need to balance the economic, environmental and social dimensions of development over time" (Landorf 2009:54). Since this initial period, sustainable development has become a widely used concept deployed by a range of actors and institutions with varying motivations. Critics thus argue that the concept has become a somewhat 'empty' term today. However, the fact that it continues to dominate public discourses means that it is important to investigate the range of meanings the term holds in each particular, ethnographic context.
22 The processes of 'museumification' of urban areas and World Heritage sites has been observed by several anthropologists and heritage and tourism scholars (Wang 2012, Reeves and Long 2011, Berliner 2012, Nasser 2003, Casagrande 2016, Di Giovine 2008). Di Giovine (ibid.) defines 'museumification' as *"the transition from a living city to that of an idealized re-presentation of itself, wherein everything is considered not for its use but for its value as a potential museum artifact (2009:261)"*. Di Giovine specifies that these "museum artifacts" do not only comprise material representations, such as "buildings, tools, industrial centres, markets and parklands", but can also relate to "immaterial" aspects of a culture, such as ethnicity, nationhood, human beings themselves and their activities (2009:261).

of a new political and economic system, environmental catastrophes, civil unrest and war. The often urgent need for economic recovery, infrastructural and urban regeneration in World Heritage sites with a history of war, make these places particularly vulnerable to exploitation and shortsighted development schemes. Post-war Dubrovnikan public identity discourses reveal many tensions between perceptions of the past and future, and such ambivalence marks contemporary constructions of cultural heritage. While the past is a major point of reference in local and national identity constructions, many citizens, fuelled by post-war politics and propaganda, place their hopes in imagined futures of economic prosperity, devoid of conflict. Post-war national identity constructions feed into an amalgam of forces that have intensified cultural commodification. The country's need for post-war economic and infrastructural recovery led to a dependence on tourism and international bodies, at the same time as Croatia made it's advent into the global capitalist economy. As witnessed in a large number of UNESCO's World Heritage sites, commodification of culture is perhaps an inevitable process as soon as heritage becomes part of tourist promotion and economic livelihood. However, the particular effects of commodification processes, the ways they unfold and the extent to which they increase dissonance, create novel forms of inclusion and exclusion, hegemony and subjugation, in each locality.

Outline of the Thesis

The thesis has three parts. Part one, Introduction, consists of three chapters, of which this chapter is the first. In this chapter, Heritage at the Margins, I have outlined the research project and its rationale. Chapter 2, *Heritage and Identity Production at the Cross-Roads – A Conceptual Framework*, presents an overview of the theoretical underpinnings which provide the framework for understanding the ethnographic material presented in the thesis. The thesis conceptual framework is particularly informed by the theoretical directions of critical heritage studies, which sees heritage as processual and constructed rather than being something innate and given. Exploring heritage as cultural processes and practices offers a constructive lens to better untangle the intertwined relationships between heritage, identity constructions, socio-political change and power relationship in Dubrovnik's post-war context. However, I also emphasize that there are certain limits to the constructivist approach. One major shortcoming is the danger of losing sight of the very materiality that informs heritage constructions and the meanings that materiality itself presents to cultural identities and practices. Chapter 3, *Doing Fieldwork in Dubrovnik*, provides a presentation of the methodology utilized for the ethnographic fieldwork in Croatia. The ethnographic approach to studying 'heritage on the

ground' provides a useful lens in order to identify how cultural heritage and World Heritage are interpreted within particular ethnographic contexts. By ethnographically exploring interrelations and disparities between cultural practices and representations, public discourse and individuals' reflections, daily routines and interactions between individuals and groups to their environment, one can gain a better understanding of how heritage is co-produced at a nexus of temporal relations and scales.

Part two of the thesis, *Walls and Gates*, consists of two chapters. Chapter 4, *World Heritage, Between the Universal and the Particular*, traces the historical roots of heritage production in European context and its linkages to 19th Century formation of nationhood. The use of heritage to consolidate nationhood, in boundary maintenance and exclusion mechanisms based on religious-ethnic and cultural distinction, has been a dominant pattern throughout the history of the Balkans. The main part chapter focuses on new uses and perceptions of heritage in the 21st Century. The chapter contextualizes contemporary heritage production in Croatia and Dubrovnik within UNESCO's 'vocabulary' of World Heritage as encompassing, accessible and equally shared by all of humanity[23].Despite the strong influences of heritage as excluding to including, advocated through UNESCO's World Heritage programme, my ethnography also demonstrates that the strongly conditioned history in the Croatian territory (and the Balkan region at large) continues to influence the uses of heritage. Heritage is used to demarcate borders and to produce ethnic and cultural identities which are seen as distinct and separate from those of its neighbours. Chapter 5, *The Past in the Present*, provides a cultural historical and regional ethnographic contextualization of the territory comprising contemporary Croatia. Dubrovnik's borderland and crossroads status in a geo-political, historical context has heightened the importance of heritage in demarcating the city's boundaries. The use of Dubrovnik's cultural heritage, and its World Heritage status, to demarcate boundaries and 'walls' exists alongside, and sometimes come in conflict, with the discourse on heritage as encompassing.

23 Although UNESCO and its World Heritage programme provides a main focus for analyzing shifts and contradictions within post-war Dubrovnikan heritage production, other regional organizations, such as the EU, the Council of Europe, as well as UNESCO's three formal advisory bodies, ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites), ICCROM (International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property) and IUCN (International Union for the Conservation of Nature), are central co-producers in stimulating a shift within heritage uses and perceptions. ICOMOS, ICCROM and IUCN are furthermore central in developing the parameters of heritage categorization, in developing professional systems for evaluating, protecting and safeguarding World Heritage ('cultural-', 'natural'- and 'intangible' heritage). As Dubrovnik's World Heritage status is categorized as 'cultural heritage', the IUCN is of less relevance to the thesis. See discussion on UNESCO's working relationship with the former two advisory bodies in Chapter 4.

Part three of the thesis, *Friction and Adaptation*, consists of four ethnographic chapters. The chapters bring attention to how heritage is produced and used by multiple groups, Chapter 6, *Post-war Identities*, provides a contextualization of three aspects of post-war nationhood consolidation, which are of particular relevance to Dubrovnikan identity discourse. The main part of the chapter explores post-war identity discourses in Dubrovnik and how its inhabitants re-negotiate the city's cultural heritage within the new parameters of the nation-state. The competing, overlapping and, sometimes, contradictory uses of heritage in the amalgamation of Dubrovnik's post-war identity, when merged with individuals' memories and experiences of war, frequently produce strong degrees of ambivalence in individuals.

Chapter 7, *Place for Some or Places for All*, analyses the consequences of post-war tourism strategies – the market-led reification of cultural heritage in contemporary tourism promotion and economic development. I explore the effects of socio-political and economic change on the experiences of locality, daily life, communal interactions and my informants' relationships to cultural heritage and materiality.

Chapter 8, *The Overheated City – Tourism and its Discontents*, explores Dubrovnikans' experiences of, and responses to, tourism, post-war tourism-driven economic development and changes in the urban environment in the post-war period. I argue that, as the local economy, jobs and daily lives are increasingly attuned to tourism and the commercial promotion of Dubrovnik's cultural heritage, many locals feel 'trapped' in the city. My ethnographic material illustrates that ambivalence, nostalgia and a sense of identity deprivation are prominent features of contemporary local life and many informants experience that locality and inter-community relations have changed significantly in the post-war period.

Chapter 9, *Contested Places*, demonstrates how the economic uses of heritage and places of symbolic cultural and memorial values produce a strong degree of friction and dissonance. I analyse the case study of Golf Park Dubrovnik, a planned construction project of golf courses and real estate constructions upon Mount Srđ, positioned on the hill directly above the UNESCO enlisted walled centre. Constituting an important local landmark of Dubrovnik's defence and freedom throughout history, as well as an important piece of common land, the contestations and dissonance experienced in the light of the construction plans and its attempts to privatize and commodify the landscape, have turned into outright resistance.

In Chapter 10, *Conclusion – From a Material-based to a Value-based Heritage*, I summarize the main arguments in this thesis. I suggest why we need to move from a primarily material-

based heritage approach. I argue that it is of crucial importance that we include a thorough value-based understanding of the multiple meanings and attachments to heritage in the specific World Heritage sites. By including the values attached to different heritage resources and to different areas (urban areas and landscapes) we can better accommodate a community-based, sustainable heritage management.

2. *Heritage and Identity Production at the Cross-Roads – A Conceptual Framework*

Introduction

This chapter outlines my theoretical positioning which underpins the ways in which I present and interpret the ethnographic data in the thesis. Critical heritage studies and practice theory inform my analytical framework. These schools have not only been significant in shaping my theoretical anchoring, but have also contributed significantly towards framing my methodological choice and fieldwork gaze throughout the doctorate research. My epistemological anchoring involves exploring the contextual and processual characters of heritage production. I argue that heritage meanings and uses are deeply embedded in social structures and are reproduced through practice. At the same time, this thesis' exploration of the uses of heritage in post-war identity constructions also demonstrates that human agency and changing social-political and economic conditions influence the particular meanings of heritage in any historic era. I as my ethnography shows, communities continuously negotiate and change the uses of heritage.

Through heritage production, communities engage in using the past as a springboard to construct a desired present and in envisioning the near future. This chapter provides a discussion of the different ways in which the past, conveyed as heritage, is made relevant and alive in the present and is perceived as something collectively shared. One of the characteristic processes in the production of heritage is the practice of bestowing selected pasts in the present by making these meaningful in contemporary life and culture. As my discussion of these analytical perspectives show, temporal and spatial relations are central to anchoring the self and the community in the present.

Critical Heritage Studies

The thesis' theoretical framework is informed by theoretical shifts, which have taken place in anthropology and related disciplines in the social sciences and humanities, especially since the late 1990s. Until the 1980s and '90s, research on heritage tended to be incorporated into the more established, related fields of archaeology, museum studies, architecture, ethnology and folklore. With the proliferation of the leisure industry since the 1950s, heritage also existed as a component within tourism studies (Waterton and Watson 2015). But with the steady proliferation of heritage as a marketing tool in leisure activities, leading to the emergence of a

‘heritage industry’ in the 1980s (Hewison 1987), heritage research developed more of a critical approach. Building on social constructionist research in the 1970s and methods of textual discourse analysis and postmodern critical social theory of the 1980s, the first seeds of a new inter-disciplinary sub-field, ‘critical heritage studies’ was established in the latter half of the 1990s[24].

A key text which contributed significantly towards shaping the critical heritage approach in the 1990s was *Dissonant Heritage: the Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict* (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996a). By studying heritage as socially constructed and part of social, cultural and political processes, it provided a lens whereby the meanings and uses of heritage are seen to continuously undergo negotiation and contestation. Tunbridge and Ashworth (ibid.) drew attention to how dissonance is an inherent aspect of heritage, as multiple and often conflicting interest groups, with varying degrees of access to power, are involved in the production, distribution and consumption of what we come to see as a culture’s heritage. Tunbridge and Ashworth (ibid) highlight three particularly important aspects of heritage production:

1) ‘Heritage’ essentially needs to be understood in the plural. Within any country’s proclaimed boundaries there exist many ‘heritages’ and cultures.

2) This plurality arises from the fact that heritage has multiple producers, consumers and modes of distribution, which is particularly relevant in multi-ethnic and multi-religious contexts.

3) Consequently, by including and reifying particular aspects of a society as its heritage, one inevitably excludes and ‘disinherits’ other aspects. This can lead to what Tunbridge and Ashworth define as ‘dissonant heritage’; *‘the discordance or lack of agreement and consistency as to the meaning of heritage’* (2006:37).

Tunbridge and Ashworth’s critical approach to heritage as a practice produced and consumed by multiple interest groups, and therefore containing, at least to a degree, dissonance, has been particularly influential in shaping the theoretical underpinnings of my research.

[24] Three key texts from the 1980s have provided much of the foundation for the development of ‘critical heritage studies’ in the 1990s. Lowenthal’s *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Lowenthal 1996[1985]), Hewison’s *The Heritage Industry* (Hewison 1987) and Wright’s *On Living in an Old Country* (Wright 1985), provide invaluable reflections of how heritage and the past provide resources for the present and therefore need to be understood within contemporary cultural and political contexts, as well as in terms of power relations and hegemony.

Moreover, their critical heritage approaches have informed the 'gaze' of my ethnographic fieldwork by aiding the exploration of the multiple and contradictory kinds of meanings, identities and uses involved in 'making heritage' Dubrovnik.

Inspired by critical heritage studies, I refute the so-called, 'authorized heritage discourse' (Smith 2006b, a) , which perceives heritage as nearly exclusively linked to materiality and which views heritage values as innate qualities found in the very material structures of objects. This discourse, which until lately has been dominant in heritage management, politics in most scholarly work on heritage, fails to recognize how heritage is embedded in a society's power relationships, meaning-making, identity constructions and economic pursuits (ibid.). However, to emphasize that 'heritage-value' are not inherent qualities embodied in the elements selected as heritage in a culture is not to say that their 'tangible' or 'intangible' representations are not of relevance in the study of heritage. These particular manifestations, whether they be a monument, a building, a city quarter or area, a particular dance, or way of preparing a meal or producing embroidery on a piece of cloth, *become* meaningful to people. They become so only in relation to particular social and cultural processes that are expressed and embedded in particular practices and symbolic representations.

In line with critical heritage theorists, such as Tunbridge and Ashworth (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996b), Smith (Smith 2006b), Waterton and Watson (Waterton and Watson 2015) and Meskell (Meskell 2012), amongst others, the thesis explores the social and cultural relations embedded in heritage production, distribution and consumption. I perceive heritage as social phenomena, grounded in the present constructions, contexts and cultural memory of a given society, and intimately linked to processes of local and global socio-political change. Heritage is both embedded in, and affected by, cultural practices, carried out, made and re-made in each historical moment. Embedded in its constructions and uses in the present, heritage is produced and necessarily contains temporal and spatial anchoring. Heritage constructions are intertwined with bestowing selected pasts onto the present and onto desired futures. In other words, by constituting cultural practices drawn from the past, heritage does not only affect how we perceive the past. Heritage production has real consequences on community relations and practices in the present and the near future. The fact that heritage is linked to processes of change and is constructed and re-constructed by human agency and discourse, also means that heritage is contested, negotiated and potentially a source of dissonance or conflict (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996b).

A benefit of using an ethnographic approach to studying heritage is its potential for uncovering how the meanings of heritage embedded in power relationships, are contested and multiple, reproduced and changed through practices. An ethnographic approach, I suggest, can bring the perspectives of marginalized groups to the fore. My ethnography from Dubrovnik suggests that ideological structures that govern heritage usage and it management are deeply entrenched in local and national power dynamics. This entrenchment makes it nearly impossible to subvert or challenge the dominant usage of heritage.

Despite theoretical propositions of the lessening importance of place and boundaries in the global era (Gupta and Ferguson 1992, 1997), heritage has re-acquired a prominent role as a strategy in nation-states' and individuals' grounding of identity politics, in forging cultural borders and in safeguarding the cultural reproducibility of the perceived 'uniquely local'. Since the late 1990s, there has been a renewed interest in heritage as a means of anchoring the self and grounding practices in a place (Uzzell 1996, Tilley 2006). This renewed interest has placed heritage in the context of globalization processes, marked by temporal acceleration, mobility, spatial interconnectedness, and subsequently an integration of formerly more 'bounded' places into 'higher levels of scale' (Eriksen 2016). However, heritage production is subject to many contradictory processes and has the ability to incorporate many contradictory cultural practices by several different groups at once (Buciek and Juul 2016, Graham and Howard 2008). The integration of 'local heritage' into 'higher scales', through global tourism and the production of World Heritage, has opened up to the use of heritage by multiple groups, each steered by their own ideological anchoring and identity politics. Contemporary heritage production has the potential to entail flexibility, creative use and empowerment on the one hand, and fixedness, hegemonic control by 'expert groups' and disenfranchisement, on the other (Silverman 2010). The re-emphasis on local embeddedness, boundary maintenance and on 'primordial' cultural and identity markers, such as religion and ethnicity, increasingly comes into conflict with other cultural markers of globalism. Strong rights-based orientation and freedom of movement of peoples, goods and ideas – characteristics, in particular, of modern-day Western cultures and thought re-negotiate these identity markers. These different directions tend to produce a strong degree of ambivalence in identity construction and identity politics (Bauman 1990, 2001). These processes are evident in how Dubrovnikan identity is constructed in relation to the global. Dubrovnik's cultural heritage, particularly the perceived heritage of the Dubrovnik Republic, provide a resource in boundary

maintenance, exclusion and gate-keeping, but is also used as a springboard for change and inclusivity.

Without paying attention to the structural limits and the ways in which existing hegemonic power relations are reproduced within communities and between centres and peripheries, studying 'heritage at the ground', as means of exploring local empowerment, may exhibit striking inadequacies. It may fall into the same shortcomings as the so-called 'resistance studies' of the 1990s did in over-emphasizing the power of marginalized groups to subvert embedded power relations and the production of meaning. But, at the same time, many of the insights provided by studies focusing on meaning-making and the global-local, or *'glocal'* (Robertson 1992) interfaces, are transferable to studying the many-sided processes and interconnected scales of heritage production. Many globalization studies in the 1990s perceived cultural production as mostly one-directional, asymmetrical 'flows' (emerging in the 'centres' and spreading to the 'peripheries'). In response to this tendency, globalization studies, which I loosely define as 'resistance studies', saw the 'peripheries' as being actively involved in processes of meaning-making and in shaping cultural representations (Friedman 1994). Friedman perceived populations living in 'peripheries' as actively engaged in processes of 'creolization' and 'hybridization' of cultural forms and meaning. This is relevant to the local-global interfaces of heritage production in general, and particularly to the production of World Heritage, which is interpreted and represented within the particular ethnographic contexts in each place and in relation to specific embedded cultural historical processes.

Although there has been a proliferation of 'critical heritage studies' in the recent years, the influence of a critical heritage approach is slight. Few of the insights made within this academic field, and the political and legal recommendations which some of these studies present, have made their way into the areas of technical heritage management, urban planning, architecture, conservation and politics. Despite a growing tendency for flexible uses of heritage at the micro-level and the broadening of heritage meanings, heritage perceptions- and management remain defined within hegemonic relations. The predominance of 'expert groups' in heritage management practices and policies continues to assert influence in the ways heritage is defined, used, distributed and consumed. The categorization and evaluation of heritage by 'expert groups' are also integral to 'fixing' the ways heritage is understood and used (Smith and Akagawa 2008, Smith 2006b, Waterton and Watson 2010).

Heritage as Cultural Practice and Process

Smith's, *The Uses of Heritage* (Smith 2006b), explores heritage as a social construction and as signifying practices for present-day purposes. Smith perceives heritage as part of a multi-layered cultural production process whereby selection of a particular heritage becomes reified and naturalized over time. Repeated public rituals and commemoration, public representations of heritage in museums, educational curriculum and the media, repeated visits to 'heritage sights' through tourism and educational tours, and representations of the selected heritage in art, films, poetry and music are some of many mechanisms that serve to reify the heritage as innate and permanent. Smith (ibid.) argues that heritage is contextual and processual and needs to be analysed as part of particular socio-cultural, economic and political purposes in the present, which are intimately linked with a culture's production of meaning and identity. In other words, 'heritage value' does not 'reside' within the selected heritage. Heritage conceptions and practices are influenced by contemporary power relations and the intentionality of different groups. However, while change is central to the constructed nature of heritage, adopting a predominantly social constructionist approach to heritage could entail certain shortcomings. A 'pure' social constructionist approach could impair the ability to recognize that the seeds of change in heritage conceptions and practices are not only found among those who hold the economic, political or authoritative power to define heritage and its uses. Given that heritage uses and meanings are contextual and processual, heritage is continuously negotiated, and potentially contested, between different members of society.

Smith's (ibid.) argues that without any knowledge of the cultural and historical context of Stonehenge, the English UNESCO enlisted World Heritage Site since 1986, the formation of large stone megaliths placed in a circle, would be no more meaningful than any group of stones found in a landscape. By turning Stonehenge into World Heritage, meaning and cultural symbolism is 'inscribed' in the very material representations, the stones. Smith's argument is useful in drawing attention to how the transformation of something into heritage or World Heritage are shaped by a complex range of cultural processes and selections. However, there could be a certain danger in over-emphasizing the constructed nature of heritage. Her view of Stonehenge as being merely large rocks positioned in a circle fails to recognize that, even without knowing anything about their history or the cultural uses and meanings of the stone circle, there is something about the *materiality* of Stonehenge, which most likely would impress and affect spectators at any time in history. Similarly, one could argue that the city wall in Dubrovnik cannot simply be seen as a group of limestone bricks

positioned on top of each other or that the wall would be devoid of any meaning to its spectators without its World Heritage status or knowledge of the history of Dubrovnik Republic. Exactly which meanings are ascribed to the city wall is, indeed, contextual and closely connected to social change.

"Much of what is described as post-modern or late modern," sociologist Anthony Giddens notes, *"is based on the experience of living in a world where absence and presence are mingled with each other in a historically new way"* (Giddens 1996:165). Heritage conveys precisely this dual relationship. The production of heritage tends to rest on the alignment of something which is considered 'precious and irreplaceable', while at the same time reflecting a society's desire to 'restore and recoup' something that has vanished or is seen to be 'needed' for present-day ends (Lowenthal 1996, 2015). This double bind reveals the spatial and temporal complexities of heritage production. In order to perceive of something as heritage we engage in conceptual exercises whereby it is both located at the core of a culture's identity and is central in demarcating that culture's imagined borders towards that which is considered different. Yet for something to be treasured as an inimitable resource, heritage must simultaneously be positioned as an external sphere to society's 'everyday present' (ibid). Artefacts and practices are often granted value as heritage by their longevity and perceived temporal continuity.

Although, 'the past', 'history' and 'heritage' are used as interchangeable synonyms in daily speech, it is important to distinguish between the terms for analytical purposes (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000). Although, 'the past', 'history' and 'heritage' are often used as interchangeable synonyms in daily speech, it is important to distinguish between the terms for analytical purposes. 'Heritage' distinguishes itself from the other concepts by being 'a means of representation' (ibid.), which is linked to meaning-making and present-day concerns. Whereas 'the past' can be seen as 'all that has ever happened' and 'history' as the surveying and analysis of chronological events which have occurred in the past, 'heritage' entails a viewpoint from the present, both projected backwards in time and onto an envisaged future (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000). Although that which is selected as 'tangible' and 'intangible' heritage often has some grounding in real pasts, the objective existence of the pasts which are represented in 'heritage' are not prerequisite requirements to the production and consumption of heritage (ibid.). Inspired by Graham et.al, this thesis will focus less on matters of authenticity, than analyse how meaning is produced, negotiated, consumed and transmitted through 'heritage'. I also attempt to disentangle the complex

present-day reasons as to why particular types of meaning are created and become matters of contestation in certain contexts. Perceived as 'the contemporary uses of the past' and as modes of representation, heritage involves meaning-making at many levels. The designation of meaning onto heritage occurs in many different ways; by regulative mechanisms, whereby *"cultural and economic meanings regulate and organize conduct and practices"* or by the production of cultural identities, economic commodification and consumption, whereby *"cultural and economic meanings [are] produced and exchanged"* (ibid. 2000:3). As Hall (1997) points out, *"It is by our use of things, and what we say, think and feel about them – how we represent them –that we give them a meaning"* (Hall 1997:3). In this respect, 'tangible' and 'intangible' heritage can be seen as signifying practices, as part of cultural discourse (ibid). To a larger degree than in language as signifying practice, the meanings of heritage often overlap and are contextual. Heritage, therefore, *"fulfils several inherently opposing uses and carries conflicting meanings simultaneously"* (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000:3).

Heritage often becomes some of the most prominent symbols and representations of the existence and continuation of selfhood in opposition to otherness. As my ethnography presented in the thesis will highlight, heritage production is thus inevitably connected with processes of inclusion and exclusion, both within and between societies. By reifying particular 'tangible' and 'intangible' aspects of a culture as representative examples of its cultural heritage, societies are simultaneously engaged in processes of demarking and differentiating the cultural boundaries against the perceived 'otherness'.

Heritage and Practice Theory

My epistemological anchoring is also informed by practice theory[25]. Practice theory offers insights onto the mutual influences of and interaction between social structures and human agency (practice), and how both influence the present and contain the capacity to shape change in the near future. There is a longstanding interest in anthropology to explore the underlying mechanisms of cultural reproduction through focusing on the ways in which

25 The roots of practice theory are found in 1970s sociology, especially with the publications of Bourdieu's *Outline of a Theory of Practice (Bourdieu 1977[1972])* and Giddens' *Central Problems in Social Theory – Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis* (Giddens 1979). The emergence of practice theory in European context can be seen as a reaction towards the long-standing dominance of structuralism in the social sciences and the humanities throughout the 1960s (Ortner 1984). The turn towards focusing on practice and agency also provided a theoretical counter-point towards the popularity of structural Marxism and political economy, which came to dominate 1970's anthropology (ibid.).

"norms, values, and conceptual schemes get reproduced by and for actors" (Ortner 1984:154). Influenced by the Durkheimian theoretical school, English symbolic anthropology in the 1960s and 1970s emphasized the role of rituals in reproducing societal structures. In contrast to these earlier studies, the practice approaches beginning in the late 1970s and furthered in the 1980s, place a stronger emphasis on everyday practices and their roles in reproducing and shaping 'the system' [i.e. social structures] (ibid.). This shift in focus is strongly influenced by Bourdieu's 'habitus'[26], and his emphasis on how the continuous enactment and re-enactment of daily routines are relevant in understanding how practice are integral in reproducing and shaping structures. Bourdieu focuses on seemingly mundane every-day practices, such as the ways we eat, move around in social spaces, talk to one another, and spend our spare-times. He argues that practices become internalized and are conditioned by socially sanctioned etiquettes of appropriate and inappropriate behaviours. Bourdieu brings attention to how repeated practices *"are predicated upon, and embody within themselves, the fundamental notions of temporal, spatial, and social ordering that underlie and organize the system as a whole" (Ortner 1984:154).*

Giddens' influence on the development of practice theory has equally had a profound influence beyond the sociological discipline. Giddens' (Giddens 1984) proposes that society has certain forms which appear as structures. Although these structures have effects on people, they are not fixed and are produced and reproduced through what people do, in other words through practice. While Giddens disapproves of functionalism and structuralism for the lack of attention paid to human agency, he equally maintains that the interpretive sociological traditions have many shortcomings with regards to the over-emphasis on practice. An over-emphasis on the potentiality of practices to subvert structures may fail to recognize mechanisms of constraint embedded in social structures (ibid.). Giddens proposes 'the theory of structuration' as a way of studying the totality and mutual inter-dependence of structure and agency.

Practice theory recognizes that social structures, whether informal or formal, create certain conditions for human practices and interactions in the present and near future. My ethnographic research brings attention to how deeply embedded social structures and

[26] Building on the Latin term for 'habits', Bourdieu's (1977 [1972] encapsulation of habitus refers to the permanent internalisation and naturalisation of social structures within the human body. The embodiment of societal structures from childhood onwards condition our practices and our learned notions of what constitutes the appropriate and inappropriate types of behaviour in a given situation.

particular historical events strongly condition identities and heritage uses in Dubrovnik. I argue that there to a large degree exists certain restraints to the flexible and subversive uses of heritage by individuals due a wide array of factors. Some of these restraints are shaped by heritage and cultural institutions' management practices, binding, legal heritage conventions, political regulations, urban planning and construction plans. Furthermore, Croatia's transition to global capitalism has asserted significant consequences on land and real estate ownership. Private ownership of land areas and buildings which were formerly open to the public, also conditions practices, through restricting certain groups' access to and use of places.

Due to repeated reproduction and internalization in individuals and groups found in embodied practices and public recollection, the close ties between heritage and collective identities are furthermore reinforced and to a certain extent dictate the range of meanings in which heritage may fulfil. When that is said, heritage uses and meanings can only partly be seen as formed by social structures. Heritage production is part of processes of change, are negotiated within and between individuals and groups at different scales, and human practices and interaction play important roles in conveying the uses of heritage and grounding 'meaning' in particular places. The potentials for flexible and subversive heritage meanings and uses are always latent. No heritage means entirely the same to all people and all cultures and the diversity in practices can therefore best be explored ethnographically.

If heritage constitutes social and cultural constructions and practices carried out for *present-day ends*, it also means that the cultural conditions of different presents change. But who or what institutes or stimulates this change? Is change in heritage perceptions and practices largely led by institutions and people with access to decision-making power? And to what degree do individuals and grass-roots initiatives have a capacity to influence change in heritage perceptions and practices? Although there are no given answers which would sufficiently address the complexities of these questions nor would apply in all cultural contexts or time periods, practice theory can facilitate a nuanced insight to the inter-relatedness of structure and agency, by not privileging either as the engine in shaping social structures and stimulating change.

While human agency and practice offer potential means to transform and resist existing social structures, I would argue that individual behaviour is strongly influenced by social structures. Structures are not only reproduced in institutions and amongst people in positions of power,

but are also enforced through individuals' placement of checks and balances on other individuals.

The global heritagization of local cultural traditions, have, on the one hand, opened up for the potentiality of 'local empowerment' through enabling otherwise disenfranchised groups to challenge local heritage meanings, practices and power relationships by international heritage protection. However, it cannot be ignored that the globalization of heritage, stronghold of international heritage legislation and deeply embedded historic relations within the Balkan region strongly condition practices and limit the capability of individuals to transform the existing power structures in a given society. My ethnography highlights that these structures are of relevance in understanding how the heritagization of culture and identities in post-war Dubrovnik sometimes lead to experiences of confinement instead of providing the seeds for empowerment. I contend that the heritagization of traditions and materiality can frequently be experienced as a burden and restraint, which in many ways limits individuals' freedom of movement and places certain conditions on practice and agency.

Heritage and Power

Who controls the past controls the future. Who controls the present controls the past" (Orwell 1984[1989:32]).

George Orwell's insightful and much recited lines from his dystopian novel, *'1984'*, are of great relevance when discussing how 'the past' is turned into meaningful heritage in the present and are used for contemporary, often ideologically motivated purposes.

Heritage is intimately connected to identity (Smith and Akagawa 2008, Harrison 2013). Although the connections between heritage and identity are compound, an effect of heritage production is that it *"creates and recreates a sense of inclusion and exclusion (Smith and Akagawa 2008:7)."* All heritage is someone's heritage and therefore logically not someone else's: the original meaning of an inheritance [from which 'heritage' derives[27]] implies the existence of disinheritance and by extension any creation of heritage from the past disinherits someone completely or partially, actively or potentially. This disinheritance may be unintentional, temporary, of trivial importance, limited in its effects and concealed; or it may be long-term, widespread, intentional, important and obvious (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996a, Tunbridge 1998, Bendix 2008, Peckham 2003). Power is thus embedded in the very term; 'heritage' – if someone inherits something, others are inevitably excluded from inheriting it too. The Croatian term for heritage, *baština[28]*, has similar connotations as the English term, *heritage* (see further discussion in Chapter 4). The widespread perception in the Western hemisphere that 'heritage value' exist *within* the heritage representations obscures the underlying processes of how heritage is selected, continuously negotiated and communicated through social and cultural relations as being 'meaningful'. That 'heritage' is largely seen as having innate qualities which make their heritage status into a natural consequence of its physicality rather than being part of a culture's attempts to create meaning, identity, to make cultural boundaries and position themselves in their surroundings, reveal that the 'authorised heritage discourse' (Smith 2006b) continues to dominate popular perceptions. Smith (ibid.) argues that the naturalization of heritage often become 'self-regulating' and 'self-referential' over time. While the 'authorized heritage discourse'

27 The origins of the term, *heritage*, dates back to around 1200. The etymology of the term derives from the Old French word, *iritage* (heir, inheritance), *heriter* (inherit) and Late Latin *hereditare* (inherit) (Davies 1976).
28 *Baština*, is often modified with an additional word to specify what 'type' of heritage one is talking about, such as *nacionalna baština* (*national heritage*), *lokalna baština* (local heritage), *povijesna baština* (*historical heritage*) and *svjetska baština* (*World Heritage*), *kulturna baština* (cultural heritage), *prirodna baština* (natural heritage), *materijalna baština (*material heritage) and *nematerijalna baština* (immaterial heritage).

generally tends to remain unchallenged, dissonance and contestation over heritage often tends to be limited to 'case-specific issues' (ibid.). As my ethnography shows, cultural discourses regarding what constitutes heritage, heritage management practices and how to delineate a 'balance' between conservation and development, often exist as unquestioned 'facts' underlying cultural negotiations and are strongly influenced by the 'authorized heritage discourse'.

Heritage production is inevitably part of cultural discourses, which *"not only organizes the way concepts like heritage is understood, but the way we act, the social and technical practices we act out, and the way knowledge is constructed and reproduced (Smith, 2006:4)."* Heritage management not only relies on technical conservation and restoration, but for the selected heritage to remain meaningful to a culture's construction of selfhood, heritage representations are also governed in order to convey particular cultural values and symbolism (ibid). Heritage meanings are steered by a large number of interest groups with varying degrees of access to power.

Locating Memory

Heritage is always *located*; it "occurs somewhere", and it is therefore important to raise the questions to *where* heritage is located and *why* a particular heritage is located is there (Graham et.al. 2000). By exploring the geographies of heritage, patterns of power dynamics between centres and peripheries emerge (ibid.). My ethnography illustrates that post-war heritage production involves strategies of attempting to reverse national-local power dynamics by reifying Dubrovnik's cultural heritage as being central within the context of the Croatian nation-state.

Memories are integral to shaping a sense of continuity in time and in embedding human beings in their environments. Without memories we would not be able to make sense of the past and present, and our memories of previous experiences and accumulated knowledge form essential parts in understanding causality as well as in imagining and predicting possible futures (Lowenthal 1996[1985], Cresswell 2014). As memories provide us with a sense of 'self-continuity', being able to recollect the past is instrumental in creating self-identities (ibid.). However, memories can be flighty and unreliable; they are malleable and prone to being influenced by and integrated with the memories of other human beings and the public memories of societies. This derives from the highly relational and selective character of memories. Although memories are experienced as being personal in character, they are also

socially constructed (Cresswell 2014). Memories of the past and their relation to the present need be nurtured and given support in order to ensure their sustenance (ibid). The connections between heritage and public memory are evoked in numerous ways; through practices; such as public commemoration and symbols, in rituals and celebrations, through practices and habits, and in inscribing memory in places; through the production of monuments and museums, by preserving some buildings and deciding to tear down other buildings (ibid).

The processes of inscribing memory in places and materiality inevitably involve certain selections as all places and material constructions are imbued with countless memories of different past and present events, processes and social relations. Social memory, therefore is:

> *Highly selective, it highlights and foregrounds, imposes beginnings, middles and ends on the random and contingent. Equally, it foreshortens, silences, disavows, forgets and elides many episodes which – from another perspective – could be the start of a different narrative. This process of selective 'canonisation' confers authority and a material and institutional facticity on the selective tradition, making it extremely difficult to shift or revise. (Hall 1999:221).*

Landscapes and the urban fabric of cities do not merely constitute symbols which are drawn on in the cultural imagination; they are made and remade into places where lives and identities are embedded and played out in ever-changing contexts (Tilley 2006). The landscapes and urban areas people 'dwell in' (Ingold 2002, 1993) are central in their life-worlds, in encoding values and creating a sense of 'permanence' to cultural memories, which in length provide the sites of the historical identities of communities (Stewart and Strathern 2003):

> *Memory and place, via landscape (including seascape), can be seen as crucial transducers whereby the local, national and global are brought into mutual alignment; or as providing sites where conflicts between these influences are played out (2003:1-2).*

Central to the heritage discourses discussed in the thesis is how the selection and combination of pasts and materiality conjure spaces into places, and mould fragmented histories into continuity. Materiality and places also influence practices, perceptions and memory, not just the other way around.

In post-war contexts, certain places transgress being merely passive sites epitomizing the 'memory of war', but become active sites for anchoring and moulding local identities and identity discourse. Such places can become central to the communities' post-war remaking efforts (Sørensen and Viejo-Rose 2015), by tying the past and present together with an envisioned future and desired change. In this sense, they can constitute a source of unity in post-war recovery processes, but can also become sites of dissonance as these sites become subject to development, change and contestations. In the aftermath of war, certain places and landscapes tend to become symbolically 'invested places' in communities' remaking efforts, which are used actively *"to voice concerns, claims, and interpretations of the conflicts, to 'move on' or to silence memory"* (Sørensen and Viejo-Rose 2015:3). Taking a biographical approach to place and landscapes, which are associated with war, Sørensen and Viejo-Rose argue that such places become:

> *Iconic representations of complex events, gaining an array of meanings that transform them into signifiers for understandings that go well beyond their own context specific histories and which sit apart from official heritage evaluation and management policies. Irrespective of their 'heritage value', such sites become 'invested places' that are owned by larger communities (2015:3).*

The contestations and strong resistance to the planned golf- and real estate project, *Golf Park Dubrovnik* on Mount Srđ, (see Chapter 9) exemplify that the site represents such an 'invested place' to Dubrovnikans. Many opposed to the development fear that the memory of the war, and of Dubrovnikans' efforts in protecting the city during the 1991-1992 siege, will be obliterated or compromised if the project is realized. With the 'overheating' (Eriksen 2016) of the walled centre due to tourism, the mountain plateau's role as an 'invested place' has become even more pronounced, representing one of the few remaining areas of common land left which cater to the population's recreational needs.

Tourism in post-war locations does not only affect the locals' experience of places and how they commemorate past events. Tourism may also be used as a vehicle to deal with, conceal or obliterate certain memories, while reifying others. Insights into such processes can sometimes be found in tourism representations. In his comparative study of media representations in the aftermath of the wars in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, Wise (Wise 2011) proposes that contrasting types of tourism discourses have contributed towards reconstructing the imaginative geographies of the countries' post-war images and landscapes.

Building on previous studies of the connections between memory, heritage and power (Müller 2002[2007], Whelan 2016), Wise (Wise 2011) proposes a three-fold typology of post-war societies' contrasting approaches to dealing with the past in the present. The first typology is guided by an active public stance of recollecting and commemorating war experiences through "landscape remembrance". This approach tends to integrate the memory of war in the tourism industry. Monuments, buildings and sites vital to the (selected discourses) of the war constitute central arenas for new tourism products, embodying so-called "war tourism". In the second typology, which he identifies as "fading memory", there is a recognition of the war as having some lingering impressions on society, but the emphasis is largely on the future. As time passes, the collective memory of the war is allowed to fade, but the representations still continue to exist in a mid-way position, fluctuating between remembering and forgetting. The third typology, identified by Wise as "replacing memory", involves a *"phasing out of the past while placing emphasis on the future"* (2011:6). This involves erasing, or obliterating, the memory of war in landscapes, materiality and sites. It emphasizes new or other physical and cultural amenities for tourism, heritage and cultural identification (ibid.). In Dubrovnik's tourism representations, I would argue that the typologies of "fading memory" and "replacing memory" are prominent. The focus on the traumatic past of war is present, but allowed to fade over time. The present and future focus on Dubrovnik as successfully restored – and its citizens as having moved on from the war – dominates tourist representations. However, the widespread concern that the memory of war embedded in Mount Srđ will be obliterated if the golf project is realized illustrates that the third typology does not harmonize with the outlook of many citizens. Dubrovnikans as a rule do not find it overly problematic that areas in the city's core are depicted as destinations for luxury tourism. However, Golf Park Dubrovnik's proposals for luxury restaurants in Fort Imperial (from which Dubrovnik was defended during the siege), golf courses and elite holiday accommodation on Mount Srđ, are offensive to many citizens. As I argue in Chapter 9, *Contested Places*, the mountain plateau's historical role means it has a revered place in the city's cultural symbolism of freedom (*libertas*) and defence. This is central to understanding how the project has attracted such resistance and grown into one of Dubrovnik's – and Croatia's – most controversial and inflamed construction schemes. The battle over the mountain plateau's future gives a deeper understanding of how heritage, memory, identity and social change become 'inscribed' into landscapes, materiality and practices.

Identity and Borders

In the process of inscribing memories onto landscapes and urban environments, imagined borders are simultaneously forged. Some borders of the mind may have long durability, while others shift more readily in relation to present-day processes of change. The development of an anthropology of borders begins especially with Barth's influential book, Ethnic Groups and Boundaries (Barth 1969), which drew attention to how a group's selfhood is constructed through boundary maintenance. He argued that it is through a society's interaction with other, mostly neighbouring, groups or societies and through its attempts to differentiate itself from these, that the internal 'contents' of a society's culture or sense of ethnic belonging are constructed and safeguarded. Barth distanced himself from the foregoing theorizing in the social sciences, which saw culture as 'bounded entities'. He proposed that ethnicity[29] and culture are relational and their 'contents' are under constant maintenance and negotiation, and that their expressions take form by interaction at the interfaces between different groups. Barth's theorizing on the construction of ethnicity through border maintenance is transferrable to how cultural heritage become connected with ethnicity and religion, and is constructed and maintained through consolidating symbolic and cultural borders. Throughout the 1970s, anthropological studies of borders emerged as a more distinct anthropological focus, usually grouped within the sub-discipline of political anthropology. The construction and maintenance of symbolic and cultural borders became widely addressed by anthropologists (Wilson and Donnan 1998a, b). In contrast to the types of border studies found in the other social sciences of the 1970s, the anthropological approach tended to focus on the symbolic and material processes of culture amongst communities living in geo-political borderlands. Such studies shed new light on the permeability of borders and on mechanisms of cultural adaptation of 'borderland people'. They also revealed how the consolidation of cultural borders often has durability long after the political borders of nation-states have shifted (Wilson and Donnan 1998b)[30]. In this thesis, I argue that Dubrovnik's cultural heritage plays a central role in consolidating cultural and ethnic boundaries, both locally and nationally. This

[29] There are numerous definitions of 'ethnicity' and 'ethnic groups'. Generally speaking, ethnicity relates to a classification of people and group relationships (Eriksen 2002). In the Balkans, ethnicity relates closely, although not unanimously to religion. But it has nothing to do with race (ibid), as many of the ethnic groups in the Western-Balkans differentiate themselves as being of different ethnic groups, but they still share a background as 'South-Slavs'.

[30] An example of this is found in Cole and Wolf's (Cole and Wolf 1974) monography, 'The Hidden Frontier: Ecology and Ethnicity in an Alpine Valley', which explores how cultural boundaries and ethnic differentiation are maintained between two neighboring German-speaking and Italian-speaking Alpine villages in South Tyrol. In spite of the fact that the province of South Tyrol became annexed to Italy after World War I, this differentiation and maintenance of cultural boundaries persisted in the 1970s.

segregation functions both within Croatia, and between Croatia and the Balkans. I assert that post-war identity constructions in Dubrovnik-Neretva County are, to a large degree, consolidated through the enforcement of cultural and ethnic boundaries. In heritage production, both Catholicism and Croat ethnicity are reified. A consequence of this is that many people, whether from minority ethnic-religious background or atheists, experience a diminished belonging to their cultural heritage. In the 1990s and around the turn of the new millennium, anthropological studies of globalization processes tended to focus on how the constructions of identities and localities are fragile, fragmented, hybrid, de-territorialized and diasporic, in a contemporary world marked by the 'flow' of people, goods, technology and ideas. Several theorists set out to challenge the significance of territoriality, boundaries, nationhood and the connections between identities and place in a world marked by mobility and fluidity (Gupta and Ferguson 1992). In recent years, however, there has been a renewed interest in border studies, and how new (and old) borders are shaped and re-consolidated in a globalized world marked by fluidity and interconnectivity (Wilson 2012, 2014). Earlier borders studies often focused on geo-political borders in an international context, and were especially propagated within the sub-field of political anthropology (ibid.). More recently, a growing area of border studies has approached the construction of borders in the context of identity studies. There has been an increased focus on the construction of borders at smaller scales – such as regions, cities, suburbs and rural areas (ibid.). This strand is also found within heritage studies, where the role of heritage in consolidating identity is studied through the lenses of boundaries, borders, and inclusion and exclusion mechanisms. By studying the constitution of borders, boundaries and frontiers at a variety of scales, one can obtain valuable insights into how certain borders exist as parallel to one another or intersect with each other. In other cases, constructions of certain borders may check the influence of others (Wilson 2012). Moreover, several different borders can exist in one place at the same time – cities often have defined external borders, but there may also be internal borders within a city (ibid.). The way in which borders are shaped and re-consolidated in Dubrovnik's post-war context, both within the city and in relation to other spatial scales, is integral to the thesis' focus on the intersections between heritage and identity.

The Intersections between Tourism and Cultural Heritage

The connections between tourism development and heritage management are manifold. The relationship between the two sectors is a long established one (Bourdeau and Gravari-Barbas 2016). In Dubrovnik and a large number of European urban World Heritage sites, tourism has

been an active element in the sites' urban management for a long time. In many urban World Heritage sites, such as Dubrovnik, tourism precedes World Heritage enlistment. Tourism has thus a long history of intersecting with heritage management and has influenced "*how World Heritage Sites are perceived, encountered and experienced in the wider social and political realm"* (Bourdeau and Gravari-Barbas 2016)[31]. Yet, tourism development and cultural heritage management have often existed in an unwieldly relationship to one another. The interests and approaches towards conservational and development concerns have frequently come into conflict (McKercher, Ho, and Du Cros 2005). This discord is particularly pronounced in urban contexts, and perhaps even more so in the so-called 'tourist-historic cities' (Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000, Orbasli 2002), where the often large number of interest groups compete over limited space and finite 'heritage assets' (Orbasli 2002). In such contexts, heritage and developmental discourses often become more intensified and competitive (ibid.). Moreover, the different interests and intentions of the heritage management and tourism industries do not always align with the local population's daily needs and concerns. Given the huge economic potential which cultural heritage and tourism development offers, there is a risk that that the well-being of the inhabitants in World Heritage sites becomes neglected (ibid.). Ashworth (Ashworth 2000) argues that the relationship between heritage, tourism and their relationship to place have tended to be approached from three angles, all of which alone fall short in tackling their complex relationships in the contemporary globalized world. The first view presumes a model of harmony between heritage producers, the tourist industry and local place managers, where a 'win-win' situation is stimulated between the different interest-groups. In this view-point, tourism is seen to aid heritage management in gaining the financial support for the protection of heritage and also justifying the political grounds for prioritizing its protection. Tourism is also regarded as stimulating the local economy and sustaining the maintenance of many cultural 'assets' and institutions, as tourists often visit museums, concert halls, galleries, monuments and so forth (ibid.). From this perspective, the tourism industry looks upon heritage as a freely available and infinitely 'packageable' resource, which can sold as tourism products and experiences. The blending of heritage and tourism into one 'niche' tourism

[31] Despite the fact that in a large number of instances, tourism in World Heritage sites has constituted an enduring element of the sites' management since the dawn of modern tourism, it is a curious fact that tourism is only mentioned once in the 1972 World Heritage Convention (Bourdeau and Gravari-Barbas 2016). This is found in Article 11.4, where "rapid urban or tourist development" is mentioned amongst a long list of aspects which may induce the property to be placed on the List of World Heritage in Danger (ibid.).

product, is viewed as beneficial in local economic development strategies, and also seen to bestow additional benefits in enriching local identity and social cohesion (ibid.).

The second view-point presumes that an inherent disharmony and that irreconcilable relationship exists between heritage, tourism and place management, ultimately always leading to a conflict in interests and the exploitation of the heritage 'resource base' (Ashworth 2000). This perception has not only marked the tourism- and heritage industries themselves, but also been reflected in academic literature within the fields of heritage- and tourism research (McKercher and Du Cros 2002). Researchers have expressed concern with how the touristification of 'heritage assets' may compromise the 'authenticity' of the heritage or that cultural values and identification with heritage are diminished if cultural heritage is used to reap commercial profit. This type of perception – held for example by Cohen (Cohen 1988) and MacCannell (MacCannell 1976) – evinces that cultural events, practices and artefacts, which formerly were, performed or made primarily for local consumption are debased, trivialized and exploited by tourism commodification. In this perspective, commodification processes – for instance putting on staged experiences for tourists – are seen as detracting from the 'authenticity' of the local cultural products (including heritage) and leading to an uprooting of the cultural meanings attached to the products or practices from their cultural environments (Cohen 1988, MacCannell 1976). Concerns about tourism's commodification of heritage and the loss of meaning attached to heritage continue to inform contemporary heritage management discourses and are reflected in a number of academic studies of the impacts of World Heritage 'on the ground' (Liao and Qin 2013). Theoretical and ethnographic discussions regarding conflicts arising between heritage protection and tourism development tend to focus on conflicts in resource and land use, differences in interests between conservational concerns, community needs versus commercial interests in constructing real estate, tourism- and leisure infrastructure, and conflicts in cultural- and environmental values between different interest groups (Ashworth 1993, Zhang, Fyall, and Zheng 2015). However, most of these do not presume an automatic irreconcilability between tourism development and heritage preservation. The focus is rather on poor management practices and a lack of focus on sustainability issues. This standpoint feeds into the third approach discussed by Ashworth (Ashworth 2000).

The third viewpoint is connected with emerging sustainable development discourses and perceives heritage and tourism as having a symbiotic relationship, which if managed sensitively can lead to mutual profitability (ibid.). This approach heralds the potentiality

sustainable heritage tourism as a catalyst to achieve local sustainable development, which does not compromise the heritage 'resource base' and at the same time aids communities in achieving a sustainable communal- and economic development through tourism and their heritage resources (ibid.). The growth of the sustainable development discourse, with its numerous under-branches, since the 1990s, has given rise to heralding 'heritage tourism' and 'cultural tourism' as valuable resources in the local, economic- and communal development and regeneration of cities and rural areas.

Before proceeding at taking a closer look at how Dubrovnik promotes itself as a destination for cultural- and heritage tourism, it is necessary to take a closer look at the structure and meanings attached to tourism itself. The segmentation of tourism into many 'niche' tourism forms, a process, which has taken place since the 1970s, but has intensified from the 1990s onwards, also warrants a closer analysis.

There have been many attempts to define the phenomena of tourists and tourism, and the roles tourism plays in host communities and to the tourists themselves. Smith et al. (Smith and Brent 2001[1977]) defines a tourist as a *"temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change"*. Tourism, then, can by and large be defined as the phenomenon of *"travel-for-leisure that is supported by a multi-layered global service industry* (Salazar 2006)*."* The latter aspect is of great importance in driving the complex interplay between stakeholders within and between different scales. Without the intricate provision of the service side of tourism, which is enabled through increased global interconnectedness and the emergence and spread of technologies permitting easier modes of travel, the international tourism industry would not have grown to become one of the largest economic sectors in the world today.

Smith and Brent's definition of the tourist – although rather general – gives us some indications of the primary roles which tourism fulfils to the tourist. Tourism has to do with leisure – and not with work and everyday experiences of one's 'ordinary' life. Thus it represents a change and a separation from the 'mundanity' of everyday life. To the tourist it offers a chance for a temporary re-creation of the self, a kind of 'renewal of life', in a new milieu (Graburn 1983). Furthermore, tourism has to do with mobility from one's accustomed living environment to somewhere else. This implies that a change in a person's state of mind (is likely to) occur when undergoing a journey as a tourist, which can produce, at least temporarily, substantial alterations in perception. Tourism draws heavily on our imagination

and can be experienced as seducing (Salazar 2012b). These are exactly they aspects which the host communities, the tourism industry, local destination managers, tourist guides, and others who try to make a living from tourism, utilize in their representations of places, cultural forms, traditions and so forth. 'Tourism imaginaries': the "socially transmitted representational assemblages that interact with people's personal imaginings and are used as meaning-making and world-shaping devices (Salazar 2012:2), are produced by multiple groups and do not only affect tourists' perceptions of a place, but also how local residents come to perceive and relate to the same location. Salazar underlines that tourist imaginaries often tend to be constructed around dichotomies, such as 'local-global, 'us-them' and nature-culture', and rather than constituting explicit ideologies, they are often "unspoken schemas of interpretation" (Salazar 2012:2). When imaginaries are embedded in institutional forms, such as in religion and politics, they can be experienced as alienating (ibid.), especially to groups who do not experience belonging to a particular faith or political standpoint. For instance, the imaginaries of Dubrovnik and its heritage 'value' produced by the city's Catholic community, as well as by its political and cultural elites, tend to construct imaginaries of a lasting legacy of the Dubrovnik Republic in contemporary cultural life. These imaginaries can be alienating to many individuals – for example people from ethnic-religious minority backgrounds, atheists, cosmopolitans, leftist political activists and also to people with little formal education and low incomes. However, certain types of imaginaries produced in the fused tourism- and heritage representations, have a broader appeal to individuals from various walks of life. These conceptions implicitly make connections between Dubrovnik's 'Golden Era' and the city's present-day importance, for example as an 'outdoor film studio' for international film productions. They thus stimulate the fantasies and imaginations of many people. The production of these types of imaginaries – although often experienced as harmless and devoid of ideology in comparison with heritage representations and imaginaries which draw on political and religious symbolism – can, in fact, be equally persuasive and seductive. They have their own power to shape perceptions, serving to mythologize Dubrovnik's contemporary centrality and 'greatness' in contemporary world affairs.

Tourism is an increasingly complex phenomenon in a globalized world. Its rapid growth and saturation in many 'destinations', the segmentation into different 'niche' tourism types, and the many overlaps of tourism forms in each destination, makes it difficult to provide one overarching definition. However, some features can help to outline an anthropological perspective on tourism. Graburn (Graburn 1983), one of the pioneers of an anthropological

understanding of tourism, argues that tourism can be understood in the light of the anthropological analysis of ritual, play and pilgrimage. This can be seen in works such as Arnold Van Gennep's, Rites of Passage (Van Gennep 1960 [1909], Van Gennep, Vizedom, and Caffee 1960) and Victor Turner's (Turner 1969) studies on the ritual process and liminality[32]. Graburn's theorizing on the anthropological roles and symbolic functions of tourism is particularly inspired by Van Gennep's three-fold ritual process. This starts with a rite of separation, followed by a temporary period of liminality and marginality, where the ritual participant passes through a threshold into a new state, and is eventually concluded by a reaggregation and reincorporation into society or one's 'normal' life (Graburn 1983). Graburn proposes that tourism can be understood as two distinct – albeit sometimes overlapping – types, both of which have different functions. These are tourism as a *"cyclical rite of intensification"*, which classifies the *"periodic and annual vacations"*, and *"the arduous, self-testing tourism, paralleling rites of passage" (1983:9).* The former can be used to describe *"periodic or annual vacations"*, such as weekend trips, longer vacations associated with Christmas, Easter or summer holidays. Although the destination and the forms they take can vary, these periodic and annual vacations, Graburn asserts, can be characterized as *"repetitive, predictable timed breaks that allow people "recreation" and mark the progress of cyclical time" (1983:12).* The latter category describes tourism which helps to "mark the passage of personal life from one status to another". However, an important distinction between tourism as a rite of passage and other socially endorsed rituals marking a passage from one state to another, is that tourism is usually self-imposed, voluntary and often embodies freedom to its participants (1983:12-13). The global tourism industry is marked by augmented competitiveness as new tourism markets are incrementally established world-wide[33]. Tourism in World Heritage sites offers a huge potential to economic development, through the income generated from admission fees, souvenirs, new employment opportunities, transportation, accommodation and food (Timothy and Boyd 2003, 2006, Salazar and Zhu 2015). However, alongside the growth of global tourism and cultural tourism, with its sub-division, heritage tourism, there are an increasing number of touristic World Heritage

[32] Graburn's theorizing importantly draws on 1970s' sociological studies, such as Eric Cohen study of the phenomenology of tourist experiences (Cohen 1979) and Dean MacCannell's (MacCannell 1976) analysis of tourism as a secular modern ritual.
[33] Tourism is one of the most rapidly growing industries globally. Figures presented in the UNWTO World Tourism Barometer for 2017 estimate that international tourist arrivals amounted to 1.322 million overnight visitors. This represented a 7 per cent increase from the previous year. In the UNWTO's Tourism Towards 2030, which presents long-term economic calculations carried out by a panel of 'experts', international tourist arrivals are predicted to grow by an estimated 4-5 per cent in 2018 and by an average of 3.8 per cent annually towards 2030. http://media.unwto.org/press-release/2018-01-15/2017-international-tourism-results-highest-seven-years.

destinations offering similar or equally appealing 'tourism products' to the international traveller. This means that the dialectics between the local particularity and global universality of a place become central to its management, presentation and re-presentation within a global 'vocabulary' of World Heritage (Di Giovine 2008). Within an environment of heightened competitiveness, tourism managers strive to enhance the local particularity of places in their promotional activities, and, at the same time, to cater for tourists with a wide variety of needs and cultural backgrounds. Tourism products also need to be presented as globally accessible and easily interpretable to a global audience. Strategies of broadening tourism activities and expanding the diversity of tourist groups have thus become integral parts of tourism management in tourist destinations globally. Since the 1970s, the international tourism industry has compartmentalized tourism into different sub-categories or 'niche' tourism forms. With the rapid growth and expansion of tourism into new areas and types, the tourism industry begun to recognize that:

> *Tourism and tourists are not homogeneous, undifferentiated phenomena. Rather, tourism is a complex system of supply and demand wherein destinations provide different products and the traveling public desires diverse experiences. This has led to the identification of many types of tourism that are seen as being individual enough to merit their own management approaches, marketing schemes, tour circuits and operators, college and university courses, research agendas and in some cases scholarly journals (Timothy and Boyd 2006:1).*

Different tourism 'niches' are often simultaneously promoted within the same tourist destinations, the aim being to expand the economic basis for tourism and attract larger numbers and different types of tourists to a given area. Several researchers in the field of tourism have attempted to classify and analyse the diversifying and rapidly expanding tourism 'niches' that exist today[34].

The niche tourism type, 'heritage tourism', is amongst the fastest growing types of tourism (Timothy and Boyd 2003, 2006, Salazar and Zhu 2015). In a UNTWO report from 2009, it is

[34] Some tourism niches identified are as follows: elite-, charter-, mass-, cultural-, heritage-, religious-, ethnic-, roots-, agro-, gourmet-, eno-, geo-, sustainable-, eco-, green-, responsible-, rural-, pro-poor-, nautical-, cruise-, backpack-, sport-, shopping-, 'sea and sun-', sex-, adventure-, medical-, war-, post-conflict-, dark-, industrial-, business-, conference- tourism (Smith and Brent 2001, Smith 2012, Medlik 2012, Timothy and Boyd 2006). The list of tourism sub-categories is likely much longer, and the overlaps between the different types are many. However, for the purposes of this discussion, the selection serves to underscore the complexity of contemporary tourism.

estimated that around one-third of international tourism is linked to "visiting cultural heritage sites, monuments, and landscapes" (Salazar and Zhu 2015). But what exactly is cultural- and heritage tourism? And can we really talk about cultural tourism or heritage tourism as furnishing distinctly different types of tourist experiences and activities? The overlaps and boundaries between tourism sub-categories are most likely more blurry than destination managers, and other groups actively engaged in representing a place as a site for cultural and heritage tourism, would like to admit.

In the International Cultural Tourism Charter, ICOMOS (2002) defines cultural tourism as follows[35]:

> *Essentially that form of tourism that focuses on the culture, and cultural environments including landscapes of the destination, the values and lifestyles, heritage, visual and performing arts, industries, traditions and leisure pursuits of the local population or host community. It can include attendance at cultural events, visits to museums and heritage places and mixing with local people.*

As we can see from the ICOMOS definition, heritage is included as one part within the overall category of *cultural tourism*. This view is also reflected by McKercher et al., who argue that *"cultural heritage assets form the building blocks for cultural tourism"* (McKercher and Du Cros 2002:541). In other words, *heritage tourism* exists as a 'sub-branch' of the wider category, *cultural tourism*. In Dubrovnik, the two terms are often used interchangeably by different groups in the tourism industry and other local destination managers, urban managers, politicians and the media. They are often adapted to fit with the context being referred to. For example, in promotional material aimed at tourists frequenting cultural events, performances and locations of cultural representations, such as the Dubrovnik summer festival, the Dubrovnik museums and the concerts by the Dubrovnik Symphony Orchestra, Dubrovnik is referred to as a site for cultural tourism. In promotional material citing the number of tourists visiting the city walls and other monumental structures deemed to have 'heritage value', Dubrovnik is often described as a place attracting heritage tourism.

[35] *www.charts-interreg4c.eu/.../ICOMOS+International+Cultural+Tourism+Charter+1999*. The International Cultural Tourism Charter also stresses that cultural tourism: *"should not be regarded as a definable niche within the broad range of tourism activities, but encompasses all experiences absorbed by the visitor to a place that is beyond their own living environment"* (2002:22).

In Dubrovnik, and other relatively small World Heritage sites, where the tangible, urban historic fabric of the city is used as the *main* selling point for tourism, the focus on the sites as destinations for heritage tourism is often emphasized. In other larger, urban tourism contexts, where the focus of tourism is more diversely spread across different areas, heritage often constitutes one out of many elements in promotional activities. In such locations, where the 'tangible' historic urban fabric competes with a wide variety of intangible' cultural events, performances and other recreational activities, 'heritage tourism' must take its place alongside other forms of tourism.

The marketing of Dubrovnik as a site for heritage- and cultural tourism cannot alone be seen as a consequence of strategies of economic diversification. Importantly this representation of the city needs to be viewed in connection with the cultural and symbolic roles these types of tourism fulfil in post-war Dubrovnikan identity constructions.

In the last decade, Dubrovnik has increasingly presented itself as a site for cultural- and heritage tourism. However, it could be argued that Dubrovnik is as much a destination for 'mass tourism', as it attracts large numbers of tourists due to the appeal of a sunny climate, high sea and air temperatures, idyllic beaches and good recreational opportunities. My ethnography indicates that Dubrovnik's cultural heritage – and the marketing of the city as a site for heritage- and cultural tourism – is pivotal to reconstructing the city as a stable, peaceful and internationally connected place. The city's cultural heritage, mediated through heritage tourism, also reconstructs the Dubrovnik's centrality within a national context. However, the image of Dubrovnik as a 'sea and sun' holiday destination does not harmonize with the self-representations of post-war Dubrovnikans. They look upon Dubrovnik as a city imbued with a 'grand history' and rich cultural life, a combination that has shaped a 'sophisticated, cultured and peaceful' population, distinctly different from the Balkan cultures of the hinterland.

In the wake of Croatia's national independence and economic transition, Dubrovnik has embraced a growing number of different tourism types. Cruise-, business-, conference-, nautical- and gastro- tourism are all accorded a place in the County of Dubrovnik-Neretva's tourism strategy. The city's cultural heritage is often marketed as part and parcel of the 'total experience' of these tourism forms, but cultural- and heritage tourism and 'heritage trails' are also marketed as the main focus in several tailored tourism products aimed at educated,

affluent tourists. This accords with deliberate attempts to portray Dubrovnik as an international, 'cultured' city and an 'elite destination' for the rich and famous.

However, the distinctions between different tourist forms, such as 'cultural- and heritage tourism', sea and sun', 'charter tourism', or 'mass tourism' are not always discernible. In choosing Dubrovnik as a holiday destination, tourists can be motivated by a range of overlapping factors. A beach holiday may be combined with cultural activities and visiting sites of monumental heritage. Distinguishing one category of tourism or tourist groups from others thus appears highly artificial.

The post-war marketing of Dubrovnik a site for heritage tourism is part of a deliberate reinvention strategy that began around 2002. The City of Dubrovnik, the Croatian National Tourism Board, different local and regional stakeholders in the tourism industry and several Croatian scholars all played important roles in this reinvention process. The Institute for Tourism in Zagreb was one of the organizers of a conference, *Reinventing a Tourism Destination*, which was hosted in Dubrovnik in 2002. In the conference's programme, the need to diversify the range of tourism products and the potential of using cultural heritage more actively in destination development were identified (Chauhan 2003) (ibid.). This set a new course for reinventing Dubrovnik's tourism potential and harmonized with national tourism strategies at the turn of the new millennium to widen the appeal of Croatia beyond its dominant reputation as 'sea, sun and summer' holiday destination (Telišman-Košuta 2017). However, despite large efforts to broaden the image of tourism in Croatia's coastal regions, research and surveys[36] point to the durability of the appeal of 'sun, sand and summer' to international tourists choosing to visit the country (ibid.). Nuryanti (Nuryanti 1996) highlights the fact that for most tourists, the heritage and cultural potential are often *"secondary attribute[s] to the choice of holiday destination and may not be consciously rated at all"* (Nuryanti 1996:254-5). Therefore, he asserts, built heritage should not be viewed as separate to the other tourism attractions in the area, but as one component part of a wider *"suite of tourism attributes"* (Nuryanti 1996:255). Dubrovnik's deliberate attempts to market itself as heritage- and cultural destination relates more closely to domestic concerns, cultural and political symbolism than it does to how tourists perceive the city.

[36] This argument is based on research carried out by the Institute for Tourism (2011) and surveys carried out by the Croatian Tourism Board in 2013.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed how critical heritage studies and practice studies provide a useful lens to understand heritage- and identity production in post-war Dubrovnik. This combined analytical framework helps to understand that heritage- and identity production in post-war Dubrovnik cannot be understood merely by reference its local environment and internal historical processes. The global-local nexus of heritage production can offer a window on how global processes are mediated, consolidated and transformed through tourism encounters, set within particular ethnographic realities (Chang et al. 1996, Salazar 2015). Importantly, these interactions, across conceptual and spatial borders, cannot be fully discerned without understanding how existing power-relations frame the conditions for heritage production and development. Tourism constitutes a major influence on contemporary local life and on how Dubrovnikans see themselves and what they value as their cultural heritage. Tourism can be seen as a 'transaction process' of meaning-making, where the exogenous forces of globalization and the endogenous forces of local realities merge and create new constellations of meaning and value (Nash 1989, Boniface and Fowler 2002 [1993], Milne 1997, Chang et al. 1996). Cultural- and heritage tourism can offer local residents, place managers and the local tourism industry a channel for enunciating and sustaining local particularity and identity within the context of globalization (Boniface and Fowler 2002 [1993], Chang et al. 1996). The question of whether this potential is acted upon, or whether heritage- and cultural tourism becomes just another selling point to enchant tourists and grow the economy, can best be explored ethnographically.

3. *Doing Fieldwork in Dubrovnik*

Introduction

As outlined in the foregoing chapters, the ethnographic approach offers a fruitful lens to studying how World Heritage is produced and interpreted 'on the ground' (Brumann and Berliner 2016), by the populations affected by World Heritage inscription. Inhabitants living in or near a UNESCO enlisted site, make World Heritage meaningful within the specific cultural environment. The particular ethnographic realities inform the meanings and values attached to World Heritage. The ethnographic realities are continuously informed by both present relations and embedded cultural historical processes. In the contemporary world of accelerated global interconnectedness and change (Eriksen 2016, 1999), however, World Heritage production on the ground cannot be seen as isolated from contemporary global processes and spatial relations. The ethnographic approach offers a lens to explore the pluriversality of heritage interpretations (Salazar 2012a) and uses; how they are embedded in their ethnographic realities and affected by global processes of change.

The ethnographic approach to studying how World Heritage is produced on the ground is informed by certain epistemological considerations; "*theories of what it is possible to know about the world and how we might come to know it"* (Murray in Scheyvens 2014 [2003]:17). Such theories flow into, and delineate, choices of particular *methodologies* and *methods*[37].

This chapter has two parts. The first part discusses the methodological approaches informing the choice of methods. In an increasingly interconnected global world, considerations relating to *scale* and *temporality* have informed my ethnographic approach and selection of methods. The second part of the chapter outlines the particular methods I have utilized for my ethnographic fieldwork in Dubrovnik. As the thesis will show, the choice of methods have aided in understanding the local-global interconnections of heritage- and identity production.

37 Murray uses the analogy of *tools* and a *tool box* to distinguish between *methods* and *methodology*. *methods* can be seen as the particular 'tools' or techniques a researcher uses to gather data (qualitative/quantitative interviews, participant observation, text analysis, questioners, sampling, mathematic modeling and so forth), whereas *methodology* can be viewed as *"the theories of how the world can be interpreted"* (Murray in Scheyvens 2014 [2003]:17). I shall use Murray's distinction throughout the thesis.

Ethnographic Fieldwork and the Data Material

The thesis is based on one year's worth ethnographic fieldwork in Croatia, which took place in 2009, 2012 and 2015. The longest fieldwork duration was in 2009, when I carried out six months' fieldwork over two periods; from late April to the end of June, and beginning of September until the end of December. In 2012, I carried out around five months' fieldwork, divided into three periods: firstly a one week field trip at the beginning of February (to participate in the St. Blaise festival), secondly, a new fieldwork period in May and June, and thirdly, around three months fieldwork from mid-August until the beginning of November. In September 2015, I carried out three weeks' fieldwork in Dubrovnik, followed by a one week field trip to Zagreb.

Most of my ethnographic material derives from my fieldwork in the City of Dubrovnik and Dubrovnik-Neretva County (*Dubrovačko-neretvanska županija*), but I have also had evolving contact with researchers, institutions, political and cultural activists, students and general citizens in other parts of the country throughout and between my fieldwork periods, most notably in Zagreb and Split.

Methodological Approach

Before outlining the particular methods I have used for my fieldwork, it's necessary to first reflect on the methodological approach that informs my fieldwork and methods. This approach relates to the roles of *scale* and *temporality* in contemporary ethnographic fieldwork.

Constructing the Field

My research in Dubrovnik indicates that *place* and spatial boundedness are very important to the way identity is constructed. Uncertainties relating to global processes and their impacts on locality, as well as recent historical political and economic change and the traumas of war, have brought about a renewed focus on locality and place in post-war Croatia. Attempts to create correspondences between geo-political constructions such as the Croatian nation-state, geographical regions and cities, and cultural characteristics, practices and heritage are abundant. At the same time, by living in an international tourist destination and a UNESCO World Heritage site, my informants also experience in day to day life that the 'neat' boundaries of locality are inexorably blurred by global processes, and processes occurring in other parts of the world. These processes, in turn, provoke local responses, which interact

with wider forces in shaping notions of 'locality' in a given time and space. Cultural practices and identity constructions in Dubrovnik and Croatia therefore consist of a 'dialogue' with overlapping global, regional and local processes. Although Dubrovnik may be experienced as a relatively 'bounded' entity to those who inhabit the *place*, the construction of *locality* cannot be seen as isolated and static.

In the ethnography presented in this thesis, I assert that the production of meaning and locality are part of active, interconnected and ongoing socio-cultural, symbolic, economic and political processes. The production of meaning, such as what constitutes a culture's heritage and how it should be used, represented and consumed, does not take place separately at the global and local level. Nor can heritage be seen as either universal or particular. Rather it is continuously co-produced and negotiated in complex ways, always imbued with a variety of spatial and temporal reference points and produced in the interfaces of the 'universal' and 'locally unique'.

Anthropologists are generally wary of making claims to universality, which are seen as conveying ethnocentric perspectives and reinforcing power-relationships between selfhood and otherness, and the 'developed' and 'undeveloped' world. Cultural relativism, a central component of postmodern anthropology, emphasizes that every society has its own 'cultural logic' and therefore should be studied in its own terms. Although anthropology recognizes that it can never fully reveal the life-worlds of informants and that there are significant limits to the anthropologist's ability to attain access to informants' true perceptions and experiences, and not just the representations of those perceptions and experiences, the anthropologist strives, in a sense, to become an advocate for 'the voices' of 'others' and of the marginalized. These motivations are evident in my research and choice of methodology. I recognize that there are certain limits to fully conveying my informants' innermost experiences and perceptions. But I maintain that UNESCO's understanding of World Heritage and the role of heritage in fostering 'cultural diversity', 'local empowerment' and 'sustainable development' is only made meaningful when studied ethnographically.

Towards the end of the 20th century there was a significant growth of 'new social movements', working in a diversity of areas, such as the environment, human rights and indigenous rights. Tsing (Tsing 2005) explores how these movements, thought of as springing from 'universal' aspirations, unfolds in the particular context of the South Kalimantan rainforest. However, she argues that these 'universals' are not pre-packaged and presented as

finished products to local communities, but are instead continuously co-produced through 'sticky engagements'. Tsing's exploration of how 'universals' are embedded and co-produced through practical encounters, is relevant to my own fieldwork and research. While my ethnographic fieldwork has, in the traditional anthropological school, mainly been carried out in a few geographical locations – mainly Dubrovnik and to a lesser extent Zagreb, I view my 'field' as transcending the geographical 'bounded' constructions of 'Dubrovnik' and 'Croatia'. An aim of this thesis is to explore the ways in which UNESCO's concept of World Heritage synthesizes with local heritage perceptions and practices. In this sense, 'the field' and scope of my inquiry is not limited to a geographically bounded location, but is constituted *in relation* to shifting *processes* which occur co-jointly at global, regional and local scales.

Synchronic and Diachronic Perspectives in Ethnographic Research

Temporality is of relevance to ethnographic fieldwork. As fieldwork only takes place for a limited duration, it can, at best, provide a kind of 'window of time', permitting a view of how a society is evolving. The temporality of fieldwork has implications for the ethnographers' access or lack of access to observing and identifying social structures, cultural relations and processes of change.

Anthropology is strongly informed by *synchronic* perspectives of 'the field' and society, and has an ambivalent relationship with the discipline of history and with *diachronic* perspectives of the past, social relations and societal structures (Climo and Cattell 2002). This ambivalence has left strong imprints on anthropology's methodological approaches. My research and methodological approach can be seen as an attempt to challenge this ambivalent relationship by:
(a) outlining a historical background in the thesis which provides contextualization and historical depth – something which I see as entirely necessary in order to understand contemporary cultural complexities and identify historically embedded characteristics of contemporary social relations, practices, identity discourses and societal structures.
(b) by combining *synchronic* and *diachronic* perspectives in my choice of methods. I applied this technique to historic documents, historians' accounts of the past, my informants' recollections of the past and of social change, my own observations of social relations and cultural discourses of the past and the present. I regard them as mutually inclusive aspects, which together enable a fuller account of contemporary social relations, cultural processes and change. By paying close attention to historical processes and social relations in the past, I

found myself in a better position to appreciate that many contemporary practices and perceptions are embedded and shaped by historical events and processes. For example, it would make little sense to focus on the prominent Dubrovnikan *libertas* discourse without detouring into the past uses of this discourse, and examining how differences in the way it has been used illuminate social change and changing spatial and geo-political relations.

Through my fieldwork I have striven to give space to perspectives from the vantage point of Dubrovnik, a part of Croatia which sees itself as marginalized, both in the context of the nation-state and in relation to European history. I have attempted to amplify 'the voices' of a diversity of groups and individuals in Dubrovnik – not just those who work in the fields of politics, heritage- and urban management. As such, my ethnography represents a kind of 'heritage from below' (Robertson 2012) studied *synchronically*. At the same time, however, I see a strong need to incorporate *diachronic* perspectives into anthropological research. Without a comprehensive insight into the complex regional history of the Balkans, my research would significantly fall short of understanding how contemporary social structures, cultural boundary markers, identity discourses and areas of dissonance and friction are connected with both old and recent historical conditions and processes. Research concerned solely with synchronic perspectives will likely fail to recognize underlying historical depths and their imprints on present-day social structures and processes of change. In this sense, my attempts to bring diachronic perspectives into my research and methodology are related to my critique of a 'clean-cut' social constructionist theoretical approach. My ethnographic insights into how my informants and local cultural discourses are engaged in (re-)shaping Dubrovnik's centrality in the context of the nation-state and the existence of a 'European cultural community' – both historically and in today's EU – also need to be understood diachronically.

In recent years, a growing number of anthropologists have advocated incorporating diachronic perspectives and history into anthropological research as analytical tools (Bråten 2013). Access to knowledge of social change generally transcends *observable* contemporary processes and the anthropologists' own horizon of experience at fieldwork (ibid). Bråten (ibid) argues that by limiting anthropological research to a synchronic perspective, anthropology squanders the chance of gaining valuable insights into *continuities* and *discontinuities*. He reflects:

> *The synchronic perspective deprives us of the possibility of investigating the meaning of history empirically [in italics in the original text] – to what degree, and in what ways,*

the present can be understood as continuous or discontinuous with the past. And therefore we also deprive ourselves of the possibility to pose several deeper questions concerning social constitution (2013:161-162)[38].

Bråten (ibid) also emphasizes that the 'undercurrents' of history are not necessarily observable at a given point in time, but can still be of great importance to social-cultural formations over time. Moreover, aspects of the past which have not 'survived' into the present will also fall outside the horizon of a synchronic perspective, and the strong synchronic focus in anthropology may mean that the research is more prone to be influenced by *contemporary* representations, discourses and stereotypes of the past (ibid).

Since I do not have access to the 'baseline condition' when Dubrovnik obtained its World Heritage status in 1979, my access to the uses of heritage in the first three decades of World Heritage enlistment are obtained by written sources and secondary mediation from informants. First-hand access to processes of socio-political change and uses of heritage are confined to a limited period of ethnographic fieldwork in the period between 2009 to 2015, and more broadly, 2009-2018, which provides the period for my research.

Apart from making use of secondary sources, such as history books and to a lesser extent, historical archive material, my knowledge of socio-cultural processes necessarily relies quite strongly on *my informants' own recollections*, their past experiences and knowledge of the past. These are aspects, which, in turn, are influenced by my informants' socio-educational backgrounds and their ability to mediate their experiences and memory. I would therefore argue that synchronic, ethnographic studies also often rely on secondary processes of mediation. The reliance on informants' mediation of the past and of social change, poses certain dilemmas relating to the malleability of memory, individuals' varying and subjective life-experiences and the influences these differences have on contemporary perceptions and experiences. Furthermore, individuals' recollection of the past and of change does not occur in a vacuum, but is likely to be affected by changing socio-cultural conditions and political ideologies.

Changes in practices, communal interactions, power relations and social structures cannot so easily be discerned from *observations* in a limited time-period. They require the anthropologist's continued presence or re-visitation in 'the field' for a longer course than one

[38] My translation from Norwegian into English.

year. The temporal limits of ethnographic knowledge production, therefore, have conditioned my methodological approach. I have adopted certain strategies in order to override the temporality of fieldwork and gain a better insight into social change.

Since historians' production of knowledge on historic events and processes generally transcend the duration of humans' life spans, this type of knowledge can best be accessed through written sources. I have made use of a large body of secondary sources for my research (academic, historical literature and, to a lesser extent, historical archive material) in order to gain a better understanding of structures and processes which transcend the observable. Challenges of language comprehension have necessitated that I have had to rely on secondary sources (academic history books and historiography in English). Fortunately, in 2012, the Dubrovnik Statute of 1272 was, for the first time, translated into English. This translation provided useful source material as my informants' frequently referred to it. In order to gain a better understanding of historical structures and conditions, I furthermore conducted interviews with a local historiographer and a local history teacher.

Academic approaches to time and change are very different to how the subjects of study experience them. Informants' perceptions of processes of time and change importantly relate to individual and family lifespans and unite biological, social and subjective processes with objective, 'mechanical' time and historical events (Gell 1992, Rudie 2014, 2008). Access to this type of data can also only be discerned second-hand by anthropologists – through, for example, narrative and life-story approaches. I encouraged my informants to reflect and recollect on their childhood, adolescence, their experiences of family events and their relationships with their families. I also spent much time talking to my informants about how they and their relatives experienced cultural change in the transition from the former Yugoslavia and after Croatia's independence.

Multi-temporal Fieldwork

Contemporary technologies and relatively low travel costs in the contemporary world have opened up new opportunities for anthropologists to carry out *multi-temporal* and *multi-sited* (Howell and Talle 2012) fieldwork – possibilities which were not readily available in the past. In a world marked by increased global connectivity and accelerated change, anthropologists and other researchers utilizing ethnographic methods, need to pay close attention to change and new modes of connectivity (Eriksen 2016). One way of doing this is by carrying out fieldwork over several time periods, by re-visiting the same fieldwork site.

In order to overcome some of the temporal limits of identifying processes of social, cultural and political change which are associated with a limited fieldwork period, I chose to divide my fieldwork periods into several, shorter periods, covering a period of three different years - 2009, 2012 and 2015[39]. One advantage of carrying out fieldwork over longer time duration, is that the ethnographic material and interaction with my informants made it evident that neither the society in question, nor the informants' lives, are static. Throughout my fieldwork periods, I sometimes observed that my informants' life circumstances had changed from one fieldwork period to the next. Multi-temporal fieldwork also helped to better identify the interconnections between global events and processes – such as global economic recession, global migrant crisis, international terrorism and changes in international cruise-ship tourism – and how these processes affect local perceptions and stimulate local responses. The benefits of carrying out my fieldwork over several years was made apparent to me on several occasions, for example when I returned to Dubrovnik nearly three years after the first fieldwork period in 2009. After the local elections in May 2009, I noticed a lot of enthusiasm amongst many of my informants because of the election of the city's new Mayor. Returning to Dubrovnik in 2012, and following the lead-up to the new local elections in 2013, the local discourses and perceptions amongst many of the same informants were significantly altered. One informant, a man in his mid-twenties, described his decision in 2009 to vote for the incumbent Major as a grave mistake:

> *Back then, we were all sick of the present Mayor who had been in power far too long. The problem is that now I realize that what we wanted more than anything was a change…all the promises that he [Andro Vlahušić, elected in 2009] made seemed appealing then and convinced many of us that the local situation would improve if he got into power. Today I see that the current Mayor has been really bad for Dubrovnik.*

Many other informants, many of whom told me they felt cheated by the Mayor's failure[40] to hold to his promise to organize a referendum over the proposed large-scale golf and estate developments on Srđ, the hill that overlooks Dubrovnik (see Chapter 9) echoed such sentiments. The golf park development did not appear to be a compelling issue for my informants in 2009. However, by 2012, it had become one of the most contentious issues

39 I must note that the reasons for me to divide my ethnographic fieldwork into several periods also relate to certain practical reasons relating to family concerns. Nonetheless, I maintain that my research project's thematic focus necessitates fieldwork carried out over several years.
40 'The Mayor' in this context (2012) refers to Andro Vlahušić from the HNS (Croatian People's Party – Liberal Democrats).

locally. Indeed, I repeatedly noticed that in between each fieldwork period many local issues of relevance to my fields of study, for instance relating to tourism- and heritage management, local politics and construction projects, had taken new directions and it therefore took a fair amount of time to get acquainted with the new circumstances. This draws attention to the fact that my 'field', despite constituting a geographical and a geo-political 'entity', is not an unchanging object of study, but is shaped by different changing spatial and temporal relations. This means 'the field' is both a 'process', affected by various political and cultural circumstances, and a place with specific spatial and historical 'grounding'.

Another example evidencing how multi-temporal fieldwork can provide better insights into one's informants' changing life circumstances became clear when I met a female informant three years after my first fieldwork in 2009. When I first encountered her, she was a single woman approaching 40. At this time she talked a lot about how she felt excluded from the local community. This was due, in her opinion, to her consciously cosmopolitan, 'empowered feminist' lifestyle, which she had adopted from years of living abroad. Many of my informants' practices were little tolerated by Dubrovnikan women, who would constantly press her about why she did not have any children and was not married. When I returned in 2012, she had recently given birth to two children. Although her perceptions of cultural intolerance and lack of freedom for women were still present, she did not appear to take these frustrations so much to heart. With a diminishing sense of friction between her as an individual female and the experienced constraints of cultural norms and embodied dispositions, her former frustrations with the local community did not appear to bother her as much. It must be emphasized that this, too, might be a transitional phase. Since her experiences of feeling accepted in the local community now that she was a mother, were relatively recent, one cannot deduce that this marked an unchanging condition.

While I largely consider multi-temporal fieldwork as beneficial to my research, there are, however, certain challenges to adopting this approach. One of the clear challenges was the need to keep in touch with informants during prolonged periods of absence in 'the field'. Electronic communication helped in ensuring a greater degree of continuity in following one's informants' lives in between the fieldwork periods. However, I experienced variation in the dedication, willingness and ability of my informants to keep in contact with me throughout the years of my research. Such differences may have influenced the space I give to the reflections and perspectives of my different informants, which, in turn, may have some effect on how representative my presentation of opinion in Dubrovnik is.

Methods

Language Comprehension and Language-related Challenges

In the Malinowskian ethnographic tradition (Malinowski 1922), learning the language of the groups of people you study is deemed necessary. This is in order to gain a better understanding of cultural complexity and nuances, societal structures, inter-communal relationships and the cosmology of a culture. I have unfortunately not managed to obtain fluency in the Croatian language. However, through the combination of self-study, attending a language course and private language tuition in Oslo[41] and Dubrovnik, I managed to develop some skills and understanding of conversational and written Croatian. Given the limits of time due to my research and other academic duties, coupled with particular life circumstances, which affected my capacity to learn the language, my level of language comprehension is limited. My language abilities were limited to conversing at a relatively basic level in every-day encounters. Having some understanding of Croatian also helped me in being able to gain some understanding of printed material, news reports and Internet forums during, between and after my fieldwork periods.

My Croatian language abilities were not adequate in enabling me to conduct interviews in Croatian. I therefore relied on using an interpreter whenever my informants spoke little or no English. The fact that I could not conduct interviews in Croatian (without an interpreter) may have posed some limitation on being able to select informants from different educational backgrounds. However, the correlation between educational level and English language abilities were not always a straightforward issue. For example, many locals with little formal education, who work in tourism and other service related work, often tended to speak relatively good English. On the contrary, I encountered several highly educated informants working with heritage- and urban management, and university staff (whose working language is mostly in Croatian), who spoke poor English. The correlation between English language abilities and educational level appeared to relate more closely to generational levels. Since Dubrovnik has a long tradition of international tourism, English is generally widely spoken, especially by young and middle-aged people of most educational levels. Today schoolchildren

[41] After the dissolution of Yugoslavia, Croatia, Serbia and the dominant ethnic groups in Bosnia (Serbs, Croats and Bosniak Muslims) have sought to separate the 'Croatian-Serbian language group' (Mønnesland 2006) and have encouraged separatist language policies in each of the countries. However, in actuality, the 'new' national languages are nearly unanimous and feature more like dialectical differences. At the University of Oslo, as well as a large number of academic institutions outside of the Balkans, Croatian-Serbian-Bosnian is therefore taught as part of one and the same course.

learn English from the first year of primary school and English language TV programmes and films in the cinemas are not dubbed into Croatian, but instead accompanied by Croatian subtitles. These factors made a large difference to the level of English language comprehension among my young to middle-aged informants. Conversations with these groups were, for these reasons, generally carried out in English. Several elderly informants, some middle-aged informants with little formal education and middle-aged informants with higher education, who rarely practiced English in their daily life, spoke little or no English. Our conversations were therefore limited to Croatian. In shops, restaurants, cafes and in public institutions, I made it a habit to try my best at speaking to the employees in Croatian. This had several positive effects, especially relating to the way that locals (many of whom are plainly fed up with the large number of tourists) tended to become more friendly-minded and helpful when I expressed an interest in learning about their culture and speaking their language.

In order to overcome language barriers, especially in spoken Croatian, I chose to record, with only a few exceptions, all my interviews. I also made active use of my recorder when participating in public celebrations, cultural events, acts of commemoration, public debates, and conferences. I engaged a Croatian assistant in transcribing all my interviews carried out in English. He furthermore translated and transcribed all my interviews carried out in Croatian, as well as a large number of my recordings from public debates and public events. These were exclusively in Croatian.

The fact that I am not fluent in Croatian means that it is hard to pick up nuances in language use. This posed several challenges when analysing discourse in written texts and verbal communication when they were confined to the Croatian language. However, I adopted certain strategies to overcome language barriers. I frequently made use of online translation programs (mainly Google Translate) for news reports, public information, internet forums and blogs. Although these programs are somewhat faulty in terms of providing accurate grammar, syntax and sentence structure, I still found them very useful in observing structures and modes of self-representation. When I discovered particular issues, patterns or formulations which I considered interesting to my research, I sometimes selected and copied certain parts of a text and sent it to different native Croatian speakers (mostly my Ph.D. assistant, but also other Dubrovnikan informants) in order to furnish me with an accurate translation and explain particular phrases and terminology.

In order to overcome language barriers related to printed Croatian texts, I sometimes brought texts along when meeting my informants in a café or other public places. We would then go through selected parts of the text and my informants would provide accurate translations – sometimes I chose to record their translation of the text. In order to verify that the translations were reliable, I occasionally presented the same text to different informants. This was done especially in the case of texts – printed news reports – relating to issues provoking local dissonance, such as the contentious issue of *Golf Park Dubrovnik* (see Chapter 9). In some cases presenting a text on particular topics represented a useful method of stimulating further discussions and my informants' reflections on the topics concerned.

Participant Observation

The Malinowskian ideal of participant observation (Malinowski 1922) can often be experienced as a goal difficult to obtain in ethnographic studies carried out in many urban contexts globally. In cultural contexts marked by a number of formalized social relations and a clear separation between the public and private spheres of people's lives, getting access to different arenas of ones' informants' lives can prove to be difficult. Due to a range of social structures in urban contexts, such as in Dubrovnik, people often have limited spare time and tend to erect strong divisions between their public engagements and working life and their private life with families and friends. Throughout my fieldwork periods, I was rarely invited into people's homes. Access to my informants' private lives was marked more by being able to 'dip' in and out of their activities and private lives, and it closely mirrored my informants' own decisions of when to open up and when to insist on privacy. An elderly Bosnian neighbour was always very welcoming in inviting me into her home and I was also invited into the family homes of my landlord and my Ph.D. assistant. Otherwise, my invitations into people's homes were largely limited to young people who either lived on their own or had young children.

Large numbers of my informants worked in 'formalized' work places, where it was difficult to gain access other than through arranging an interview. Through a contact working at the University of Dubrovnik I was loaned temporary office space in the university administration for my 2009 fieldwork, and in the university campus for my 2012 fieldwork. I initially thought that these arenas would enable me to get better acquainted with a work environment. However, I soon discovered that there was a very limited communal environment for eating lunch together – it was relatively common for the university employees to consume their

packed lunch quickly by their computers. I also observed how individuals, who out of their work contexts were informal and chatty, once at work adopted a very formal stance and made sure they did not reveal anything about their private lives. Only when occasionally sharing my lunch with university staff in a *konoba* (tavern) would individuals resume their usual informal ways of being. Many informants working in formalized work contexts and in the tourist industry simply had too little time to spare me other than meeting for a coffee or pizza after work, on the beach or for a walk at weekends.

Participant observation can take place in a number of different contexts and arenas; by actively participating in a wide variety of everyday, routinized practices of ones' informants, as well as taking part in extraordinary activities and events (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011). But participant observation can equally be used as a method in the context of everyday conversations with local residents (ibid.) through being an 'observant participator' (Moeran 2009) in conversations. In the context of everyday conversations, it could be argued that the focus is often stronger on practicing 'participant listening' (Gerard Forsey 2010) than that of 'participant observation'. To my research, this entailed utilizing attentiveness to for example discourse, patterns and modes of conversations, thematic repetitions from one conversation to another with the same informant, and by observing the development of certain 'narratives' in the way ones' informants talk about certain things or are uncomfortable to talk about others. Participant observation can also be used in the context of informal leisure activities (ibid.), for example by paying attention to social interactions and ways of talking between one's informants. Throughout my fieldwork periods, I have especially utilized participant observation in conversations with informants and through participating in leisure activities with my informants. I utilized participant observation more generally in a variety of public locations where locals interact with one another, such as in the university campus, in cafes, bars, restaurants, library, on the beach, parks and market squares. Sometimes this occurred together with informants, at other times I sought out arenas for local social interactions alone. In 2009, I also attended on a regular basis an embroidery workshop, organized by a local NGO, and largely attended by elderly rural women.

I also conducted participant observation in a more structured manner at a variety of public events; on particular days of commemoration, public meetings, debates organized by NGOs and grassroots activists, seminars, conferences, religious sermons and events, opening of art exhibitions at a local cultural centre and in a variety of cultural performances and events. I paid special attention to observing practices and social interactions, and identifying cultural

and political discourse in speeches (mostly retrospectively through transcribed recordings of speeches).

In a city strongly marked by tourism, my recurring presence in Dubrovnik distinguished me from the flightiness of the tourist hordes. This was especially noticeable among my main informants, many of whom I kept in touch with in between the fieldwork periods. When I showed that I took a special interest in the life of the citizens and that I was making an attempt to learn the language, strangers I encountered in a variety of public places soon warmed to me in a different way than when they perceived me merely as a 'tourist'. In this sense, the *participatory* aspect of participant observation can perhaps be said to have provided one of the most useful methods in gaining access to informants. Simply by recurrently 'being there', by showing commitment to the local community and in repeatedly returning to Dubrovnik over a period of several years, by chatting informally to people working in cafes, restaurants, shops and at market stalls, I slowly gained the confidence of local citizens.

Selection of Informants and Representation of Ethnographic Findings

In the post-war context, the perceptions, motivations and driving-forces behind the different models of conservation, restoration and development are not only many-sided, but also often marked by aggravation and conflict. It is therefore of extra importance to treat informants' representations of themselves and their culture as subjective and partial truths in a much more complex whole.

With issues of representativity in mind, I ensured that my informant group was comprised of people of different ages, a diversity of social and educational backgrounds, and reflected people with different political viewpoints, religious affiliations and different ethnicities. Most of my informants are citizens living in the city of Dubrovnik and the adjacent rural areas in Dubrovačko Primorje and Konavle. A few informants are expatriates who had returned to Dubrovnik region within the last decade, a few are foreigners who had settled down in the region with a Dubrovnikan spouse, and a couple are Zagreb-based or international investors working on projects in Dubrovnik. Otherwise, the rest have grown up and lived most of their lives in the Dubrovnik region. My informants range between 17 and 83 years of age. Due to some difficulties relating to access and the demographic composition of Dubrovnik's population at large, the majority of my informants are of Croat Catholic backgrounds.

However, two of my informants are Serbs, one a Muslim Dubrovnikan, one a Bosniak[42], one is of Jewish Dubrovnikan background and around five informants are of mixed religious-ethnic backgrounds. The criteria for selecting my informants were, in part, informed by the so-called 'snowball sampling' (Coleman 1958, Noy 2008); where acquainting one person often would lead to an accumulation of several more contacts. However, I also utilized carefully targeted sampling of informants from different educational, ethnic-religious and socio-economic backgrounds. Such targeted sampling was motivated by intentions of ensuring a higher degree of representativity in my informant groups. In the early stages of my 2009 fieldwork, I had an over-representation of informants with higher education and of Catholic Croat backgrounds, mostly obtained through 'snowball sampling'. I therefore started to seek out arenas, unconnected to my established informant group, where I saw it as likely to gain access to a wider range of informants. Such arenas comprised of shops, local markets, community centres hosting activities for unemployed and elderly, the mosque and Serbian Orthodox church.

My informants comprise of Dubrovnikans employed in a wide variety of professions[43]. The 'voices' of all of these groups are not actively drawn on in the thesis. However, informal conversations and interviews carried out with a variety of informants who do are not drawn on actively in the text still aid towards my data set and informs my overall interpretations. Having a broad informant group aids towards ensuring a higher degree of representativity.

Since UNESCO's World Heritage program sits centrally in the thesis discussions, I initially sketched out a field trip to the UNESCO headquarters in Paris in my Ph.D. project outline. Due to shortage of fieldwork funds, I was unfortunately not able to realize this. However, I have been able to conduct interviews with three individuals who have former work experience in different UNESCO offices. In 2009, I attended the annual *Best in Heritage* conference in Dubrovnik, where I had the opportunity to interview Engelberg Rouss, the director of

42 The term, *Bosniak (Bosnjak* or *Bošnjak),* refers to Bosnian Muslims. The term was introduced around the late 1980s and early 90s by Bosnian intellectuals who attempted to revitalize the concept of *BošnaĘtvo – 'Bosnianess'* or *'Bosnianhood'* (Bringa 1995). The former common term, *Bosanac (Bosnian)* was regionally founded and did not distinguish between the three main *nacije* ('nationsalities') living in Bosnia; Bosnian Muslims, Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs.

43 My informants work as teachers, tourist guides and other tourist-related professions (restaurant- and café waiters, administrative personnel in the tourism sector), market vendors, shop assistants, electricians, musicians, architects, investors, NGO staff or volunteers, heritage- and urban managers, politicians, social workers, IT workers, museum directors, academic and administrative staff at the University of Dubrovnik, administrative staff in the Dubrovnik Municipality, Dubrovnik Port Authority and Dubrovnik's Tourism Agency. I also have several retired informants, students, school pupils, a goldsmith, a taxi driver and a gallery owner.

UNESCO Venice from 2006-2012[44]. In February 2018, I conducted an e-mail interview with Tvrtko Zebec, a Croatian ethnologist employed at the Institute for Ethnology and Folklore in Zagreb. Zebec was a Croatian representative in the Intergovernmental Committee of the 2003 *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* from 2008-2011, and a member of the Subsidiary Body for evaluation of nominations for the Representative list from 2011-2012. I also conducted an interview with Einar Steensnæs, the executive director of the Oslo Centre[45] in April 2018. Steensnæs was a member of the Executive Board of UNESCO, Paris, from 2005-2009.
These individuals have provided valuable reflections on perspectives relating to the World Heritage program and the challenges of realizing UNESCO's intended ideals in practice.

Qualitative, Semi-structured Interviews and Mobile Ethnography

Altogether, over all fieldwork periods, I carried 92 qualitative, semi-structured interviews. Some interviews can be characterized as formal interviews, while most interviews were more conversational and informal. Most interviews were conducted with one individual at the time, but I also conducted some group interviews. On average, each interview lasted between one and two hours. Most interviews were carried out in the County of Dubrovnik-Neretva. I carried out two interviews in Zagreb and two interviews – one with a Croatian and one with a Bosnian national – in Oslo, Norway. In 2018, I have also carried out three e-mail interviews with informants in Croatia and one interview with a former member of the Executive Board of UNESCO Paris, in Oslo.

Early on in my fieldwork periods, I would type up a set of interview questions in preparation for the different interview groups. I categorized my potential/intended informants into different groups according to social and educational status, religious and ethnic background, areas of profession and work (including whether they were students or not) and age. I treated the categories as guiding principles for the types of questions I deemed relevant, as the categories in which I placed the different informants often overlapped. Before carrying out an interview, I would print out a standard interview sheet for the category, which seemed to apply to the interview subject and would add or remove questions to suit the particular individual. I also spent some time trying to memorize the themes and questions I had prepared

[44] UNESCO Venice is a central coordinating institution in a range of heritage related projects in the South-East European region, focusing on issues of sustainable development and tourism, intercultural dialogue and intangible cultural heritage.
45 The Oslo Centre is an "independent, non-partisan democracy center that assists the strengthening of democratic political institutions and processes" (ttp://www.oslocenter.no/en/strategy/).

so that I did not have to rely too strongly on the interview sheet while conducting the interview. Apart from interviews carried out with interview subjects working in a formal capacity, I rarely made active use of the list of questions in interview situations. I treated them more as behind the scenes tenets, which helped me to steer the conversation in certain directions if needed. In order to be able to fully engage in a stimulating conversation with my informants and not distract myself with note taking, I chose to record all but a few of my interviews. I always asked for consent to record the interview before starting. There are certain challenges related to using a recorder – the most obvious being the time it takes to transcribe and analyse the recordings. In order to overcome this, early on I chose to engage an assistant to transcribe, and occasionally translate, all the interviews I carried out. With a few exceptions, most interviews were carried out in places intended to create a relaxing and informal situation. A fair number of the more formal interviews were carried out in my informants' offices. Otherwise, the interviews were mainly conducted in cafés, in pubs, in people's own homes or outdoors in a quiet side street or by the sea.

As a complimentary methodological approach to the semi-structured 'seated' interviews, I carried out a handful of mobile conversational interviews in locations, which my informants chose[46]. To my informants I portrayed this as a '*walk in town*' or an invitation to '*show me your favourite place'.* This methodological choice is inspired by emerging traditions in ethnographic enquiry, which can be broadly defined as mobile ethnography (Ingold and Vergunst 2008, Novoa 2015, Ingold 2004), and also has certain overlaps with sensory ethnography (Pink 2015, 2007, Bendix 2011). These types of ethnographic enquiry encompass multi-sited fieldwork, but also ethnographic inquiry, which uses locomotion within a 'field site' as a method to facilitate new insights (Sheller and Urry 2006, Büscher and Urry 2009, Cresswell 2006). Mobile ethnography can enable a more 'grounded' ethnographic sensitivity to how ones' informants relate to their environment.

[46] These walks were pre-scheduled as interviews with my informants. In two of these, I recorded our conversations whilst walking. However, I carried out several more walks with informants, which can be categorized as belonging to the mobile ethnographic enquiry. These walks did not constitute pre-arranged interviews, and I treated them more as general sources of ethnographic data. In these situations I wrote field notes retrospectively.

Inspired particularly by Ingold and Tilley's phenomenological approaches to landscapes (Tilley 1994), and the concept of 'dwelling' (Ingold 1993)[47], I see mobile ethnographical approaches to place- and identity formation as useful in illuminating how one's informants do not perceive their surroundings and selves "from a single vantage point" (Ingold 2004). Instead, our experiences and perceptions are constantly shaped and altered through mobility and our interactions with different landscapes and cityscapes. Through utilizing a mobile ethnographic approach, my informants were given the opportunity to show me their favourite places in Dubrovnik centre or within walking distance of the centre. We would walk, converse, and occasionally sit down in different places throughout our walk. Moving between different places proved to be a very productive way of creating an informal atmosphere, to reinvigorate our conversations and to allow the informants' senses (especially hearing, sight and smell) inform and inspire our conversations. It also stimulated my informants to reflect upon the different places we moved through and the significance they had to their lives. By letting my informants choose where to walk and allowing them to show me the places they saw as important to their sense of self, I gained a more refined insight into particular qualities of the landscapes and urban areas which they selected. In some instances, these qualities related to 'intangible' cultural practices that today – due to conditions of tourism – are only possible in certain urban quarters. In others, they evoked memories of vanished (or perceived to be vanished) cultural practices. At other times, the qualities of a place related more to how it made the informants feel – to how the place altered their states of mind. This could, for example, be through stimulating tranquillity, contemplation or excitement. By moving through different environments – and paying attention to which places the informant choses to stop at and which places are overlooked without any attention being awarded to them – the researcher can gain a deeper insight into how the informant looks upon their environment (Tilley 1994, Syse 2009). Through focusing on one's informant's actions and senses, rather than just their words, narratives of the co-production between humans and their environments start to emerge (Tilley 2006). By contrast, it can often be hard for informants to transmit such

[47] Ingold's concept of "dwelling" is founded on a perspective that "treats the immersion of the organism-person in an environment or life-world as an inescapable condition of existence. From this perspective, the world continually comes into being around the inhabitant, and its manifold constituents take on significance through their incorporation into a regular pattern of life activity" (Ingold 2002:154). Ingold's theorizing on dwelling is inspired by Martin Heidegger's (Heidegger 1971), concept of dwelling ('wohnen') – an embodied and situated process of 'being in the world' brought about through everyday engagement with the environment.

'embodied' insights to the researcher in the context of a 'seated' interview taking place in a home, café or office (Tilley 1994, Syse 2009).

McFarlane sees the city as a "dwelling process", which is relational, processual and informed by the mobility (or immobility) of individuals (McFarlane 2011). When analysing Dubrovnikans' production of heritage, identity and place, I have attempted to explore how the city and the surrounding landscape is co-produced through 'multiple constitutive spatialities' (Pons 2003). These multiple spatialities are, in large part, formed from embodied personal experiences and memories. In public discourse and representations of Dubrovnik's cultural heritage, selected spatialities are reified, often to serve particular political and ideological ends. By utilizing a mobile ethnographic enquiry to scrutinize the experienced relationships between informants and the city-scape and cultural landscapes, one can better illuminate disparities between the experiential and representational levels.

However, in mobile and sensory ethnographic inquiry it is important to be aware of the temporal methodological challenges. It can be questioned how much an anthropologist can infer in a limited period of fieldwork from what s/he observes of an informant's sensory and embodied relation to different places. Presumably, the researcher would have to revisit the same places with the same informant several times at different time intervals. This would better equip the researcher to observe changes in the ways the informant related to and talked about the place over time. Given certain confinements to my own, as well as my informants', time, I was not able to carry out mobile ethnography in a structured way with different intervals over each fieldwork period. However, I did revisit the same places with the same informants several times (in a more ad hoc manner) and attempted to pay attention to how different aspects – such as seasonal changes and changing personal circumstances – shaped the way they talked about different places. I also noted how local political change (relating to particular tourism developments, local elections, contentious construction projects etc.) affected how my informants related to different places at different times. Over the course of time, my informants' depictions of places of particular value to them – forged by their everyday sensory experiences, embodied practices and routines, and through mobility between places – created a kind of personal narrative of 'their Dubrovnik'. A prominent theme was a sense that my informants' 'special places' were steadily becoming fewer as tourism developments remorselessly encroached into more areas. As a consequence of this, many informants started practicing what Pink (Pink 2007, 2015) defines as 'sensory creativity' or 'sensory practice', which involves *"engaging in practices that are intended to*

produce changes in the sensory environment and thus in our experience of it (Pink 2007:62)*"*. To some Dubrovnikans, this involved finding new routes through the city centre, which allowed them to manoeuvre more easily through the cityscape. However, 'sensory practices' were also utilized a means of reproducing the bonds between individuals and the materiality of the urban fabric, thus retaining a sense of the 'heritage of scale and harmony' (see Chapters 4, 6 and 9). This sometimes involved consciously seeking out new 'special places' or routines, which enabled my informants to nourish their deeply experienced connection with the urban environment and the landscape. An example is how the civil initiative, *Srđ je naš*, organized several public picnics on Mount Srđ (a practice relatively unfamiliar to Dalmatian culture and the wider Mediterranean). This represented not only an act of political activism, but also a means of re-shaping the sensory environment and nourishing the human-landscape connections through the introduction of new practices.

Discourse as Social Practices

In its wide application within the social sciences, discourse analysis can be understood as a qualitative method which studies the uses and functions of written texts, verbal utterances and other forms of communication (also to an extent non-verbal and embodied communication) within their specific and wider social, cultural, political and symbolic contexts (Fairclough 2003, 1992). Discourse, in a sense, is what is produced by written, verbal (and embodied) acts of communication, and the objective of discourse analysis is to identify patterns and structures in these communicative acts and to analyse their functions within society at the moment of enquiry. Discourse analysis often also includes a temporal perspective, as studying discourse across historical epochs can furnish valuable insights into social change (Fairclough 1992). Furthermore, by focusing on discourse, researchers also attempt to reveal the underlying intentionalities of the individuals or groups who produce a particular act of communication and thus how certain discourses relate to power and ideology (Foucault 1970). My methodological choices supplemented with an *attention to discourse* in speech and to a lesser degree in texts[48].

[48] Discourse analysis as an approach to studying society, signification and social structures is particularly associated with structuralism and the French philosopher, Michel Foucault (Foucault 1970). Foucault's approach to studying language and communication as *discursive acts* has been particularly influential in drawing attention to structures and relations of *power* and *ideology* inherent in written and oral communication. It is important to distinguish between carrying out a *discourse analysis* and *being attentive to* or *focusing on* discourse in amassing one's fieldwork data. In my doctoral research, I have not carried out discourse analysis in a structured manner.

Discourse in speech and writing can be understood as 'social practices' which can both preserve and reproduce the 'social status quo' as well as helping to transform it (Fairclough 2003, Wodak 2008). Studying discourse can help to disclose underlying social and political structures, as well as shedding light on both embedded and changing cultural perceptions in a given society. It can illuminate the narratives and myths, which a society constructs to mould its sense of self and uniqueness. In my doctoral research, being attentive to discourse has helped to uncover underlying structures of how Dubrovnik's post-war society utilizes heritage in efforts to delineate nationhood, cultural and ethnic borders and temporal continuity. In combination with focusing on discourse in historical texts – largely through Croatian historiographers' studies of Ragusan documents – I have also attempted to pay attention to discourse in my informants' utterances (especially retrospectively in transcriptions of interviews). This has aided in exploring relations between informants' reflections and self-representations, with the embedded nature of the structures I have observed through fieldwork (especially relating to historical and regional ethnographic conditions). Furthermore, focusing on discourse has also assisted in revealing the role played by structures of communication in contemporary political and cultural issues and contestation. This especially relates to recent historical experiences of Croatia's national independence, the transition to global capitalism and the Croatian war of independence. However, more pressing and contemporary matters are also at play, including Croatia's EU accession, the global economic crisis, the Syrian refugee crisis and national and local tourism strategies.

I have focused on discourse in many areas of local life and events. My gaze has extended to public rituals, festivals, acts of commemoration, political and cultural speeches and religious sermons, conferences and public debates organized by activists, the local municipality, the University of Dubrovnik and Inter-University Centre Dubrovnik. This has helped to obtain insight into cultural perceptions, seeds of social change, in uncovering how discourse plays a part in the politicization of identities and in stimulating or dampening sites of political and cultural friction. I have also examined everyday verbal – and non-verbal – communication, in written material and the qualitative interviews I conducted. Being attentive to discourse also aided in revealing patterns in the ways my informants and individuals of different class,

The focus on discourse embodies more of a supplement and backdrop to my other qualitative methods rather than an explicit analysis of texts and spoken utterances.

educational, religious and cultural backgrounds talked about and presented themselves and relayed their experiences of social change.

Research Ethics

With the entry of postmodernism in anthropology in the 1980s, which generated critiques of modernism's focus on 'grand theories' and 'meta-narratives' (Held and Moore 2007, Ortner 1984), the anthropological discipline adopted more self-scrutiny towards its own research practices, modes of representation and dissemination of knowledge. Clifford, Marcus and Fischer (Marcus and Fischer 1999, Clifford and Marcus 1986) questioned the right of anthropologists' to *speak for* and to *re*-present cultures, individuals and selected groups. They drew attention to the fact that anthropologists' representations of cultures are influenced by subjective predispositions, such as the researchers own socio-educational and cultural backgrounds. They asserted that anthropological knowledge can only be seen to constitute the researchers' *interpretations* and *'translations'* of cultural relations and processes rather than objective facts and, importantly, that anthropologists' role in the production of knowledge is inextricably connected to issues of power. The 'crisis in representation' (Ortner 1984) in postmodern anthropology has had clear and lasting implications on fieldwork and research methods. The ongoing 'writing culture' debates throughout the 1980s and 90s helped raise ethical concerns regarding the need to protect the integrity and anonymity of subjects of study, and spotlighted how to diminish the hierarchical power relationships between researchers and the researched. Furthermore, anthropological studies today are expected to provide a transparent account of the behind-the-scenes processes of how the ethnography was made (James, Hockey, and Dawson 1997).

The following discussions will provide some reflections to the areas of my research where I have seen a need to make specific considerations relating to fieldwork and research ethics.

Anonymization

In order to protect my informants' confidentiality, all but a few of them have been anonymized. Certain individuals, whom I have interviewed in a formal capacity, have given oral consent for me to use their real names and work titles. When anonymizing one's informants, it is important to be attentive to finding names which suit the particular socio-educational and ethnic-religious backgrounds of the particular individuals, as well as where they are from – such as whether an informant has grown up in a village, a city, on the coast or

inland, for example. Such culturally embedded aspects of choosing names are beyond my comprehension as a foreign researcher and I have therefore anonymized my informants in cooperation with my Croatian Ph.D. assistant. Some informants have chosen a name themselves, which they wish me to use for anonymization.

It is, however, often not enough to simply change an informants' name as there are many indirect identifiers which can also reveal the identity of the person. Some anthropologists go to great lengths to change aspects such as the informants' sex, family relations, occupation and the village or town they live in so in order to protect their confidentiality. I am critical about changing too many aspects of my informants' lives as I find it morally questionable whether my research will maintain the same worth if it becomes too fictionalized. I also fear that important context can be lost if one, for example, turns a man into a woman or a teacher into a doctor in the final written text. I have chosen to adopt a 'mid-way' solution, where I have mostly kept the biographical and social factors intact, but have, in a few instances, chosen a more general phrasing like 'he/she works in an educational institution' rather than conveying exactly what job the particular person has. With a few informants, where their reflections feature different aspects of their lives (for instance their work life and their involvement in politics in their spare time), which could, potentially, cause conflict if their identities and opinions become publically known, I have chosen to split the said informant into two identities, giving them two different names.

I experienced certain dilemmas between the ethical requirements of protecting informants' identities and the expressed desire of many of my informants' to 'tell their story', convey their opinions on local issues, and have their real name attached to it. I think some of the strength of this desire stems from the way many Croatians feel their experiences of the 1990s war were under-communicated, or even miscommunicated, in the international press. Some informants therefore expressed a strong interest in participating in interviews and conversations once they realised their perspectives would feature in an academic publication abroad. Furthermore, many informants have devoted a lot of time and energy in helping me and discussing issues of interest to my research. Out of considerations of reciprocity between the researcher and the researched, it could be argued that to accede to these individuals' desire not to be anonymized could give something valuable back to them. However, having conferred with the Department of Anthropology at the University of Oslo, discussing it over with these informants, and considering that neither my informants nor I can fully predict the consequences of allowing people's true identities to feature in the final text, I have in the end chosen to anonymize my

informants. I have made one exception with an informant who has assisted me to a great extent. Due to a particularly strong desire to have his real name attached to his reflections and out of considerations of reciprocity I have kept his real name.

Informed Consent

In order to obtain informed consent in interview situations, I always stated in advance the purpose of the interview and how the data was going to be used. However, in everyday conversations with my informants, and in conversations occurring immediately before and after an interview, the question of what data one can and cannot use, and the ethical dimensions, were far more blurry. It is also important to consider the ethical dimensions to using data deriving from e-mail correspondence. Several of my informants have gone to great lengths in updating me on various local political issues, on tourism management and planned construction projects. In order to adhere to ethical standards in using this type of information I have obtained written consent from the informants in question. I have furthermore sent several informants sections of my chapters where their reflections feature in order to give them a chance to give me feedback on my representations of them and their expressed opinions.

Ethical Considerations in a Post-war Society

Through the production of anthropological accounts of a society, anthropologists are, perhaps sometimes unknowingly, involved in ‘creating history’. Our representations and interpretations of sociality at a given time, once published as a written text, become lasting imprints in the wider attempts of social scientists to understand societies and mankind. After the publication of a monograph, the ways which the knowledge and interpretations are used is, largely, beyond the control of the anthropologist. It is therefore especially important for anthropologists to be attentive to their own role in the wider sphere of the politics of representation (James, Hockey, and Dawson 1997).

Doing fieldwork in societies where large parts of the population actively make use of the internet and social media and have relatively easy access to electronically stored academic publications, it is of great importance to be aware of the potentially negative effects one’s representations can have on the subjects of study. In the case of this thesis, such concerns become even more pressing as my research takes place in a *post-war* context, where the differences in the emotional traumas which different individuals have experienced vary significantly and are not always apparent to the researcher upon the first meeting. Differences

in individuals' predispositions to open up about their innermost feelings, and how they relate to their experiences, soon impressed on me the importance of developing a flexible strategy in how to approach different people. To the best of my ability, I tried to keep in mind that it was not appropriate to ask every individual all questions. I therefore attempted to adapt my conversations according to what the informants responded well to, and showed an interest in talking about. Likewise, by respecting my informants' integrity and personal boundaries, I avoided further discussion about issues if I experienced any reluctance to carry on the conversation in certain direction. Mostly I experienced that my informants would set their own boundaries in how much they would open up to me and I generally came across few incidents where ethical dilemmas and my pursuit of ethnographic knowledge came into conflict.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the methodological approaches informing my overall research and the particular methods I have used during my fieldwork periods in Dubrovnik. I have utilized a combination of qualitative methods, in particular participant observation, semi-structured interviews and mobile ethnography. I have also paid attention to discourse in spoken reflections. Through combining a range of methods within the ethnographic paradigm, my research seeks to adhere to the anthropological ideals of holistically exploring the interconnections between different realms of socio-cultural life and how practices and perceptions are embedded in and also produce the particular ethnographic realities. By combining formal and informal methods, I have sought to identify patterns, deviances and correspondences between practices. It has been important in my research to understand how Dubrovnikans perceive and represent identity, place and the city's World Heritage.

The power to define and control the usage of Dubrovnik's World Heritage is informed by structural conditions and cultural historical relations. Ethnographic knowledge can reveal how these relations intersect with contemporary heritage- and identity production, including how cultural heritage frequently is used in inclusion and exclusion mechanisms. If individuals or groups feel deprived of access to and control over how their cultural heritage is managed and used, World Heritage and the wider cultural heritage it is embedded within can turn into 'dissonant heritage' (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996a), and potentially also outright conflict. By utilizing qualitative methodologies, I have sought to access and identify a diversity of opinions and to bring the perspectives of marginalized groups and of civil society to the fore.

Ethnographic knowledge into heritage production and of how World Heritage status is made meaningful in the particular, lived realities of World Heritage sites are often lacking in official monitoring reports of World Heritage sites. Such insights can be of value to heritage- and urban managers and to international heritage organizations, to find ways of ensuring a sustainable management of the World Heritage and to safeguard the populations' lasting attachments to their World Heritage against the potential abuses of the World Heritage status for commercial and ideological ends.

Part II – *Walls and Gates*

4. World Heritage – Between the Universal and the Particular

Introduction

This chapter presents a brief historical background of the emergence of heritage- and heritage management in Europe. It also traces the major milestones in the creation of transnational legal heritage frameworks. UNESCO's introduction of 'World Heritage' – a concept that implies something both universally shared and possessing particular local resonance – has had profound implications on Dubrovnik and Croatia's heritage legislation, the interpretations and uses of heritage. UNESCOs *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* in 1972 and the adoption of World Heritage List in 1978 have to a certain extent stimulated a shift away from the excluding mechanisms of heritage as markers of nationhood, ethnic and religious boundaries. UNESCO's World Heritage concept and legal framework asserts that heritage nominated on the World Heritage List is equally owned by all of humanity and everyone, regardless of nationality, ethnicity, and religious conviction, has the right to access and use it. However, as I will discuss in the thesis' later chapters, the increasingly close connection of heritage with tourism and economic development creates new lines of exclusion. Private businesses have taken over many places near the World Heritage site, formerly accessible to the public. The heritagization of selected urban areas, and consequently the introduction of entrance fees to formerly freely accessible sites have changed the way many places are used and the personal experiences people have of them.

Heritage and Nation-building

Being interested in the past is nothing new to humankind. But the notions of heritage and heritage preservation have relatively short histories and are linked to particular developments and ideologies emerging in the era of modernity (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000).

The historical foundations of modern-day heritage conceptions were largely shaped during the 19th Century Romantic period. The emergence of heritage during this period is intimately connected to two parallel processes. Firstly, heritage played an important role in political, ideological and cultural projects aimed at forging national identities and consolidating and legitimizing statehood (ibid.). The increased interest in the conservation of relics from the past

and the preservation of historic urban areas and buildings in the late 19th Century corresponded with the establishment of many new nation-states in Europe; for instance Germany, Italy and in the Balkans (Ashworth 2013[1994]). Secondly, in the face of rapid industrialization and urbanization, the cultural Romantic Movement across Europe utilized the heritage of the peasantry in the cultural imagination in order to contrast the hard but simple life of rural people with the artificiality and meaningless toil of urban areas. Interest in the conservation and preservation of artefacts and built environments emerged as part of cultural, artistic, intellectual and scientific movements (ibid.). This was a period which saw a growth in the archaeological and historical sciences and the emergence of conservationist societies. European and American conservationist movements, which proliferated from the late 19th Century onwards, were especially inspired by cultural and legal processes occurring in Great Britain. *The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty* (1895) and *The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings* (1877), were among the first to enforce legal protection of selected material culture. They established the cultural discourses around heritage conservation and material protection that came to dominate European thought and practice in the 20th Century.

Many traces of the 19th Century ties between heritage, nationhood and nostalgia for allegedly unspoilt pasts are still present in the contemporary uses of heritage in Croatia and the wider Balkans. In the late 17th Century, the notion of a shared South-Slav heritage emerged. Yet it was not until the 19th Century, occurring concurrently with Cultural Romanticism at a European scale, that South-Slavism took hold and proliferated with the spread of the Illyrian movement (Jelavich 1990, Banac 1988). Although industrialization and urbanization were much less predominant in the Balkan Peninsula, rural heritage, as in many other parts of Europe at the time, provided an important inspiration for Romantic sentiments. This was also the period when ethnology, folklore, and the related disciplines of ethno-musicology and ethno-choreography, gained a foothold in many areas of the Balkan Peninsula, including the territory comprising contemporary Croatia. As the 19th century progressed, ethnicity and cultural, folkloric customs became increasingly tied together in the perception of a shared 'Slavic heritage'. Idealizations of peasant Slavic heritage proliferated in cultural representations and formed the basis of a separate South-Slav identity, centred on the rural environment and cultural traditions such as dance, music and handicrafts. Being perceived as more remote, 'untouched' and 'untransformed' by the hegemonic rule of foreign Empires than urban administrative and political centres, rural cultures were thought to represent the historic

continuity of unhampered Slavic culture. In reality, the idea of peasant culture distilling a 'purer' version of Slavic culture displayed only a partial truth. Although many rural customs have long, largely unbroken histories, cultural migration, ethnic-religious intermixing and long-distance cultural contact through trade, have created hybridized cultures from early history. In the Dalmatian hinterland, for instance, many cultural elements historically overlap and cannot be discerned as either Catholic Croat, Serbian Orthodox or Bosnian Muslim traditions.

Muslim, Orthodox or Catholic traditions. In the attempts to shape separate national identities, many cultural traditions which overlap ethnic, religious, and today also national boundaries, are celebrated as the different nation-states 'own' 'intangible' cultural heritage[49].

The 'Yugo-Slav' (South-Slav) heritage discourse supplied the political and ideological basis for the later formation of Yugoslavia. While cultural traditions and folk culture played important roles in nation-building by seaming together Yugoslavia's cultural, ethnic and religious patchwork into the unifying umbrella term, 'Yugo-Slavs', the Yugoslavian authorities simultaneously viewed religion especially, and to an extent also folkloric traditions, as backward. They were seen as the antithesis of social progress and change, and as such needed to be uprooted and eradicated (Mirescu 2003). The Yugoslavian state thus had a very ambivalent relationship towards cultural traditions and heritage (albeit to a lesser extent monumental heritage). The resultant suppression of religion and folkloric customs and heritage in Yugoslavia led to a rejuvenation of localized folkloric traditions. This rejuvenation plays a part of attempts to construct an ethnically distinct Croat heritage in the post-independence period (Baker 2008, 2013).

Creating 'World Heritage'

The establishment of the 1972 UNESCO *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*[50] was always intended to embody more than a legal instrument in technical heritage conservation across the world. Congruent with the underlying organisational UNESCO goals, of fostering peace, tolerance and mutual understanding

[49] An example of this is how the different South Slavic nations claim the *kolo* ring dance and the one string musical instrument, *gusle*, which often accompanies the dance, as their national cultural heritage. Both historically and din contemporary cultural practices, these traditions overlap national borders and are found in Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Dalmatia (Terzić, Bjeljac, and Ćurčić 2015, Pantelić 2007, Žanić 2007).

50 For matters of convenience, I shall henceforth refer to this convention as the *World Heritage Convention* or *the 1972 Convention* when I have already established to which convention I refer.

(Meskell 2015a, 2012), the concept of 'World Heritage' represented, from its very beginning, a vehicle to promote inter-cultural dialogue and mutual respect through international cooperation – in addition to legally binding heritage protection. When the World Heritage Convention (WHC) took effect in 1975 and the first 12 inscriptions were made on the World Heritage List (WHL) three years later, few predicted the enormous implications which World Heritage designation would have in the years to come (Brumann 2014). The foundational period of World Heritage, in the late 1970s and early '80s, was largely led by *"idealistic solidarities and quasi-colonial European interventions into heritage protection in developing nations"* (Meskell 2014:225). Informed by notions of international human rights and world peace in the aftermath of the destruction of the Second World War, World Heritage provided a much needed vehicle for fostering a 'world dialogue', in the era of the Cold War, by reaching across the confinements of the nation-states. The 1972 World Heritage Convention needs to be seen as an extension of earlier international heritage management policies, the development of international human rights and international political efforts aimed at peace and stability following the Second World War. As the first convention of international magnitude to deal with the protection of cultural property in the event of armed conflict, the 1954 *Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict* foreshadows the later establishment of World Heritage in the 1972 World Heritage Convention[51]. The Council of Europe[52] is also a central actor in establishing programmes intended to ensure lasting peace. Established in the aftermath of the Second World War – in 1949 – the Council of Europe began its work on democracy, human rights and cultural diversity long before UNESCO's 1972 Convention was implemented. The role of heritage as a means of inter-cultural dialogue is well embedded in many of the Council's programmes and initiatives[53]. Another pivotal actor in promoting the values of heritage protection and shaping international discourse on World Heritage is the transnational non-governmental organization, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS – established in 1965). ICOMOS is UNESCO's formal advisory body in the evaluation of World Heritage nominations (both "cultural" and "mixed" properties) and assists in the monitoring of existing

51 The 1954 Hague Convention states that: "*damage to cultural property belonging to any people whatsoever means damage to the cultural heritage of all mankind, since each people makes its contribution to the culture of the world"* (http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/armed-conflict-and-heritage/convention-and-protocols/1954-hague-convention/text/).
52 The Council of Europe: https://www.coe.int/en/web/about-us/values.
53 Of particular relevance is the recent Council of Europe initiative, the Cultural Heritage and Diversity: STEPS Project, which focuses on stimulating community cohesion, trust, dialogue and mutual understanding through "participatory heritage-based action plans" https://www.coe.int/en/web/interculturalcities/cultural-heritage-and-diversity.

World Heritage sites. ICOMOS' evaluation reports of properties are afterwards submitted to the World Heritage Centre (WHC), which began operating in 1992. The WHC is a coordinating organ, which manages practical matters arising from the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention. The WHC organizes annual international summits where new enlistments are evaluated and problems of "World Heritage under threat" in the existing World Heritage sites are considered. It also provides advice to the State Parties committed to the 1972 Convention in the preparation of new World Heritage enlistments.

Wilk (Wilk 1995) argues that one consequence of globalization processes is the production of "global systems of common difference". This, he asserts, can lead to certain differences becoming essentialised – that is portrayed as having measurable and scalable characteristics. This threatens to *"narrow our gaze [only] to particular kinds of difference* (Wilk 1995:118). Wilk's theorizing is applicable to UNESCO's standardizing categorization of cultural differences, embedded in the World Heritage enlistments. Drawing on Wilk's *global systems of common difference*, Turtinen argues (Turtinen 2000):

> *World Heritage is about standardising by categorising and assessing the whole universe of natural and cultural heritage in order to distil the unique, outstanding, invaluable and indispensable "wonders of the world". And, just like beauty contests, World Heritage has judges and jury groups. Of particular importance in World Heritage are the experts involved. They are regarded as righteous providers of scientific knowledge to the system, of assessments according to criteria, and, thus of objectivity, ontology and truth (Turtinen 2000:8).*

As we can see, World Heritage and the use of the umbrella term, "Outstanding Universal Value" (OUV), do not capture the innate qualities of the sites, but rather constitute a status ascribed to them by an intricate process of evaluation undertaken by a range of 'expert' groups (Di Giovine 2008, Turtinen 2000)[54]. The development of a "global grammar" (Turtinen 2000) of World Heritage is co-produced and maintained through many elaborate processes which affect not only sites evaluated for enlistment, but also sites that have already obtained World Heritage status. The criteria for the Outstanding Universal Value of World

54 Turtinen (Turtinen 2000) sees the following six process as central to the production of World Heritage: nomination, preservation, monitoring, development, diffusion and representation. The nomination of World Heritage sites itself is a highly intricate and lengthy procedure, which requires a lot of resources, funds and evaluation by different expertise groups (Turtinen, 2008, Di Giovine, 2008). See Appendix 1 for an outline of the processes a World Heritage nomination has to undergo in order to obtain status as a World Heritage site.

Heritage nominations are defined externally in relation to the local realities and cultural values of the populations inhabiting the sites. Moreover, the production of 'World Heritage' in the specific and diverse World Heritage sites globally does not occur in a vacuum (Chalcraft 2016), but is conditioned by a range of already existing historical, cultural and political dynamics in the individual sites. At the same time, with the huge growth in nominations for the World Heritage List, the concept of World Heritage has increasingly become naturalized. The popularity and influence of UNESCO's World Heritage programme has helped create what Di Giovine refers to as a "global 'heritage-scape'".

Building on Appadurai's – *scapes* theorizing[55], Di Giovine (ibid.) sees the global 'heritage-scape' as fluid, ethnographically context-dependent and continually co-produced and negotiated by a large number of different interest groups, such as advisory bodies, politicians, heritage managers, site managers, the tourist industry, tourists and local residents inhabiting the World Heritage Sites (ibid.). UNESCO's "meta-narrative" of "unity in diversity", he proposes, has helped shape an "imagined community" (Anderson 2004 [1983]) of World Heritage sites. These sites are only related in any real sense by all having undergone a complicated and lengthy evaluation process involving different "expert bodies" and thereafter acquiring the prestigious status of possessing "Outstanding Universal Value" (Di Giovine 2008). In the four decades that have elapsed since the first nominations were inscribed on the World Heritage List, the global "heritage-scape" has emerged as a "social structure" and "a social space" (ibid.), hinging on UNESCO's overarching goals of achieving inter-cultural dialogue and mutual understanding and respect of cultural diversity across the confinements of national borders and geo-political territories. As such, the World Heritage List and the global "heritage-scape" of "unity in diversity" are subversive to the use of heritage by nation-states and in nationalistic discourse, which both build on *"conflict-inducing narrative[s] of difference"* (Di Giovine 2008:37). However, there exists a contradiction between the ideal goals of the World Heritage programme, and the structure of the World Heritage Convention and heritage nomination process. While the World Heritage programme promotes "unity in diversity" across the confinements of nations (Di Giovine 2008), World Heritage nominations

55 Appadurai (Appadurai 1996) proposes a framework for exploring the relationship between the "fundamental disjunctures" of "global cultural flows", which he identifies as mediascape, ethnoscape, technoscape, financescape and ideoscape (1996:33). He asserts that the shared suffix, –scapes, points to the "fluid, irregular shapes of these landscapes", brings attention to their relational characters and that "they are deeply perspectival constructs, inflected by the historical, linguistic, and political situatedness of different sorts of actors (1996:33)." Drawing on Anderson's (1983) concept of "imagined communities", Appadurai sees these five -scapes as building-blocks through which we construct multiple "imagined worlds", which are "constituted by the historically situated imaginations of persons and groups" across the globe (1996:33).

are made through national governments and – furthermore – the international heritage conventions themselves are products of agreements between nation-states (Shepherd 2012).

The history of heritage, as shown above, was intimately bound up with the desire of nation-states to consolidate shared national belonging and legitimize their borders. As such, heritage production served to privilege the sense of belonging to the nation-state on the part of selected groups and cultures, while excluding those who fell outside the nation's designated heritage. Through advancing the idea of universal co-ownership, shared responsibility and equal access to World Heritage sites across the world (Brumann 2014), the introduction of World Heritage, at least as it was originally intended, democratized the uses and meanings of heritage (Eriksen 2001). UNESCO's implementation of The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003[56], The Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions in 2005, and UNESCO's focus on heritage as a vehicle and facilitator in sustainable development have been instrumental in directing international heritage discourses towards democratization and local empowerment[57]. Over the course of the last decades we have seen a broadening perception of the roles heritage can fulfil – from the preservation of 'tangible', immovable and monumental heritage to perceiving heritage as an amalgam of cultural practices which occur in the present. UNESCO's and its advisory bodies' instrumental and symbolic authority through heritage enlistment is not so far reaching that it dictates the 'ground-level' consequences of heritage production in World Heritage enlisted sites. Askew (2010) emphasizes that the practical consequences of World Heritage status are often unintended and uncontrollable. UNESCO's formal powers are often overshadowed by its "*application of normative pressure and the harnessing of symbolic capital for a variety of constituencies, including professional bodies as well as (sometimes competing) elites in member states*" (Askew 2010:21). Askew's (ibid.) reflections highlight the gap between World Heritage's intended 'universal' meanings and its actual national and local application:

[56] The 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage was preceded by the 2001 Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity.

57 Several international heritage conventions, charters and documents have been influential in shaping the judicial basis of contemporary heritage production, management and heritage discourses internationally. The most relevant are: the 1954 *Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict*, the *Venice Charter* (1964), *the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* (1964), *the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (1972), the 1979 ICOMOS *Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance* (the Burra charter), ICOMOS' *Nara Document on Authenticity* (1994), the UNESCO report, *'Our Creative Diversity'* (1996), *the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (2003), and *the UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* (2005).

The 'universal' meanings ascribed to sites in the [World Heritage] List have little influence on the ways that World Heritage sites are deployed by member states for their own domestic ideological or exclusionary purposes (Askew 2010:40).

How UNESCO's "globalizing standardization" of heritage categories and management practices – implicit in the creation of a "global grammar" of World Heritage (Turtinen 2000) – is actually interpreted and utilized in the world's World Heritage sites is most likely highly diverse. Equally, it is uncertain whether the recent encouragement to broaden the 'heritage concept' and the potential roles it can fulfil, actually has transformative effects 'on the ground'. The consequences (or lack of them) of the abovementioned conventions and their focus on heritage in fostering democratization, local empowerment and sustainable development can best be explored ethnographically[58].

World Heritage – Tourism, Sustainability and Peace

The potential for heritage protection and sustainable, local development through heritage tourism is especially important in regions that have undergone political turmoil and warfare (Corak, Mikacic, and Ateljevic 2012, Sørensen and Viejo-Rose 2015). Following the political conflicts and wars in the Balkans during the 1990s, the EU and the European Council have given increased focus onto heritage protection as a vehicle for local development and regional stability. Cross-border cooperation and cultural- and heritage tourism have been identified as important resources in encouraging renewed inter-ethnic and inter-ethnic dialogue in the aftermath of the 1990s wars. As part of the Regional Programme for Cultural and Natural Heritage in South-East Europe (2003-2014), the EU programme, *The Ljubljana process: Rehabilitating our Common Heritage*[59], carried out over 220 rehabilitation projects in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, the FYR Macedonia and Kosovo. In the programmes' stated aims, the Ljubljana Process seeks to:

Realise the historic environment's potential to contribute to economic development, increase employment, stimulate prosperity, and enhance the quality of life...The leading

58 UNESCO has acknowledged the need to gain deeper understanding of the varied impacts of the World Heritage Convention and World Heritage enlistments over the last 40 years. The organization has therefore devoted many meetings and several publications to exploring the concept of 'Outstanding Universal Value', both in theory and practice (Labadi 2013).

59 The Ljubljana Process, initiated in 2003, as a part of the Council of Europe and European Commission's joint programmes, *The Integrated Rehabilitation projects Plan* (IRPP) and *The Survey of the Architectural and Archaeological Heritage* (SAAH). 220 heritage rehabilitation programmes were,

idea is that heritage objects are assets, part of the solution to economic development rather than an obstacle to it[60].

Partly due to the eagerness to present Dubrovnik as an elite tourist destination (see discussion in Chapter 7) and as fully restored to its 'former glory' as a peaceful and stable 'cultured' city, the personal and cultural traumas and humiliation caused by the four year war tend to be glossed over in tourism promotion. My ethnography indicates that there has been little focus on the populations' need for reconciliation[61]. Moreover, the potentiality of fostering participatory, community-based tourism projects in helping post-war communities re-find dignity and meaning is almost entirely absent in local and regional tourism developments. The focus onto short-term economic gains overshadows the other potential roles which tourism can fulfil. In the early 2000s, Dubrovnik hosted several conferences and meetings aimed at re-establishing cross-border co-operation[62] (ibid.). These forums, identified cross-border co-operation, including cross-border tourism, as important tools in stimulating European integration and regional economic development. However, despite such initiatives, a survey carried out by Lagiewski and Revelas (Lagiewski and Revelas 2004) amongst the participants of one of these conferences pointed towards a deep-seated resistance towards cross-boundary co-operation (ibid.). The development of cross-border cooperation in tourism and the development of a cross-border organization to facilitate this was especially met with strong hostility. Apart from concerns of increased bureaucratic concerns due to separate national borders, lack of trust and the sentiment that 'it too soon' or that the emotions from the war are 'too strong' featured high in the reasons not to re-establish cross-border cooperation (ibid.). Such sentiments were equally present amongst many of my informants, a decade later. If organized in a sensitive, community-based way, tourism can revitalize post-war communities by bringing a source of income to the local population, providing new employment opportunities and improving infrastructure through attracting local, regional and

60 http://tfcs.rcc.int/en/montenegro/9-uncategorised/98-ljubljana-process.

[61] Similar processes have been identified in other studies focusing on heritage and economic development in post-conflict contexts. In their study of reconciliation, justice and heritage in post-conflict Cambodia, Daly and Chan (Daly and Chan 2016) argue that that the strong drive by groups in power to stimulate stability and economic growth, has led to a very "superficial national reconciliation", which has limited truth and accountability. This, they argue: *"has arguably limited the abilities of some stakeholders to find justice, heal, and move on from wounds that not only continue to fester, but are being passed on to subsequent generations"* (2016:503). This argument resonates with the situation in post-war Dubrovnik.

[62] In 2000-2002, Dubrovnik hosted the three conferences; *Promoting Co-operation in the Border Areas Between Montenegro, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzagovina, Tourism and SME development in the border regions Croatia, Montenegro, and BiH – Identifying Cross-Border Priorities for Action, and Southern Adriatic Transfrontier Cooperation Forum*.

international stakeholders to renovate both historical and 'living' cultural sights and amenities. Since the 2000s, there have been many attempts to utilize tourism's potential in revitalizing communities struggling with unemployment and depopulation. Such projects have also been intended as a means to re-establish inter-ethnic and inter-religious dialogue in the Balkans. However, cross-border projects have often met many challenges, especially relating to an unwillingness on behalf of the communities to reinstitute dialogue and cooperation (Lagiewski and Revelas 2004). The EU has assumed a particularly active role in developing programmes aimed at fostering cross-border cooperation in, amongst others, tourism, rural and infrastructural development. As an EU candidate, Croatia was eligible to receive EU funds for cross-border cooperation. In the period of 2007-2013, the Adriatic IPA cross-border cooperation programme[63] funded several cross-border projects in the Adriatic region (Ležaić et al. 2010). However, Dubrovnik-Neretva County has to a very limited degree made use of this funding possibility. After the renewal of the IPA cross-border cooperation programme for 2014-2020, 24 cross-border projects with a total value of € 24,134,469 received funding[64]. While several Dalmatian cities have received funds for projects focusing specifically at tourism development and the sustainable use of cultural heritage resources, there are, as far as I am aware, no similar cross-border tourism projects in the Dubrovnik. Part of the explanation to the lack of cross-border programmes in Dubrovnik-Neretva County lies in a strong unwillingness, especially in the rural regions, to reinstitute or develop cross-border cooperation. A large number of my informants of different socio-educational backgrounds reflected that the emotional wounds from the war were still open and they thought it was still too soon to re-establish trust and cooperation with Montenegrins and Bosnians.

Before the 1990s wars, tourism in the Dubrovnik-Neretva County was closely linked to the tourism industries in near-lying areas in Montenegro and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Prior to the wars, the Atlas travel bureau offered a number of tourist itineraries featuring prepackaged tours to for example the Bay of Kotor (Montenegro), Dubrovnik, Cavtat (Croatia), Mostar and Međugorje (Bosnia-Herzegovina) (Lagiewski and Revelas 2004). With the establishment of the new national borders after the dissolution of Yugoslavia, and the lack of trust and willingness to re-establish cross-border co-operation, attempts to re-establish cross-border tourism cooperation has met many obstacles (ibid). When the Atlas travel bureau first attempted to re-establish cross-border tourism offers they received a lot of resistance from

[63] http://www.ipadriaticbc.eu/pa-cbc-programme-2/.
[64] http://www.interreg-hr-ba-me2014-2020.eu/wp-content/uploads/2017-10-09-bih-_web.pdf.

parts of the population in Dubrovnik. At the turn of the Millennium, many inhabitants in the Dubrovnik region perceived cooperation on tourism projects across national borders as both undesirable and improbable. When some Dubrovnik based tourism agencies first re-established contact with Montenegrin and Bosnian tourism agencies around the turn of the Millennium, they received a lot of resistance from parts of the population in Dubrovnik. Today, the larger tour operators again offer tailored trips across the national borders. However, although there is a general acceptance that the larger tour operators have reintroduced cross-border excursions, the resistance towards new small-scale cross-border cooperation initiatives by individuals or NGOs is strong.

Luka, a pensioner from a rural village bordering on Montenegro, has experienced a pervasive resistance in his village after he has tried to establish a cross-border tourism initiative. After living most of his working life abroad, Luka chose to return to his home village around 15 years ago. For most of this period, he has tried to realize a cross-border tourism project, but due to widespread resistance amongst nationalist politicians and the local community at large, he has not managed to realize the project. Luka, humouristically refers to himself as a 'Tito boy' and describes himself as an atheist and communist. He argues that although tourism may appear to make the Dubrovnik region more international, the local population "cannot change their attitudes". Luka managed to ensure EU funding for his tourism project and argues that locals ought to welcome the project since it should aid towards "keeping the young people in the villages by giving them jobs". However, he thinks that the emotions from the war are still too strong and people living in the rural border areas generally tend to perceive all Montenegrins as 'invaders':

> *I think nationalism is bigger than ever. The church has enormous power and constantly preaches that 'we are better', that 'we are not Balkan people', that 'we are Europeans'...Politicians too spread ultra-nationalist opinions to the people. One nationalistic politician in my village has told me that he doesn't want people to go across the border. He talks about the enemies from the east. But they are not our enemies – they are just like me and you! There were some who committed crimes, but that was over 20 years ago.*

Throughout our conversations, Luka reflects on how the inhabitants of his village no longer accept him as a Croat. *"To them, I am a foreigner"*, he asserts. He thinks the lack of acceptance is partly because he openly revokes Catholicism and expresses his affiliation to

communism. However, he also thinks that since he lived abroad during the war, many villagers feel that he 'betrayed them'. Moreover, he thinks that many villagers are provoked that he 'dares' *idealistic solidarities and quasi-colonial European interventions into heritage protection in developing nations* to come back after the war thinking that he 'can change things'. Luka reflects on how he understands that "people who have had their houses burned down by Montenegrins" are reluctant to work together after the war. However, since most of the rural areas in Croatia, Montenegro and Bosnia-Herzegovina struggle economically and large numbers remain unemployed, he sees cross-border tourism co-operation as a huge potential in reducing rural poverty and counteracting the steady depopulation of the villages.

Global tourism is particularly vulnerable to political instability and the particular events, which may negatively affect the industry. The longevity of tourism as a major source of economic revenue to Dubrovnik depends on continued regional stability.

In the last few years, several European tourism destinations have experienced a significant drop in tourism numbers due to increased political instability, terrorist attacks and the Syrian refugee crisis. Political instability and an escalation in terrorist attacks in Turkey since 2015 has had negative consequences on the national tourism industry[65]. Many formerly popular tourist resorts have had to close down due to the absence of tourists. Numerous Turks earning a living from tourism have temporarily lost their source of livelihood. Likewise, tourism numbers dropped on the Eastern Aegean islands in Greece, which were part of the route of Syrian refugees to enter Western Europe[66]. However, although the international tourism industry is particularly vulnerable to political instability, armed conflict and environmental disasters, tourism usually returns when the regional or local conditions in or near the tourism destinations are considered stable. Einar Steensnæs[67], a former member of the Executive Board of UNESCO, Paris reflects on how tourism, despite its vulnerability to global events, usually recuperates when stability returns:

> *Turkey and Greece experienced great difficulties in maintaining their tourism industry in the aftermath of the political unstable conditions and when the safety situation was*

[65] https://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2017/02/21/NA230217Turkeys-Economy-Hit-By-Declining-Tourism.
[66] A Greek university study estimates that the visitor numbers on the greek islands, Lesvos, Chios, Samos and Kos dropped by 22,79 percent from the previos year. https://news.gtp.gr/2017/01/18/study-refugee-crisis-repercussions-greek-island-tourism/.
[67] My interview with Steensnæs took place at the The Oslo Center for Peace and Human Rights, April 18th 2018. In his period in UNESCO's Executive Board, Steensnæs was also the leader of the delegation for negotiations. He is currently the Executive Director at the The Oslo Center for Peace and Human Rights, working on issues of human rights, democracy and inter-religious and intercultural dialogue.

not considered stable. However, since then, things have changed in Turkey and Greece and today tourism has in many ways normalized again. This shows that people follow world events closely and choose their holiday destinations accordingly. Experience shows that when the security level is again considered as safe, tourism returns relatively soon afterwards.

However, Steensnæs also emphasizes that in the case of long-term conflicts or warfare, and if tourists do not consider the level of security as satisfactory, long-term detrimental effects on tourism could occur. He thinks that the vulnerability of tourism has furthermore increased due to changes in international tourism in the last couple of decades. In the early days of tourism, he asserts, a limited number of places featured as 'natural' holiday destinations to the tourist. Today, on the contrary, tourists of a certain economic standing see 'the whole world' as constituting potential destinations for vacations. The flightiness of tourism has been stimulated by lower costs, heightened connectivity of travel modes, easily accessible information and heavy tourism promotion of a growing number of tourism sites. This has increased the competition for tourists' attention. If political conflicts or warfare ignites in areas near popular tourist destinations, Steensnæs thinks that many will travel to other places, which may appear as equally appealing destinations. Steensnæs reflects:

People are ready to find alternative places to travel to. This is quite worrying for tourism, but I think that if a conflict was to erupt in the Balkans – not a war, but a conflict, the industry can be re-established again. This depends on how the conflict is dealt with and how stability and trust can be brought back. However, if a new war broke out in the Balkans, the situation can become dramatic. The regional situation is very delicate. If the world powers became involved in the case of a new war in the Balkans, and the level of security is not satisfactory, tourism will disappear. People will find other places to travel. I do, however, think that tourism can be restored again even after war – as long as people feel confident that the level of security is satisfactory.

As Dubrovnik's recovery of tourism illustrates, the 1990s Balkan wars had crippling long-term effects, but the consequences on the tourism industry and local economy have not been re-erectable. However, the successful return of tourism to Dubrovnik has depended on strategic, large-scale national promotional efforts internationally. Strategies of re-focusing itself as a city for heritage tourism and of representing itself as a Western European and Mediterranean city (as opposed to a part of the Balkan region), are parts of deliberate attempts

to convince tourists that Dubrovnik is a safe and politically stable place to visit. If a new conflict or war is to erupt in near future, the trust and conviction that Dubrovnik is a safe and stable place, removed from the conditions of the Balkans at large, may prove to be fragile.

Dubrovnik's increased dependency on cruise-ship tourism may – in the case of a new war in the Balkan region - furthermore heighten the city's vulnerability as a tourist destination. With a steadily growing number of cruise-ship destinations globally, cruise-ship companies are more likely to change their itineraries if conflict or warfare erupts. This aspect was reflected in my interview with Steensnæs:

> *Places which today are identified as attractive destinations - from the point of view of the [cruise-ship] companies – will seize to be so if the security situation is not considered as satisfactory. Despite their former appeal, the companies will find new destinations and cruise-ship tourism may not be re-erected to the same degree afterwards. For example in Africa, several countries have obtained a satisfactory level of stability. Especially on the east-coast, such as in Kenya, Tanzania, and on the west-coast, like in Senegal and Ghana, new cruise-ship destinations are likely to appear and the companies may view these as positive alternatives. In cruise tourism, the companies which decide the destinations.*

According to Steensnæs, the focus onto the impacts of cruise-ship tourism in World Heritage sites was completely absent during his period in UNESCO Paris. *«All together the focus onto the dilemmas emerging from tourism itself, received very little focus"*, he reflects. Steensnæs thinks that today UNESCO cannot ignore the negative consequences of tourism in World Heritage sites.

The often sudden and large growth in tourist numbers following World Heritage enlistment frequently causes new challenges to heritage- and tourism management, which can have many cumulative and subtle negative impacts (Bourdeau and Gravari-Barbas 2016). The negative impacts of tourism are often 'masked' by the positive impacts such as economic growth, new jobs, accompanying investment opportunities and extended funds for urban renovation, conservation of cultural heritage and infrastructural investments (ibid.). Although Dubrovnik has a long history as a tourist destination, the types and impacts of tourism have changed in the post-war period (see further discussion in Chapter 7). This has brought about many new challenges and has asserted new influences on communal life. In Dubrovnik, the negative impacts of tourism can especially be observed in the increased privatization and

commercialization of formerly public places. The contestation of places and their uses, a large increase in the cost of living and the drastic depopulation of the walled centre has followed Croatia's independence and transition to market liberalism. However, these processes have particularly been intensified in the last decade. Other detrimental consequences of tourism include the outsourcing of amenities for the local population, infrastructural and environmental challenges caused by traffic congestion, increased pollution and production and the need to dispose of mounting quantities of waste. The return and growth of tourism in Dubrovnik has aided in rebuilding the war-damaged infrastructure. At the same time, the city's medieval infrastructure, coupled with the difficulty of recovering the war damages in time with the rapidly growing tourist numbers, have created many challenges which the local government and citizens are not prepared for.

An increasing body of ethnographically-founded studies indicates that, alongside the economic and material benefits of World Heritage enlistment, deep-seated problems are engendered when sites' World Heritage status are exploited for commercial gain and there is a failure to recognize the identification of the inhabitants with their heritage (Luleva 2015, Wang 2012, Bianchi 2002, Jimura 2011, Bianchi and Boniface 2002). The rise in tourist numbers, the often wider economic disparities and shifting power dynamics that result, can compromise local people's quality of life, access to places, and their rights to define their own identities and heritage and to participate in local political processes around tourism developments (Labadi and Long 2010, Reeves and Long 2011). Several ethnographic studies carried out in different World Heritage sites globally address many similar issues of local contestation over cultural heritage – its meanings, management and the transformative consequences of tourism on local communities. In his study of the Japanese village, Shirakawa–gō[68], Jimura (Jimura 2011) argues that although World Heritage enlistment has brought many positive changes to local economic development, the accompanying growth of tourism following enlistment in 1995, has led to a diminishing sense of solidarity and communal cohesion. Jimura argues that after World Heritage enlistment, there is a weakening sense of cooperation between different interest groups and increased competition between the villagers. Together, these factors have precipitated what he refers to as *"intangible negative changes in local culture"* (Jimura 2011:293).

[68] Shirakawa–gō and the village of Gokayama together comprise a World Heritage Site https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/734.

Other researchers have observed a tendency to overlook the importance of communal participation and shared stewardship in the management of World Heritage Sites (Black and Wall 2001). In his ethnographic studies of World Heritage sites in Thailand and Indonesia, Black argues that a common trait in these sites is the lack of *"attention by heritage protection agencies to develop, with local people, a true atmosphere of stewardship at protected sites"* (:134). Drawing on reflections by his informants, Black asserts that many residents of the World Heritage site of Ayutthaya in Thailand no longer feel like they are 'co-owners' of their heritage (Black and Wall 2001).

The pressures of tourism, and the often associated demands of development and construction, are challenges shared by a large number of World Heritage sites. However, these issues are often most acutely felt in *urban* World Heritage sites, and particularly, the 'tourist-historic cities' which tend to have many infrastructural and architectural limits to the number of tourists they can absorb (Orbasli 2002, Orbaşli 2000, Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000). Even though the lure of economic gains from tourism strongly influences the discourse of unhampered tourism growth in Dubrovnik, local politicians, the tourism industry and urban managers have begun to recognize the need to encourage a sustainable development of tourism and overcome infrastructural challenges faced by the historic urban fabric of the city centre. Over the last decade, the discourse of sustainable tourism has become increasingly prominent in Dubrovnik's tourism and heritage management. However, a lack of concrete actions or the drawing up long-term strategies to lay down a new course for sustainable tourism is evident. What can be discerned, though, is a closer engagement with urban sustainability issues through international collaboration between the City of Dubrovnik and other urban World Heritage sites and 'tourist historic cities'. Dubrovnik is a member of the three heritage related organizations: the *Organization of World Heritage Cities (OWHC), Heritage Europe – European Association of Walled Towns and Regions* and *European Walled Towns*[69], and has hosted several conferences addressing issues of sustainability in the urban

[69] The NGO, Organization of World Heritage Cities (OWHC), founded in 1993, has 300 member cities inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List. The goals of the OWHC are to foster solidarity, co-operation and exchange of information and expertise regarding conservation and heritage management issues in UNESCO's World Heritage cities (https://www.ovpm.org/en/presentation). Heritage Europe – European Association of Walled Towns and Regions, was formed by the Council of Europe in 1999 and has 1,200 members in 32 countries. Its objectives are - among others - to promote "vitality, viability and sustainable management of historic towns, cities and regions" (http://www.historic-towns.org/html/meetings.html). The association, *European Walled Towns* (EWT, originally called *The Walled Towns Friendship Circle*) was founded 1989 and has over 100 membership towns in 22 countries. Its stated aims are to foster cooperation between and sustainable

contexts of 'historic cities' and World Heritage cities[70]. Several academics (Sunlu 2003, Wong 2004, GhulamRabbany et al. 2013) point to tourism's role in accelerating ecological destruction and cultural homogenization, and in compromising, through the pressure of an increase number of visitors, the longevity of the very monuments, sites or features that are assigned World Heritage status. Furthermore, in several instances the economic benefits which are believed to accrue from cultural- and heritage tourism to World Heritage sites make a limited contribution to local development – both money and power are invariably placed in the hands of external stakeholders, such as international tourism organizations and private investors, instead of aiding the local communities (Breglia 2016, Zhu 2016).

Despite the increased focus on sustainable development in UNESCO's discourse on the potential of cultural heritage, this shift has not, as yet, been sufficiently translated to management practices of World Heritage sites. Westrik argues that it is a major shortcoming that sustainable tourism is not mentioned in the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage*[71] (Westrik (2015), in Albert 2015). Given the large growth in World Heritage sites annually and the tourism growth which tends to follow World Heritage enlistment, she argues that *"applicable tools for assessing and developing sustainable tourism in the context of World Heritage" (2015:203)* are becoming pressing needs in order to ensure a sustainable management of World Heritage sites. It is, however, important to recognize that since the initial ratification of the 1972 Convention, the processes World Heritage nominations undergo have changed significantly. UNESCO's Advisory Bodies have played a central role in bringing matters of sustainability to the fore. The need to implement management practices which foster a sustainable brand of tourism in World

development in European walled towns, walled cities and fortified historic towns (https://www.europeanwalledtowns.org/). The Croatian towns, Dubrovnik, Sinj, Slavonski Brod, Novigrad Dalmatia, Nin, Zadar and Karlovac are members of the EWT. Of these, Dubrovnik is the only town with UNESCO World Heritage status.

[70] An example of this is the 2012 *"International Historic Towns Conference -Delivering Smart, Sustainable and Inclusive Growth in Historic Towns"* in Dubrovnik. The conference's stated aim was to*"explore ways in which the historic city [can present] a model for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth focusing on the knowledge economy, social cohesion and the challenges of climate change".* The conference was co-organized by the City of Dubrovnik, Heritage Europe, the Croatian Association of Historic Towns, the Turkish Union of Historic Towns and the Council of Europe.
https://www.ovpm.org/en/news/international_historic_towns_conference_dubrovnik_croatia_october_4_5_2012.

[71] The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage, initially named Operational Guidelines for the World Heritage Committee, were first developed in 1977 and have been revised several times since. It exists as a set of 'working tools' created to facilitate the implementation of the 1972 Convention. Whereas the 1972 Convention is a fixed legal document, the Operational Guidelines can be revised in accordance with changing concerns and needs. Source: http://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/.

Heritage sites has been especially pronounced in ICOMOS, which, in 2002, published the *International Cultural Tourism Charter*[72]. The Charter establishes the need, in contexts where heritage is used as a resource to develop or increase tourism, for assessing the impacts and best management practices of World Heritage sites at an early stage:

> *Before heritage places are promoted or developed for increased tourism, management plans should assess the natural and cultural values of the resource. They should then establish appropriate limits of acceptable change, particularly in relation to the impact of visitor numbers on the physical characteristics, integrity, ecology and biodiversity of the place, local access and transportation systems and the social, economic and cultural well-being of the host community. If the likely level of change is unacceptable the development proposal should be modified.*[73]

The Charter also asserts the need for "on-going programmes of evaluation" to consider how tourism affects existing World Heritage sites and the host communities over time. This is of importance in Dubrovnik, which obtained World Heritage enlistment close to 40 years ago. Despite having a long history of using cultural heritage in economic development, the repercussions of tourism in Dubrovnik have changed significantly in the last 20 years. Therefore an ongoing evaluation and implementation of tailored tourism- and heritage management practices is required – one which can better acknowledge the contemporary situation and accommodate for long-term, sustainable tourism development rather than remain in thrall to short-term economic gains.

Some of the tenets of ICOMOS' 2002 Charter can be observed in revisions of the Operational Guidelines. The notion of World Heritage sites' finite "carrying capacity" is a reflection of this process. The Operational Guideline states the need to:

> *Define the carrying-capacity of the property and how its management could be enhanced to meet the current or expected visitor numbers and related development pressure without adverse effects*[74].

72 *ICOMOS International Cultural Tourism Charter - Principles And Guidelines For Managing Tourism At Places Of Cultural And Heritage Significance, ICOMOS International Cultural Tourism Committee, 2002.* http://www.icomos.no/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/ICTC-Charter.pdf.
73 The *International Cultural Tourism Charter,* point 2.6.
74 The Operational Guidelines, under the section "Responsible Visitation at World Heritage Sites", point 4b iv).

Issues related to Dubrovnik's carrying capacity have gained widespread attention since around 2008 (see Chapter 7) and become one of the major elements in the discourse on sustainable tourism locally.

The focus on heritage to stimulate sustainable development is often presented as offering a new course for creating cultural diversification and creativity. It proposes to shift some of the power away from top-heavy elites and groups with capital investment power to ground level community groups and heritage practitioners. However, the sustainable development concept is frequently utilized and exploited by local authorities, developers and investors and can often serve as yet another marketing tool and economic resource to exploit the potential of tourism, rather than facilitating sensitive and integrated community-based, sustainable development.

Several ethnographic studies point to how the uses of sites' World Heritage status 'on the ground' frequently stimulate processes of increased homogenization of cultural expressions rather than cultural diversity, social exclusion rather than cohesion. Many identify how economic mono-cultures have been fostered by rampant commercialization of heritage products and heritage tourism (Hong-gang 2005, Samadi and Yunus 2012, Reeves and Long 2011, Labadi and Long 2010, Russo 2002, Russo and Van Der Borg 2002, Van der Borg, Costa, and Gotti 1996). World Heritage enlistment can become a double-edged sword to new sites, which are often poorly prepared for the sudden growth in tourism numbers (Xiaoya 2013). A lack of economic transparency and hegemonic political structures can also contribute towards increased social and economic disparities. The latter inequality has been evident in Dubrovnik's post-war context.

However, in the eagerness to present Dubrovnik as an elite tourist destination and fully restored to its 'former glory', the personal and cultural traumas and humiliation caused by the four year war are often glossed over in tourism promotion. The extent to which integrated, community-based tourism projects have the potential to help post-war communities re-find dignity and meaning, and not just contribute in economic terms, is almost entirely absent in local and regional tourism developments.

Between Cosmopolitan Heritage and National Interests

The role of World Heritage in fostering peace, inter-cultural respect, dialogue and cosmopolitan[75] values has loomed large since the adoption of the 1972 Convention. The emphasis on the connections between heritage and cosmopolitanism has, however gained an even stronger focus in the recent years, as heritage has assumed a central role "in the global movements of development, conversation, post-conflict restoration, and indigenous rights…[where] access to one's own cultural heritage [represents] a fundamental human right" (Meskell 2015b:479). Integral to encapsulating World Heritage as "cosmopolitan heritage", is the perception that heritage should foster tolerance, cultural diversity, equal worth, dignity and shared responsibility (ibid.). The connections between World Heritage, human rights and cosmopolitan values have become even more pronounced in Croatian identity politics following the European refugee crisis from 2015 onwards. Cosmopolitan oriented citizens have taken a clear stance against the historically embedded and re-bounding uses of heritage for nationalistic and ethnic-religious excluding purposes. In Dubrovnik and Croatia at large, the connections between World Heritage and cosmopolitan values are framed within a long-standing cultural discourse and perceived dichotomy between an *ethnic nationalism* and *civic patriotism*. The emphasis on Dubrovnik's heritage as World Heritage rather as than cultural heritage of local worth, which is confined to the geo-political boundaries of the city or nation-state, has become a means to cosmopolitan-oriented Dubrovnikans to position themselves within global discourses of multi-culturalism and civil rights movements. At the same time, my research also illustrates that the 19th Century ties between heritage and nationalism, and the late 20th Century ties between heritage and economic development, continue as compelling driving-forces for heritage production in Dubrovnik and Croatia at large. According to many informants, the range of meanings and potential uses of heritage in Dubrovnik are if anything increasingly narrowing, under the steadily all-reaching conditions of tourism, market liberalism, set within the city's post-war context. The tension – between the exclusive and inclusive aspects of heritage production, between nationalism and cosmopolitanism, are central to understanding how heritage become central resources in identity politics and development in a post-war context.

[75] Cosmopolitanism has a long history in moral and socio-political philosophy, dating back to the Classical tradition and it has developed in many different directions, ranging from institutional cosmopolitanism to cultural cosmopolitanism. In its current uses attached to World Heritage, it is especially cultural cosmopolitanism and the perception of all humans as being "citizens of a shared world", with shared responsibilities for one another, that is brought to the fore (Meskell 2015b).

Like Meskell (Meskell 2015b), Turtinen (Turtinen 2000) sees the ideological framework underlying UNESCO's World Heritage List as part of a wider cosmopolitan, global project, arguing that World Heritage has provided "a global grammar" (ibid) through which local heritage can be interpreted. Although this 'global grammar' may be said to assert a strong degree of influence on heritage management policies in the World Heritage sites globally, the interpretations and uses of heritage, and of World Heritage status, remain embedded in local and national cultures and meaning systems. Turtinen's (ibid) argues that a shortcoming of much of the research on locally and nationally specific heritage production is a failure to provide more *"general knowledge on the phenomenon [of World Heritage], the processes and the actors involved*"... in order to gain knowledge and *"put into question whether deep knowledge on the matter [heritage production] at all is possible"* (Turtinen 2000:9). However, I would argue that it is exactly by gaining insights into the specificities of heritage production in different localities, that one can gain a deeper understanding of the concept of World Heritage and the disparities between theory and practice. The accumulation of ethnographic knowledge into World Heritage production in the diverse, concrete realities worldwide presents a lens for comparing and contrasting the uses and interpretations of World Heritage in different UNESCO enlisted sites. Askew (2010) highlights that there is often a gap between World Heritage's intended 'universal' meanings and its actual national and local application:

> *The 'universal' meanings ascribed to sites in the [World Heritage] List have little influence on the ways that World Heritage sites are deployed by member states for their own domestic ideological or exclusionary purposes (Askew 2010:40).*

Similar concerns were expressed in an interview with Einar Steensnæs, the former vice president of the Executive Board of UNESCO Paris (2005-2009). He recalls that, upon assuming the post, it soon became evident to him that national interests, and coalitions between certain nations, frequently halted negotiation processes and overshadowed the fundamental intentions of the World Heritage programme. Steensnæs emphasizes that he does not see it as problematic in itself that individual countries use their heritage to create their own identity and pride. However, when the pride and focus of cultural heritage is expressed as exclusionary – so that some people feel excluded by the definition of a particular cultural heritage, both in international and domestic contexts – it becomes a matter of concern:

I fear that the growing neo-nationalism we see across the world today, which almost borders on a type of fascism, will damage some of UNESCO's original intentions as an organ for peacekeeping and inter-cultural dialogue. This tendency is a cultural problem, but it is also about stability, peace, respect and fundamental human rights.

Steensnæs observed a clear politicization and polarization within the organization in the period he was there:

It was the developing nations against the West, Muslim countries against Christian countries ... clear oppositions emerged. Being responsible for negotiations, my duty was to emphasize the very UNESCO concept, which grew out of the post-war period as an instrument for peacekeeping and freedom of speech. But I felt that UNESCO was used as a political instrument. I saw a politicization and inclusion of themes that were really beyond UNESCO's jurisdiction, where nation-states used UNESCO as a lever for promoting national interests.[76]

Steensnæs points to the conflicts between Serbia and Kosovo as exemplifying how the World Heritage programme is misused to promote national interests and to claim national ownership of particular cultural heritage. In 2006, one year into his period working for UNESCO, the four edifices known as the Medieval Monuments of Kosovo were placed on the World Heritage List in Danger, only two years after their initial inscription. A major reason for this decision was, according to an official UNESCO news broadcast, connected to "the difficulties in its management and conservation stemming from the region's political instability"[77]. Recalling presentations by both Serbia and Kosovo, Steensnæs observed how each country used the opportunity to convey that the other country had committed atrocities against them. He thinks that a wish to erase their own guilt was evident by both sides. Steensnæs also noted how Serbia wished to communicate to UNESCO that with Kosovo's independence, they would lose important parts of "their own" history, as some of the roots of "Serbian" Medieval history are found in the cultural heritage of Kosovo[78]. He sees this as a clear example of how nation-states misunderstand cultural heritage as the exclusive ownership of a nation:

76 My translation from Norwegian into English.
77 http://whc.unesco.org/en/news/268/.
78 Kosovo declared their independence from Serbia in February 2008. The Republic of Kosovo is recognized by 111 UN states, but constitutes a disputed territory due to the conflict between Serbia and Kosovo. Serbia has not fully recognized Kosovo's national independence, but refers to the region as 'the Autonomous province of Kosovo and Metohija'. The Medieval Monuments of Kosovo are inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List under 'Serbia - Autonomous province of Kosovo'.

They [Serbia] have not lost their history as the link between Kosovo and Serbia is fully recognized in UNESCO's cultural heritage nomination … furthermore, the purpose of cultural heritage is not just a recognition of "one's own" cultural heritage, but also a recognition that others also have their own cultural heritage. The understanding of this diversity – that each country has their own contribution and that there is a mutual respect for this – is something I miss in UNESCO.

Steensnæs thinks that, unfortunately, UNESCO does not function as an institution that is genuinely interested in cultural heritage. In his experience, the World Heritage Centre generally functioned well, but operated on margins of the political processes occurring in the General Assembly[79]. He regards the challenges arising from the World Heritage programme – such as the dominance of national and commercial interests in obtaining World Heritage status – as not sufficiently tackled:

This is unfortunate, because the risk is that the UNESCO, and its World Heritage programme, does not transmit the right political signals. I think there is a strong need for UNESCO to show responsibility towards cultural heritage itself. There are many interests globally which follow World Heritage enlistment, but this has to be subjugated by the main concern to protect the cultural heritage.

Steensnæs thinks that UNESCO needs to communicate more clearly that achieving World Heritage status should not be perceived as an instrument leading exclusively to national or economic benefits. He sees it as important that UNESCO emphasizes that to become recognized as a World Heritage site also entails a binding commitment. First and foremost, World Heritage sites have a responsibility towards the cultural heritage itself. However, this crucial element, he believes, is becoming overshadowed as political alliances and economic interests now dominate negotiations and obscure professional evaluations. They construct an "economic and political veneer" on top of large numbers of decisions drafted by the State Parties in the General Assembly.

The Use of Heritage in Tourism and Development

It is not a given that World Heritage Status is permanent and the monitoring of World Heritage sites maintains checks and balances on their levels of conservation and development. All World Heritage sites have to prepare two types of reports to the World Heritage

79 The General Assembly of States Parties to the World Heritage Convention.

Committee on a regular basis. Every six years the State Parties have to submit a report on the World Heritage sites in their jurisdiction. UNESCO states that this periodic reporting has four aims. The first aim is to assess whether the World Heritage values of the properties inscribed on the World Heritage List are being maintained over time. The second aim is to provide updated information about the World Heritage properties, the third is to record the changing circumstances and state of conservation of the properties and the forth aim is to provide a mechanism for regional co-operation and exchange of information and experiences between States Parties concerning the implementation of the Convention[80]. Additionally, the State Parties have to submit state of conservation reports, which must include information on any relevant changes or threats to the sites' Outstanding Universal Value. Based upon these two types of reports, the World Heritage Commission evaluates whether specific measures in the Heritage Sites are needed, or if it is deemed necessary to place a World Heritage site on the 'List of World Heritage in Danger'. The latter was the case in the Old City of Dubrovnik, which was inscribed on the List of World Heritage in Danger from 1991-1998, due to the material destruction caused by the Croatian War of Independence.

The possibility of the removal of properties from the World Heritage list also exists, but so far has only been exercised twice. The first instance occurred in 2007 to Oman's World Heritage property, the Arabian Oryx Sanctuary (enlisted in 1994). Due to excessive poaching and habitat degradation, which caused a drastic decline in the Arabian Oryx population, World Heritage status was revoked. However, following the discovery of oil in the protected area, Oman also wished to reduce the size of the World Heritage site by 90%, an act which contravened the Operational Guidelines of the 1972 Convention[81]. The second instance was the 2009 removal of Germany's Dresden Elbe Valley from the World Heritage List. The removal was based on the WHC's assessment that the construction of the Waldschlösschenbrücke, a four-lane road bridge across the UNESCO protected cultural landscape, would compromise the integrity and Outstanding Universal Value of the World Heritage Site. The reason to this concern was that the planned bridge would 'divide' the 20 km long Elbe valley cultural landscape that includes several monuments, gardens and buildings dating back to the 18th and 19th centuries[82]. The removal of the Dresden Elbe Valley from the World Heritage List is regard as particularly relevant by many Dubrovnikans. In public debates concerning the planned construction project, Golf Park Dubrovnik, on

[80] http://whc.unesco.org/en/periodicreporting/.
[81] http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/654.
[82] http://whc.unesco.org/en/news/522/.

Mount Srđ (overlooking the World Heritage enlisted walled centre), activists opposing the project cited the removal of the Dresden Elbe Valley from the World Heritage List as a reference-point to illustrate a 'worst case scenario' for Dubrovnik if the project was allowed to go ahead. To these activists, the golf construction constitutes a threat to Dubrovnik's continued Outstanding Universal Value and integrity as a World Heritage site (see Chapter 9 for further discussion). In recent years, UNESCO and UNWTO have placed increased emphasis on the notion of cultural- and heritage tourism as important vehicles in fostering cultural diversity, social cohesion and sustainable development (Labadi 2013)[83]. The emphasis on the value which cultural heritage can have for sustainable development reflects UNESCO's growing concerns about how World Heritage status is, in practice, often utilized and exploited as a marketing and branding tool to increase tourism. The twinning of cultural heritage with global tourism have increasingly entered into heritage discourse as positive resource in achieving urban and community regeneration, poverty alleviation and economic growth. In the aftermath of armed conflict or natural disasters, the use of heritage in tourism can play a vital role as a vector in regeneration the local economic livelihood and infrastructure, achieving reconciliation and lasting peace[84]. Despite the ideal intentions of World Heritage as a vehicle for preservation and the fostering of inter-cultural respect and world peace, in practice, the symbolic and 'branding' value which World Heritage nomination bestows in attracting economic development and international investments, has resulted in 'a rush to inscribe' (Meskell 2012) on the part of the State Parties represented in the World Heritage Committee[85]. The nominations on the World Heritage List has grown profusely in

[83] In light of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the Sustainable Development Goals, the UN's 70th General Assembly designated 2017 as the International Year of Sustainable Tourism for Development. As the United Nation's Specialized Agency for Tourism, UNWTO was awarded the prime role to facilitate the implementation of the International Year of Sustainable Tourism for Development. "Cultural values, diversity and heritage" were identified as one of five targets within the overall goal of 'sustainable tourism for development'.

[84] The UNWTO has assumed a particularly active role in advocating the idea of 'peace through tourism'. In addition, the non-profit organization, the International Institute for Peace Through Tourism (IIPT, founded in 1986) is a a central player herein (Salazar 2006). However, the idea that tourism aids in sustaining peace and that tourists, therefore, by traveling to politically unstable or post-conflict countries, become 'ambassadors for peace', is disputed (ibid.). In fact, sometimes the presence of tourists in countries with a high degree of political conflict, can aid in concealing ongoing conflicts internationally by giving an illusion of peace. As put by Salazar, in Burma, *"tourism brings international recognition and fosters an illusion of peace while providing foreign exchange to pay for arms which strengthen the military junta (Salazar 2006:326)"*.

[85] The World Heritage Committee (WHC) is the UNESCO organ responsible for the implementation of the 1972 Convention. The WHC is assigned the responsibility of monitoring the State Parties' management of the World Heritage properties. It evaluates the need to provide assistance and advice to the World Heritage properties and decides on which measures need to be taken in the World Heritage sites in order to prevent their Outstanding Universal Value being threatened. The latter is of particular importance in Dubrovnik where following a reactive monitoring mission by UNESCO and ICOMOS in 2015, the WHC decided on measures which needed to be

the 21st Century – in 2000 the numbers of World Heritage enlisted nominations stood at 690, in 2010 the heritage list had grown to 911 and, as of 2018, there were 1,073 enlisted nominations[86]. It is widely recognized by UNESCO that the pressures of tourism on both cultural and natural World Heritage sites are evident and growing (Shackley 2006, Landorf 2009). It is important to recognize that since the initial ratification of the 1972 Convention, the processes World Heritage nominations undergo have changed significantly. UNESCO's Advisory Bodies have played a central role in bringing matters of sustainability to the fore. Although assessment of the potential negative impacts of tourism on the sites' OUV is part of the monitoring procedure, UNESCO has limited capacity to follow up issues emerging. It also relies on honest reporting by the State Parties, an aspect which may be affected by the sites' levels of corruption and political transparency, as well as by issues relating to the economic incentives behind the use of sites' World Heritage status. Critics argue that concrete requirements to mitigate the negative effects of tourism in World Heritage sites and the political will to follow such issues up, are still lacking. Landorf (Landorf 2009) highlights the importance of implementing a sustainable management of World Heritage sites:

> *The pressure that tourism might place on a WHS, irrespective of growth, is compounded by the somewhat contradictory principle at the core of the World Heritage Convention – that is, WHSs should retain a function in current community life while being preserved for transmission to future generations (Landorf 2009:53).*

The commercial gains, which World Heritage nomination can entail, often take the form of urban regeneration and socio-economic development – with the tourism industry and the development of real estate and leisure infrastructure leading the charge:

> *Despite the good intentions informing the World Heritage List, World Heritage has today been eclipsed by politico-economic leverage and advantage on a global stage (Meskell 2015b:226)*

Several scholars (Meskell 2012, Leask and Fyall 2006, Ashworth and van der Aa 2006) express their concerns that the ideals of World Heritage are being overridden by the commercial and ideological incentives of nation-states, local authorities and private interest groups. Leask and Fyall (Leask and Fyall 2006) argue that the "indefinite expansion" of

carried out in order for Dubrovnik's World Heritage not to come under threat (http://whc.unesco.org/en/committee/).

[86] http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/stat/ and http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/.

World Heritage nominations, and the predominance of national interests behind the nominations, poses a threat to the future value of the World Heritage programme:

> *A dangerous gap is increasingly evident between the goal and evolving reality stemming from the WHL's implementation, with the national agenda tending to dominate the wider international domain (Leask and Fyall 2006:286) .*

Similar concerns were also evident in my interview with Einar Steensnæs, former vice president of the Executive Board of UNESCO Paris (2005-2009) (see above). Steensnæs emphasizes that it was evident that a major incentive for different nations to seek World Heritage nominations was the potential for enlistment to spur tourism development and economic growth. Steensnæs related that the State Parties' desire to use World Heritage status as a "badge" for tourism marketing often appeared to be of much larger interest to potential candidates for World Heritage nomination than any genuine interest and pride in the protection of cultural heritage itself. UNESCO's interest in tourism, he thinks, is largely channelled through the World Heritage programme. Yet, an awareness of the dilemmas and challenges which tourism frequently presents to the management of World Heritage sites was largely absent from negotiations.

There is, however, a dawning awareness in many World Heritage sites struggling to cope with large tourism numbers, that the sites' continued attractiveness to tourists as places of Outstanding Universal Value will in the long run depend on managing tourism flows. As such, sustainable tourism management in World Heritage sites are not only motivated by concerns over the well-being of the communities inhabiting the sites, but also by economic incentives. World Heritage sites, such as Dubrovnik, Venice (Italy), Machu Picchu (Peru) and Luang Prabang (Laos), all of which receive much higher tourism numbers than the recommended 'carrying capacity' (O'Reilly 1986), have recently started to introduce measures to limit the pressures on the monumental heritage, communities and the environment[87]. It is, however, important to recognize that the pressures of tourism are not felt

87 Examples of such measures are the introduction of entry tickets, time restrictions, video monitoring, redirecting tourists away from the main tourism attractions and developing new tourist attractions to spread out the tourism impacts across the wider World Heritage region. Sources: Machu Picchu: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/destinations/south-america/peru/articles/machu-picchu-new-rules-for-access/, Venice: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/04/25/venice-segregate-tourist-walking-routes-city-ahead-weekend-onslaught/, Luang Prabang: https://asia.nikkei.com/Life-Arts/Life/Mekong-subregion-shapes-up-for-tourism-influx and Dubrovnik: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/destinations/europe/croatia/dubrovnik/articles/dubrovnik-tourist-limits-unesco-frankovic/.

at all World Heritage sites and it is not given that increased tourism will follow World Heritage enlistment. In fact, some World Heritage sites struggle to get enough tourists. One of these sites is the Cultural Sites of Al Ain in the United Arab Emirates, which has recently launched marketing campaigns in attempting to attract more tourists to the World Heritage site[88]. Other World Heritage sites, which formerly were popular tourist destinations, may permanently or temporarily struggle to get tourists to return in the aftermath of war, terrorism or natural catastrophes[89]. To such sites', the return of tourism constitutes an important stabilizing factor to the communities' livelihood, the local economy and lasting peace.

88 https://www.thenational.ae/business/travel-and-tourism/drive-to-boost-tourism-in-al-ain-home-to-the-uae-s-only-unesco-world-heritage-site-1.30956.

89 An example of how international or national events affects tourism is found in Istanbul, and Turkey at large, following an increase in terrorist attacks nationwide from 2015 onwards, the 2016 coup attempt and general political unstability. The tourism industry in Istanbul, with its World Heritage inscription, 'Historic Areas of Istanbul' (since 1985), has been severely affected by these events and many local businesses struggle to survive. https://www.theguardian.com/small-business-network/2017/feb/09/istanbul-former-tourist-hotspot-ghost-town-small-businesses and https://www.theguardian.com/travel/2016/oct/05/turkey-tourism-industry-reels-year-to-forget-istanbul-antalya.

Figure 4. The annual marmalade festival in Dubrovnik's walled centre, organized every September by the local NGO, *Deša*, is an example of the attempts to connect cultural heritage with sustainable development. Presenting an opportunity for regional economic development, a selling point for a more diversified tourism promotion and an initiative in revitalizing cultural traditions and local produce in rural regions crippled by the war, the marmalade festival is part of a growing tendency of heritage production, which promotes inclusivity and locally integrated development.

World Heritage as Destination Branding

Despite the ideal goals of the World Heritage List, it has become increasingly clear that one of the primary driving-forces behind nation-states' World Heritage nominations lies in the commercial appeal of 'destination branding', with the overriding aims of stimulating tourism growth and business investments to boost economic growth (Ryan and Silvanto 2011, Hall and Piggin 2003, Meskell 2012).

The iconic role and marketing potential which UNESCO World Heritage status holds is continually reinforced by a range of stakeholders, in both the public and private sectors, operating at different spatial scales. The multiple uses of a site's World Heritage status becomes an interactive and self-validating process whereby UNESCO's status as an international institution – and its World Heritage enlistment nomination and inscription

process – upholds its authoritative position (Bourdeau and Gravari-Barbas 2016). This authoritative position – and the adjoined 'branding' potential of World Heritage sites – confers an advantage both to UNESCO and to a range of other interest groups, such as nation-states and local and regional authorities. Many different actors shape and reinforce the World Heritage 'brand'. National and local authorities government hope to generate economic growth and shape political discourse through merging formerly local heritage into a "global vocabulary" of World Heritage (Turtinen 2000). The heritage industry uses World Heritage as a means of securing funds for restoration and conservation, and both public and private institutions attempt to develop and market the World Heritage site for tourism, construction and infrastructural development. Gavari-Barbas (ibid.) argues:

> *Within the discourse of marketing, UNESCO provides the ultimate endorsement of a product, taking it from the self-appointed processes of national interest and parochial concern and into the apparent realms of something "objectively verified" and of "trans-national" importance (Bourdeau and Gravari-Barbas 2016:4).*

In the former Yugoslavia, Dubrovnik's World Heritage status had an important symbolic and political function in terms of the attempt of the country to portray itself as a Western-oriented, culturally productive and 'progressive' socialist Republic, distinctly different from that of the Soviet Union's communism. As such, the use of the city's World Heritage status as a 'brand' to serve specific cultural and political ends long precedes Croatia's independence. Tourism promotion in Yugoslavia exploited Dubrovnik's World Heritage status in order to attract 'cultural tourists'. While in the post-war period, the 'brand-value' of Dubrovnik as a World Heritage city has been more specifically targeted at increasing tourism numbers in general and transforming heritage appeal into economic value (Bourdeau and Gravari-Barbas 2016). Interestingly, the continued the desire to promote Dubrovnik as an 'exclusive' site for cultural tourism, and especially, heritage tourism, for the educated and affluent, continues alongside the desire to increase tourism numbers.

In local and national identity discourse and representations of Dubrovnik – as well as in international tourism promotion of the city – the inscription of Dubrovnik as a site of 'Outstanding Universal Value' is more or less unanimously regarded as something 'objectively verified' and of 'trans-national' importance. In part, this relates to the early inscription of the city as a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1979. However, the notion of Dubrovnik having an 'Outstanding Universal Value' cannot be credited to UNESCO's World

Heritage nomination alone. It is also something which long *predates* its inscription and exists *outside* of the realms of the UNESCO inscription process, *"resonat[ing] with a wider system of representation and recognition"* (Bourdeau and Gravari-Barbas 2016:3). The perception of Dubrovnik as being of 'universal importance' and having 'outstanding value' stems originally from early tourism developments in the 18-19th centuries and desire of the European bourgeoisie to seek social 'improvement' and cultural education through journeying to places deemed of great cultural value. Dubrovnik was part of the so-called 'Grand Tour' of the European bourgeoisie[90] and, as such, the city's connection with 'branding' processes has a rather long history. After Croatia's absorption into global capitalism, and especially under the liberalist policies of the HNS[91], Dubrovnik's tourist marketing has increasingly combined the 'ultimate endorsement' of its UNESCO World Heritage status (Bourdeau and Gravari-Barbas 2016) with other internationally 'endorsed' consumer products, such as *Game of Thrones*[92] and *Coca Cola*. This kind of marketing approach was particularly pronounced under the administration of the former Mayor of Dubrovnik, Andro Vlahušić (2009-2016). In an interview in the German documentary, *'Tourists go home!'* (2016), Vlahušić talks explicitly about the city being a business – where the iconic and unique image of the walled centre is sold together with internationally recognizable and powerful consumer brands. To the documentary crew's camera, Vlahušić' presents a locally sold and limited edition *Coca Cola* bottle, which was launched in July 2016 and can only be bought in Dubrovnik. Underneath Coca Cola's logo, the name, 'Dubrovnik' with the iconic image of the UNESCO protected walled city centre, is displayed. This limited production of 250 ml. Coca Cola bottles, which today are sold in souvenir shops and some local cafés, is the result of several years of preparatory work and lobbying by a national marketing team, representatives from *Coca Cola Croatia*, to convince Coca Cola's head office in Atlanta of the "unique value" of Dubrovnik

[90] Bordieau and Gavari-Barbas (Bourdeau and Gravari-Barbas 2016) note how there are many overlaps between UNESCO's World Heritage inscriptions and places which already enjoyed iconic status within tourism marketing campaigns prior to the 1972 Convention, such as the Pyramids of Giza, the Statue of Liberty, the Coliseum of Rome, the Taj Mahal etc. Many of these 'sites' already held iconic positions as 'wonders of the world' and journeying to these places played a part in the 'cultural improvement projects' of the European bourgeoisie. This function of Dubrovnik's heritage (as part of the so-called 'Grand Tour') also existed internationally throughout the Yugoslavian period. However, with the increased availability and reduced costs of international travel, as well as the steady growth in the number of World Heritage Sites, travelling to the UNESCO's World Heritage sites has lost some of its status of being similar in the role to the former 'Grand Tour'.

[91] HNS - *Hrvatska Narodna Stranka – Liberalni Democrati* (Croatian People's Party – Liberal Democrats

[92] The popular HBO series, *Game of Thrones*, large parts of which are shot in Dubrovnik, has contributed to making the city into one of the world's most used outdoors film studios. See Chapter 7 for further discussion on the effects of this process on tourism numbers and mobility, the range of tourism offers and the representations of the city and its heritage.

on the international stage. In an international competition launched by Coca Cola, Dubrovnik, along with Rome and London, emerged victorious[93]. In a public announcement to the Croatian press after the announcement of Dubrovnik as one of the winners of the competition, Vlahušić stated that Dubrovnik was undergoing a process of "hyper-branding". The wish to position Dubrovnik, despite its small population, as an important actor on the 'international stage', through validating its uniqueness and small-scale, is evident in in the former Mayor's reflections: *"This gift is symbolic, but also beautiful. Just because something is not grandiose doesn't mean it cannot be beautiful. Just like Coca Cola doesn't come in a 5-litre bottle, Dubrovnik is not a city with 5 million residents[94]".* This type of re-scaling and re-valorisation of Dubrovnik with internationally recognized and powerful symbols, through product merging, was also evident in the comments of Jaksa Maganić, the regional sales manager for Dubrovnik Coca Cola:

> *We connected with one of the most recognizable brands in the world and one of the greatest symbols of Croatia. We are now rubbing shoulders with London and Rome"[95].*

There exists an interesting contradiction in contemporary 'branding' processes linked to the use of Dubrovnik's World Heritage status in tourism promotion. On the one hand, contemporary tourism promotion attempts to continue the former Yugoslavian tradition of 'branding' the city as a destination for learned, affluent and 'distinguished' cultural tourists, who visit the city due to its rich cultural history, heritage, cultural and artistic production. This type of tourism 'branding' is evident in the large annual budget that Dubrovnik spends on realizing 'high arts' cultural productions, which are specifically targeted at attracting certain types of tourists to the city, the so-called 'cultural tourists'. On the other hand, post-war tourism promotion uses the World Heritage 'brand' more plainly to attract as many tourists as possible, and as seen above, to adjoin the city's World Heritage status with internationally 'endorsed' consumer products. As such, the city increasingly becomes a site for 'mass tourism' and commodity consumption. Arguably, this detracts somewhat from the 'branding' of Dubrovnik as an 'exclusive' destination for the 'distinguished' cultural tourist. However, Dubrovnik strives to retain its 'brand' of 'exclusivity' by attracting the educated, 'cultured',

[93] This is not the first time that a specially produced 'Dubrovnik Coca Cola' bottle has been produced. 15 years ago, when Dubrovnik's walled centre was still undergoing considerable restoration, a limited range of *Coca Cola* glass bottles, designed by some local artists, were launched. The income generated by the sales went towards the restoration of the key symbol of the Dubrovnik Republic: the Rector's Palace (*Knezev Dvor).*

94 https://www.total-croatia-news.com/item/12744-coca-cola-designs-a-special-bottle-dedicated-to-dubrovnik.
95 Ibid.

affluent and famous, while at the same time it increasingly also becomes a site for 'mass tourism'. A variety of strategies are adopted in order to foster the image of Dubrovnik's 'exclusivity' and a city with a romantic 'fairy tale' atmosphere. By continuing to spend a sizable part of the city budget on 'high arts' cultural performances, by stimulating tourism forms which attract relatively well to do tourists (for example a variety of nautical tourism forms, business- and conference tourism and heritage tourism), by establishing more and more 'exclusive' hotels, restaurants and night clubs, and heavily promoting Dubrovnik as a romantic destination for honeymoons and an ideal 'fairy-tale' location for the film industry, this image is reproduced to domestic and international tourists.

Research carried out in Croatia on local urban policies of city- and destination 'branding', points to the stark absence of bottom-up, participatory urban-, tourism- and heritage management (Jelinčić, Vukić, and Kostešić 2017). Jelinčić et al distinguish between 'destination branding', which is primarily aimed at tourists, and 'place branding' which is more about shaping a civic- and place identity for an area's residents. That tourism and World Heritage status present an opportunity for economic development, and is something that local authorities and tourism industry will inevitably utilize in promotional activities, does not in itself pose a problem to the residents living in touristic cities. However, Jelinčić et al criticize the tendency of politicians, and tourism- and urban managers to conceive of the "urban space" nearly exclusively as a destination aimed at tourists. In doing so, they are:

> *Fail[ing] to include the main fabric of the city – the local community itself ... Places are turned into destinations and destination branding methods work only towards attracting the outsiders, which then results in the lack of sustainability for the insiders. Thus communities become 'tourism products' and, within such a framework, the issues of the real city identity, its carriers and forms are neglected (Jelinčić, Vukić, and Kostešić 2017:117).*

UNESCO's role in formulating local and national legislation and managing World Heritage sites after enlistment is limited due to insufficient funds. Furthermore, although the criteria for inclusion on the World Heritage List is grounded how far sites constitute *universal* heritage, intervening in *local* decision-making and management entails distinct ethical and human rights dilemmas.

The Costs of a Destination Brand

Engelbert Rouss, the director of UNESCO's Venice office from 2006 - 2012[96], expresses grave doubts about the longevity of the 'Outstanding Universal Value' of World Heritage enlistments. His concerns relate to the absence of requirements to provide integrated tourism management strategies. Furthermore, he sees it as a pressing need that existing World Heritage sites are required to report on the potential impairment of planned developments in the sites' monitoring reports:

> *For several years it has become clear that [many] wish to profit from this programme ... I think we are coming to a limit [in the numbers of new heritage nominations]... We must be aware that the whole World Heritage programme is suffering from different factors which are putting these sites in danger. One factor is tourism… and bad management at political levels. [Another] issue is climate change, which is a huge danger to the sites.*

In 2009, at the time of my interview with Rouss, he was working on drafting criteria for new management plans for World Heritage sites. Whilst the requirement to provide a management plan is part of the criteria for new nominations, he thinks UNESCO will struggle to enforce the obligation for established World Heritage sites to provide management reports. This is because many State Parties take their World Heritage status 'for granted' and do not feel obliged to fulfil the new requirements. Rouss asserts that implementing binding tourism management measures in the World Heritage sites' management plans is becoming an urgent matter, but UNESCO is not in a position where it can demand that the measures will be followed up in practice. It is therefore up to the State Parties to implement measures relating to tourism management in World Heritage sites and whether this is done depends on internal national and local dynamics. These domestic state policies are open to influence by corruption and by the lure of the economic incentives that further tourism growth offers.

96 My interview with Engelbert Rouss took place at the *Best in Heritage* conference, September 2009, an annual, international conference organized by the European Heritage Association/ Europa Nostra, in co-operation with the Dubrovnik museums (*Dubrovacki muzej*). The conference promotes the 'best in practice' and "award-winning museum, heritage and conservation projects" in Europe https://www.thebestinheritage.com/. Rouss was the director of the UNESCO Venice office, Regional Bureau for Science and Culture in Europe, from 2006-2012, where he has been involved in planning, managing and implementing UNESCO heritage programmes in South-East Europe.

Broadening the Heritage Discourse – From 'Tangible' to 'Intangible' Cultural Heritage

Since the 1980s and 90s, the ways in which heritage is understood and the potential roles it can fulfil have significantly broadened (Ekern et al. 2012, Harrison 2013). There has been a turn away from viewing a society's heritage primarily as 'tangible manifestations of cultures', to a stance which regards the 'intangible' aspects of a culture's heritage as equally worthy of protection or 'safeguarding' (ibid.). In Croatian, the corresponding term, *zaštititi*, is used. This reconceptualization of heritage, advocated particularly by UNESCO and its Advisory Bodies, ICOMOS and IUCN, sees a culture's heritage, sense of identity and cultural continuity as encompassing an intimate connection between its 'tangible' and 'intangible' expressions, including facets such as the built environment, traditions, knowledge, skills, landscapes and cultural spaces, and living expressions of a culture. Of particular importance in the broadening perceptions of cultural heritage is the 1994 ICOMOS charter, the Nara Document on Authenticity[97]. The Charter calls for a redefinition of UNESCO's concept of cultural heritage and cultural diversity and seeks a new understanding of how these terms relate to restoration and conservation practices. It also questions the criteria of 'authenticity', laid down in the 1964 Venice Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites and asserts that the narrow definition of 'authenticity' determines heritage selection criteria and inhibits cultural diversity. The Nara Charter emphasizes how the concept of 'authenticity', the foundation of restoration and conservation practices, cannot be seen as fixed and objective. Instead, the charter asserts that concepts of 'authenticity' relate to the cultural and social values of different cultures. The Nara charter therefore accentuates the pressing need to:

> *Emphasis[e] respect for other cultures, other values, and the tangible and intangible expressions that form part of the heritage of every culture. There are no fixed criteria to judge value and authenticity of cultural property; rather it must be evaluated within the cultural context to which it belongs*[98].

The Nara charter's emphasis on the contextual and unfixed nature of heritage, as well as on 'intangible expressions' of heritage, significantly contributed towards UNESCO's later development of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage

[97] https://www.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf.
[98] http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/research_resources/charters/charter55.html and https://www.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf.

(CSICH) and the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005)[99]. With the ratification of the 2003 Convention, and the establishment of the *Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity* in 2008, the procurement of legal protection of cultural traditions, knowledge and skills, categorized as 'intangible cultural heritage[100], has encouraged and further elaborated on the perception of heritage as a vehicle for sustaining human rights, peace, cultural and ecological diversity, sustainable development, inter-cultural respect and dialogue. Theoretically, the Intangible Cultural Heritage List can grant groups with otherwise little access to power, the 'right' and means to define and secure 'their own heritage' through legal protection or 'safeguarding'[101]. However, it is arguable whether obtaining legal protection of intangible cultural heritage provides any efficient channels for empowerment of disenfranchised groups in practice. Although the practitioners of an 'intangible cultural heritage' can forward 'their heritage' as worthy of safeguarding by UNESCO, structural mechanisms may constrain the practitioners' access and say in obtaining legal status as intangible cultural heritage and in defining its development thereafter. As intangible cultural heritage becomes integrated into tourism development, practitioners may experience that they 'lose control' of the uses, representations and meanings of the particular intangible cultural heritage inscription. This can potentially induce dissonance, as has been the case in the aftermath of several Croatian intangible cultural

[99] For matters of convenience, I will hereby refer to the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage* as *the 2003 Convention*. Likewise, I will refer to the *Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity* as *the Intangible Cultural Heritage List*. The 2003 *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* was preceeded by the 2001 *Proclemation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity* and the *Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore* in 1989.
[100] UNESCO defines 'intangible cultural heritage' as *"traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts"* (https://ich.unesco.org/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003). See Appendix 2 for UNESCO's full definition of 'intangible cultural heritage'. UNESCO's representational category, 'intangible cultural heritage' (nematerijalna baština) closely corresponds with the historically embedded term, 'folklore' (folklor). In the former Yugoslavia and until the 2003 Convention was ratified, scholars and the general population commonly used the terms, 'folk culture' (narodna kultura) or 'traditional culture' (tradicijska kultura), with under branches such as (folklorni ples i glazba (folklore dance and music), tradicijski vjerovanja (traditional beliefs), tradicijski obredi (traditional rituals). Through internal discussions in the 1990s, UNESCO started to distance itself from the use of the term 'folklore' and sought a substitute for it. This was ostensibly due to folklore's historic connections with nationalistic agendas and the depreciatory connotations and political implications of the term (Kuutma 2015). This shift has been influential in Croatian academia, but in daily speech, it is still common to use terms, such as folklor, narodna kultura and tradicijska kultura.
[101]As 'intangible cultural heritage' constitute 'living' and evolving traditions, expressions and skills, UNESCO utilizes the term 'safeguarding' instead of preserving. The term, 'safeguarding' (*zaštita*), utilized by UNESCO and in national heritage policies, takes on particular connotations in the context of post-war Croatia, which relate closely to regional conditions, historical events and processes, often connected with discourses of ethnicity, religion and cultural borders.

heritage enlistments (Nikočević et al. 2012). Based on the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, two 'intangible cultural heritage' lists were created in 2008 – the main list for inscription, the *Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity*, and the lesser *List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding*[102]. Together, the two lists contained 470 elements in 2018, of which 50 were categorized as *Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding*. In 2005, Croatia became the fourth European nation, and the first of the Balkan nation-states, to ratify the Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention. Under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture (*Republika Hrvatska Ministarstvo Kulture*), Croatia has been very active in ensuring UNESCO enlistment of elements of national and local immaterial culture. Between 2009 and 2013 Croatia had 14 elements enlisted on the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) list and, as of 2016, is only surpassed by China, Japan and the Republic of Korea in the number of enlistments globally. As a small and geo-politically marginal country in both a European and global context, this achievement is noteworthy. Despite the fact that many intangible cultural traditions traverse the recently constructed national borders in the Balkans, it is a curious fact that Croatia has 14 elements placed on the CSICH, while in comparison Slovenia, Serbia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina have two each, and Montenegro has no enlistments at all. One reason explaining Croatia's early entries to safeguard the country's intangible cultural heritage can be found in the fact that the Croatian UNESCO Commission had already, in 2002, established a separate Committee for Immaterial Cultural Heritage, one year before the CSICH was adopted. Dubrovnik has been particularly engaged in bringing attention onto the region's intangible cultural heritage internationally (Zebec 2015). Dubrovnik is the only city in Croatia, Dubrovnik is a member of the international NGO, *Inter-City Intangible Cultural Cooperation Network (ICCN)* (ibid.).

The strong interest in procuring intangible cultural heritage enlistments satisfies a long-standing interest in folklore and ethnology both among Croatian academics and the public at large[103]. The experiences of being exposed to a high level of socio-political change

[102] Based respectively on Article 16 and 17 in the CSICH.

[103] Academic disputes between the fields of flolklore, ethnology and anthropology has not been as noticable in Croatia as it is in Western Europe. This is largely due to the marginal role of anthropology in the Croatian republic within the former Yugosalvia. The field of anthropology has mainly entered into Croatian academia in the last two decades. There has been a subsequent turn within the fields of ethnology and folklore towards anthropological theory and methodological approaches (Couroucli and Marinov 2017). This shift occurred much earlier in Serbian academia, which was influenced by structuralist approaches and anthropological methodologies from the late 1970s. In Croatia, there has been a significant 'anthropologization' of ethnology and folklore studies, where critiques of the formerly strong nationalistic academic traditions these fields have come

throughout history can explain, to an extent, some of the reasons for the continued interest in and practice of folkloric traditions. In a region which has undergone rapid socio-political change as well as several wars, embodied traditions, local skills and knowledge play an important role in anchoring a sense of cultural continuity, local belonging and in demarcating cultural and geo-political borders. The renewed interest in folklore and 'traditional' cultural traditions after the Croatian war of Independence, some of which were on the decline throughout the Yugoslavian era, is indicative of the need, and to a degree also the push, to re-create locality and consolidate Croatianness[104]. The longstanding interest and competence in these fields was, according to the ethnologist, Tvrtko Zebec[105], something which important individuals in positions of power in Croatia actively drew upon in order to swiftly expedite a large number of Croatian intangible cultural heritage nominations. Zebec argues that Croatia's eagerness to obtain intangible cultural heritage enlistments was intimately connected with a desire to gain "international recognition" as a relatively new nation-state in need of "national confidence". Croatia's appetite to assert its nationhood on the 'international stage' can be attributed to an ingrained sense of unease stemming from the initial reluctance of many countries – especially the USA and Great Britain – to recognize it as a new nation. Recurring and continuing themes in post-war cultural discourse centre on how Croatia is continuously placed on the 'sideline' of European culture and politics, is internationally 'misunderstood' for being a Balkan, rather than a Western-European country, and how Croatia never has been awarded 'sufficient' attention by the international community for its historic efforts to defend the borders of Western European civilization. This type of discourse is particularly pronounced in Dubrovnik. The city's geo-political borderland position, the direct experiences of the Dubrovnik siege and the perceived failure of the international community to prevent the city from the destruction of war, despite its international recognition as a UNESCO site of 'Outstanding Universal Value', all feed into this sense of 'victimhood'. In the period approaching Croatia's EU referendum in January 2012 and the eventual EU accession in July 2013, there were increasing attempts at the state level to reinterpret national identity through

under scrutiny. Issues of the relationship between politics, power, displacement and the marginalization of cultural practices and forms has been awarded a much stronger focus (ibid.).

[104] Croatian interest in 'intangible cultural heritage' builds on a long-standing scholarly and literary interest in 'folkloric traditions' in the the Balkan region, which was also present in the Yugoslavian era. 'Intangible' cultural traditions are often very well documented by scholars, authors and poets over the course of the 20th Century (Couroucli and Marinov 2017, Zebec 2015).

[105] Tvrtko Zebec is an ethnologist at the Institute for Ethnology and Folklore in Zagreb. Zebec was a Croatian representative in the Intergovernmental Committee of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage from 2008-2011, and a member of the Subsidiary Body for Evaluation of Nominations for the Representative List from 2011-2012.

the lens of 'intangible cultural heritage' (Zebec 2014). The 13 intangible cultural heritage enlistments obtained before Croatia's EU accession served important functions both in domestic and international contexts. With a population strongly divided over the question of Croatia's EU membership, Croatia's intangible cultural heritage enlistments played an important role in consolidating Croatia's cultural diversity within the confinements of the nation-state and were used to shape the nature of Croatianness in the context of EU membership. To Dubrovnikans, the 2009 enlistment of the feast of St. Blaise helped to bind the citizens' deeply experienced identity of living in an autonomous and unique historical city-state, with the 'unity in diversity' discourse of Croatian nationhood. Through the re-orientation of the Feast of St. Blaise from a civic and Catholic festival – primarily of local importance – to a festival of co-joined local, national and universal significance (the result of a process of evaluation and inscription by UNESCO), Dubrovnikans simultaneously re-negotiate centrality both within the nation-state and internationally.

Croatia's many intangible cultural heritage enlistments cannot, however, wholly be seen in terms of deliberate attempts to re-negotiate centrality within the EU or unify a sense of nationhood in a culturally diverse country with distinct regional identities. The commercial potential of increasing tourism in Croatia also appears to be a potent driving force behind the great interest in Croatia's intangible heritage enlistments, notably by gaining a large amount of media coverage both nationally and internationally. Croatia's intangible cultural heritage enlistments became resources for tourism promotion strategies across the nation. The use of 'intangible cultural heritage' enlistments for tourism purposes has, in several cases, met resistance from various segments of local populations affected by the enlistments (Nikočević et al. 2012). Jelinčić (in Nikočević et al. 2012) notes that the 2009 enlistment of Dubrovnik's main religious and civic festival, the Feast of St. Blaise, was, in fact, guided by segments of the local population who saw intangible cultural heritage enlistment of the festival as a perfect opportunity to prolong the tourism season by attracting tourists to the city also in the winter months (See comments by Jelincic in Nikočević et al. 2012). The driving-force to prolong the tourism season harmonized with Dubrovnik's tourism strategy for 2012-2020. Many locals supported the enlistment of the festival and did not feel that the use of the festival to promote heritage tourism conflicted with their personal identification with the festival or undermined its 'authenticity'. However, the enlistment was strongly opposed by sections of the Catholic religious community who participate in the festival's procession. Jelinčić (ibid.) argues that many 'bearers' of the tradition vehemently objected to the festival *"becoming the focus of*

tourism development…[as] the presence of tourists, they thought, would intrude on the hundreds year-old custom (Jelincic in Nikočević et al. 2012:83)”. The kind of resistance, she argues, shows that a stronger inclusion of the local community in tourism development and in nomination processes of intangible cultural heritage enlistments is essential, especially when intangible heritage enlistment is connected with the development of cultural tourism. In Dubrovnik, she warns, the *“top-down introduction of [the] tourism industr[ies] [have] result[ed] in animosity, even aggression towards tourism and its participants (2012:83)”.*

The *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage,* and the two subsequent Intangible Cultural Heritage lists, have received widespread international praise for broadening – and to a certain extent – democratizing understandings and uses of heritage. Long preceding the implementation of the 2003 Intangible Heritage Convention, the 1972 World Heritage Convention had been much criticized for being governed by Eurocentric ‘classical’ ideals and a narrowly constituted heritage concept – guiding tenets which gave priority to monumentally grand architecture and aesthetic qualities of materiality (Smith and Akagawa 2008)[106]. Such heritage discourse failed to recognize that cultural values are intrinsically a part of the ‘tangible’ forms and representations of a culture and the interpretations and evaluation of what is considered heritage. The 2003 Convention, conversely, included heritage practitioners and ‘indigenous groups’ as ‘bearers’ and ‘safeguarders’ of heritage expressions, and recognized the diversity of cultural values, meanings and knowledge systems in the making of ‘intangible heritage’. Thus the convention has tended to be welcomed as fostering cultural diversity and multi-level participation in heritage management and its selection processes (Smith and Akagawa 2008).

However the Convention has also been heavily criticized by many heritage scholars (Waterton and Smith 2009, Smith 2006b, a). Smith (Smith 2006b) questions the very dichotomy of the ‘tangible’ and ‘intangible’ as two distinct categories for heritage nomination, as all heritage is inevitably ‘intangible’. She sees a shortcoming in UNESCO’s heritage classification, built on the European Classical tradition, to first perceive material representations of different cultures as heritage, and only afterwards, to acknowledge cultural values as ‘intangible heritage’. Only by wedding these concepts into an overarching category

[106] Attempts to determine a legal aparatus for the protection of what is today called ‘intangible cultural heritage’ has a long history dating back to 1952 (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004), and builds on the historically embedded dichotomy between ethnology and folklore.

of ‘heritage’, can one fully recognize that heritage, in all its forms and expressions, only becomes meaningful through an embeddedness in existing and changing cultural and social values. These are all ‘intangible’ expressions of a culture. Smith argues that it is the values and meanings of heritage which needs to constitute the focus of heritage preservation and management processes:

> *Whether we are dealing with traditional definitions of ‘tangible’ or ‘intangible’ representations of heritage, we are actually engaging with a set of values and meanings, including such elements as emotion, memory and cultural knowledge and experiences…as such all heritage is ‘intangible’ whether these values or meanings are symbolized by a physical site, place, landscape or other physical representation, or are represented within the performances of languages, dance, oral histories, or other forms of ‘intangible heritage’ (Smith 2006b:56).*

In a seminar focusing on the ‘tangible- intangible’ dichotomy, arranged as part of the annual Cambridge Heritage Seminar[107], Waterton similarly argued that discourses on natural and cultural heritage, and the underlying discourses which inform the heritage selection processes, have become naturalized in the last 40 years. The addition of the category of ‘intangible cultural heritage’, she argued, is likely to produce *“new borders of incommunicability between heritage categories instead of unifying them”* (Baillie and Chippindale 2006). Other critics have expressed concern with how the process of enlistment and management of ‘intangible cultural heritage’, in fact the very idea of ‘safeguarding’ ‘living traditions’, may serve to ‘fossilize’ and ‘freeze’ cultural expressions (Deacon and Smeets 2013, Cominelli and Greffe 2012, Van Zanten 2004). Others again, have discussed how UNESCO’s heritage inscription terms lead to ‘meta-cultural production’ (Kirshenblatt- Gimblett 2004), which is distanced from the actual embedded meanings of their specific cultural environments. Rather than stimulating direct actions “that would directly support local cultural reproduction”, she asserts, ‘metacultural artefacts’ on a list are created (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004:58). Moreover, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004) sees it as problematic that the category, ‘intangible heritage’, tends to privilege ‘exotic’ and ‘colourful’ cultural expressions, and largely represent nationally sanctioned cultural forms. This can potentially have negative consequences on the under-representation of minority- and indigenous groups’ ‘intangible cultural heritage’ forms

[107] ‘Tangible-intangible Heritage: A Sustainable Dichotomy? The 7th Annual Cambridge Heritage Seminar, 13th May 2006, McDonald Institute for Archaeologic Research, University of Cambridge (Baillie and Chippindale 2006).

of expressions (ibid.). In Croatia, for example, the majority of the enlistments included on the Intangible Cultural Heritage List are associated with Catholic rituals or cultural traditions, which, in the post-war context, have gained renewed importance as boundary markers of Croat ethnicity.

The need to recognize the importance of 'intangible values' in the protection of 'tangible heritage' has increasingly become recognized in scholarly work and to a degree also in heritage management practices. However, it is also important to acknowledge that congruently 'intangible cultural heritage' also relies on *"access to material resources and spaces"* (Pocock, Collett, and Baulch 2015:962) for its continued sustenance. Cultural memory, the imagination and production of narratives about 'who we are' and wish to be are essentially embedded in materiality and place, and become tied together through cultural practices. To separate the 'intangible' aspects of culture or heritage from the 'intangible' aspects, produces a highly artificial dichotomy, which raises many pressing issues of which criteria are used and how boundaries are demarcated between what is awarded status as 'tangible' and 'intangible' (Craith and Kockel 2015, Pocock, Collett, and Baulch 2015).

The inclusion of a particular type of 'intangible cultural heritage' – whether a cultural practice, skill, expression, representation or knowledge – raises important questions of how one can delineate *ownership* of a cultural tradition or trace its origins to a particular location (Smith and Akagawa 2008). By the very nature of being movable and passed on between groups of people and generations by means such as oral and bodily transmission, the task of assigning 'intangible' cultural heritage as 'belonging to' or having a source in one area rather than another may prove difficult. Questions regarding 'ownership' of 'intangible' heritage are of particular relevance in culturally and politically turbulent contexts, such as the ethnic-religious patchwork of the Balkan Peninsula. Although there are certainly many socio-cultural differences within the region, contemporary Balkan nation-states share a history of succumbing to several, external Empires and large power structures. Additionally, a high degree of population movement and intermixing between different groups of people has been the norm rather than the exception throughout Balkan history. The subsequent movement of ideas, cultural artefacts and traditions in Balkan regional history complicates issues of 'ownership' and origins. These difficulties come to surface when cultural traditions succumb to international legal protection through UNESCO inscription and are re-categorized as 'intangible cultural heritage'. All inscriptions on UNESCO's Heritage Lists ('tangible' and 'intangible'), are ascribed to a State party or possibly several State parties in cooperation.

Although joint heritage nominations have been encouraged by UNESCO in recent years, they are still rare[108]. If the historically complex backgrounds and geographical spread of particular cultural traditions are not made clear in the nomination of intangible cultural heritage, the consequences of enlistments in the Balkans can potentially stir conflict by raising issues of ownership. This would be counter-productive to UNESCO's intentions for the 2003 Convention to foster inter-cultural dialogue. However, in practice, the objectives and interpretations of *Intangible Cultural Heritage* (ICH) enlistments are easily swayed by the particular circumstances of local, regional and national contexts. The implications and local usage of Intangible Cultural Heritage enlistment can therefore spark underlying conflicts between different groups and provide fuel to nationalistic agendas. In 2013, the potential for misuse of Intangible Cultural Heritage enlistment came under scrutiny in the eighth session of UNESCO's *Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* in Baku, Azerbaijan. The report following the summit indicates how 'ownership' is frequently misinterpreted by the State Parties[109]:

> *Some believe that inscription of an element creates national ownership of that element for the submitting State Party …The lack of dialogue between State Parties about these issues is seen as one of the reasons for the inappropriate use of the RL [the Representative List] and has become a cause for concern (UNESCO, 2013:58).*

The renewed interest in cultural traditions in Croatia, re-conceptualized within UNESCO's framework of 'intangible cultural heritage', is, in part, linked to globalization and modernization processes and the subsequent growth in 'ground-level' attempts to re-localize cultural identity politics (Koerner and Russell 2010)). But in Croatia the renewed focus on intangible cultural heritage also needs to be seen in the light of the national EU question, which has dominated public discourses since the turn of the Millennium. With the knowledge that the deeply divided Croatian public feared that EU membership would compromise recently achieved nationhood, the 13 national intangible heritage enlistments made in the period from 2009-2012 provided a convenient means through which to forge a shared national

[108] Croatia has one multi-national intangible cultural heritage nomination, the 'Mediterranean diet' In 2013, as a shared, of immaterial heritage worthy of safeguarding, with the seven countries of Cyprus, Croatia, Spain, Greece, Morocco, Italy and Portugal as its bearers.
[109] UNESCO's usage of the term State Party refers to the *"countries which have adhered to the World Heritage Convention. They thereby agree to identify and nominate properties on their national territory to be considered for inscription on the World Heritage List. States Parties are also expected to protect the World Heritage values of the properties inscribed and are encouraged to report periodically on their condition".* (http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/). As of 9th June 2016, there were 192 State Parties bound to the World Heritage Convention.

identity based on cultural diversity - but tied together by UNESCO's international protection. In many ways, the Croatian intangible heritage enlistments serve to unify the post-independence search for the *Croatian* within the cultural patchwork of the new nation-state. They aim to forge Croatia's international, or specifically European, connections, and disassociate Croatia from the Balkan Peninsula.

In his analysis of the public celebration which took place in Zagreb on the evening before Croatia's EU accession in 2013, Zebec (Zebec 2014) explores how Croatian national identity was presented to domestic and European audiences. Intangible cultural heritage played a central role both in mediating a 'unique' Croatian national identity to an international audience and in unifying the diverse regional cultural expressions into a 'Croatian' national identity. The location where the event took place, *Trg Bana Jelačića* (Ban Jelačić square), has strong symbolic connotations with Croatian national pride and the fight for freedom and sovereignty[110]. The event's cultural programme, with its strong focus on Croatian intangible cultural heritage mostly taken from provincial parts of the country, surprised many cosmopolitan citizens from the capital. The Zagreb-based newspaper, *Večernji list*, criticized the event for being rather dreary, too academic in scope and for indulging a 'provincial obsession' (*provincijalnoj opsesiji*). The event created a 'meaning surplus', the paper said, by attempting to incorporate "absolutely everything about [the] past"[111]. In interviews with Croatian media on the eve of the event, the artistic director stated that she had primarily designed the programme "for the domestic audience rather than 'the Others'". She also revealed that the decision to make intangible cultural heritage the "salutary backbone for the program" (Zebec 2014:243) was carried out following a request by the Croatian Government – specifically from the Deputy Minister of Culture (2014:243). In light of this important symbolic and political public event, Zebec (ibid.) poses the question of whether Croatia is entering a new era of interpreting national identities in the context of the European Union. Similarly, I contend that in recent years intangible cultural heritage has become an important vehicle in national cultural engineering. By serving to unite the desired double meaning of

[110] The square's central sculpture of the 19th century Croat military leader, Ban Josip Jelačić, riding on a horse, was erected in 1866 by Austrian authorities, to symbolise Croatian sovereignty from Hungary. The sculpture was removed in 1947 under SFR Yugoslavia, and the square was renamed *Trg Republike* (Republic Square). Upon Croatian independence in 1991, the square was given back its former name and sculpture was brought back to the square (Kameda 2010). After the Croatian war of independence, renewed symbolism has been attached to the square and its sculpture; as representing Croatia's centuries' long struggle for sovereignty and eventual achievement of autonomy.

[111] *'Za Europu iz srca Zagreba sat i 40 minuta akademskog prenemaganja'* ('For Europe from the heart of Zagreb in 1 hour and 40 minutes of academic affectation'), *Večernji list*, 1 July 2013.

Croatian national self-representation – of being both 'universal' (tied to a European cultural tradition) and 'culturally particular' (tied to notions of historic cultural continuity, unbroken ethnic decent and separation from the rest of the geographical region), intangible cultural heritage is central to consolidating nationhood within the global.

The Heritage Sector in Croatia

Legislation and implementation regarding Dubrovnik's urban planning and heritage management is decided at local, national and international levels. The Ministry of Culture is the national governing body for the protection of cultural heritage. Together with the establishment of the *Directorate for the Protection of Cultural Heritage* (*Uprava za zastitu kulturne baštine*) in 1999, a new law, on *The protection and preservation of cultural goods (Zaštita i očuvanje kulturnih dobara)* was introduced. In the same year, *The Register of Cultural Goods of the Republic of Croatia* was also established, which gathered all the elements considered Croatian 'tangible' cultural heritage under the three sub-categories for protection. They were: the list of protected cultural goods (*Lista zaštićenih kulturnih dobara*), the list of cultural goods of national significance (*Lista kulturnih dobara nacionalnog značenja*) and the list of preventively protected goods (*Lista preventivno zaštićenih dobara*). Nationwide there are 21 conservation departments, as well as one in Zagreb.

In Dubrovnik, there are two publicly funded heritage institutes: *The Institute for the Restoration of Dubrovnik* (*Zavod Za Obnovu Dubrovnika*) and *Agency for the Protection of Cultural Heritage – Conservation Unit in Dubrovnik* (*Uprava Za Zaštitu Kulturne Baštine Konzervatoriski Odjel U Dubrovniku*). Both institutes fall under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture in Zagreb, but as they are located in Dubrovnik and the employees are primarily local residents. In 2009, the *Institute for the Restoration of Dubrovnik* had 14 employees. From 1990 until 1995, the President of the Board for the Restoration of Dubrovnik was the President of Croatia, Franjo Tuđman. In 1999, after amendments to the *Law for the restoration of endangered historic city centre of Dubrovnik*, the Restoration Institute was reorganized so that its funders then became the Republic of Croatia (60%), the Dubrovnik-Neretva County (20%) and the City of Dubrovnik (20%)[112]. In addition to the two publically funded heritage institutions, the NGO, *The Association of Friends of Dubrovnik's Antiquities (DPDS - Društvo prijatelja dubrovačke starine*), carries out a range of restoration projects in

[112] '*The Restoration of Dubrovnik – the Catalogue of Works in the Historic Centre of Dubrovnik from 1979 till 2009'*, Institute for Restoration of Dubrovnik, 2009.

the County of Dubrovnik-Neretva. DPDS, founded in 1952, has managed the city walls since 1969. Until 2012, this NGO received the entry fees from Dubrovnik's most visited tourist destination, the city wall, which in 2011 amounted to an annual sum 12.323 million *Kuna* (HRK)[113]. A fair amount of this income was allocated by the DPDS to *The Institute for the Restoration and the Conservation Unit in Dubrovnik* to contribute towards restoration and conservation in the county, but most of the proceeds from the city wall were allocated to restoration projects decided on by the DPDS. The NGO thus held a lot of power over how and what should be restored or conserved. In 2012, after several years of heated negotiations, described in the local media as '*the war between DPDS and the Mayor'*, Dubrovnik Municipality and DPDS eventually made an agreement that the money generated by the entry fees should, from then on, be divided equally between the NGO and the Municipality. In the same year, the Municipality also launched the *Dubrovnik Card*, a tourist card which incorporated access to the city wall together with tickets to Dubrovnik's museums and other cultural events. With the launch of the *Dubrovnik Card,* the entrance fee to access the City Wall without the tourist pass was increased significantly, to 120 HRK (16 Euros), and again to 150 HRK (20 Euros) in 2017. When I first visited Dubrovnik in 2009, it cost 50 HRK (6, 5 Euros) to access the city wall. Whereas when DPDS received the income, the money generated by the city wall entrance fees went exclusively towards restoration and conservation projects, today 50% goes to the local municipality and into the general city budget, and thus not necessarily to heritage related projects. Nearly 1 Million people visited the city walls in 2015 and the entrance fees thus contribute significantly to the city budget. Many of my informants were critical towards the fact that the income generated by the city wall entrance fees is no longer specified for restoration projects. Many were concerned whether the money would not be spent 'sensibly' or if it might be used illegitimately by corrupt politicians[114]. Dubrovnik's heritage legislation and heritage management practices are largely controlled and implemented by 'expert groups', operating under the auspices of the Croatian nation-state. In effect, this means that the connections between heritage management practices and hegemony are continuously reproduced. Jelena, a former employee in the

[113] In 2011, this was equivalent to 1,661,631.00 Euros.
[114] The widespread concern about corruption and the lack of economic transparency is connected to corruption indictments of several politicians, both nationally and locally. In 2011, the anti-fraud office, USKOK, indicted the then Mayor of Dubrovnik, Andro Vlahušić for embezzling 2 million HRK from the city budget, which he had given to a party colleague for private expenditure. In 2015, he was again indicted for fraud, having embezzled over 3 million HRK to enable a friend to open a catering business in Fort Revelin. In January 2017, Vlahušić had to step down as the Mayor due to corruption related charges. Source: http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/dubrovnik-mayor-on-trial-for-loan-to-partner and https://eblnews.com/news/croatia/dubrovnik-mayor-indicted-corruption-4359.

Restoration Institute, argues that the dominance of national priorities in local heritage management was very pronounced after the war, and many of the institute's employees were frequently frustrated with the strong centralization in heritage management and the large amount of bureaucracy it involved. Jelena furthermore thinks that the connections between Croatian nationhood building attempts and prioritizations regarding which buildings and monuments were to be restored was evident. 'Tangible' heritage erected during the perceived 'Golden era' of nationhood, the Medieval Kingdom of Croatia (*Kraljevina Hrvatska*, 924-1102), were prioritized for restoration over other material constructions of lesser national 'value'. Although the Dubrovnik Republic in this period was an autonomous republic, unrelated to the Medieval Kingdom of Croatia, its 'tangible' cultural heritage was often used and reascribed as belonging to a 'historically unbroken, autonomous Croatia'. Jelena thinks that the explicit national prioritizations in heritage management to consolidate nationhood has lessened somewhat over the years since independence, but that it is still the case that Dubrovnik and other cities peripheral to national concerns are often relegated to the margins of decision-making power.

While local and national legislation has undergone many changes over a relatively short span of time, due to changes in political and administrative structures since the demise of the former Yugoslavia, Dubrovnik's World Heritage enlistment has, to a large extent, informed legislation at all levels. The city's inscription on UNESCO's World Heritage list in 1979 included the protection of the late-medieval 'intra-mural' city centre and the city walls. However, in December 1994, Dubrovnik's World Heritage Site was extended to include a 'buffer zone' around the walled centre. The extension of Dubrovnik's World Heritage Site is a good example of how the parameters of Dubrovnik's World Heritage are negotiated and co-produced at the intersections of the local, national and global. The extension also illustrates the processual nature of heritage production – where particular events, in this case the Croatian war of independence, condition the dynamics of heritage production and negotiations at different levels. Due to the material damage inflicted on Dubrovnik's World Heritage Site during the 1991 siege, and threats of further destruction through armed warfare, the World Heritage Committee decided to inscribe the Old City of Dubrovnik on the List of World Heritage in Danger115. In July 1992, during the WHC's 16th session, UNESCO's Bureau of the Executive Board recommended to the Croatian State Party that a 'buffer zone' be created to protect the walled centre and its suburbs of 'historic value'. Had it not been for

[115] This decision was made during the WHC's 15th session in Carthage, Tunisia in December 1991.

the war, the WHC's recommendation that Dubrovnik create a World Heritage 'buffer zone' might otherwise not have happened. The Bureau's proposal was acted upon shortly afterwards, and the local restoration and conservation institutes, together with Dubrovnik municipality, prepared a plan for the new 'buffer zone'. Before it could be sent to ICOMOS for 'expert' evaluation, and afterwards to the WHC to make the eventual decision, it had to be cleared by the national Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Construction and Spatial Planning. This procedure, however, was delayed, and the Bureau therefore had the opportunity to suggest a further extension of the 'buffer zone', to include two extra-muros fortifications, Fort Lovrijenać and Fort Revelin. The Bureau also recommended building restrictions along the coast line in areas outside the 'buffer zone'. This entailed limits on the height of new constructions and their nearness to the shore, as it was argued that excessively high buildings "would spoil the fine view of the skyline of the old town of Dubrovnik, when approached from the sea[116]." The Bureau's suggestions regarding the boundaries of the 'buffer zone' became part of Dubrovnik's extended World Heritage Site. Since 1994 the site has included the medieval-industrial suburb of Pile, the Brsalje plateau on the western side of the walled centre, Iza Grada on the northern side of the city, sections of Ploče on the eastern side of the city and the island of Lokrum[117]. Thus, multiple actors and 'expert groups', at local, national and international levels, have been responsible for co-producing and redefining the boundaries of Dubrovnik's World Heritage into the form it takes today. The extension has affected many different aspects of heritage management, urban planning and tourism development ever since. But it has also affected cultural practices and the ways in which different actors perceive and evaluate these additional 'heritage' districts within the internationally sanctioned 'vocabulary' of World Heritage.

Heritage Management in a Turbulent Region

Throughout history, the continuous restoration of the urban centre has been a natural and expected part of city life for Dubrovnik's residents. However, in the period since UNESCO enlistment in 1979, two particularly disastrous events occurred, first, a very destructive

[116] http://whc.unesco.org/en/soc/1718.

[117] In the 'buffer zone', the following buildings and structures, all dating back to the Dubrovnik Republic, are highlighted as being monuments of particular historical value: the 15th century Fort Lovrijenać (in Pile), the 17th century quarantines Lazaretto and the 15th century Revelin Fortress (both in Ploče), the 15th century Kase moles (structures built to protect the city from the south-eastern gales) and the Benedictine abbey, originally constructed in 1023, but largely reconstructed after the 1667 earthquake. Source: 95bis-ICOMOS-103-en.pdf, http://whc.unesco.org/en/soc/1799/ and http://whc.unesco.org/en/soc/1718.

earthquake in 1979[118], followed by the Croatian war of independence in 1991-1995. These events have made restoration an urgent matter in Dubrovnik and have shaped a strongly technical-utilitarian approach to heritage management. Dubrovnik is located in a seismically active region and the city has experienced several earthquakes in recent history. The largest earthquake in modern history occurred on 15 April 1979, the same year as the city was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage list. The earthquake led to the establishment of the *Institute for the Restoration of Dubrovnik* (*Zavod Za Obnovu Dubrovnika*) on 10 October of the same year and to the introduction of the *Law for restoration of the endangered historic centre of Dubrovnik* on 6 May 1986, which defined the work and priorities of the Restoration Institute[119]. In 1995 and 1996, two further earthquakes struck Dubrovnik-Neretva county. Little damage was inflicted on Dubrovnik, although the urban centre of the nearby city of Ston, historically a part of the Dubrovnik Republic, experienced damage to its architecture. The likelihood of future earthquakes, extensive material destruction and human loss of life is a realistic threat, which is reflected in Dubrovnik's cultural heritage management[120]. Due to the likelihood of future earthquakes, specific technical measures have been taken to prevent further large-scale catastrophic damage to the city's architecture and thus also to the citizens' safety. Ljubica, an architect who has worked at the *Institute for the Restoration of Dubrovnik* since the early 1980s, argues that noticeable changes in heritage management practices have occurred over the last 30 years. While restoration and repair work carried out by the Institute under Yugoslavian Titoist communism also included the suburbs of Dubrovnik, today the institute focuses solely on the restoration of the UNESCO protected walled centre. Ljubica sees this change as relating to the changeover to private property, which has affected how the institute operates and relates to the local citizens:

> *Before the war, whenever a decision was made to restore a building, we would temporarily move out the residents. Some of them would come back, some would stay in the new building afterwards, if they wanted. [Today] the property is private [and] we cannot move people out. The Ministry has recently ordered a study on how to restore and aseizmically protect an entire block while still the people inside their homes. People*

[118] According to a study carried out by the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Zagreb, the 1979 earthquake inflicted damage to 1,071 structures in the historic centre and the cost amounted to a total of over $379 million (1990:13).

[119] '*The Restoration of Dubrovnik – the Catalogue of Works in the Historic Centre of Dubrovnik from 1979 till 2009'*, Institute for Restoration of Dubrovnik, 2009.

[120] In 1990, the *Institute of Restoration in Dubrovnik* reported that *"during the last 315 years, Dubrovnik has experienced 85 tremors of an intensity from 6 to 10º MCS, and eleven of an intensity of 8 to 10º, which means on average an extremely serious earthquake every 28 years"* (Letunić 1990:13).

have problems with that, but they [still] give their approval. They don't move out. We're working from the outside. If one wants, we can do it from the inside, but nobody opted for that so far.

Ljubica reflects that even if residents of the houses being restored were willing to temporarily move out, the economic depression and scarcity of available housing means that there are not enough houses to accommodate the residents of houses under restoration[121]. At the time of my first interview with Ljubica in 2009, most of the obvious war damages had been erased. However, relatively new technological innovations had allowed the possibility of carrying out earthquake-resistant structuring of the houses in the walled centre in order to diminish the potential damage of a new earthquake. This technique is called, *aseizmička sanacija* (*aseismic sanition*, probably better translated as 'aseismic construction'). Ljubica describes this as one of the main areas of focus in contemporary, local heritage management, which will continue for many years to come. Before a house in the walled centre undergoes this process, an intricate amount of preparatory work is done – the building is documented as a 'cultural property', an architectural survey is carried out, preparatory research is undertaken by expertise conservationists and restorationists, research is done on the building's physical structure (its stability and resistance to earthquakes), geo-mechanical testing takes place on the basic soil, conservation guidelines are drawn up and finally the project's different stages for renovation and restoration are elaborated[122]. The walls of the houses in the walled centre consist of three layers – two outer layers and one inner one. 'Aseismic sanition' involves injecting the walls with a mass to strengthen the foundation of the walls against earth quake damages, and inserting steel bolts into the structures of the house. As locals are generally unwilling to move out of their homes while the work is done, the injection is largely performed in the outer layers of the wall. In the time Ljubica has worked for the Restoration Institute, a large amount of rainfall has leaked through the stone canals and damaged some of the support frameworks. So quite often, buildings already restored some years back – even after the war – are again in need of repair.

In Dubrovnik's post-war restoration period, questions of 'authenticity' as opposed to functionality, the choice of building materials, ensuring architectural longevity against potential earthquakes, safety considerations for the residents and accommodating for

[121] Ljubica's reflections were made in 2009.
[122] '*The Restoration of Dubrovnik – the Catalogue of Works in the Historic Centre of Dubrovnik from 1979 till 2009'*, Institute for Restoration of Dubrovnik, (2009:12).

contemporary living in the walled city, all have had to be weighed up against each other. While the focus in contemporary local heritage management is on using, as much as is possible, authentic materials, and of making the restoration work as invisible as it can be, this was not deemed important in the Yugoslavian era. Ljubica argues that the restoration following the 1990s war, in comparison to the restoration following the 1979 earthquake, revealed large differences in attitudes and reveals that restoration practices are marked by the cultural perceptions of each time period. Influenced by ideas of modernity, concrete was the main material of choice in restoring the damaged buildings after the 1979 earthquake. This would not be seen as acceptable today. Following the 1990s war, the matter of 'authenticity' in the choice of building materials was a prominent issue. Conforming to matters of historic 'authenticity' in building materials was often challenging due to the large-scale war damages on the roofs and stone structures of the houses. It was often difficult to ensure enough 'authentic' materials for restoration and sometimes the restoration institute had to settle for a close match. Extensive examination and documentation was also carried out, ensuring that the reconstruction was carried out according to UNESCO requirements.

Ljubica thinks that international expertise and assistance in the restoration of Dubrovnik, both after the earthquake and the war, has had a strong influence on local heritage practices:

> *Since 1986, we've had an expert council, it was an interdisciplinary team of experts who evaluated every major project ... They weren't so satisfied with reinforced concrete. In 1993, the Ministry … [Ministry of Culture] included four European experts in this council. They were from UNESCO. With their help, we changed the methodology.*

To tourists visiting Dubrovnik, it may appear as if the war damage inflicted on the walled city centre has all been erased and few tourists are aware of the large damages caused by the 1979 earthquake. However, as Ljubica relates, restoration is an ongoing, endless process. Several residential city parts, out of sight of the commercial area, still bear the marks of visible shrapnel damage and certain city quarters have not been fully restored since the 1979 earthquake. The city quarters, *Karmen* and *Pustijerna*, were affected especially badly by the 1979 earthquake. The residents of these city areas had to move from the walled centre. Some resettled in nearby areas like Ploče, Lapad, Pile and Gruž, but many resettled in Mokošica, west of Dubrovnik, where a large, new residential area was built in the 1980s. Due to many more pressing restoration concerns immediately following the earthquake (as monumental buildings were given higher priority), and the architectural damage inflicted on central areas

of the city centre during the 1990s war, *Karmen* and *Pustijerna* are still mostly unrestored and uninhabited. There have been many different suggestions as to how these city quarters should be rebuilt, but the process has repeatedly been halted due to a lack of agreement. However, when I finished my fieldwork period at the end of September 2015, the construction of student accommodation in the *Pustijerna* city quarter eventually began. Some of my young informants described this decision as a positive turn in urban management, and thought that these kinds of restoration projects, which would bring new life into the walled centre, were exactly what the city needed.

The Siege of Dubrovnik (1991-92) caused extensive material destruction to Dubrovnik, and both residential housing areas and monumental heritage were damaged (Mønnesland 2006, Tanner 2001). Over 68% of the buildings in Dubrovnik's walled town were hit by projectiles (Magaš, 2001).

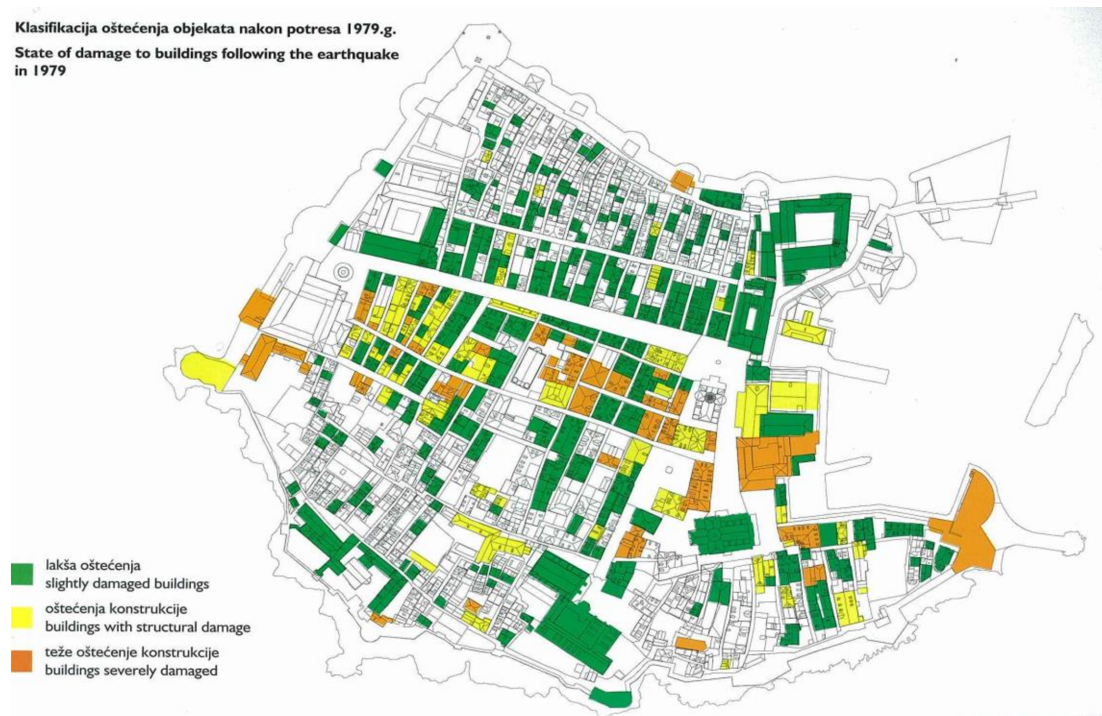

Figure 5. Map of the damage caused by the 1979 earthquake on Dubrovnik's walled centre. Source: 'Restoration of Dubrovnik - the Catalog of Works in the Historic Center of Dubrovnik from 1979 to 2009', Institute for the Restoration of Dubrovnik, 2009. Published with permission from the Institute for the Restoration of Dubrovnik.

Figure 6. Map of the damage caused during the Croatian war of independence on Dubrovnik's walled centre. Explanation of shapes: 1. Black triangles represent roofs damaged by direct hits. 2. Red rectangles represent burnt down buildings. 3. White triangles represent roofs damaged by shrapnel. 4. Black circles represent a direct hit on the pavement. Photograph taken by Celine Motzfeldt Loades of plaques mounted inside the Pile city gate.

The Role of UNESCO in Post-war Identity Discourse

UNESCO played a central role in the post-war restoration of Dubrovnik’s World Heritage site through the provision of funding, scholarly and technical expertise. Being located in a historically and politically turbulent borderland region, many Dubrovnikans tend to see UNESCO as a politically and ideologically neutral organization – a body which provides stability and protection from the destruction of warfare. In post-war attempts to fix Croatia’s geographical and cultural belonging in Europe as opposed to the Balkans, the normative and symbolic power of Dubrovnik’s UNESCO World Heritage status has loomed large. The symbolism of Dubrovnik’s World Heritage status has also been important in recovering the vestiges of the Dubrovnik Republic’s ‘intangible cultural heritage’ – as a city which, to its citizens, has always embodied the virtues of peace, tolerance, cosmopolitanism and diplomatic relations. UNESCO’s goals of fostering *“peace, tolerance and mutual*

understanding" (Meskell 2015a:226) thus harmonize with Dubrovnikan self-perceptions of the city's cultural values.

However, UNESCO's reputation locally co-exists with the knowledge that, in many ways, it was exactly the symbolism and commercial potential represented by the city's UNESCO World Heritage status, which resulted in much greater destruction being visited on Dubrovnik than on many other Croatian cities. Many Dubrovnikans also have an ambivalent view of UNESCO's role during the Croatian war of Independence. This is due to UNESCO's lack of power to intervene in the conflict and prevent the eight-month-long siege[123] and shelling of the city. Izidora and Zvonko, two employees in a local museum, felt that the citizens were totally abandoned by UNESCO's lack of intervention during the war. Izidora finds it hard to understand how international organizations possessing such strong symbolic and political power could let a city of World Heritage status be destroyed by the Yugoslav army: "During the Homeland war, the European community and UNESCO sent their people in Dubrovnik to see what was happening. And they [stayed] only in Hotel Excelsior, Hotel Argentina[124], and [would] sit on the balconies and look at the grenades falling down on the old city. And that's everything they did! They didn't do anything to help the Croatian people and the local population – they were just monitoring what was happening. During the war we had UNESCO flags on the city walls, but that didn't stop Yugoslav army destroying the whole city." The UNESCO representatives monitoring Dubrovnik during the siege were soon given the name, *slastičari* ('confectioners') locally. With their all-white uniforms to symbolize neutrality, their appearance could, with goodwill, resemble that of a confectioner. But more importantly, their presence in Dubrovnik was perceived as providing little more than a symbolic 'ornamentation' to reassure the international community that Dubrovnik's World Heritage was protected. While Izidora feels deeply disappointed with UNESCO's lack of intervention during the war, she describes UNESCO's engagement in post-war restoration as being 'loud': *"'You have to preserve', 'you have to rebuild', you have to do all that, but the people from UNESCO really didn't do anything"*.

Although many citizens appear to be strongly appreciative of Dubrovnik being designated a site of *Outstanding Universal Value* and regard the World Heritage status as crucial to post-war local economic development, urban restoration and regeneration, many residents also

[123] The siege of Dubrovnik lasted from the 1st October 1991 to the 31st May 1992 (Pavlovic 2004).
[124] These two upmarket hotels are located outside the city wall, in the city part Ploče, on Dubrovnik's eastern side.

experience that the power to decide Dubrovnik's future development has been taken 'out of their hands' and that their lives and practices are subjected to the micro-management of national and international legislation. Many residents living in the UNESCO walled centre complained about the nuisances of building restrictions which limit their ability to modify their homes to make them more 'liveable' and more compatible with the requirements of modern lifestyles. However, many accepted the practical restrictions as a small loss compared to the wider normative effects which the city's World Heritage status has on urban development. To many citizens, UNESCO fulfils an important role in ensuring continued protection onto the city centre against uncontrolled market forces and commercialization. In this type of view, UNESCO represented a beacon of civic orderliness and humanist values and was seen as an antithesis to embedded corruption and the fragmentation of communal civic virtues after the transition to global capitalism. Izidora reflects:

> *Dubrovnik's heritage management could be much better organized. We have very bad local politics and politicians. I suppose that we are still a young country and we have to practice democracy a few years more to come to the level of real democracy. We have all the parts of a democratic system; but we have to change our minds and mentality here.*

When Izidora talks about the need to change 'our mentality' in order for a better functioning democratic political system to transpire, she is referring especially to how politicians' egos their 'cults of personality' often cloud their efficiency and willingness to implement politics and enforce legislation which ensures a long-term perspective onto urban planning. She thinks instead that they are interested in short-term 'quick fixes' in order to gain a good reputation and maintain their privileged positions of power. She thinks that Dubrovnik's local politicians, regardless political orientation, always see themselves as being 'the rulers' who dictate political decisions in whichever direction places their own personas in the most favourable light. This is not a problem not just specific to Dubrovnik, she asserts, but is embedded in all of Croatian politics. Izidora and her colleague, Zvonko, both argue that local politicians pay little attention to cultural heritage other than seeking to maximise the monetary benefits. They also think the heritage sector needs to be better organized and integrated into communal development, so that buildings are not only restored for their architectural value, but that the future uses of the buildings are also kept in mind as part of the restoration process.

Izidora thinks that heritage legislation functioned better during the former Yugoslavia. Under the Titoist communist political system, all local construction, renovation and restoration work was organized through Dubrovnik municipality and she thinks there were fewer opportunities for backhand deals to take place. However, she sees the symbolic role which Dubrovnik enjoyed during the Yugoslavian era as equally important in the enforcement and respect of heritage legislation. Izidora recalls:

> *What was forbidden was forbidden! You couldn't pay for someone to allow you to build the house in [any] place you want. [Dubrovnik] was very well appreciated like a cultural heritage town in all of Yugoslavia. And when the Homeland war started everything was completely reversed ... and everyone forgot that. Even UNESCO.*

Sources of Dubrovnik's Urban Management

In Dubrovnik's local community, the Dubrovnik Statute of 1272 is celebrated as one of the roots of present-day, local heritage- and urban management. It is frequently cited as 'evidence' in public culture that Dubrovnik has a foot firmly planted in a European tradition of heritage conservation and management, and in fact set a precedent for later developments of urban heritage management across Europe. Not only does this discourse use the Statute to illustrate the connectedness of Dubrovnik with Western Europe rather than the Balkans, but the Statute is also employed to solidify a perception that Dubrovnik was a European role model and formed a beacon of progressive thinking and civic, democratic practices.

The legacy of the Dubrovnik Republic and the Statue on contemporary Dubrovnik is often encapsulated by the notion of having inherited a 'sense of harmony' (*sklad*) and 'sense of scale' (*mjera*), or 'sense of proportion' (*proporcija*). This applies not only to the 'harmonious proportions' of the urban layout, but also to the relationship between the city and its inhabitants. In the introduction to a tourist pamphlet, Andro Vlahušić, the former Mayor of Dubrovnik alludes to this legacy of harmony bequeathed by the Dubrovnik Republic:

> *We, the citizens of Dubrovnik, are always honoured to share with all our guests the beauty and harmony which we have inherited, both from nature and from our glorious ancestors. We are proud to be part of the historical sequence of the creation of the material and spiritual wealth in the city that has given such a great contribution to the world of literature, art, architecture, diplomacy and science … Dubrovnik precisely*

explore[s] that part of its soul, the very part that made it the leader of civilization in this part of Europe.

However, to draw a clear connection between modern-day heritage management, and the guiding principles of urban and communal ‘management’ laid down in the Statute during the Dubrovnik Republic, would be highly misleading as the notion of heritage did not arise until the 19th Century. Ljubica, an architect working in the *Institute for the Restoration of Dubrovnik* (see above), is well aware of how the idea of 'heritage management' is a recent product and she portrays Dubrovnik in past times as a city with a larger degree of organic adaptability and fewer rules to adhere to than today:

This term, 'heritage management', is a new term, a recent phenomenon. Earlier it was the lives of the people living here which defined the interactions between the people living in Dubrovnik and the monuments. In this town, there wasn't any management ... This was a living town. Because, what is management? Management is managing; the residents are owners of parts of the buildings and they feel that nobody should manage them, they believe that they should manage their properties and that they should decide what to do with the buildings.

Ljubica describes Dubrovnikans in the past – she refers to the Dubrovnik Republic in particular – as having a “special relationship with public space” and a “high level of identification ... with the intimate area round their homes”. This identification with the areas around people's houses is actually specified in the 13th century Dubrovnik Statute. The law divided each street into three parts, where one third of the street 'belonged' to and was tended to by the residents living on each side, and the middle third was recognized as for public use. Ljubica sees these historic laws more as guiding principles than strict laws, but thinks they reflect the public and communal spirit of the Dubrovnik Republic, a spirit which she believes is vanishing today. Ljubica regards the Great Earthquake of 1667 as a destructive event that irrevocably changed the urban structure of the city:

After the earthquake, there were many areas that were left demolished and became vacant spaces – there were a lot of unbuilt areas left, or [they] were given a new functions; not residential, but open squares, gardens, or something else. The city changed its urban structure.

Ljubica thinks that certain aspects dating back to the Dubrovnik Republic, such as the way its citizens relate to and use the urban spaces, have lived on until the present. However, she is concerned that escalating commercialization of the urban space, under the conditions of the market economy, is rapidly compromising this 'intangible' heritage. She reflects:

> *This [the street division into three parts] is something that modern tourism and way of life has completely corrupted. Nowadays, these middle parts are given to businesses and restaurants which put out tables, and people don't even have a free entrance to their houses, let alone having a free space in front of their windows.*

Figure 7. The three-part division of Dubrovnik's streets – dating back to the Dubrovnik Republic – continues in the backstreets. The residents often tend to put plants in their 'private' third of the street unless café and restaurant tables take up the space. Photograph by Rob Loades.

In the European historical context, the Dubrovnik Republic stands as a very early example of a society that developed guiding principles of urban development and civic codes of conduct. The Dubrovnik Statute is indeed a very impressive document which represents one of the first instances of, amongst other things, careful urban planning. However, to confuse the Dubrovnik Statute with modern ideas and practices of 'heritage management' would be to falsify reality. This tendency rests on the contemporary desire to weave a sense of historic continuity and to place Dubrovnik in a wholly European and a more global, 'forward-moving' context. This impulse definitely has very strong ideological underpinnings, which relate to how images and discourses after national independence were shaped. Although the idea of heritage management was, of course, non-existent in the Dubrovnik Republic, the Statute reveals that many measures were undertaken in order to ensure a sense of harmony between the people and the city.

Modern heritage management in Dubrovnik – and Croatia at large – shares many roots with the emergence of heritage in European context, from the European Classical tradition onwards. As in English, *baština* (heritage) derives from the infinitive form, *baštiniti* – to inherit. In the earlier uses of *baština*, the connections to family inheritance transferred from one generation to the next, such as land and other property, were predominant. Its current applications probably emerged in the Romantic period. *Baštiniti* is today generally used to describe an 'inheritance' in a relatively broad sense, referring to a wide repertoire of ('material' and 'immaterial') cultural forms and expressions. The term does not denote a strict type of inheritance through, for instance, kinship or biological attributes. When talking about inheritance in a legally defined sense, such as property and land inheritance passed on from one generation to the next within a family, the nouns, *nasljeđe* and *nasljedstvo* (*inheritance*) are used today (deriving from the infinitive form, *naslijediti – to inherit*). In Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Serbia, on the other hand, *nasljeđe* is more typically used to refer to cultural heritage, whereas *baština* is more common in Croatia and Slovenia. In Croatia, *naslijeđivanje (inheritance)* and *nasljeđe (heredity)* are used to refer to biological and genetic inheritance[125].

[125] This discussion of the etymology and emic uses of *baština* in Croatia is based on information obtained through an e-mail interview in February 2018 with Tvrtko Zebec, a Croatian ethnologist employed at the Institute for Ethnology and Folklore, Zagreb,

Many locals thought there was too strong an emphasis on material representations of cultural heritage in politicians, tourist- and heritage managers' use of the term, *baština.* In daily speech, Dubrovnikans tend to use the term in a much wider sense, relating as much to cultural traditions which they saw as being part of being a Dubrovnikan. While *baština* is commonly used in daily speech, and has a wide meaning, *svjetska baština* (*World Heritage*) is generally seen as something distinct, relating specifically to 'tangible' or 'intangible' cultural heritage, which has obtained UNESCO protection. Marko, a resident of the walled centre, was of the opinion that this term is generally not used in daily conversations. However, he emphasized that the tourism industry, in particular – and also politicians – actively talk about *svjetska baština*. To the local population, it seems, the concept is mostly seen as a 'professional' term. However, UNESCO's 'expert' voice, and the organization's authority to assess, define and decide on what constitutes World Heritage and which cultural traditions deserve to be categorized as 'intangible cultural heritage', appeared to be widely endorsed by my informants. The authoritative power awarded to UNESCO can be seen in Marko's reflections, yet he also illustrates how World Heritage is simultaneously viewed as an 'imported' concept:

> *We have accepted the term 'svjetska baština' because it is something automatically related to UNESCO. Otherwise we would use the term 'baština'. Although 'svjetska baština' sounds stronger, [it] adds more importance to a subject.*

Apart from *baština*, terms like *antikviteti* (antiquities), and *spomenici* (monuments) are frequently also used to talk about Dubrovnik's cultural heritage, thus revealing the stronghold of the 'authorized heritage discourse' (Smith 2006b), with its focus on tangible, monumental and old ('historic') buildings. These terms are mostly used by heritage managers and other 'expert groups', such as architects, urban managers and politicians. I did, however, encounter some Dubrovnikans, unrelated to any so-called 'expert groups', who talked about the walled centre itself being a 'unified' *spomenik* (monument)[126]. By this, it appeared that they meant that the whole urban complex of the walled centre together formed one colossal, tangible monument and a kind of 'memorial homage' to the Dubrovnik Republic.

[126] The connection between monuments and memory is evident in the etymology of the word monument, which stems from the Latin verb, *moneo*, which means "to bring to the notice of" and "to remind" (Butterfield 2003). The etymology of *spomenik*, is very similar. Composed of the root word, *spomen* (rememberance) and the diminutive suffix, -ik, a 'spomenik' is closely related to the English words, monument and memorial.

When Dubrovnikans talk about the entirety of the walled centre as a *spomenik*, they generally mean that the walled centre constitutes a 'monument' or a 'memorial' 'in homage to' the Dubrovnik Republic. However, the specific meanings of what citizens mean when referring to the walled centre as a monument of the Dubrovnik Republic is by no means uniform. The weight placed on different socio-cultural or political aspects of the historic Republic, is closely aligned with present desires and controversies. For example, if someone of ethnic-religious minority background, cosmopolitans or a person to leans towards the political left refers to the walled centre as a 'spomenik' of the Dubrovnik Republic, they may be highlighting the city's historically international character and its position as a crossroads and mediator between the West and the East. In this sense the monumental character of the walled centre is being used to accentuate the Republic's cultural and mercantile activities, and, importantly, also its role in international diplomacy. Such a perception of the monumental character of the walled centre corresponds closely to UNESCO's intentions that World Heritage foster 'peace in the minds of mankind' (Di Giovine 2008). However, if someone of nationalistic political leanings talks about the walled centre as a 'spomenik' of the Dubrovnik Republic, they may be calling to mind the city's role in Western European cultural history as an *antemurale*. As discussed in chapter five, the myth of the *antemurale christianitatis* (Kolstø 2005, Žanić 2005), still resonates strongly in Croatia. As such, this myth does not necessarily correspond to political leanings or ethnic-religious backgrounds. However, certain nationalistic conceptions of the walled centre as an *antemurale* emphasize the city's cultural heritage in more exclusionary terms. Such uses of the walled centre deviate from the intentions of Dubrovnik's World Heritage enlistment , which is that the city's history compliments a larger 'World Heritage' – and helps to celebrate and protect the world's 'unity in diversity'. Sometimes, it is important to note, the meanings and values attached to the monumentalization of the walled centre overlap with one another and cannot be seen as strictly relating to political persuasions or ethnic-religious backgrounds. The values aroused by the urge to protect the walled centre as a *spomenik* in homage of the lasting legacy of the Dubrovnik Republic are, indeed, multiple. And different types of 'cultural memories', with strongly contrasting intentionalities and consequences on social relations in the present, are generated when the walled centre is monumentalized and made into World Heritage.

Managing Dubrovnik's World Heritage

The management of Dubrovnik as a World Heritage site is marked by political prioritizations of creating a visual and architectural unity. Although such an ideal can, in part, be seen as a

consequence of UNESCO heritage legislation, the meanings which a visual and architectural unity represents locally and the motivations for this, are also embedded in local concerns and values. Embedded in urban- and heritage management practices is a "spatial codification of values" (Šakaja and Stanić 2017), where memories of the past and its meanings selectively produced, allowing certain pasts into the present, while omitting other more undesirable pasts. There are many examples of cases locally where decisions have been made to remove buildings, monuments or structures that do not conform to ideas of what constitutes Dubrovnik's cultural heritage. This process, however, long precedes Dubrovnik's inscription on the World Heritage List. Stories of what is removed, demolished or excluded from protection can supply interesting insights into how heritage perceptions go hand in hand with the construction of cultural identities. For example, the large-scale removal of monuments erected across the country in the communist period and the renaming of streets, squares and buildings of cultural or political significance, were powerful symbolic acts of cultural self-expression of the newly established nation-state (ibid.). Similarly, several buildings dating back to the Austro-Hungarian Empire have, at different times, been torn down in restoration processes, in the attempt to make the city more 'authentically' like it was during the Dubrovnik Republic. For example, when the NGO, the Association of the Friends of Dubrovnik's Antiquities (DPDS - Duštrvo Prijatelja Dubrovačka Starine), began to restore the city wall in the 1950s, a few buildings dating back to the Austro-Hungarian Empire were removed. This was, in part, related to the desire to improve the accessibility of the city walls, for locals and tourists alike. In my contact with employees in Dubrovnik's public restoration and conservation institutions, the *Association of the Friends of Dubrovnik's Antiquities* (DPDS - *Duštrvo Prijatelja Dubrovačka Starine*), and the local municipality an *epochal* heritage perception, focusing especially on the architectural legacy of the Dubrovnik Republic, was predominant. The epochal heritage perception was particularly common among 'professional' and 'expert' groups with educational backgrounds in, for instance, art history, conservation, urban planning and architecture. The epochal heritage perspective promotes the idea that the architectural legacy from a certain epoch exemplifies something particularly unique in a culture's history and should therefore be protected. Heritage, in this outlook, is largely limited to architecture and monumental heritage found in the urban fabric of the UNESCO protected walled centre and buffer zones. But this conception of heritage also takes in buildings outside the city wall – in Gruž, on the Lapad peninsula and the Trsteno arboretum, which still has buildings dating back to the Dubrovnik Republic, used as summer houses of the urban aristocracy. Areas of the city centre considered to have particular 'cultural

heritage value' (such as buildings and monuments which fulfilled particular cultural, political or administrative functions in the Dubrovnik Republic or the Austro-Hungarian Empire), have been given a higher prioritization in restoration, than areas which constitute the 'backs' or suburbs of the city, or which are not seen to fulfil any particular symbolic value.

In many European countries, heritage management practices in the last couple of decades has increasingly been influenced by a *modal* heritage perception (relating to the *form* of heritage representation, and not the historical epoch which the structure or artefact was made), which affirms that features and artefacts from all epochs constitute our cultural heritage. This perspective proposes an idea of representativity – in other words, what is considered representative or particularly 'successful' for a certain period deserves to be protected. This relatively new approach to heritage management, influenced by ideas of postmodernism, holds that an industrial factory or a telegraph post, for instance, considered illustrative of a cultural-historical period or point of social change, should be assigned equal value to a Renaissance building. This perspective is largely absent in Dubrovnik's heritage management and discourse. In part, this can be understood in light of the attempt to under-communicate or even omit certain aspects of regional history. Industrial heritage from Yugoslavia or war heritage from the Croatian war of independence is generally seen as unworthy of commemoration and also presents a potential source of dissonance. One of my informants, who works for an NGO which lobbied for Croatian membership of the EU, expressed a clear modal heritage perspective, however. On several occasions she stressed that she sees it as a responsibility to future generations to preserve something from every historic period:

> *I appreciate their [the conservation and restoration offices] work very much, but I believe they are too conservative. They would like to keep everything as it was before the arrival of Frenchmen in 1806. But, before 1806, this city experienced different construction phases. So how do we decide what should be restored – the 15th century, the 18th century or the 19th century town? When you consider the city as a living mechanism, being aware of the responsibility towards the future generations, you will see that we have a right and duty to leave something from your period in this town. We need to find ways of reconciliation and making compromises, but how to achieve this is a big challenge. We need to be better at communicating amongst different groups and to find consensus.*

Memories of certain pasts, like the Croatian war of Independence, are represented and recollected publicly in particular ways that fit with the kinds of stories Dubrovnikans wish to convey. The war museum is central in tying together the different aspects and transformative events in Dubrovnik's history that unite the city, its citizens and the protective 'wall' of Mount Srđ within the much cherished discourse of the *heritage of libertas*. The war museum's exhibitions take the spectator on a 'journey' which binds together the recent history of Dubrovnik with the distant history of the Dubrovnik Republic. The main themes of the exhibits are – the fall of the Dubrovnik Republic, the history of *Fort Imperial* (which connects with Napoleonic rule and the abolition of the Republic), the Serbian-Montenegrin 'aggression' in 1991 and the liberation of Dubrovnik and the 'Croatian South' in 1992, referred to colloquially as *dani pobjede* ('*the days of victory'*). Remnants of war are often concealed in tourist destinations as tourist managers fear they will impair the visitor's experience of pleasant times and a feeling of safety. Izidora and Zvonko, two employees in a local museum, tried to convince Dubrovnik Municipality and the Restoration Institute to preserve and recognize the bombed remnants of the former funicular railway at Mount Srđ as *heritage of war*, which should be kept so that future generations could still see some tangible elements of the war. This was met with fairly strong hostility and Izidora and Zvonko are convinced that the local municipality perceives this as 'undesired heritage', which does not fit into the overarching discourse on the war as firmly embedded in the city's past from which its citizens have 'moved on' from. Through his years of work in several local museums, Zvonko values Dubrovnik's architectural-cultural heritage. But after participating in the war and defending Dubrovnik during the 1991 siege, he no longer sees the preservation of architecture as having much value in itself. To him, heritage preservation only has real value if it also aids in preserving the historic and current identities of the local population. It also has to communicate what the buildings meant in the past to people living in Dubrovnik and the events that occurred there, he suggests.

If the remnants of the war-destroyed funicular railway were kept, its interpretations and what it represents could not so easily be contained or related to narratives of togetherness and a fully completed restoration of heritage and identity. Ironically, the site where the war-destroyed remnants are located is also the site of the proposed golf project and would detract from the feeling of elite tourism which the developers and local municipality are trying to encourage. The development agenda is a forward-marching approach and the war must, at all

costs, be kept under control in representations and conveyed in certain mediums only, such as photography and film. It must not take the form of anything tangible or 'in your face'.

Figure 8. Today the only visible remnant of the bombed funicular railway exists in photographs. Despite the suggestion by individuals working in the Dubrovnik Museums to preserve the bombed remnants as a reminder of and a 'heritage' of the war, the bombed remnants were not seen as compatible with tourism promotion and economic development and were consequently removed. Photograph taken from the exhibition in the Dubrovnik War Museum by Celine Motzfeldt Loades (published with permission from the museum).

Conclusion

This chapter gives insights into the disparities and overlaps between the ideal intentions of World Heritage enlistment and how World Heritage in Dubrovnik is used for particular cultural, political, ideological and economic reasons within the city's particular post-war context. The intention of the 1972 World Heritage Convention was to provide a legally binding instrument to foster inter-cultural dialogue, mutual respect for global diversity and unity of the world's cultural and natural heritage (Di Giovine, 2008). This was of crucial importance after Second World War and the prevailing tensions of the Cold War. In recent years, however, heritage scholars and have raised concerns that original ideals of the Convention, and the ensuing World Heritage List, have become eclipsed by national interests, political ideologies and economic incentives (Meskell 2012, 2015a).

The extensive material damage to the urban fabric of Dubrovnik during the war placed the city on UNESCO's 'List of World Heritage in Danger' between 1991 and 1998. Local, national and international technical and scientific 'expert' groups assisted in restoring the World Heritage site. This strengthened the importance of materiality in the heritage discourse. The post-war restoration of Dubrovnik is internationally recognized as a successful and a praiseworthy example of international public-private collaboration. As one of four examples globally, the restoration of the Old City of Dubrovnik is included as an example of UNESCO's "successful restorations", under the headline "Success stories"[127]. The enormous and continued efforts to restore 'the Pearl of the Adriatic' in the aftermath of the 1979 earthquake and the war damage from the 1990s war, may, indeed, be deemed as successful according to architectural, structural and aesthetic requirements. However, measures of success are perhaps less discernible when it comes to political prioritizations and socio-economic processes guiding the post-restoration use of 'tangible' urban heritage. The pressing need for restoration following the two consecutive crises has led to a very practical, technocratic type of heritage management. According to many informants, heritage management frequently overlooks the integration of the buildings' uses, once restored, into the projects. The yardstick of success revolves around aesthetic and 'authentic' facades and structures. Consequently, the perception of Dubrovnik's cultural heritage as being inherently 'a part of' the urban fabric of the walled centre, its 'tangible' monuments and structures dating back to particular epochs continues to dominate local heritage perceptions. Especially, the tangible heritage of the Dubrovnik Republic has been prioritized in restoration projects. Increasingly, many citizens have started to question who is Dubrovnik's cultural heritage for; what is the purpose of restoring the walled centre if the centre and its restored buildings will not be used by its residents? By focusing on restoring 'facades', but largely overlooking how the structures, buildings and monuments' feature in the inhabitants' lives, or what they will mean to future generations, Dubrovnik's cultural heritage is at risk of becoming 'fossilised' and 'museumified'. Dubrovnik's heritage is about much more than a desire to restore 'authentically' the architecture of idealised epochs. It also embodies the conflicts of Croatia's history and a craving for ethnic and cultural separation. It also embodies Dubrovnikans' desired spatial reorientations and their attempts to recreate centrality within the parameters of the new nation-state and Europe. Importantly, it embodies the desire to recreate stability and reshape an image of Dubrovnik as a peaceful and 'cultured' city, in a region marked by a

[127] https://whc.unesco.org/en/107/.

turbulent history. In Dubrovnik, as I will explore in the next chapter, the past still weighs heavily on the present.

5. *The Past in the Present*

Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, UNESCO's aims of fostering lasting peace, inter-cultural tolerance and mutual respect among countries for each other's heritage, are frequently overridden by nation-states' exploitation of heritage protection for political, national and economic ends. Croatia – and Dubrovnik, in particular – have assumed a particular active role in obtaining Intangible Cultural Heritage enlistments and promoting these internationally. In the post-war period, different agents have drawn upon 'tangible' and 'intangible' heritage in order to consolidate post-war identities and reposition Croatia internationally. This illustrates the continued potency of historical discourses in affecting present-day cultural, political and economic relations. These discourses have their roots in historical practices and structures stretching back many centuries, long predating Dubrovnik's World Heritage UNESCO inscription.

This chapter provides ethnographic insights into how Dubrovnikans use regional cultural and political history in the present and how selected pasts provide the foundations for post-war local and national identity constructions. I discuss how historical processes are mythologized and drawn on in attempts to forge local distinctness and nationhood, crystallizing notions of ethnic and cultural boundedness and separation from the rest of the Balkans.

The first part of this chapter provides a background to how Dubrovnikans use the cultural and political history of the Dubrovnik Republic (*Dubrovačka Republika*, 1358-1808) in contemporary local identity discourse. The history of Dubrovnik Republic marks the city as an exception in Croatian history. Despite being small in size and population, the historic republic managed to maintain relative autonomy for 450 years. In contrast, various surrounding empires conquered and re-conquered most other areas, which today comprise Croatia in this period. The Dubrovnik Republic provides one of the main pillars for Dubrovnikans to build contemporary public identity as well as the citizens' sense of distinctiveness. However, representations of the Dubrovnik Republic are also integral to post-war constructions of nationhood, where Dubrovnik acts as a historic beacon and 'bridge' for Croatians to demonstrate their cultural and political belonging to Western Europe. Moreover, in the context of the political instability of the Balkan region, the Republic is used to emphasize political stability and its much vaunted diplomacy portrayed as a uniquely Croatian historical virtue. These functions of Dubrovnik's history and the city's place within national

identity discourse became more pronounced after the turn of the century as Croatia's EU negotiations, which began in 2005, approached.

The second part of this chapter presents historical processes and events of the 20th century, which helped to forge a sense of shared national identity. Croatian nationhood rests on certain presumptions, which have both spatial and temporal underpinnings.

Ideologically motivated constructions of memory and a selective foregrounding or suppressing of certain 20th century processes and events, played an important role in moulding the population's sense of distinctiveness from the former Yugoslavia. Yet, the diversity of memories and experiences of the recent past also represents a major source of contemporary contestation and dissonance within Croatia.

Connectivity and Autonomy – The Dubrovnik Republic (*Ragusa*)

The disparate cultural and historic influences in Croatia's different regions and cities have led to a diversity of identity discourses. Nationally, the history of the medieval Kingdom of Croatia (*Kraljevina Hrvatska, 924-1102*), has provided one of the main sources of national identity discourses and statehood consolidation in post-independence Croatia. The Kingdom of Croatia has been heralded in national symbolism to demonstrate the perceived continuity and boundedness of the *Croat* people (Mønnesland, 2006). In Dubrovnik-Neretva county (*Dubrovačko-neretvanska županija*), the relatively separate history of the city-state of *Ragusa* (referred to with the Slavic derivative term, *Dubrovnik Republic* in later history[128]), has been important in creating a distinct cultural identity, separating the County of Dubrovnik-Neretva from the rest of Croatia. The Dubrovnik Republic's long-standing autonomy over four and a half centuries (1358-1808) and its historic connections with the Mediterranean region through commerce, diplomacy and mutual cultural influences, helps explain the continued potency of the Dubrovnik Republic's cultural and political symbolism in identity constructions ever since its abolition by Napoleon in 1808.

The Latin and Slavic Foundation Myths

The foundations of *Ragusa*, are, to an extent, clouded in myth. Its origin stories have been actively used throughout different historical epochs to create a distinct sense of cultural and

[128] Communitas Ragusina (Ragusan municipality/community) was renamed Respublica Ragusina (Ragusa) in the 14th century. Dubrovačka Republika (Dubrovnik Republic) is a Slavic derivative term used after Ragusa was renamed Dubrovnik in 1918, when it became part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Harris, 2003).

political identity. In recent history the origin stories have been intent on ‘proving’ Dubrovnik’s ethnic descent from a Mediterranean and 'Romanized civilization', as opposed to a Balkan and Slavic one. Archaeological excavations and the overwhelming number of historical texts found in Dubrovnik's historical archives[129] provide a relatively good account of how the citizens of the Republic lived and organized their society. However, knowledge of the establishment of Ragusa and of the origins of the first people to settle in the region, is less plentiful and remains shrouded in mythologization (Harris 2003). The cultural and ethnic backgrounds of the ‘original’ inhabitants of the Dubrovnik region have been the subject of great controversy over centuries (ibid.). Two influential foundation theories of Ragusa, the *Slavic* and *Latin* foundation stories (see below), have dominated Croatian, and to a certain extent also Serbian, historical scholarships. Recent archaeological excavations indicate that the site of contemporary Dubrovnik and its surroundings was populated gradually and continuously by many different peoples, who most likely assimilated over time (Harris, 2003). Despite newer archaeological evidence, which disproves the validity and highlights the mythical character of the historical distinctness of Dubrovnik’s ethnic groups, these theories still have resonance in cultural and political discourse. They are reproduced in popular culture and frequently recorded as facts in school curricula and tourist pamphlets.

In different historical periods scholars have emphasized either the Roman/Latin or the Slavic aspects of its population’s ethnic origins and cultural background depending on the outlook and intentions of each epoch. In post-war Dubrovnik, the need to emphasize the city’s separation and distinctness from the Balkan region has been prominent. The Latin foundation myth has been central to these pursuits. In the nation-state’s attempts to shed its historical belonging to the Balkan region in the post-war period, the Latin foundation myth has gained renewed attention and it complements the story of the medieval Kingdom of Croatia as evidence of ‘the 1,000 year old dream’ of Croatian nationhood[130].

The emphasis on the *Latin* and *Slavic* origin stories were used as emotional ammunition on both Croatian and Serbian sides during the 1990s Balkan wars, and are crucially important to explore in order to fully understand the role of history and mythologization in identity and nation making. The *Latin* and *Slavic* foundation myths both emphasize certain transformative

[129] Dubrovnik’s historical state archives (*Državni Arhiv u Dubrovniku*) comprises around 7,000 volumes of documents and over 100,000 *seperata* (Harris, 2003).
[130] This term was particularly advocated by Croatia’s first president, Franjo Tuđman, in order to gain support for Croatia’s national independence. Further discussion of this term is provided later in this chapter.

historical events as leading to the birth of Ragusa. Their focus is contrary to the idea of a gradual and complex population influx into the area, which is the most likely occurrence. The *Latin foundation myth* builds on the writings of the 10th century Byzantine Emperor, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, specifically on the document, *De Administrando Imperio* (written between 948-952). According to this theory, the origins of Ragusa can be traced to the ancient Greek colony, *Epidauros* (Greek), which was founded in the 6th century BC. Under Roman rule Epidauros became part of the Roman province, Illyricum, and was renamed *Epidaurum* (Latin) in 228 BC (Harris, 2003). The settlement of Epidaurum conforms to the location of present-day Cavtat, 15 km south of Dubrovnik. According to Porphyrogenitus' text, *Epidaurum* underwent a sudden attack and mass destruction by Slavic peoples in the early 7th century AD. The text describes the population's mass exodus following this destruction and adds that the refugees travelled further up the Adriatic coast and resettled at *Chastel Lave*. This is the cliff where Ragusa was to become established[131]. There is some historic foundation to support the idea that, following major invasion and destruction of Epidaurum, large numbers of its citizens did indeed settle on *Chastel Lave*, in order to find more secure shelter. Ragusa was the only Dalmatian city which faced directly onto the Adriatic Sea. Moreover, Chastel Lave's levitated position above the sea gave its inhabitants an early warning system against sea invasions. Many historians think these were factors which sustained Ragusa's autonomy. While the Latin foundation myth places great emphasis on the migration from Epidaurum to Chastel Lave as a single, transformative event, Harris (2006) importantly points out that it should be viewed only as one *"particularly dramatic episode in a more protracted series of events"* (Harris, 2003:25). In 2008, a historian, Živković (Harris 2003), launched a new theory that *Chastel Lave* already had a sizable population by the time people from *Epidaurum* settled there. His argument is based on recent archaeological excavations of, amongst other sites, an 8th century Byzantine basilica, whose large size suggests that the population must have been more substantial and dating back further than originally thought. Partly due to the desire to envisage Dubrovnik's origins as ethnically 'pure' and culturally grounded in a Latinized, and not Slavisized derivation, Živković's theories have not, at least so far, changed the predominance of the Latin origin myth in Dubrovnik.

[131] In *De Administrando Imperio*, Porphyrogenitus states that it was largely Slavic groups who invaded and destroyed *Epidaurum*, but he also occasionally attributes its destruction to the Turkic *Avars*. It is likely that he did not consider these to be distinctly different peoples (Harris, 2003).

According to (Kunčević 2012), the Latin foundation myth is not on its own sufficient to explain the population structure and cultural character of late medieval Ragusan society. How is one, for instance, to explain the apparent gap between the allegedly 'noble' Romanized past and the clearly visible Slavic character of their contemporary culture? This disparity, an uncomfortable reality for Ragusa's patriciates (ibid.), has been explained in various ways, which to varying degrees emphasize the Slavic or Latin elements of Ragusan society and its origins.

The *Slavic foundation myth* posits an 'intermarriage' of a Slavic and Roman past through combining Emperor Porphyrogenitus' account of the relationship between *Epidaurus* and the establishment of Ragusa with an account by an anonymous Ragusan chronicler (which is most likely fictional). This chronicler depicts Ragusa's Slavic origins (Harris 2003).

According to the Slavic foundation myth[132], Radoslav the White, the King of Bosnia, was overthrown by his son, Berislav, in 458. Radoslav immigrated to Rome, where he took a native wife and established a new family. In 524, King Berislav of Bosnia died without a successor. Radoslav the White's grandson, who bore the same name as his grandfather, was asked by Bosnian ambassadors to travel back with them to become the new Bosnian king. According to the anonymous Ragusan chronicler, Radoslav the White accepted the appeal and travelled to the East-Adriatic, laden with a lot of Roman treasure and relics. He allegedly had a castle built on the south facing cliffs of *Chastel Lave*, the exact spot where Ragusa later developed. The Slavic foundation myth celebrates this event as the 'real' birth of Ragusa (Harris, 2003).

Language played an important role in perpetuating perceptions of Ragusa's Roman origins, its continued cultural influence, and perhaps most of all in distinguishing the patriciates as elites. The population of early Medieval Ragusan society spoke *Ragusan Romance*[133], a type of Romance language which stems from the ancient Romanized population of Dalmatia (Kunčević, 2012). However, due to incessant immigration by Slavic peoples of the Balkan hinterland, as well as several crippling plagues and epidemics which killed off large numbers of its inhabitants and considerably changed the composition of the population, Slavic became the dominant language around the 14th century. Until the late 15th century, Ragusan Romance

[132] The account of Radoslav the White's establishment of what was to become Ragusa is based on the writings of an anonymous Ragusan chronicler, and is treated as substantially mythical by contemporary scholars (Harris, 2003).

[133] *Ragusan Romance* is also referred to as *Lingua Ragusea* or *Latina Ragusea.*

continued mainly as the official language of the patrician administrative elite, alongside Latin and Italian. By the close of the 15th century, however, Ragusan Romance had become merely a relic from the past, and was used primarily in court proceedings (ibid.). Although Slavic had been the mother tongue among Ragusan elites for many generations, Ragusan patriciates sought to legitimize their position as separate from the commoners by representing themselves as a "Roman elite in a Slavic city" (Kunčević, 2012:60). Increasingly, however:

> *A strong sense of belonging to a linguistically and culturally defined community of "Slavs", "Illyrians" or "Croats" emerged in the city's vernacular poetry and historiography, both under the patriciate's aegis" (Kunčević, 2012:60).*

Central to this early tendency of *Ragusan Baroque Panslavism* (Kunčević 2012, Biondich and Zlatar 1993), was the Slavic foundation myth depicting the story of Radoslav the White.

Attempts to create a correspondence between preferred Latin or Slavic cultural origins and language is strongly evident in post-war Balkans, where the new nation-states have engineered a nationalization and separation of language. Large parts of the Western-Balkans share a language area, wherein local dialects overlap state and ethnic borders. However, the young, post-war nation-states have attempted to pull apart and re-describe the various dialects as ethnic languages and have attempted to confine these within the state borders. As such, cultural and political borders are forged not only through religion, but importantly also through the uprooting and relocation of language to correspond to the new state borders.

The emphasis placed on the Latin origins of Dubrovnik and Croatia, and the subsequent denial of its Slavic origins, has been central in cultural discourses of selfhood and otherness since Croatia's independence. The Latin origin myth was used to justify the feeling that Dubrovnik, and at length Croatia, has always remained integrally different from its Balkan neighbours – as a Western-European, Catholic and 'naturally' autonomous society.

In the 1990s, the Slavic foundation myth was reinterpreted by Serbian nationalists to nurture a perception of Dubrovnik's 'original' and 'true' identity as Serbian. This perception was based on the story of Radoslav the White as the 'true' founder of Ragusa. This line of reasoning rested on the heavily ideological perception that since Radoslav the White was a Slavic king and that 'true' Slavs are Serbs, Ragusa was consequently a Serbian city. Language was additionally used as an indication of Dubrovnik's allegedly Slavic and Serbian origins. Although Latin remained the official language until the end of the Renaissance, the majority

of its inhabitants spoke a Slavic-derived local dialect known as *štokavski (Shtokavian)*. Different sub-dialects deriving from *štokavski* are today still spoken in Dalmatia and large parts of Croatia, as well as in Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro (Kunčević, 2012).

The perception of Dubrovnik as originally being a Slavic, 'Serbian' city played a part in justifying the Serbian-Montenegrin army's siege on Dubrovnik in 1991. Serbian nationalists saw it as their 'right' and duty to free the Serbian population in Croatia from the *"fascist Croatians"*[134], and to reclaim Dubrovnik as a 'true' Serbian city. The more pressing motivations behind the attacks, such as the large monetary benefits of the city's tourism potential and the strategic and monetary benefits of its coastline and access to international waters were largely hidden from Serbia's domestic population (Mønnesland 2006).

Libertas

One of the central themes found in the writings of Ragusan chroniclers is the concept of *libertas* (liberty, freedom)[135]. The disproportionate attention given to the topic of the Republic's freedom and independence stems from particular historical circumstances, which mark Ragusa out as distinct from republics of that period across the Adriatic Sea, otherwise relatively similar in socio-political structure (Kunčević, 2012). The continuous threat to Ragusa's autonomy by near-lying empires and shifting power-structures had a substantial influence on its political ideologies, practices and civic culture. Historical documents from other Mediterranean republics, such as Florence; show that republicanism was of paramount importance in the medieval Italian context due to widespread civil hostility, social instability and elite factionalism. Such themes were frequently explored in Florentine Renaissance documents (ibid.). In Ragusan historical texts, by contrast, there is little focus on assessing institutional forms of governance, as threats to republicanism itself were scarce (ibid.). A much more potent issue, similarly stressed in the identity discourses of modern Dubrovnik, is the vulnerability of the very foundation on which *libertas* rests. Given its intermediate position between large power-structures and between very different cultural traditions and religions, the citizens of Ragusa thought of their city as constituting a *'frontier'* (ibid.). The

[134] Serbian military and political war propaganda in the 1990s fostered a perception of the Croats as still being 'fascists', as Croatia aligned with Nazi-Germany and Italy in the Second World War. This type of argumentation is still perpetuated in Balkan nationalistic internet forums and blogs.
[135] Different versions of the term connoting both freedom and independence have been applied throughout Dubrovnik's history. Amongst the most commonly used terms are; *libertas (Latin), libertá (Italian), sloboda (Slavic/Croatian).* Interestingly, the Latinate term, *libertas*, is nearly exclusively used in modern Dubrovnik when alluding to the long-lasting 'virtues' of the society and its perceived heritage from the Dubrovnik Republic.

frontier was conceptualized in religious, cultural and political terms. Ragusa's citizens envisaged themselves as 'heroic' defenders of the fringes of Catholic religion, Western-European culture and thought, against the Ottoman Empire and the 'hostile territories' of the Balkan hinterland. Ragusan historical documents reveal how the city attempted to procure a central place in the eyes of Rome as a defender of Catholicism against the expansion of Orthodox religion and Islam in the Balkan hinterland (ibid.).

In both domestic political discourse and Croatian historiography, the concept of *libertas* is widely regarded as one of the key formative concepts to have shaped society, its political and communal thought and the philosophical framework throughout Dubrovnik's history. It is celebrated locally as an unbroken and continued legacy from the historic Republic and is heralded as a central 'intangible heritage' to Dubrovnikans. The concept has served to create a sense of selfhood and uniqueness of the city and its people, not only as an opposition to the perceived otherness of the Balkans, but also as a way of highlighting how Dubrovnik was different from other Dalmatian city-states which were repeatedly incorporated into other empires. However, although this deep-seated historical concept has continued relevance in modern Dubrovnik, it's important to remember that the past and concepts from 'the past' are malleable constructs (Bond and Gilliam 1994). As I discuss in more detail later in the thesis, the utilization of libertas is intimately linked to present-day interpretations of the distant and near past and to contemporary socio-cultural conditions and power relationships. These relate particularly to the former Yugoslavia and to the conditions of Croatia's recent EU membership.

Mercantile Activity and Diplomacy

Historical documents stored in the State Archives of Dubrovnik indicate that Dubrovnik Republic's position at the fringes of Western civilization and Catholicism was particularly influential in the Republic's self-representations (Kunčević 2012). However, there no evidence that the Republic's intermediate position led to a strategy of forging its own cultural borders through separation. In fact, the borderland position can be seen as one of the keys to its connectivity, longevity and relative success as a mercantile republic. Its geographically intermediate position between the Adriatic Sea and the Balkan hinterland provided the Republic with a unique opportunity to develop a central role in both maritime and continental trade. Moreover, active engagement in international trade placed the Republic in an important

position as a mediator and negotiator between groups of people situated in very different cultural and political milieus.

The Dubrovnik Republic developed a large trade network in the Balkan hinterland, as well as the Western and Eastern parts of the Mediterranean. Historians tend to divide the development of the Republic's international trade into three epochs (Havrylyshyn and Srzentic 2013). The period up to the 11th century can be seen as a foundational period in the Republic's international trade, and its economy was mainly focused on fishing, agriculture and some ship-building (ibid.).

From very early on Ragusan farmers established contact with the cultures of the Balkan hinterland through expanding agriculture into territories claimed by Slavic lords. To cultivate the areas of Rijeka Dubrovačka, Zaton, Poljice, Župa Dubrovačka and Šumet a tributary fee, called *mogoriš*, had to be paid to Serb rulers of Hum and Trebinje (Harris 2003). Territorial disputes between Ragusa and Slavic rulers of the hinterland were nevertheless frequent occurrences, and repeatedly led to military conflicts and disrupted trade. However, a mutual interdependence on trade increasingly stimulated co-operation. In particular, the Republic's role as one of the main providers of salt to the Balkan hinterland placed it in a beneficial position. Similarly, as Bosnian and Serbian mining grew, it placed the hinterland in an advantageous position as one of the major exporters of precious metals (ibid.).

Havrylyshyn and Srzentic (2013) designate the quarter of a century between 1100 and 1350 as a 'silver period' for Ragusan trade. One can see a clear growth in its economy from the 13th century onwards as Bosnian and Serbian mines were established and Ragusa became involved in minerals trade with the Balkan hinterland (ibid.). Ragusa soon obtained an important role as a major East-Adriatic seaport and access point in medieval trade routes between Bosnia and Serbia and the western Mediterranean. From 1350-1575, Ragusan expansion in maritime and continental trade reached its zenith. This period is widely acknowledged as the Republic's 'golden years', not just in economic terms, but also in terms of its cultural production and political position (ibid.).

It was precisely the Dubrovnik Republic's intermediate mercantile, cultural and political position between various empires such as the Venetian, Habsburg, Austrian-Hungarian and Ottoman, which could be used to its advantage. By mediating between the larger power structures, the Republic simultaneously attempted to place itself at the centre of political affairs. By developing a sophisticated system of diplomacy, the Republic's merchants and

diplomats fulfilled an important and much needed function by being able to negotiate and act as conciliators between societies of very different religions and cultures (Dedijer 2002). As a small, but influential and prosperous republic, the Dubrovnik Republic took great pains to appear politically neutral. Over four and a half centuries of relative autonomy, it developed a large institutionalized diplomacy, and delegates from Dubrovnik Republic would often undertake 'ears and eyes' espionage on the behalf of the competing empires (ibid.). In 1250, the Republic established its first consulates in Brskovo, Italy. By 1589, the numbers of councils tied to the Republic had risen to 44 in Italy, three in Spain and one in France. Around 1780 the total number of councils amounted to 70 and stretched from Lisbon on the Atlantic Ocean to Odessa by the Black Sea (ibid.) According to Achmetović (2008)[136], by the second half of the 18th Century, the Dubrovnik Republic had over 180 consulates and vice-consulates. As a small republic surrounded by several large empires, this achievement is indeed noteworthy. In Dubrovnik's post-war context, this well-established historical international diplomacy, mercantile and cultural relations became symbolically potent in contemporary local self-representations – a way of reasserting the status of the city as an international centre and not a national periphery.

The Republic took careful measures to sustain peaceful relations with the near-lying empires and its active diplomacy was central to its long-lasting autonomy. However, the Dubrovnik Republic's autonomy was only relative, as it paid tributary to several empires to maintain its freedom. According to some French visitors to Dubrovnik in 1658, the Dubrovnik Republic was known regionally as *'the Ragusans of the sette bandiere* (seven flags)', as it paid tributary to seven external rulers (Harris 2003). From 1458, the Dubrovnik Republic came under Ottoman suzerainty and paid annual tributary of 12,000 ducats in order to maintain its autonomy (Dedijer 2002). This is a well-known historical fact, but the Republic's historical connection to, and dependency on, the Ottoman Empire in sustaining its autonomy represents an uncomfortable truth to many Dubrovnikans and is thus often under-communicated in contemporary public discourse.

[136] Achmetović, S. (2008). *Curiosities of Dubrovnik from the Past two Millennia*. Dubrovnik (self published, limited edition).

Twilight Years

Dubrovnik is located in an area of periodically strong seismic activity and the city has been subjected to several earthquakes in its history[137]. On the 6th of April 1667, Dubrovnik experienced the largest earthquake in its history, estimated to have measured magnitude 10 on the Richter scale[138]. This particularly destructive earthquake destroyed around half of the city's buildings. Estimates done by contemporary historians see it as likely that around 2,000 out of Dubrovnik city's 6,000 inhabitants were killed in the earthquake, and most likely an additional 1,000 inhabitants from the rest of the Republic's territory lost their lives. Dubrovnik had also recently been hit hard by several epidemics and plagues and the population also underwent heavy depopulation due to emigration during the seventeenth century. In the first part of the sixteenth century it is estimated that the entire population of Dubrovnik Republic amounted to around 50,000 inhabitants. By 1673-4, the population had fallen significantly to around 26,000 inhabitants (Vekarić 1998). The 1667 earthquake is often considered the 'beginning of the end' for Dubrovnik Republic (Harris 2003). The Republic did not cease to exist until it was abolished by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1808 and incorporated into the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy. However, these cumulative factors meant that Dubrovnik Republic never managed to fully recover its formerly strong position as a mercantile republic.

Constructing Croatianness in a Post-war Context

Croatian history is compound and diverse, to the point of being fragmented, but remains effectively bounded. In post-war Croatia, representations of the past and derivation discourses have been important in shaping notions of autochthonous belonging. They have served the ideological functions of foregrounding Croatia's cultural and ethnic distinctiveness and the separation of the *Croat* group within the Balkan region. At the same time, representations of selected pasts in post-war identity discourse have been used to reinforce cultural-historic continuity with Western Europe and the Mediterranean and a sense of territorial belonging with those regions. This spatial orientation is, to a large extent, driven by Croatia's desire to detach itself from the Balkans and from its recent past within the former Yugoslavia.

[137] Dubrovnik is situated in a particularly seismic active area, on the 10th degree on the 'Mercalli intensity scale'. In Croatia, the Dubrovnik region is the area most vulnerable to earthquakes.
[138] The United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (http://www.unisdr.org/files/25027_19mar2012vlahusiccemerinppt.pdf).

By propagating the idea of the cultural distinctiveness of the 'Croat people', ideas of a correlation between ethnicity and natural territorial boundedness, a sense of having, at least in part, a shared history, with an (imagined) historical continuity as 'a group' are propagated (Eriksen 2002, Anderson 2004 [1983]). Croatianness is forged through cultural practices, perceived transformative events, and sustained through, amongst other things, selective public memory, national symbols and rituals. Nationhood therefore becomes naturalized over time. Nationhood, indeed, rests on 'imagined communities' (Anderson 2004 [1983]) and their boundaries thus reflect the imagined *walls in our minds*.

Croatian nationhood is essentially still a young construction. The territory comprising contemporary Croatia is, historically, a highly diverse patchwork of different regional and local cultures each with a strong sense of identity linked to particular regional ethnographies and historical processes (Mønnesland 2006, Lampe 2000). However, the recent war had a transformative effect. Due to the collective experiences of conflict and trauma, strong nationalist political propaganda and censorship during the 1990s and the refocusing of historically embedded myths in the post-war years, Croatian nationhood has, to a large extent, become naturalized as possessing a long temporal continuity. Although Dubrovnikans' display a strong affiliation with Croatia, many citizens of the city – as my ethnography illustrates – still regard themselves as culturally distinct in a national context. And they feel deeply ambivalent about the ways in which the city's cultural heritage and history is used in nationhood consolidation.

Croatia's post-war period can be divided into two relatively distinct periods: the 1990s and the period since the turn of the new millennium – each of which have had particular effects on the production of nationhood. National identity constructions in the 1990s were strongly conditioned by the leadership of Franjo Tuđman (1990-1999), which was intent on actively fuelling a nationalism founded on Croat ethnicity and Catholicism. Tuđman attempted to weave a seamless narrative of the historic continuity of Croatian nationhood, with particular reverence for the 'Golden Era' in the Medieval Kingdom of Croatia (*Kraljevina Hrvatska*, 924-1102). Aspects of the past were reified while aspects which did not fit with perceptions of continuity and boundedness were purposefully omitted.

Under Tuđman, a heavy media censorship reigned and nationalistic propaganda infiltrated most areas of society – in the media, religious institutions, politics, education, academia, and

popular culture. Backed by his nationalistic centre-right political party, HDZ[139], Tuđman embarked on a mission of national homogenization by privileging citizens of Catholic Croat descent, both within the territory of the new nation-state and beyond. Tuđman is still widely celebrated as a national hero; as *"the father of Croatian democracy"* (Belaj and Alempijevic 2014), by many Croatians, particularly by HDZ supporters. However, to many others, anything resembling the nationalistic politics and censorship of the Tuđman era has strong, negative connotations and represents the antithesis of what modern Croatia should strive towards.

'Reunification' with Western Europe

One of the strongest elements in the construction of post-war nationhood is the idea that Croatian independence realized the long-desired departure from being a part of the Balkans and facilitated an eventual re-unification with Western-Europe. The idea of Croats as culturally and historically connected with Western Europe and the Mediterranean, rather than the Balkans is a historically embedded theme in identity constructions, but in the 1990s it became a major element in consolidating nationhood, which was reinterpreted through the lens of the recent experiences of Yugoslavian rule and the war (Kameda 2010). In the process of constructing an image of Croatia as being a Western European, as opposed to a Balkan, country, social and cultural memory has deliberately been manipulated by *"eliminating the heritage of Communism era, the tragedy of the independence war, and the history of Yugoslavia"* (Kameda, 2010:105).

National identity constructions in the 1990s were fixed upon demarcating Croatia's boundaries and differences with the other nation-states that were formerly part of Yugoslavia. Tuđman made the idea of Croatia belonging to Western Europe into a main political discourse and the Yugoslavian past was merely seen as a parenthesis obscuring Croatia's 'true' European cultural and political belonging. While the symbolism of Western Europe was important in forging nationhood, Croatia's actual political cooperation internationally was halted throughout the 1990s due to Tuđman's outright opposition to Croatia cooperating with

[139] Under the presidency of Franjo Tuđman, HDZ (Hrvatska demokratska zajednica - Croatian Democratic Union) was the ruling party after Croatian independence and until Tuđman's death in 1999. HDZ's politically conservative and extreme nationalistic line were central in fueling and sustaining the 'hot nationalism' of this period. Before the national election in 2003, the HDZ reformed its political line, and has since then been a moderately nationalistic, centre-right, pro-EU party (Jovic 2009).

the other former Yugoslavian nation-states (an approach the EEC thought important in order to achieve lasting stability and stimulate Croatia's European integration).

Throughout the 1990s, the national school curriculum was marked by literature conveying nationalistic ideology to the pupils (Najbar-Agičić and Agičić 2006). This has lessened somewhat in the 2000s, but elements of nationalistic contents are still present, especially in history books. This was reflected in discussions with Juraj, who works as a history teacher in one of Dubrovnik's secondary schools. Throughout the years he has worked as a history teacher, he has reoccurringly encountered conflicts of interests and tensions between the national education curriculum and the teachers and pupils' personal perceptions of history. This has especially been the case when it comes to dealing with recent history, which he sees as unfortunately being written from the 'Croats' point of view'. Juraj thinks that the way the history of the former Yugoslavia and the recent war are dealt with in history books still convey clear nationalistic content. He sees it as problematic that Dubrovnik's ethnic minority groups are placed on the sideline of Croatia's history, despite the historical presence of a multi-ethnic population in the region. Ideological content is, according to Juraj, not only found in the representations of recent past, but also is also evident in how distant historical events and relations are depicted. In particular, the discourse of Croats as historically separate from the other South-Slavic groups feature in history books on the curriculum. The discourse of Croat's ability to remain 'autonomous', even under the rule of foreign empires, is a recurring theme throughout representations of different historical periods. This, he argues, is used to naturalize Croatia's autonomy from the former Yugoslavia through the historical precedence Croats have always constituted an 'autonomous people':

> *There's a kind of 'theory' that through all our state combinations, with Hungarians, Austrians, Hapsburgs, Austro-Hungarians, we still kept our rights to have our own state. [According to this view, this 'right'] existed in the institutions of parliament, institutions of privileges of nobility, [by having a] separate tax system, a separate army…then based on historical right, not national right, you 'earn' a right to have a state.*

Juraj's reflections on how selected history is used to consolidate the contemporary Croatian nation-state resonates with academic literature on national school curriculum in the post-Yugoslavian nation-states. Najbar-Agičić (2007) argues that history curriculum in the former

Yugoslavia and Croatia's post-independence curriculum have been heavily dominated by political history. In contrast, social, cultural and minority history has been ignored.

Since the turn of the millennium, nationhood has, to an increasing degree, been constructed in relation to Western Europe. The desire to shape its cultural and political borders ('the walls') against the other nation-states part of the former Yugoslavia have been supplemented by the increased need to construct a 'bridge' to western Europe. The propaganda and censorship of the 1990s has lessened and there have been increasing signs of an 'opening-up' of Croatian society. This has taken the form of democratization, political reform, better relations towards Western Europe, and a re-establishment of relations with the Balkan nations. The 'hot nationalism' (Ignatieff 2010 [1993]) and the strong focus on ethnicity, Catholicism and autochthony in the 1990s has lessened in the 2000s and identity constructions have, to a large extent, re-focused towards democratization, inclusiveness and cosmopolitanism. These 'ideals' harmonize with Dubrovnikans' self-realization of its 'completion' as a modern, European nation, and its desired disentanglement from being perceived as a Balkan nation. However, many recent global processes, such as the 2008 global economic crisis from which Croatia has not fully recovered, threats of international terrorism, and the influx of migrants and refugees coming to, or passing through, the Balkans, have strengthened the sense of vulnerability and of constituting a borderland and crossroads in Dubrovnik. These developments have heightened the focus on cultural boundaries in identity discourse and a wish to safeguard cultural heritage and traditions. As in many other parts of Europe, one can witness that right-wing nationalist politics is on the rebound, although large segments of the population are still intent on the country's path in achieving democratization and cosmopolitanism. However, many Dubrovnikans experience a strong sense of ambivalence towards post-war nationhood – both wishing for Croatia to foster inclusivity and tolerance, yet also feeling the need to protect the nation's boundaries and foster its distinctiveness. An emphasis on democracy, political stability, civicism and international trade and cooperation has become more prominent in public discourse in order to realize Croatia's 'fully European' character. The desire for EU membership has undoubtedly been one of the main driving forces towards these changes. Whether they will, over time, influence cultural perceptions, is not yet possible to gauge. Religion has been, and continues to be, instrumental in forming notions of Dubrovnik as a vulnerable borderland and in reinforcing the conceptual 'walls' or boundaries against the Balkans and a source of affiliation with Western Europe (jfr. the myth of the *antemurale christianitatis* – see discussion below). The construction of Croatian post-

independence national identity rests heavily on the importance of Catholicism as a lever to shape its selfhood as a young nation and to distinguish its 'non-Balkan' character. Catholicism creates a bridge with 'the West', marking Croatia out from 'the East', especially the Orthodox or Muslim elements of 'Balkan culture'. However, Catholicism also sometimes comes into conflict with contemporary rights-based approaches originating in Western Europe, a geographical region and 'civilization' which Croatians have for so long wanted to be part of. As time has elapsed since the war, many of my Dubrovnikan informants have observed an increasing gap between their experiences and recent memories and the idealization of Croatia's national independence in public discourses. The residue of the formerly nationalistic discourse in Croatia is today rejected or experienced as conflicted by many of my informants. The need to still assert national and cultural boundaries and distinctiveness, while at the same time fostering 'European integration' in the EU and encouraging inclusivity in tourism and heritage is often approached with uncertainty and ambivalence.

The prominent discourse of 'returning to Europe' has continued to dominate both national and Dubrovnikan political and cultural spheres, and was especially boosted by the drive for EU membership. In debates leading up to Croatia's EU referendum in January 2012, spokespeople in favour of EU-membership frequently utilized the rhetoric of 'returning to Europe' in an attempt to persuade Eurosceptics that EU membership will eventually enable Croatia to reclaim its 'original' cultural traditions of being part of 'European civilization'. Implicit in this narrative is an attempt to distance Croatia from the Balkans and the Yugoslavian past – the parts of history most Croatians find uncomfortable.

The *symbolic* role of Dubrovnik's cultural and political heritage is central to the post-war construction of Croatia as free and peaceful and in proving 'Croatia's' centrality to Western-European cultural-historic developments. Dubrovnik's 'tangible' and political heritage have played an important part both in the construction of Croatian self-perceptions and the country's political and cultural positioning within Western-Europe. They have been central to Croatia's post-war international relations, making their presence felt in a large number of areas, such as negotiations with the EU, in convincing international investors and donors of Croatia's political stability and democratic course and in re-attracting tourists in the aftermath of war.

However, following Croatia's independence, Dubrovnik has become increasingly *politically* and *culturally* peripheral nationally. The apparent gap between Dubrovnik's peripheral position in Croatian politics and the city's symbolic centrality in the construction of nationhood and international relations, represents a source of dissatisfaction for Dubrovnikans. They feel that the city's cultural heritage is exploited for its symbolism, yet the city's development is politically under-prioritized.

Marginality and Fragility

Croatia's geographical position at the crossroads of the Mediterranean, Central Europe and interior Balkans has contributed towards creating a patchwork of diverse, yet interconnected cultural histories and traditions. Different geo-political and cultural-historical processes, topographical and climatic conditions across Croatia have helped establish markedly different regional cultures. At the same time, the Croatian territory's *borderland* position and the sense of constituting a cultural, religious and civilizational *frontier* throughout history have given form to identity constructions throughout most of the nation (Tanner 2001).

As my ethnography illustrates, this sense of marginality and fragility is particularly apparent in the southern parts of Croatia; in Dubrovnik and increasingly so further south in Konavle, as the Croatian territory gets steadily narrower. The perception of marginality and fragility is not just founded on imagined constructions, but is intimately connected with real, historical events and changing geo-political relations throughout history.

Dubrovnikans' cultural identity has historically been shaped as a pendulum swinging between the perceived influences of Latin and Slavic cultural elements. However, cultural and ethnic borders, central to the production of heritage and the roles it fulfils, are not only determined by discourses on the enduring legacy of the Dubrovnik Republic or mythical depictions of autochthony. The complexities of contemporary identity politics cannot be fully grasped without understanding how certain more recent historical processes – especially those of the Second World War, Yugoslavia, and the 1990s Balkan wars – have complicated and aggravated the question of identity in the region. The experiences of war have intensified the desire of Dubrovnikans to embed their city as belonging to Western Europe and the Mediterranean, to dislodge its belonging to the Balkans and expunge its shared history of *Jugo-slav* (South-Slavic) unification. The parameters of Croatianness, and how Dubrovnikans relate to nationhood, have shifted over time and relate closely to the experiences of political turmoil throughout the 20th century.

The Myth of the 'Antemurale Christianitatis'

The consolidation of nationhood in the post-war period has drawn on several myths or beliefs, which were moulded according to national political interests and the cultural circumstances which the new nation-state found itself in. Historically, Croatia was seen as a 'bulwark of Christianity' (*antemurale christianitatis),* a borderland nation on the frontier of the Christian West (Kolstø 2005, Žanić 2005). Another significant myth that formed part of Croatian nationhood was that the Croats were ethnically separate from the other South-Slavic groups. These myths were buttressed with the belief, justified or otherwise, that Croats were the perpetual victims in war and conflicts across the centuries (Kolstø 2005).

The myth of being an *antemurale christianitatis*, a kind of 'wall' or 'bulwark' in defence of Christianity, is a particularly potent symbol in Croatian imagery and mythology[140], which first emerged over 500 years ago (Žanić 2005). However, the sources of the perceived threat have changed over the course of history. The concerns and perceived threats are shaped by each historical present and *"… every time the changeable constellations of power and interest encourage the creation or the redefinition of collective identities"* (Žanić 2005:76). However, despite the changing points of reference throughout Croatia's history as to what the *antemurale* stands in defence of, the metaphor of the wall has held and will most likely continue to embody an effective symbol in this borderland region's self-perceptions:

> *The murus, or wall, is … the ultimate boundary metaphor, the last line of defence of cosmos or order, against the forces of chaos or disorder. The antemurale myth, then, stresses not only that the group is an integral part of true civilization, but also that it represents its very outpost" (Kolstø 2005:20).*

Although the imagery of *antemurale christianitatis* was probably known in Croatian territories since the 12th century, the specific characterization of the Croats as a bulwark or wall of Christendom and 'Western civilization' against the Eastern empires, crystalized with a

[140] The first known use of the term, *antemurale christianitatis*, was recorded in 1143 by Bernard de Claivaux (St. Bernard), a French theologian, who wrote about the defense of Edessa by the Frankish garrison against the Seljuk Muslims. The *antemurale christianitatis* myth is not exclusive to Croatia, but is an equally strong feature in the self-representations of many Eastern-European Catholic countries, notably Poland and Hungary. It is also found elsewhere in the Balkans, in Serbia, for instance. Here, the mostly Orthodox Christian population has historically thought of themselves as the *antemurale* towards Islamic territories to the east. In Croatian uses of the *antemurale* myth, however, Serbia and Orthodox Christianity has, alongside the Islamic eastern territories, been frequently positioned 'on the other side' of the imaginary wall, and becomes a threat from which Croatians heroically defend themselves (Žanić 2005).

particular historical event – the siege of Sigeta (*Bitka kod Sigeta*)[141] – four centuries later. In 1566, the Croat, Ban Nikola Šubić Zrinski, defended the fortress of Sigeta against and the besieging Ottoman army and died in his efforts. Cast as *"the heroic defender of the castle who dies under its walls"* (Žanić 2005:35), his deeds led to his widespread celebration as the symbol of the Croats' heroic defence of the *antemurale*. Throughout the ensuing centuries, Zrinski has been depicted in numerous pieces of art and remnants are still present today in the national imagery and symbolism of not just Croatia.

The importance of the antemurale myth in contemporary Croatia needs to be seen in the light of historical processes of shifting power relations. The historical experiences of being under the rule of different empires has informed collective memory and cultural symbolism throughout history. The experiences of succumbing to different empires has heightened the need to define cultural and ethnic borders, but it also means that the parameters of what the borders are shaped *in relation to* also change. The four historical regions part of the Croatian nation-state, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia and Istria, have relatively separate historical experiences of foreign rule. This has asserted different influences on the constructions of cultural borders in each region.

Following the Dubrovnik Republic's surrender to the Napoleonic army in 1806, Dubrovnik, along with Dalmatia, has succumbed to several different empires. Dalmatia and Dubrovnik were included in the French-ruled Illyrian provinces in 1809 (Goldstein 1999), the Habsburg Empire gained control over Dalmatia in 1814, and the region became officially recognized as the Kingdom of Dalmatia (*Kraljevina Dalmacija*). After the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, it became a province under the Austrian Empire (Harris 2003). Croatia and Slavonia, on the other hand, have a relatively separate history from Dalmatia. The two regions formed a joint kingdom in 1868; the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia (*Kraljevina Hrvatska i Slavonija*), which became an administrative part within the Kingdom of Hungary (Goldstein 1999). It was not until the defeat of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire in 1918, which ended the First World War, that the Kingdom of Dalmatia unified with the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia and the other south-Slavic kingdoms and created the new state; the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (*Kraljevina Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca*). In 1929, it was renamed the Kingdom of

[141] This historical event is also much celebrated in Hungary and part of the cultural symbolic imagery there, where it is known as the siege of *Szigetvár*. *Szigetvár* is today located in southern-Hungary and was, at the time of the siege in 1566, a part of the Habsburg Empire, of which the Kingdom of Croatia (1527-1868) was also a part. (Zrínyi and Gömöri 2011).

Yugoslavia (*Kraljevina Jugoslavija*). Istria's history has been marked especially by Venetian and later Italian rule, and was also incorporated into the Habsburg and Austrian Empires. The region was unified with Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia in 1945, when all four regions became a part of The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) (ibid.).

The *antemurale* myth played an important role to many Croatians in Yugoslavia, during the Cold War, in the attempts to distinguish Yugoslavia from the Soviet Union and place the territory within a broadly defined 'European cultural history'. In his essay '*What is Europe'* (1963), the much celebrated Croatian author, Miroslav Krleža[142], portrays Yugoslavia – along with all of Eastern- and South-Eastern Europe, as not being included *intra muros* (inside the walls) of Europe, and as being used as a *antemurale* by Central and Western Europe; as a kind of region of defence against empires to the east (such as the Ottoman Empire and the Mongol Empire) throughout history. Krleža describes the "grand architecture" of Western European civilization as being built *"on the bones of the manifold subjugated European nations"* of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. Throughout history, he argues, two different 'Europes' have existed. Next to Western Europe, a 'different Europe' still exists, the 'peripheral' area of Eastern- and South-Eastern Europe, Krleža asserts. He describes this wider region as being 'modest' and 'subjugated', and as unjustly having been "*subjected to countless conquests throughout the centuries*" (Krleža cited in Mønnesland, 2006:1). Krleža's reflections resonate with a prominent strand of identity discourse I identified throughout my fieldwork periods. The sense of being Europe's *antemurale* was often revealed through ambivalence. On the one side, many Dubrovnikans were proud of the region's (self-perceived) role as the 'heroic defenders' of European civilization, while on the other hand, a deep-seated frustration and feeling of unjustness over never feeling fully accepted by Western-Europe as 'true Europeans', and feeling that they always have to 'prove' that their cultural identity is 'Western European' as opposed to 'Balkan', were often revealed. These mixed elements featured both in private communication with my informants and could frequently be observed in public cultural discourse, particularly in relation to Croatia's EU membership.

Changing Parameters of the 'Antemurale' Myth

To a much larger extent than many Dubrovnikans would like to admit, the perception of a shared South-Slavic cultural belonging has played an important role in the citizens' historical

[142] I could not get hold of the original Krleža (1963) text. The discussion is therefore based on Mønnesland's (Mønnesland 2006) presentation of Krleža's essay, '*What is Europe*?'.

self-representations. The formative idea of unification of the south-Slavic (Yugo-slav) peoples dates back to 19th century, and to cultural and political movements like the Croatian National Revival (Hrvatski narodni preporod) and the pan south-Slavic, Illyrian movement (Ilirski pokret). The Illyrian movement had a particular stronghold in the Dubrovnik region and its presence has been felt in the arts, literature and in identity politics up to the present (Bellamy 2003). However, after Croatia's independence the Illyrian movement was recast in narrower terms. It has been portrayed as a national awakening within the Croatian National Revival, thus strengthening Croat nationalism's discourse of the historical continuity of 'Croatianness'. The Illyrian movement roots in a shared pan-Slavic movement emerging in response to the rule of the Habsburg Monarchy and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, is often deliberately underplayed (ibid.).

The use of the *antemurale* myth during the former Yugoslavia[143] often tended to draw on mutual experiences of the South-Slavic groups in being a European frontier, having to defend its borders against the East. National identity constructions in the 1990s, strongly marked by Tuđman's extreme nationalism, however, shifted the parameters of the *antemurale* myth (Žanić, 2005, Kolstø, 2005). While the *antemurale* myth was historically formed in opposition to the Ottoman Empire and Islam, in the 1990s it was invoked against Serbia, Orthodox religion, and importantly also Yugoslavian Titoist communism. Yugoslavia was modelled on the Stalinist model of the Soviet Union and was formed as a federation consisting of the six republics – Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia (see Figure 9). In addition, two autonomous provinces within the Serbian Republic, Vojvodina and Kosovo, were established (Mønnesland 2006). In the former Yugoslavia, Croat ethnicity did not tend to be seen as incompatible with a simultaneous affiliation to a South-Slavic identity. The dissolution of Yugoslavia, however, did not merely shift the geo-political borders in the region, but also stimulated a strong homogenization of cultural identities, fuelling the desire to align ethnic-religious boundaries with geo-political borders.

143 The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (*Socijalistička Federativna Republika Jugoslavija - SFR Jugoslavija, (1945-1991),* was established on 11 November 1945, when the Communist Party came into power, with Josip Broz 'Tito' (1892-1980) as its leader. Josip Broz, under the pseudonym, *Tito*, had been the Communist Party's General Secretary during the Second World War and managed to build up a secret resistance group, the *Partisans*, which had over 12,000 members (Mønnesland, 2006).

Despite the appearance of relative autonomy of the different republics, Yugoslavia's politics was strongly centralist[144], something which caused continued friction throughout its duration. Furthermore, some of the republics, especially Slovenia and Croatia, expressed strong discontent with what they saw as the Serbian dominance within the Communist Party and Yugoslavian politics, epitomized by Yugoslavia's capital, Belgrade, which was located in the Serbian Republic. Already in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the Yugoslavian Communist Party was marked by internal tensions regarding the 'national question'. From 1923, a conflict between centralists, who supported a unified Yugoslav nation, and separatists, who supported a larger degree of national autonomy, arose. Whereas a majority of Serbs supported centralism, Croats and Slovenes were largely in favour of separatism (Mønnesland, 2003). Internal conflict regarding the 'national question' dogged the political climate throughout the first Yugoslavia and continued throughout the second Yugoslavia and until its dissolution (ibid).

Figure 9. Map of the former Yugoslavia (1945-1991). Published with permission from *Sypress forlag*.

Discontent with the political and cultural conditions of Yugoslavia amounted in the 1970s and was manifested in the Croatian Spring (*Hrvatsko proljeće*)[145], a relatively short-lived, but

144 In the period between 1965 and 1980, Yugoslavia initiated stronger decentralisation and economic reform based more closely on the mechanisms of the market economy. A larger degree of autonomy for the different republics was also granted in this period (Mønnesland, 2006).
145 The Croatian Spring is also referred to as MASPOK – *masovni pokret (mass movement)* (Irvine, 2008).

influential political and cultural movement at the start of the 1970s. The movement wanted to enhance the autonomy of the Croatian federation and strengthen the rights of its citizens within Yugoslavia. Only a minority of its proponents saw national independence of the Croatian federation as a goal. Nevertheless, Tito perceived the movement as a threat to Yugoslavia's continuation. The movement was thus quickly suppressed by the state, but its brief flowering highlighted the internal factions within Yugoslavia. Beneath the surface of Tito's *bratstvo i jedinstvo* (*brotherhood and unity*) ideology, conflicting interests between ethnicity, religion, nationalism and state interests were simmering. In many ways, the Croatian Spring can be seen as the beginning of the end of Yugoslavia (Bartlett 2002).

Yugoslavia’s political climate was marked by strategies to under-play the internal differences between the different ethnic-religious and cultural groups. Tito sought to suppress and sanction religious practices and ethnic affiliation (Mønnesland, 2006). Of all the religions found in Yugoslavia, Catholicism was looked upon as constituting the greatest threat to Yugoslavia’s Titoist regime and its borders. This was due to the head of the Catholic Church being located outside of Yugoslavia, in the Italian Vatican City, but also because the Catholic Church had a much stronger anti-communist line than, for example, the Orthodox Church (ibid). Yugoslavia’s strong suppression of religion, and particularly of the Catholic Church, had the opposite effect than Tito intended and Catholicism and Croatian nationalism became closely aligned both in Yugoslavia and afterwards (Tanner 2001).

After 35 years of Yugoslavian leadership, Tito died in 1980. Throughout the 1980s, increasingly political conflict and dissonance became more apparent in Yugoslavia. Tito's suppression of national differentiation had many darker sides, which the 'international community' often chose to ignore in favour of preserving regional stability which a united Yugoslavia was thought to represent (Mønnesland 2006).

The continued dominance of Serbs in the government and national army stimulated resentment and the growth of nationalisms in the different federations (ibid.). While religion was actively suppressed in Yugoslavia, religious belonging underwent resurgence after the end of Titoist communism. The Catholic Church’s strong nationalistic and conservative leanings have aided in fuelling inter-religious intolerance and helping to exclude or include different ethnic-religious groups’ from the sense of shared nationhood in post-war Croatia. The parameters of the *antemurale* therefore importantly do not correspond entirely to geo-political boundaries, but have also actively been enforced within domestic context, to include

and exclude particular groups from sharing a sense of belonging to nationhood. While the omnipresent force of nationalism gradually has lessened since the turn of the millennium, religious institutions continue to be one of the main areas where, nationalism and, nationhood based on belonging to the Catholic Church and Croat ethnicity, is reproduced in contemporary society. Although the parameters of the *antemurale christianitatis* myth have changed in post-war context, the boundary markers of religion (Catholicism) are reproduced in contemporary society. The historically perceived schism between Catholicism and Islam, embedded in the *antemurale christianitatis* myth, means that the Croatian Muslim population often experience exclusion from Croatian society – given the strong focus on religion in forging nationhood in post-war society. According to Anton, a Croat-Muslim Dubrovnikan man in his thirties, *"many Muslims in Croatia are ashamed of being Muslims"*. He says that to avoid conflict and make his everyday encounters smoother, he usually tells strangers that he is just Croatian.

Figure 10. United in life and divided in death? Ethnic and religious schisms are mostly beneath the surface of daily life, but the death notices put up on notice boards and are divided according to the religious belonging of the deceased. Death notices with a black frame indicate that the deceased was either a Catholic or Orthodox (each religion uses different crosses; Catholics use one cross horizontally (as in the photograph) and Orthodoxs use two crosses horizontally), a green frame indicates belonging to Islam and a blue frame indicates belonging to Judaism. Photograph by Celine Motzfeldt Loades.

The reification of religious belonging in shaping national identity and cultural boundaries, which is usually but not always linked to Croat ethnicity, thus in many ways serves to exclude minority groups. The emphasis on Catholic religion in national discourse often produces a prominent sense of ambivalence in individuals' self-conceptions. While many Croatians perceive their identities as Catholic Croats as being defining factors of their identities today, they will also readily admit that having a sense of religious-ethnic identity did not much matter to them during the Yugoslavian period. Furthermore, Croatian nationals who hold a different faith or are atheists often find themselves on margins of Croatian identity production.

A Nation Forged in War

A major pillar of Croatian nationhood rests on the conception of 'a nation forged in war' (Tanner, 2010). Croatians are seen as the sole victims of the war – the opposing side, by contrast, is portrayed as 'the aggressor'. The discourse relates specifically to Croats versus Serbs (and Montenegrins) and ties into historically embedded myths of 'the self' as peaceful, politically stable and civilized, while the opposing side is irredeemably war mongering, politically fractious and barbarous. These are myths which have continuously been used and reversed by the different groups inhabiting the Balkans. According to Lampe (2000), the perception of the Croats and Serbs as adversaries became a prominent political manipulation strategy used by the dominant ethnic groups towards the end of the former Yugoslavia:

> *Beginning in the late 1980s…politically manipulated media encouraged Serbs and Croats, the two largest ethnic groups, to think of the other's present intentions as biologically driven by exclusivist, nineteenth-century nationalism and a disposition to repeat the crimes of the two world wars….Thus did the respective leaders and media make the others' present populations into "imagined adversaries" (Lampe, 2000:2).*

Lampe emphasizes that the bloody consequences of the 1990s Balkan wars have *"made it more difficult for the participants themselves to detach from their own history*" (2000:2). This has strengthened the perception of Croats and Serbs being natural 'adversaries' and has made the previously imagined condition more into a reality.

The widespread perception of being victims of the war undoubtedly builds on real events. It would be unjust to argue that the populations of Dubrovnik and Vukovar, for instance, who were suddenly and brutally attacked and lived under siege, were not victims and that

victimhood is a mythic construction. On the October 1st 1991, Dubrovnik and large parts of Dubrovnik-Neretva County were occupied by the Yugoslav National Army (JNA - *Jugoslavenska narodna armija*) and volunteers from Montenegro and Herzegovina. By the end of the month the entire county – from the Pelješac peninsula in the west to the Prevlaka peninsula to the east of Dubrovnik (by the Bay of Kotor, bordering on Montenegro) – was taken over by the JNA[146]. Dubrovnik alone remained unoccupied (Pavlovic 2004). Dubrovnik itself was shot at from the eastern areas of Mount Srđ and later on from the western sides of the hill, and an Adriatic naval blockade was formed around the city. The city became besieged, but was not taken over due to the efforts of volunteers from the general population who defended the walled centre from Fort Imperial on *Mount Srđ*, located directly above the UNESCO enlisted centre. The Siege of Dubrovnik (*Opsada Dubrovnika*) lasted for eight months, until Operation Tiger on 31 May 1992 (ibid). During this period electricity and water was cut off and there were no food supplies. It was only through the charity of nearby communities and national (and to an extent international) aid, that the population received food and water, which was brought to the port of Gruž. The siege caused a moderate number of casualties; around 88 civilians and 194 Croatian army troops lost their lives. The casualties of the JNA and the Montenegrin and Herzegovinian volunteers were quite similar; 165 army troops were killed (ibid). The occupation of the Croatian South had a big impact on the living conditions in the region for many years to come. Around 15,000 people from the rural regions of the county, especially from Konavle, which borders on Montenegro, became refugees. From Dubrovnik around 16,000 people became displaced or were evacuated from the city during the shelling. Many families also lost their homes for years to come – 11,425 homes, largely in the rural regions of the county, were damaged (1,675 buildings) or totally destroyed (886 buildings). Many of them were burnt down and looted (McAlea et.al. 1994). After the end of the siege of Dubrovnik and the liberation of the Croatian South (often referred to colloquially as *dani pobjede* - 'the days of victory'), the war continued in the northern and eastern regions of Croatia and lasted until November 1995.

The siege of Dubrovnik and the war at large have cast a strong influence on identity discourse, a sense of victimization and on the need to consolidate Dubrovnik's (symbolic,

146 On the June 25th 1991, the Croatian parliament (*Sabor*), passed a declaration of independence from Yugoslavia. During the summer of 1991, tensions in Croatia between the Serb and Croat military forces were mounting. The JNA's full military interventions in Croatia begun in Slavonia (Eastern Croatia) with the bombing of Osijek on the 20th August and siege of Vukovar from the 25th August. The JNA attacked Dalmatia from September 1991 onwards, starting with Ploče on the 14th September (Mønnesland 2006).

religious and cultural) borders against the neighbouring countries of the former Yugoslavia. However, the portrayal of the Croats as the *only* victims in 1990s Balkan wars is a partial truth. In Croatian discourse, while Bosnians are allowed a certain status as victims, Croatia's involvement as one of the aggressors in the Bosnian war, and the cooperation between Croatia and Serbia in attempting to divide up Bosnian territory between them, is often purposefully omitted from public discourse.

The lasting impression of the Croatian war of independence in the present is not only found in identity discourse, but also constitutes an enduring element in discourse on economic development, and particularly tourism development. The war caused enormous material damage in both urban and rural settings, a collapse of industries and infrastructure nationwide. The war destruction was mostly inflicted on central infrastructure, factories, hospitals and schools in the space of just half a year (1991-1992), but was none the less enormous (Bartlett 2003). Public estimations calculate that around 30% of the industrial capacity was destroyed and the damage on infrastructural and public utilities amounted to $4.2 billion. In addition, approximately 10% of housing was damaged or destroyed, leading to the displacement of over a quarter of a million people (5% of the population) (ibid). Furthermore, around 10% of the Croatian land mass, most of which consists of forests, agricultural land, karst, scrubland and wildlife areas, became unusable due to the placement of around 1 million landmines and explosives (ibid.). The Croatian Mine Action Centre (CROMAC)[147] estimates 13,000 m^2 of mines covered the land after the war, but by 2016 suspected mine areas had been reduced to 486,60 km^2. CROMAC predicts that it will take until 2019 before all suspected mine areas are cleared. In national politics, mine clearance programmes are seen as being of great importance not only to human safety, but also to future economic development. The consequences of the remaining mine areas on the Croatian economy are large. It is estimated that the annual economic loss amounts to € 47.3 million annually, due to factors such as unusable lands for agriculture, arrested tourism development and impaired infrastructure, as well as delayed or missed opportunities for construction and developments. Since tourism plays such an important role in the Croatian economy, mine clearance programmes in the most frequented tourist regions have been given first priority. Due to Dubrovnik's importance as a tourist attraction, the nearby countryside and hills were among the first to be cleared of mines.

147 https://www.hcr.hr/en/.

The war also had enormous consequences on the employment situation. In 1990, there were around 1.65 million unemployed people in Croatia, and 550,000 were still unemployed in 1994. Because of the war, productive capacity was reduced by 45% and around 2 million people, out of the total population of 4.76 million, were eligible to receive welfare in 1994 (Babić 1998). However, due to the severe economic depression this was impossible to realize.

Outsiders' impressions of the lasting impact of the war are heavily influenced by the area of Croatia one visits and the people one encounters. To a certain extent generalizations are possible – in areas in which were under siege or heavily attacked by missiles or ground attacks, such as Vukovar and Dubrovnik, the local war experiences continue to influence subjective life experiences, cultural representations and rhetoric to a larger degree than in areas where the war had less physical or visible impacts, such as Zagreb or Istria. A middle-aged woman from Split, who moved to Dubrovnik some years ago, told me how she experienced a notable difference regarding the lasting impact of war on local culture and individuals' lives in the two places. Although Split suffered some air attacks during the war, she thought that Dubrovnikans had suffered so severely during the siege, having been without water and electricity for nine months, that the experiences had influenced the 'local mentality' to a larger extent than in Split. She also thought that the considerable material damage inflicted on Dubrovnik's walled centre and surrounding countryside had made it harder for the population to move on, as they had been visually confronted with the damage throughout the post-war restoration period and well into the new millennium.

The wish by many Dubrovnikans' to communicate their nation's suffering and their sense of being unfairly represented in the global media, conflicts, to a degree, with the commercial hankering for tourism to return and expand in post-war society. Although many did not want to reveal much about their personal experiences in the war because they found it too painful to relive the memories, they nonetheless wished to convey 'Croatian perspectives' on the 1990s Balkans wars as they felt this had been under-communicated or even distorted. Tourists' impression of Dubrovnikans having moved on from the war is understandable given the ways Dubrovnik's culture and history is represented both internationally and domestically. In cultural representations found in tourist promotion material and in guided tourist tours, Yugoslavian rule and the war experiences are presented as a parenthesis in the continuous story of a nation embedded in Western-European cultural history and civilization. The Dubrovnik-Neretva County's main tourist advertising slogan until 2010, *"Dubrovnik – the*

Mediterranean as it once was"[148], served a dual purpose. Firstly, it indicates that while mass-tourism has 'spoilt' many Mediterranean destinations, Dubrovnik and the near-lying rural countryside have managed to preserve their 'authentic characters', where traditional lifestyles, crafts and cuisines are maintained 'intact'. More subtly, the advertising slogan can also be read as a reassurance to tourists that the society has fully recovered from 1990s war. Contemporary tourist pamphlets on Dubrovnik-Neretva County tend to paint a picture of how, despite hardship throughout and in the aftermath of the war, society has managed to revive its former glory as '*the Pearl of the Adriatic'* (The name given to Dubrovnik by Lord Byron and always present in tourism promotion of the city).

The theme of how Croatians were *misunderstood* internationally and always seen as geo-politically and culturally part of the Balkans, rather than 'the West', and particularly, Western Europe, was especially prominent in public discourse throughout the 1990s. For example, in a newspaper column in the largest state-run daily newspaper *Vjesnik*, a journalist argued that:

> *The West's gravest mistake is its failure to recognize that Croatians have a deep consciousness of their belonging to Western civilization and a commitment to modernization in contrast to Serbia with its links to fanatical nationalism, its support for preserving the old socialist system, and its inability to enter the information revolution"(Razsa and Lindstrom 2004)*[149].

These ideas – of being mistakenly thought of as part of the Balkans and under-appreciated for protecting the ramparts of Europe throughout history – are still present in public discourse and were conveyed in many conversations with my Dubrovnikan informants. In several conversations regarding the Croatian war of independence my informants expressed a sense of injustice about how 'Croatian perspectives and experiences' of the Balkan wars had been under-communicated and misrepresented in the world media. In a conversation with Matea, a gallery owner, she emphasized the importance of the testimonies of a Norwegian and a British professor, who had spent long periods in Dubrovnik during the war, in *"showing the real story of the war"* internationally. When I asked what she meant by 'the real story' she said:

148 Following the introduction of Dubrovnik-Neretva County's new tourism strategy in 2010, the slogan '*Dubrovnik – the Mediterranean as it once was'* was replaced by '*Dubrovnik – a city of all seasons'* – and is part of an ongoing attempt to encourage all-year around tourism and thus also to reduce the seasonality of employment.

149 Marinko Bobanovic, *"Duboka je svijest o pripadnosti zapadu" (Consciousness of Western Belonging Runs Deep)*, *Vjesnik*, 12 June 1995. Cited in (Kameda 2010:642).

When the war started you personally didn't know dimensions of the war…you try to survive, but you actually don't understand what is happening. But what was important was to say [to the international media] exactly how we were shelled and who was shelling us...that we hadn't weapons when we were attacked, that we were civilians. It was very important to explain that it was not a civil war, but we were attacked...It was the very beginning of the war; a lot of countries, especially very powerful countries were not ready for split of Yugoslavia.

In our conversation, Matea conveys how it was important for Dubrovnikans to communicate that the city in its "natural state" was a peaceful place and its citizens a cultured, international and Western oriented population, far removed from the turbulent conditions of the Balkan Peninsula. In this type of perception, the war is a onetime historical event which, although traumatic, exists firmly in the past. The war is seen primarily as a direct consequence of Croatia's declaration of independence, and since the nation now has achieved its independence and has, in Matea's view, "broken away" from the Balkans, the threat of a new war occurring is small. Matea's perceptions were shared by many middle-aged and educated residents I encountered and stands in contrast with many who live in outlying, rural areas which border on Bosnia and Montenegro. They tend to have a more pessimistic or fatalistic view of war as a reoccurring element throughout the regions' history. Vinka, a silk producer and artist living in a small Konavlian town bordering on Bosnia on the north and Montenegro in the west, reflects on how the population and culture in southernmost region of Croatia have always been influenced its borderland condition. She asserts:

When I was a child, my grandmother always told me: 'please, when you marry, marry whomever you want, but please don't marry any Orthodox Montenegrin people'! When I asked her why, she said there'll be war again and you'll be separated. And it was before the [1990s] war that she said this! So they [Konavlians] know that there will always be wars at the borders. Today, she still thinks there'll be a new war in twenty years! 'Every forty years the houses are burning in Konavle', she says. That's life here!

Vinka thinks a 'fortress mentality' is particularly strong in the outlying areas of the Dubrovnik-Neretva County, such as Konavle, and has little hope that this will change in the future. Although she grew up in Dubrovnik, and is strongly in favour of Croatia's internationalization, she thinks it understandable that borderland populations feel the need to

develop strategies to cope with the volatility of living at the fringes of state borders, and with ethnic and religious divisions.

Even though the memories of war continue to inform public identity discourse, it is important to stress that the war has not affected to all Dubrovnikans equally. To some Dubrovnikans I encountered, it is unconceivable to leave behind their traumatic memories, which will continue to inform their daily activities and outlook on the world. To others, who for instance were not bereaved of any loved ones and did not experience material losses, or who may find themselves in a much better economic and material position today, the war may be remembered more as a 'nightmare of the past' from which they have moved on. Nevertheless, regardless of how influential individual war experiences have been, the war has heavily shaped the temporal and spatial underpinnings in public identity discourses. Both in cultural and political discourses and in daily social encounters, Dubrovnik's timeline is divided into 'the period before the war' and 'the period after the war'. Dubrovnikans often employ this temporal division to attach value judgements of 'what was better or worse *then*' and 'what is better or worse *now*'. This type of temporal division, and attendant value-judgements, are generally paralleled in Croatia at large, but tend to be especially present in those parts of the country which were strongly affected by the war. Although a majority of Dubrovnikans, and Croatian nationals at large, do not desire a return to a unified Yugoslavia, the fact that dissolution from Yugoslavia coincided with the emotional traumas and large-scale material destructions of war has stimulated an underlying sentiment of nostalgia in cultural discourse and a longing for 'the period before the war'. Especially for middle-aged or elderly Dubrovnikans, the 'period before the war' often connotes a period of 'easier times' and socio-economic stability, a period when different population groups, despite ethnic-religious differences, lived and worked alongside each other with little difficulty, regardless of whether they felt it was a natural co-habitation or coerced by the Titoist political ideology of "brotherhood and unity" (*bratstvo i jedinstvo*) between ethnic groups in the former Yugoslavia (Simic 2000). However, as Serbs constituted the largest ethnic group in Yugoslavia and Belgrade was the seat of state power, this period also tends to connote unwelcome Serbian domination. Ambivalence about the Yugoslavian past and what kind of freedom the nation gained, is prevalent in Dubrovnikan identity discourse.

As the 'hot nationalism' (Ignatieff 2010 [1993])[150] of the 1990s lessened and Croatia's EU negotiations began in 2005, the symbolism, in Croatian nationhood constructions, of the country as a bulwark or wall became increasingly synthesized with the idea of Croatia personifying a *bridge* to Europe. Žanić (Žanić 2005) reflects:

> *On the eve of the collapse of the absolutist regime, Croatia had profiled three basic metaphors for inquiring into its identity: the original crossroads or central place, the bulwark, in both its traditional and modified forms, and the newly formed bridge metaphor. The latter two interrelated in irreconcilable competition and complementarity (Žanić 2005:50).*

The bridge metaphor actively draws on the importance of Dubrovnik's and Dalmatia's tourism industry and the region's historical embeddedness within Mediterranean cultural history. However, while symbolism of the bridge was particularly prominent throughout the 2000s – especially in the period of Croatia's EU negotiations – the image of Croatia as embodying a bulwark or a wall has grown in prominence in both national and Dubrovnikan identity constructions throughout the second decade of the new century. The resonance of the bridge metaphor, and the belief that Dubrovnik still embodies a Mediterranean type culture, can be sensed in the assertions of many of my internationally oriented and cosmopolitan informants that Croatia, and Dubrovnik even more so, belongs to the Western European tradition of *civic nationalism (or civic patriotism)* – in contrast to the Balkan peninsula's stronghold of *ethnic nationalism*. These informants, however, were deeply concerned that Croatia is once again closing in on itself and attempting to rebuild its 'walls', excluding everything considered as falling outside the steadily narrowing parameters of identity constructions.

[150] Ignatieff (2010 [1993]) distinguishes between *ethnic* and *civic* nationalism. Ethnic nationalism can be characterized as a 'hot nationalism', which is motivated by national belonging based on ethnicity and narratives of autochthony. It is therefore often linked to authoritarianism and the exclusion of ethnic minority groups both in terms of political rights and in nationhood discourse (ibid). The 1990s can be characterized as a period of 'hot nationalism' in Croatia. Civic nationalism, on the other hand, *"envisages the nation as a community of equal, rights-bearing citizens, united in patriotic attachment to a shared set of political practices and values. This nationalism is necessarily democratic since it vests sovereignty in all of the people* (Ignatieff 2010 [1993]:3)." Croatian identity discourse in the 2000s has been marked by attempts to position the nation within the cultural historic tradition of civic nationalism and democracy. Notions of a geographical divergence between *"a liberal, civic Western' and an 'illiberal, ethnic Eastern' nationalism"* (Kuzio 2002:22) have been reproduced in domestic identity discourses. However, ideas of 'Western, civic' and 'Eastern, ethnic' nationalisms exist as idealizations, and do not reflect the complexity of nationhood constructions (ibid). This is true in Croatia where one can find a blend of both 'ethnic' and 'civic' nationalisms in post-war identity constructions.

Figure 11. War vehicles on permanent display in Gruž. Tangible markers of the successful efforts of those who volunteered in defending the walled centre during the Dubrovnik siege are important to the local population. On particular days of commemoration of the war, Dubrovnikans lay down flowers and light torches by the Sveti Vlaho (St. Blaise) warship. Photograph: Celine Motzfeldt Loades.

Figure 12. War damage on the walled city of Dubrovnik and surroundings. Photograph above left: Dubrovnik's main street, *Stradun* (*Placa*), after shelling, above right: house in the walled centre on fire, below left: a 'skeleton' of a house left after torching and shelling, and below right: locals collecting water brought to the walled centre by outside volunteers during the Dubrovnik siege. Photographs published with permission from the Dubrovnik War Museum.

While the Croatian war of independence has, to a large extent, served to consolidate post-war nationhood, the knowledge and memory of Croatia's allegiances to Nazi Germany and the acts of ethnic cleansing and other atrocities carried out in the Second World War by the

Croatian *Ustaša* mark a 'dark heritage' to Croatians. This history has produced a large amount of dissonance in both domestic and inter-regional context, and is largely omitted in national identity discourse.

On April the 6th 1941, the Axis powers invaded the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the territory was partitioned into German and Italian controlled parts. While sections of Yugoslavia, such as Slovenia, Montenegro and Macedonia, came under full control of the Axis powers, Serbia and Croatia were organized into two states under German control, but were given more autonomy than the rest of Yugoslavia. Croatia was organized into a 'Greater-Croatia', which also encompassed all of Bosnia-Herzegovina, while Serbia was considerably reduced in size. (Mønnesland 2006, 1995). On April 10th 1941, the Independent State of Croatia (NDH – *Nezvaisna Država Hrvatska*), declared its independence from the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. However, its independence was only partial as, in reality, it was a puppet state of Nazi Germany. Ante Pavelić, the leader of the *Ustaša – the Croatian Revolutionary Movement* (*Hrvatski Revolucionarni Pokret*), was instituted as the *poglavnik (leader)* of the Independent State of Croatia. When the Ustaša was established in 1932 its main objectives had been to create an independent Greater-Croatia (ibid.). Due to the appeal of Croatian independence, something which harmonized with mythic, cultural discourses of the 'centuries' old dream' of obtaining Croatian nationhood, the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia at first gained widespread support from the Croatian population (Mønnesland 2006, Tanner 2001). However, the Ustaša soon embarked on a strategy of ethnic cleansing in order to pursue the 'ethnic purity' of the Croat population. In the short-lived period of the Independent State of Croatia, 14 concentration camps were established. Large parts of the Croatian population were horrified by the Ustaša's doings and strongly opposed the atrocities they carried out on Serbs and other ethnic minority groups (especially Jews, Romani and Islamic groups)[151].

The production of dissimilar cultural memories, representations and understandings of the historical events, political allegiances and atrocities carried out during the Second World War by the Croat *Ustaša* and the Serb *Četnici*, continued to produce discord between Croats and Serbs during the existence of Yugoslavia. Atrocities committed by the Croatian *Ustaša* on Serbs and by the Serbian Chetniks (*Četnici*) on Croats and Bosnian Muslims during the

151 The total number of people killed by the Ustaša is unclear and has tended to be exaggerated or understated according to the political ideologies of those who commission or present the figures, whether Serbian or Croatian. Atrocities were also carried out by the Serbian group, the *Četnici* (Chetniks), during the Second World War on Bosnian Muslims, and to a lesser degree on Croats. (Tanner 2001).

Second World War, provided a backdrop to internal conflicts between the different ethnic-religious groups throughout the former Yugoslavia.

When the JNA first moved their military troops into Croatia, thus beginning the Croatian war of Independence, the military leaders justified their intervention by declaring that they were 'freeing' the Serbian population in Croatia from 'genocide' by the Croatian *Ustaša* (ibid). Croatia's 'dark heritage' was used as symbolic ammunition to legitimize JNA's acts of violence in the present. In reality, the military intervention in Croatia was much more centred on issues of national borders and the desire to gain a larger national territory (especially the more densely Serbian populated territories of Croatia) to form a Greater Serbia. In Dubrovnik, the Serbian population in 1991 was only 6.8%, but the *Slavic foundation myth* about the Slavic King, Radoslav the White, and the dialect spoken in Dubrovnik, which has similar origins to that spoken in large parts of Serbia, was used to justify military intervention in Dubrovnik. In reality, economic interests sparked by Dubrovnik's tourism potential and the strategic plan to gain access to international waters were most likely more pressing concerns to the political leadership in Belgrade.

The ethnic genocide carried out by the Ustaša and the Četnici during the Second World War still has relevance for Balkan inter-regional relations and produces dissonance between Croatian and Serbian groups in both a domestic and inter-regional context. Although perhaps to a lesser extent than in the 1990s, this 'dark heritage' continues to inform contemporary identity discourse and perceptions of cultural and ethnic borders. In several internet blogs I came across, young bloggers of Serbian and Croat ethnicity, with no personal experiences of war, heatedly referred to the atrocities carried out by the Croat *Ustaša* or the Serbian *Četnici* the in their attempts to shape Croats and Serbs as fundamentally different from one another.

The 'dark heritage' of the Croatian Ustaša is on the whole experienced as an extremely uncomfortable truth to most Croatians today and is often actively suppressed in public memory. At the same time, in encounters with foreigners today, many with ancestors who fought on the side of the *partisans* (the Communist Party's resistance movement), actively communicate their family's opposition to Ustaša's political and ethnic ideology and acts of atrocity.

New Borders of Social Differentiation – Transition to Global Capitalism

Croatia's transition to global market economy occurred more smoothly than in many other formerly communist countries in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe (Barlett, 2003). One of the reasons for this is linked to the political and economic liberalization of Yugoslavia's Titoist communist regime during the 1980s. As a newly established nation-state, Croatia already had established close economic contact with Western Europe, especially through its tourism industry (ibid). Furthermore, Yugoslavian Titoism, since the economic reforms of the 1960s, was based on a "self-managing socialism" (Babić 1998). However, although Croatia's economic transition period was in many ways similar to all the post-communist countries in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, the fact that Croatia's transition occurred during the war considerably complicated the process. The recovery of peace became a necessary condition for the transition to fully occur (ibid).

Tourism was already a well-established industry in Yugoslavia and therefore made the economic transition, to an extent, easier than otherwise may have been the case. However, economic transition and the privatization of real estate and land areas occurred under fairly untransparent conditions. Partly due the economic depression and to the urgent need to reinvigorate the national economy and recover and restore war damage inflicted on architecture, infrastructure and land areas (especially undertake mine clearance), tourism facilities were often sold off cheaply to foreign investors. A relatively large proportion of post-war tourism investments in Dubrovnik and Dalmatia at large have been carried out by wealthy individuals who are part of the Croatian international diaspora. The Chilean *Luksić* Group of Croatian family derivation, has made many tourism investments in Dubrovnik and owns large land areas. People who suddenly became rich from the economic transition and the privatization of property are often referred to domestically as *tajkuna kapitalista* (tycoon capitalists) (Bartlett 2003) and are generally spoken of with disdain in Dubrovnik. In the aftermath of the economic transition, Croatia has suffered from a large number of land and property disputes and issues concerning privatization, economic transition and tourism investments are often highly contentious. This is especially so in Dubrovnik, which relies so heavily on tourism for economic recovery and development, and where tourism provides the main source of household income for a large proportion of the population, thus making the society particularly vulnerable to changes in global tourism and neo-liberal capitalism.

Separation and Peripherality – A Regional Ethnography of Dalmatia

Dalmatia (*Dalmacija*)[152], the region of which Dubrovnik-Neretva County is part, consists of a long, but relatively narrow coastal strip on the East-Adriatic[153], stretching from the island of Rab in the north-west to the Bay of Kotor region of Konavle in the south-east, the latter forming Croatia's national border with Montenegro. Up until the modern era, the degree of international mercantile contact, political allegiances and exposure to foreign rule are closely related to Dalmatia's disparate topography. The Dinaric mountain chain (*Dinarsko Gorje* or *Dinara Planina*), which runs parallel with the Adriatic coast from the north-west to the south-east of the country, separates, in more than a purely physical sense, Dalmatia from the interior and north-eastern areas of Croatia. The mountain chain limited cultural and commercial contact between the coastal and inland settlements and caused cultural traditions to develop in relative isolation from one another. The mountain chain has furthermore strengthened the religious division between Eastern and Western Christianity (Lampe, 2000:11). The dissimilar conditions of Dalmatia from the other three regions, Croatia proper, Slavonia and Istria, which together form the territory of Croatia, have helped produce a strong sense of distinctive regional identity. The perception of having a culturally distinct identity is still discernible today and influences how heritage is used both to assert regional and local distinctiveness and national centrality.

The populations of the Dalmatian coastal areas and islands have been historically influenced by their contact with the Mediterranean cultures. The populations of the hinterland, Dalmatian Zagora (*Dalmatinska Zagora*), have had closer contact with the cultures of the Balkan interior, especially Bosnia and Herzegovina, and also to an extent the Ottoman Empire (Lampe 2000). Dissimilar cultural contacts in the coastal and inland areas have influenced the customs, cuisines and livelihoods of the different areas. The most apparent differences have been the relative dominance of urban cultures, maritime activities, trade, fisheries and agricultural production in the coastal areas. By contrast, herding, animal husbandry and clan cultures have moulded the culture of the Dalmatian hinterland. The population of the

152 The etymology of the word, *Dalmacija*, derives from the Illyrian word, *delme* (sheep). Dalmacija has its origins in the Illyrian Dalmatae tribe and it is widely thought that it means 'the land of sheep' or 'the land of shepherds' (Lampe 2000).

153 The total length of the Dalmatian coastline is around 375 km and the widest point between the coast and inland (in the north-western part of the region) is only 45 km. The width of the southernmost Dalmatian county, the County of Dubrovnik-Neretva, is the narrowest in Dalmatia. In Dubrovnik the width of land is only 4 km, after which one enters Bosnia and Herzegovina. (Encyclopedia Britannica, https://global.britannica.com/place/Dalmatia and Store norske leksikon, https://snl.no/Dalmatia.)

Dalmatian Zagora is still considerably poorer and boasts less formal education than their counterparts living in the coastal cities. The Dalmatian hinterland has experienced steady depopulation since the 19th century and substantial numbers of economic migrants from the Dalmatian Zagora have resettled in the coastal areas, especially following the Second World War. Due to the material destruction and lack of economic opportunities after the Croatian war of independence, there was another spurt in the number of economic migrants, displaced persons and refugees from the Dalmatian Zagora. The flow of emigration to the coastal towns is still continuing, and most newcomers who have arrived following the recent war have remained as employment and economic opportunities are meagre in the hinterland. The relative differences in wealth between the hinterland and coastal areas have been exacerbated by the growth of coastal tourism since the mid-20th century. The differences in wealth are also apparent between the rural coastal areas and islands on the one hand, and the urban coastal areas, on the other. Although the growth in tourism and the service sector has contributed towards a decrease in agricultural production, tourism also plays a substantial part in increasing the overall wealth of the rural coastal areas and islands of Dalmatia. Yet, while some of the rural and island populations earn good wages on tourism, overall wealth is unevenly distributed. Large numbers of inhabitants in the rural areas and on the islands remain poor and struggle to find employment.

In a national and political context, the Adriatic coastal region has acquired a different geo-political position since Croatia's independence (Rihtman-Auguštin 1999). Rihtman-Auguštin argues that post-independence national politics has shifted away from the former *'Danubian Orientation'* (ibid), advocated by the Yugoslavian authorities, towards an *'Adriatic Orientation'* (Rihtman-Auguštin 1999:109). Despite the well-established tourism industry in Dalmatia in the former Yugoslavia, the Adriatic coastline held a relatively insignificant position in Yugoslav politics (ibid.). Many Croatians who played central roles in shaping the political and economic programmes of the Croatian Spring foresaw the important role which the East-Adriatic coast could play economically and politically for Croatia, through the strengthening and development of tourism, industries and trade with the West-Adriatic and Western Europe at large. In the eyes of the central Yugoslav authorities, however, *"the economic possibilities offered by the Adriatic Sea were regarded as treasonable … [and were] "inconsistent with the views and interests of the centre of power, far from the sea"* (1999:109-110). The Yugoslavian political orientation towards the Danube and that river's connections with Serbia, Croatia, and central Europe, were more consistent with Serb-

dominated central Yugoslavian politics. The ‘Adriatic orientation’ in post-war Croatia is reflected in national symbolism and economic policies (ibid.). Dubrovnik and Dalmatia’s tourism industry is today seen as immensely valuable in post-war Croatian economic development and makes a large contribution to national GDP. Dubrovnikans commonly feel that their natural and cultural resources and their hard work in building up tourism are exploited by Zagreb, while Dubrovnik itself remains peripheral to national politics. The coastal-inland dynamic continues to frame identity constructions and cultural and symbolic discourses in contemporary Croatia and it is central to understanding the underlying forces behind national and regional power relationships, and Dubrovnikans’ attempts to re-shape centrality within the national.

It is open to question to what extent dissimilar conditions between Dalmatia and the rest of the country actually continue to shape a distinct Dalmatian culture in the present. The development of new technologies and means of transport, and living within the same nation-state, with a common political and economic system and national educational curriculum, has undoubtedly ironed out regional differences somewhat. However, my ethnography indicates that despite the strong presence of a sense of national belonging in Dubrovnik, the topographical and climatic conditions, the region’s peripheral status and its distinct cultural history still impart a unique quality to cultural identities in this southernmost part of Croatia. The populations of Dubrovnik and Dalmatia feel themselves to be culturally different from the rest of the country. This is something which asserts an influence in anchoring contemporary Dubrovnikan heritage production as something connected not only to historical processes, but also to regional ethnographic characteristics. Dubrovnikans’ experiences of the region’s physical separation and peripheral position within Croatia as a whole have, in many ways, been exacerbated in the post-war context. This is due to the construction of the national borders after Croatia’s independence which cut the nation in two and separated Dubrovnik-Neretva County, through the Bosnian border at Neum, from the rest of Croatia. This peripherality reinforces the cultural discourse of nostalgia and the loss of the city’s historic centrality and international connectivity through maritime and mercantile activities and international diplomacy.

Conclusion

Diverse historical contacts in Croatia’s different regions, combined with separating topography, have produced distinct local and regional identities. A distinct regional identity is

still noticeable in contemporary Dubrovnik and Dalmatia, making the young nation-state into a cultural patchwork, in many ways loosely stitched together. At the same time, Croatians share many aspects of recent cultural and political history. As I have shown, large-scale political and social change throughout the 20th Century, have had transformative effects in forging Croatian nationhood and in re-establishing perceptions of difference.

The highly transformative socio-political processes occurring since Croatia's national independence are central to understanding contemporary power dynamics in Dubrovnik. These processes inform how Dubrovnikans negotiate and contest cultural heritage, and as we will see heritage sometimes become sources of dissonance and conflict. Dubrovnikans' embodied experiences and memories of hard-fought national independence, which resulted in enormous material destruction and personal trauma, continue to cast shadows over the present.

Part III – Friction and Adaptation

6. Post-war Identities

Introduction

This chapter explores Dubrovnik's inhabitants re-negotiate the city's heritage within the new parameters of the nation-state and in relation to Western Europe. The discourse of the Dubrovnik Republic's cultural, mercantile and diplomatic influences in forging Croatia's historic connection to Western Europe was also prominent in Yugoslavia[154]. However, the meanings and uses of the historic Republic in its contemporary usages reflect the particular circumstances of Dubrovnik's post-war context. The emphasis on the Dubrovnik Republic in local discourse needs to be seen in connection with the attempt to re-negotiate the city's contemporary peripheral cultural and political position. As we will see, Dubrovnikans attempt to reconstruct the city's centrality within the young nation-state.

Connected to a Larger World

Lucija works for an educational institution focusing on the Mediterranean region. Before the 1990s war she worked as a consultant in Dubrovnik's historic archives. She has lived in Dubrovnik her whole life and is quick to point out that her ancestors, too, have lived in Dubrovnik for seven centuries. Lucija's views are typical of my educated, liberal, middle-aged informants, who see Dubrovnik as part of a larger world. Lucija regards Dubrovnik as a wholly Mediterranean city and proudly asserts that if one wishes to gain an insight into the history and the peoples of the Mediterranean, the archives of Dubrovnik are essential, because everything is present there...the history of all Mediterranean countries:

> *Dubrovnik is my identity, which means that births, loves, deaths, earthquakes and war are a part of me. To me there is no other identity, because it links me to everything. You put your finger into the sea and are connected to the whole world…A part of being raised in a city like Dubrovnik is that we consider ourselves privileged. We are aware of the history of the region and our ancestors. We really love, as Venetians do…the history of our city and preserve it, mentally and physically. [However], Dubrovnik has always been an open city and we consider ourselves open for communication and new ideas. It*

154 Tito talked of Dubrovnik and its history as a Republic as providing Yugoslavia's 'window to the west'.

makes us different from people living in the country, because tourism is nothing strange to us. People were coming to Dubrovnik centuries ago, books were written about Dubrovnik, and merchandise was passing by.

Lucija's reflections reveal a prominent strand of the local identity discourse, which I observed in many of my informants. It builds on a underlying belief in the strength and resilience of Dubrovnikans – recurrent natural disasters, wars, turmoil and hardship cannot crush what many referred to as the 'Dubrovnikan spirit'. To Dubrovnikans rejuvenation and adaptability, in the face of periodic setbacks, are strong features of the 'local mentality'.

Throughout our conversation, Lucija espoused a narrative of Dubrovnik as less of a Croatian 'frontier' and borderland and far more of an international and urban centre. The sea is not what separates Croatia from mainland Europe, but a metaphor for cultural openness and connectivity. She also experienced the attacks on Dubrovnik's old centre in 1991 as a direct attack on her own identity.

Lucija frequently emphasizes an unbroken connection between the Dubrovnik Republic's cultural production and contemporary 'high arts'. While in Croatia as a whole, Dubrovnik is nowadays regarded as culturally provincial, Dubrovnikans themselves regard their city as having a rich cultural and artistic life. Many Dubrovnikans seem to have a need to insist on a cultural richness in artistic production and to dispute the stereotypical perception of Croatia's southern-lying region as parochial and 'backward'. *"A lot of locals have this artistic relationship to Dubrovnik",* Lucija reflects. *"We have a lot of painters, poets, writers … because everybody wants to express their love for the city".*

I observed, however, that most exhibiting artists in Dubrovnik were from Zagreb or other areas of Croatia. Nevertheless, it seems what Lucija is expressing is more the poetry of a life lived through the lens of Dubrovnik's architecture, its long past and maritime traditions. She describes this as the city's 'intangible heritage' and the 'intangible knowledge' its inhabitants share – the sense of living in a maritime environment that connects them to a larger world. But, she says:

There are no wooden ships or long journeys anymore, so we are, in a way, condemned to have the cruise ships and people that just run through Dubrovnik, not getting a real insight of the city, as we would like them to have. They are looking at it like a colourful folklore tale, but are not getting the real essence of it.

Throughout our conversations, Lucija reveals a strong sense of nostalgia. Although she feels deeply connected to and inspired by Dubrovnik's distant history and its connectivity with the wider world, she bemoans the drastic changes to local urban life following the dissolution of Yugoslavia. Lucija thinks that Dubrovnik's citizens have a deep, emotional bond with the city's urban history and heritage, and this relationship is conveyed through an abundance of local, artistic expressions. However, she laments what she experiences as great damage to Dubrovnik's social life; especially evident in changes to cultural practices and the ways in which citizens relate to one another and to the urban environment.

Re-constructing Prestige through the Legacy of the Dubrovnik Republic

The heritage of the Dubrovnik Republic is pivotal in local public discourse and has a strong role in attempts to re-construct the city's centrality in Croatia. The Republic, with its ability to sustain its autonomy for 450 years (1358 to 1808) and its influence as a mercantile republic in both the Mediterranean and the Balkans, represents a 'Golden Era' to many Dubrovnikans. The Republic features in a wide array of political, religious and commercial discourses and in Dubrovnik's branding.

In the opening and closing ceremony of the annual Dubrovnik Summer Festival, Dubrovnikans sing a hymn as the Dubrovnik Republic's Libertas flag is raised or lowered. The text of the hymn is a passage from the locally celebrated Dubrovnikan renaissance author, Ivan Gundulić's pastoral play, *Dubravka*, (1628):

Fair liberty, beloved liberty, liberty sweetly avowed, thou are the treasured gift that God to us endowed, all our glory is thy true creation, to our Home thou are all the decoration, no silver nor gold, not life itself could replace the reward of thy pure and sublime grace[155].

The Dubrovnik Republic's much recited motto – *"Non bene pro toto libertas venditur auro" ('Liberty is not well sold for all the gold')* – was inspired by Aesop's fable which recounts how a wolf would rather be free and hungry instead of being a well-fed slave (Harris, 2003). This motto is found above the entrance to Fort Lovrinać, outside the western city gate. The notion of libertas (liberty, freedom), prominent throughout Dubrovnik's history, is now ubiquitously utilized in the slogans of local bus companies, hotels and travel agencies.

[155] *"O liepa, o draga, o slatka slobodo, dar u kom sva blaga višnji nam Bog je do, uzroče istini od naše sve slave, uresu jedini od ove Dubrave, sva srebra, sva zlata, svi ljudcki životi ne mogu bit plata tvoj čistoj lipoti"* (Section from Ivan Gundulić' pastoral play from 1837, Dubravka).

Two relatively frequently cited local sayings date back to Dubrovnik Republic. '*Against those who threaten us with iron bullets, we use gold bullets' ('Protiv onih koji koriste željezne metke mi koristimo zlatne metke')* points to the inherent contradictions of the libertas discourse. Juraj reflects on the meanings ascribed to this saying:

> *The interpretation is that, when faced with 'barbarians' who come at you with iron weapon and swords, you use bribes or go above their head with gold and solve a problem. It's kind of a statement of how inland barbarians lived, and how people of Dubrovnik as a refined and cultural upper class, find a way to avoid barbaric wars through diplomacy. The use of this sentence is almost exclusively tied up with the Dubrovnik Republic's history and diplomacy.*

According to Juraj this saying is not commonly used in contemporary Dubrovnik, but is used more when talking of the Dubrovnik Republic ancestors. Some others said that the saying is sometimes repeated in today's society in the context of the increased commodification of culture and the urban centre due to post-war tourism development.

The second saying, *S svakim fino s nikim iskreno* (*Be friendly to everyone, but truthful/honest to no one*), dating back to the Dubrovnik Republic, is still cited in contemporary Dubrovnik. Many locals would repeatedly state that being skilled at diplomacy and being able to maintain good relations with competing powers were essential to preserving the autonomy and local character of Dubrovnik throughout its history. They would often draw comparisons to contemporary Dubrovnik, maintaining that this kind of strategy was still sensible in the aftermath of the 1990s war. Many informants said that this saying is still frequently evoked in today's society. Juraj reflects on the meanings of the saying today:

> *Today it is used, not with famous history and diplomacy, but with duplicity as a characteristic of Dubrovnik's people mentality, historically founded of course.*

According to Kunčević (2012), 19th century Dubrovnikans emphasized the Republic's cultural production, integral to a vision of a cultured, civilized Catholic 'frontier', holding out against what they perceived as 'barbaric' Ottomans and the threat of Islam. In contemporary Dubrovnik, he contends, the 1990s war has shifted emphasis onto the political legacy of the Republic. This argument harmonizes with my ethnography, which reveals a strong emphasis in contemporary discourse on the Dubrovnik Republic's diplomacy. Portrayed as an enduring,

almost 'innate' Dubrovnikan skill, diplomacy is seen as essential in maintaining the city's autonomy and identity throughout history, including the recent Yugoslavian past.

Marko, a young, male informant thinks that contemporary Dubrovnikans see it as a major trait of the city's history which is continuously cherished and evoked in the present:

> *Every year the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia organizes the summer school of diplomacy, in Dubrovnik, and they always, always mention the glorious times of the diplomacy of the Republic of Ragusa. So it goes to show that it's always active and that it's something that people really cherish and like to remember.*

The attention given to Ragusa's diplomatic relations is a recurring subject of self-admiration in contemporary cultural discourses. This type of self-praise is found in large number of public representations of Dubrovnik's heritage, especially in tourist pamphlets. The welcoming note by Andro Vlahušić, Mayor of Dubrovnik from 2009 to 2017, in *The Best of Dubrovnik,* is exemplary of this kind of 'self-praise':

> *Our wonderful ramparts, and the city built to measure within, is a legacy left to us by our ancestors. However, there is much more to our legacy than beautifully carved stone. Our long-lasting system of values is yet another legacy that enabled the survival of such a small country … We inherited the wisdom of Dubrovnik diplomacy, which enabled us to befriend the entire world and yet did not destroy the excellent underlying principle of this worthy system: freedom – not to be sold, not even for all the gold in the world*[156].

The Dubrovnik Republic's diplomatic skills and international relations take on another dimension locally, which has become increasingly significant after the Croatian war of Independence. The 'exceptional skills' of the Dubrovnik Republic in maintaining peace and autonomy are linked to the experiences of the Serbian-Montenegrin siege and 'heroic defence' of Dubrovnik during the war. The perception thus emerges of a society possessing 'near innate skills' of self-preservation, survival and peace amid powerful, hostile and war-mongering neighbouring powers. But though Croatia had no standing army and initially lacked weapons to match the 'aggressors'[157]', the war clearly involved real weapons and loss of life on both sides. Likewise, the Dubrovnik Republic did not only use diplomacy as a

156 Excerpt from *The Best of Dubrovnik* tourist pamphlet, Dubrovnik Tourist Board, September 2015.
157 This is the *emic* term used in Dubrovnik to refer to the Serbian-Montenegrin military troops who held Dubrovnik under siege for eight months from 1st October 1991 to 31st May 1992.

‘weapon’, but was involved in several armed conflicts with neighbouring peoples, often stemming from the desire to acquire a larger territory (Harris, 2003). The emphasis on Dubrovnik as ‘eternally’ being a place of peaceful relations, where real weapons were only used when its autonomy and identity was threatened, is a visible trait in contemporary and historical narratives of the city. The dramatic consequences of the Croatian war of independence – the tragic loss of lives and the frequent severing of friendships and family relationships – have transformed post-war identity constructions. However, in Dubrovnik it is not only the material destruction caused by shrapnel during the siege of the city that is experienced as a ‘wound’ to the citizens’ identities, but also the fact that its population had to fight and defend the city using real weapons. This caused a strong jolt to their identification as peaceful, civilized and gentle urbanites, who thought of themselves as particularly skilled in avoiding conflicts through negotiations and diplomacy. In a national context, Dubrovnik’s historical international relations, cultural milieu and production are highlighted primarily to position Croatia more at the heart of European cultural and political history, and not as a Balkan nation, or peripheral in a European context. However, Dubrovnik experiences itself as peripheral in Croatia.

The establishment of new state borders following Croatia’s independence, which cut off the County of Dubrovnik-Neretva from the rest of Croatia by the 20 km Bosnian coastal strip, heightened Dubrovnikans’ feeling of living in a peripheral part of the nation-state (see Figure 13).

Dubrovnik’s geo-political marginality has become an even more prominent theme in local identity discourses following Croatia’s EU accession in 2013. Many Dubrovnikans are concerned that the population of Dubrovnik-Neretva County will be involuntarily ‘left behind’ in the Balkans, while the rest of Croatia experiences increased connectivity with Western Europe through joining the EU. To those living in mainland Croatia, the scheduled inclusion of the country in the Schengen area in 2018 will symbolically facilitate Croatia’s ‘full reunification with Western-Europe’ through the opening inter-regional borders. Dubrovnik-Neretva County, on the other hand, will not feel the same benefits due to having to cross the Bosnian-Croatian border when travelling by road[158]. By emphasizing the importance

158 It must, of course, be noted that due to the steady increase in tourism, Dubrovnik airport (near Cavtat, approximately 20 km. south of Dubrovnik) increasingly provides connectivity to more international destinations. However, the cost of flying is generally too steep to the average Dubrovnikan, and most journeys are therefore taken by car. Weather conditions in the winter period also influence Dubrovnikans’ sense of isolation, especially

of historic Dubrovnik in the establishment of cultural and political connections with Western Europe and the Mediterranean, Dubrovnikans are trying to reverse the contemporary peripheral position of the city in national and European contexts.

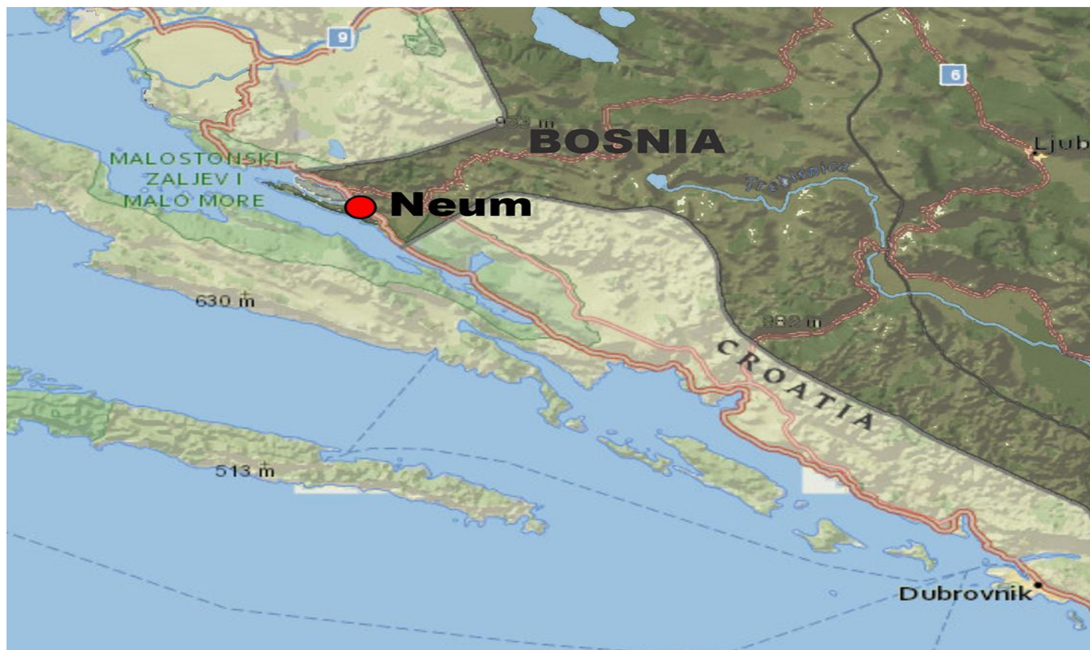

Figure 13. Map of the southern parts of the Dubrovnik-Neretva County, which is cut off by the 20 km. Bosnian land strip by Neum.

Although Dubrovnik also constituted a periphery in the Yugoslavian era, the city was described by Tito as 'Yugoslavia's window towards the West'. He repeatedly alluded to Dubrovnik's long-established international mercantile, political and cultural environment. As a nod to the Dubrovnik Republic's famous diplomacy, international political symposiums were often held in Dubrovnik during the Yugoslavian era, and 'important' international guests were usually taken to Dubrovnik in order to show off one of Yugoslavia's historic 'gems'. This was an established practice long before the city's UNESCO-enlistment in 1979, and the city's heritage continues to be used for national political purposes today.

But Croatians today feel they have finally realized the country's European identity through national independence, and more recently EU membership. As a result, Dubrovnik's significance has declined. Many of the city's citizens lament the city's formerly exalted

the strong Bura wind, which frequently causes international flights to be cancelled. Despite Dubrovnik authority's strategy to also develop international tourism in the winter period, most international flight destinations still only operate for part of the year, leaving travelling by road as the only option.

position in providing Yugoslavia's 'European connection', and perhaps more importantly, its foundational role in realising Croatia's desired independence.

The well-researched but somewhat glorifying history of the Dubrovnik Republic in Ahmetović's *Curiosities of Dubrovnik* (2008) exemplifies how the discourses of freedom, tolerance and harmonious communal relations are tied into the historical system of diplomacy. Ahmetović, a Muslim, Bosnian-born man who has lived in Dubrovnik since his early childhood, describes diplomacy as 'Dubrovnik's strongest weapon', essential to upholding its freedom:

> *With skilful diplomacy, Dubrovnikans managed to maintain at the same time good relations with all, even when the mighty protectors of their small state waged war…Dubrovnik diplomacy was characterized by exceptional wisdom and skill in the application of its work, by method and tact in communication with both close and distant neighbours, always avoiding any pretext for conflict" (2008:38-39).*

The Dubrovnik Republic is portrayed as having outstanding abilities in maintaining 'good relations with all', of always avoiding conflict, of being a hub of sophistication and knowledge, as well as being a place of peace amid hostile and war-mongering neighbours. These resemble the ways contemporary Dubrovnik is presented to both and internal and external audiences.

Ahmetović's (ibid.) account typically neglects the less comfortable and little discussed sides of the Republic's relations with the surrounding powers, particularly the undesired tributary paid to the Ottoman Empire to secure its independence. He prefers to elaborate on how the Dubrovnik Republic was favourably portrayed by Venetian, Turkish and French visitors and consuls. A passage quoting a Turkish visitor to Dubrovnik in 1664 harmonizes with contemporary self-perceptions in Dubrovnik – of a city that has always possessed the characteristics of inter-cultural delicacy, clever strategies and peaceful mannerisms:

> *These people [Dubrovnikans], who live quietly, shun everything that may disturb the peace … They face everyone in a kind and humble manner, and they are always cautious and attentive, and therefore they live in peace with all kings" (Ahmetović (2008:40).*

In local discourses there are numerous examples of the simplification and mythologization of Dubrovnik's history into one timeless past, the 'Dubrovnik Republic', revealing only those

aspects which fit with the intentions of the present. This is especially the case when heritage is used to promote tourism. Dubrovnik's small Jewish community – one of the oldest in Europe, the first synagogue was established in 1352 – is repeatedly highlighted in tourist pamphlets to demonstrate Dubrovnik's inclusivity. The emphasis placed on the Jewish synagogue in tourism pamphlets invites the conclusion that Dubrovnik has always been a peaceful, inclusive, cosmopolitan European city, where different ethnic-religious groups have co-inhabited harmoniously for centuries. Any mention of the atrocities carried out by the Ustaša on Jews during the Second World War, in Croatia and Dubrovnik, is nowhere to be found. The heritage of the Second World War – the Ustaše and Croatia's alliance with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy – constitutes an undesired heritage, which is purposefully under-communicated. This heritage continues to haunt Croatian-Serbian discourses and legitimization of intervention in the 1990s, and does not fit well with Dubrovnik's identity discourses of peaceful relations, diplomacy and gentle characteristics seamlessly stemming from the time of the Dubrovnik Republic.

Although a tendency towards such inclusive uses of heritage was undoubtedly present in Yugoslavian policies of 'brotherhood and unity', this shift has been especially pronounced since Croatia's changeover to global market economy. Within the capitalistic market logic, places, landscapes, monuments, buildings, city quarters, traditions, products and skills become complementary, and not exclusionary. They become assets to be used in tourism promotion. Their derivation, cultural and historic embeddedness, class character and symbolic importance for different ethnic-religious groups tends to be under-communicated. The desire is to display an image of harmonious heterogeneity and richness in sellable heritage attractions. The way that Dubrovnik's synagogue is repeatedly drawn on in tourism promotion is a clear example of this. The emphasis on Dubrovnik's Jewish community serves to present an image of Dubrovnik as always having been a tolerant and peaceful city, which in itself is useful in rebuilding trust in Dubrovnik as a safe and welcoming tourist destination. Furthermore, the promotion and compartmentalization of cultural traditions and religious diversity are used to increase the city's product potential. However, it is worth noting that in the media, and in the tourist industry's representations of the city's different ethnic-religious groups, it is always the Bosniak and Jewish communities which are emphasized. Given the traumatic experiences of the 1991 Dubrovnik siege, mostly carried out by Orthodox Serbs and Montenegrins, the Eastern Orthodox Church in Dubrovnik is rarely, if at all, used in tourism promotion.

Mira, a social worker and a former politician in the Dubrovnik Municipality, sees scant legacy of the Dubrovnik Republic in the local community today, but nonetheless views the Republic as a good model ‘to think with’:

> *I don’t think that any of it [the legacy of the Republic] lives on today! But it’s very nice and it’s good to cherish about that, and to have somewhere at least to remember what our values were. Maybe one day we’ll start to live up to that again, but right now I think none of it lives on today. There’s no vision, everything is just happening. I don’t think there’s a real plan of what’s going to happen tomorrow, what we want and where we are heading.*

Like Mira, many informants liked to think of the Dubrovnik Republic as a model for a ‘good society’, from which contemporary Dubrovnikans should learn. Such a perception was often based on an idea that the Dubrovnik Republic managed to maintain its strong civic values, while at the same time being internationally oriented towards commerce. This combination, many informants argued, had been lost after the war. When querying into how my informants thought that civic values have eroded, one informant responded that:

> *Civic values have been placed on the sideline of society as everyone is out for themselves and wish to earn as much money as possible on tourism. This was not the case in the Republic, and it was not like this in Yugoslavia either.*

In the period leading up to the EU referendum, the Dubrovnik Republic has aided in anchoring cultural identity and heritage as being both historically unique and internationally connected with a larger world. Not all Dubrovnikans, however, associate with the discourse on Dubrovnik Republic’s lasting presence in local society, nor do they perceive it as something positive, as it gives connotations of social and political disparities between power elites and the ‘ordinary’ people. To many Dubrovnikans with little formal education and lower level incomes, Catholicism instead provides a main point of reference to their identities.

Petra, a market stall vendor in her 50s, describes herself as a devout Catholic, but does not believe in institutionalized religion. To her, religion consists of a personal communion between herself and God through prayer, and not something to be controlled and manipulated by a religious leadership or the nation-state. Apart from on the annual St. Blaise celebration, which she sees as the most important festivity of Dubrovnikan identity, she rarely attends mass. During the Yugoslavian period, Petra thought of herself as both Catholic and a

Yugoslavian national. Although religion was repressed by the state in Yugoslavia (Perica 2002, Courtois 1999), Petra emphasizes that her family never experienced it as a problem to live as Catholics, nor was it problematic to interact with atheists or people with different religious faiths. According to her, a person's religion was not considered important then. But after the war, displaying one's religious belonging through churchgoing became one of the main ways of proclaiming national identity and discriminating between different groups. She says:

> *I don't like the people who are suddenly going to church now, but who never went before the war. It's popular now to be seen in church, so that's also the reason I don't like to go there.*

She thinks that many Croats go to church, not because they find it personally meaningful, but because they think that being seen to be an eager church-goer will help them to 'get on' in society find it easier to get a job. The perception of the post-war growth in Catholicism as being motivated by 'pragmatic choices' rather than by individual beliefs is held by many informants. Many felt that one of the main ways of showing oneself to be 'a good Croat' in contemporary society is found in 'displaying oneself' as a devout Catholic.

Jelena, a female informant in her early 40s, observed that many of her peers who had shown little or no interest in religion before the war, all of a sudden after Croatia's independence started to attend Sunday mass. Being an atheist herself, she admits to feeling depressed about witnessing increasing numbers of young Dubrovnikans attending church on Sundays. In a similar fashion that being a member of the Communist party in Yugoslavia was often an unspoken requirement or was thought to help individuals in getting certain positions of work in Yugoslavia, it is commonly held that being seen to frequently attend the Catholic Church will help individuals achieve the kinds of jobs they desire in contemporary Croatia. Some informants, both of religious and atheist persuasions, argued that these 'pragmatic' attitudes to religion have escalated in recent years, as the global economic crisis has hit Croatia. Given the widespread experiences of uncertainty and instability due to considerable falls in wages and available work positions and increased unemployment rates, many informants thought that religion increasingly serves a dual purpose to many Croatians nowadays. It is both an anchor of stability and meaning in unsettled social and economic times, and a means to 'get on the inside' of the local community, and improve one's chances of 'getting on' economically and socially.

Petra thinks that since Croatian independence religion and politics has become too intermixed. She strongly feels that Catholicism has been misused in order to manipulate nationalistic sentiments and to mobilize a political turn towards exclusion and intolerance. Reflecting on the change in how she felt about religion and nationhood before and after the war, she emphasizes a sense of being emotionally manipulated towards adopting nationalistic sentiments:

> *Sometimes I feel like a strong nationalist, especially after the war. Before the war it was all the same to me if someone was Serbian or Montenegrin…the people [in Yugoslavia] were the same, it didn't matter what religion they had…but after the war everything changed. I pray to God everyday: "Please God, take the hate out from my heart". I feel hatred of Serbs and it's so hard for me, because I'm not really that kind of person ... and my religion tells me not to hate anybody, to forget and to love … but I can't forget.*

Although desiring that Croatia will be able to let go of its troubled past and "move on to become a more inclusive and democratic country in future", she is simultaneously sceptical of claims that the political climate has changed in the recent years[159]. She thinks that a focus on Croatia's need or desire for 'Europeanization', typically found in political debates over Croatia's EU membership, has dominated the public sphere. Petra is opposed to EU membership and thinks that Croatia does not need to prove itself worthy of being a European nation *"as it culturally has always been European"*. She views the rush to join the EU as compromising some of Croatia's core cultural values. She feels alienated by the new political leadership and does not think they represent the Croatia she associates with:

> *When I watch TV it often makes me angry, especially when it's about politics. I don't like the new government in Croatia. The president is not my president and the premier [prime minister] is not my premier. The president is agnostic and the premier is an atheist. Croatia is a Catholic country and I think it's a shame that the two leaders of Croatia don't believe in God*[160].

On many issues, Petra clearly values civic identity above that of ethnic and religious derivation. She expresses clear cosmopolitan, inclusive perspectives on the role of heritage in

159 From interview in October 2012. 'The new government' refers to the Croatian parliamentary election in 2011. Zoran Milanović was elected as Prime minister. It also refers to the Croatian presidential election in 2009 where Ivo Josipović was elected President.

forming identities. She voices a deep affinity with ‘modern Europe’, yet she readily admits that her war experiences have substantially transformed her feelings towards Serbs. She feels that they have fuelled strong nationalistic sentiments in her, but these feelings cause internal conflict as these emotions are far removed from the way she has experienced ethnic-religious cohabitation in Yugoslavia and her civic and cosmopolitan inclinations. Thinking and talking about the war often makes her feel upset, yet she also feels a need to explain how her experiences of war have profoundly changed her and have created many conflicting emotions which occasionally makes everyday life difficult. Until a few years ago, her market stall was positioned next to a Serbian Orthodox market vendor in his 50s. He had lived in Dubrovnik for over 40 years. Petra explains how, due to his religious-ethnic background, she often found it problematic to interact with him and remain polite. Many of the other market vendors would ask her why she disliked him so strongly. They did not see his ethnic-religious background as being of much significance as they thought of him as polite, and furthermore, he had lived in Dubrovnik most of his life. When confronted with such questions she could only protest that her resentment stemmed from her dislike of Orthodox Serbs because of the war. Petra freely admits that she knows this alone should not be enough of a reason, but she says the war has profoundly changed her and she cannot help feeling this way. In our conversations, Petra frequently emphasizes that she felt no resentments against Orthodox Serbs before the war and thinks that these emotions were largely constructed and manipulated by 'the outside', particularly by the government, the Church and the media.

Petra describes Dubrovnik as always having been a ‘town with a lot of religions’. She asserts that there were no tensions between the religious groups of Dubrovnik until the start of the war. Petra's conflicted perceptions and experiences of nationalism and ethnic resentment chime with Gagnon's analysis (see earlier in this chapter) of 'the myth of deep-seated ethnic hatred'.

A large number of my informants with higher education would openly speak about how they generally perceive themselves as ‘Europeans’ or ‘cosmopolitan world citizens’. However after gaining their confidence many would admit that they find it troubling that their war experiences continue to instil a degree of resentment towards people of Serbian and Montenegrin backgrounds. *“I really wish it was different…”* Zeta, a female tourist guide told me, then she continued:

But I don't feel ready to leave the past behind and interact with Serbs after everything that has happened...Perhaps I will feel differently in future as more time passes! I really hope that one day we will be able to just see each other as fellow human beings sharing one planet!

Zeta generally sees herself as 'a cosmopolitan' and European citizen. She thinks it is important to convey to the tourists visiting Dubrovnik that its citizens are ready to welcome everyone to the city as *goste (guests)*, no matter which country they come from. At the same time she admits that she still does not feel ready to travel across the border to Montenegro or Serbia, as the experiences of war are still too fresh to her. Although she sees Dubrovnik as a place the 'belongs to the entire world' and not just its citizens or Croatia, her identity is also so bound up with the city that she experienced the war damage inflicted on the city as an attack on her own identity. Although the city has been restored to near perfection, she thinks it will take a lot longer for its citizens to open up and include everyone regardless of their background, as it takes a long time to rebuild trust.

Petra deeply wishes that she could leave her resentment behind and move on, but finds it difficult to do so. But her hatred is fuelled and nourished by often being reminded of the Croatian war of Independence through television programmes and news reports. During one of our first conversations, in 2009, she reflected:

When watching something on TV on the war ... oh my God ... then I come [to work] in the morning and say to him [the Serbian market vendor]; 'please don't say anything to me today'.

Although she views ethnic resentment as being partly constructed, Petra insists that one cannot ignore how the actual experiences of war traumas have influenced ethnic relations, and as such, have become 'lived realities' for many Croatians. In post-war society, she frequently notices that personal experiences of the war have made large differences to the kinds of perceptions which individuals hold. She often notices differences in perceptions between those who stayed in Croatia during the war and those who left the country to return when it was safe again. And she finds these contrasting attitudes disconcerting. Sometimes such differences can even be problematic within her own family. Having given birth to Petra less than two weeks before the attacks on Dubrovnik started, Petra remained in the city throughout the war. Since her husband volunteered in the improvised, local army throughout the siege and until the end of the war, she did not see it as possible to leave the city. Nika, her then

teenage daughter from her first marriage, moved to live with Petra' sister in Buenos Aires. After Nika returned to Croatia and a close friend of hers got married, Petra remembers a particularly uncomfortable situation when she asked her daughter the name of her friend's husband. When she realized the ethnic derivation of his surname, she could not help exclaiming; *"My God, he's Serbian!"* Nika, on the other hand, did not see this as being of any significance and would repeatedly tell her *"Mum, children don't choose their parents*!" Although Petra thinks her daughter's attitude is sensible and is glad her daughter feels differently to her, she still finds it impossible to see beyond people's ethnic-religious backgrounds. However, she emphasizes that it is only Orthodox Serbs that she has a problem with, as she is convinced that Montenegrins or Bosnians "don't hate us". She does not distinguish between Orthodox Serbs who have grown up in Serbia and those who have grown up or lived a long time in Croatia:

> *They are the same ... it's in their blood. The Serbian people are a special people. They feel good wherever they are, and feel that they're always right. And I don't like that. They made the difference, not us[161]. The Serbian people have a problem, and I'm afraid it will be a problem again ... not in 10, 20, or 30 years, but sometime in the future. They have their politics and army. They are such a kind of people.*

To validate her perceptions of Orthodox Serbs as being highly nationalistic and unwilling to integrate in other cultural contexts, Petra recounts being immensely provoked recently by a chat show on a Serbian TV channel. At some point in the programme, the Serbian host exclaimed to a foreign interviewee, *"Wherever a Serbian flag is placed, it's Serbia".* Petra thinks that this type of attitude is typical of 'all Serbian people', unrelated to where they settle down. She is convinced that the Serbian minority who live in Dubrovnik do not experience many difficulties and have friends from Catholic Croat backgrounds, yet they often show an unwillingness to integrate in local community. Petra' earlier reflections on how peoples' religious-ethnic backgrounds were of little importance in Yugoslavia stands in contrast to her reflections of Serbian nationalism as being 'in their blood'. This contradiction illustrates an ambivalence many Croatians feel regarding the degree to which cultural traits are related to the prevailing socio-political climate or endowed through ethnic-religious lineage. Petra' present-day conflicted relationship with Orthodox Serbs is made even more apparent when she recalls the details about her first marriage. The fact that her previous husband grew up in

[161] Petra refers to the role of the Serbian-Montenegrin military forces during the 1990s war.

Serbia and his parents were ethnically Montenegrin and Serbian sometimes makes her relationship to her elder daughter, Nika, difficult:

> *My daughter didn't grow up with hate. I never made any differences [between Croats and Serbs] in the past, because my first love was from Serbia and I loved him so much. So it didn't matter before, but unfortunately now I have a problem with Serbian people. In front of my daughter I can't say anything wrong about Serbian people … I have to control myself and never said anything bad.*

Despite these tensions, Petra describes her relationship with her daughter as very close, and thinks it is important that she does not transmit her resentment towards Serbs to younger generations. Otherwise, she is convinced that hatred will fuel more hatred and continue to split and divide groups from each other, thus never enabling people to move away from their troubled pasts. In my conversations with Petra, it was evident that her experiences of having lived through the war had not only profoundly affected her very being and inner emotional life, but also strongly conditioned her practices and communal interactions. Despite an awareness that individual Serbs living in Dubrovnik today did not 'cause the war' and most likely suffered, she still finds it nearly impossible to interact with anyone of Serbian Orthodox background. However, our conversations also illuminated the way that, in the post-war context, there are other dimensions to inclusion and exclusion, unrelated to a person's ethnic or religious background. Petra makes it clear that there will always be a certain perceptual and experiential gap between her and Nika, closely associated with their divergent experiences of the past. This creates a certain friction in their present-day relationship. Petra is clearly very loving with her daughter and tries her best to prevent the burdens of her own experiences being transmitted to her daughter. She makes it clear that her daughter too feels empathy with her mother's trauma, but it saddens her that their relationship will always be marked with an impossibility to fully understand each other's perspectives, since Nika 'wasn't there' during the war. This brings to light another dimension of inclusion and exclusion, which relates closely to the experiential level. In many conversations with Dubrovnikans, the issue of 'those who were in Dubrovnik' and 'those who left the city' during the war was often used as a divisional marker, frequently overriding ethnic-religious divisions. When exploring with my informants issues of tolerance and interaction between the different ethnic and religious groups, I would often hear statements such as:

It doesn't matter which religion or ethnicity one comes from. What matters is that we were here together in Dubrovnik during the war and defended our city.

Several Dubrovnikans who had left the country or even the city during the war stressed that the experience of returning had been difficult as they were frequently met with a degree of hostility and resentment. There was an accusatory attitude that the fact they left the country when the war broke out made them into 'traitors' of the city and resulted in their being somewhat 'lesser Croatian' than those who remained and lived through the suffering. Most of these informants highlighted that as time passed since the war, the feelings of being branded as traitors thankfully waned. However, the feeling of always being seen as 'on the outside', to an extent, due to the experiential gap between those who experienced and did not experience the war still remains. Laura, a teacher who left for the USA during the war, reflects on how the fact that she left Dubrovnik during the war has made her feel 'on the outside' ever since:

When I returned to Dubrovnik after the war, I could hardly recognize the city! I mean, the city looked the same and was over time restored perfectly, but everything else had changed. The citizens had changed and I found myself on the outside. I still feel that the city I grew up in has changed for good.

When Laura talks about how Dubrovnik has changed 'for good' she emphasizes the great concern she has with how ethnic-religious intolerance and nationalism are passed on between the generations. Laura works as a primary school teacher and has frequently witnessed that, in families where the war experiences have strongly affected the parents, intolerance and nationalistic sentiments are often relayed by the pupils, despite the fact that these children have not had had any first-hand experiences of the war.

Marina, an employee at the University of Dubrovnik, thinks that it is difficult for her to gain a real insight into whether minority groups experience discrimination in Croatian society. This, she argues, is because she belongs to the majority ethnic group and works in what she perceives as a mostly tolerant work environment. She sees it as problematic that employers of all ethnic-religious groups, almost exclusively select their employees from the same ethnic or cultural group. She thinks that the possibility for developing a mutual understanding of each other's suffering and increasing tolerance is therefore limited:

In my daily life I am not surrounded by people who hate so, in a sense, I don't really know what goes on beneath the surface or how people of other religions experience

these issues. But I can tell you that if a certain [work] position is available and if this position is highly ranked, let's say at local government level and they're looking for a lawyer, there's still a big problem with putting Serb or a Muslim in that position. I don't think anybody would say anything. But it's kind of like under the surface that somebody from Dubrovnik [should be employed] ... They're not asking how much you know, they're just asking who you know.

Marina thinks this tendency exists as much among people from ethnic minorities. For example, if someone from Herzegovina is running a company "all the employees will be from Herzegovina". This likewise applies to Muslim-run businesses, according to Marina. However, she is adamant that people from minorities face a high level of discrimination in their everyday life: *"It's horrific to be a minority in Croatia because there's no tolerance. We're so very far from being a tolerant country",* she reflects.

The Continuing Significance of Descent

Miran, a Dubrovnikan in his late 30s, conveyed that in post-war Dubrovnik ethnic minority groups and people born of mixed marriages often have a much harder time gaining acceptance. Miran's mother is a Croat Catholic and his father is a Montenegrin Muslim. His parents are divorced and he has grown up in Dubrovnik with his mother and has culturally been raised within the ambit of Catholicism. Miran mostly perceives himself as a Croat. However, due his surname, which is Muslim, he has encountered many problems and has been stigmatized as an outsider from what he experiences as his own culture. Miran remembers several incidents from his youth of being stigmatized due to his Muslim surname. On one occasion in the 1990s, when he was eighteen and had just completed his driving test, he and a friend of Croat ethnicity were stopped by a police officer and asked to provide their ID cards. While his friend was handed back his ID card without any queries, Miran was given a hard time and unreasonably accused by the police officer of stealing. He is convinced that the only reason for this accusation was his Muslim surname. As time has elapsed since the war, he has encountered fewer direct incidents of being stigmatization. However, he sees prejudice against Muslims in the Balkans as *'something which has happened for hundreds of years'* and he regards a *'heritage of hate*' as a prominent legacy across the entire Balkans. Many Dubrovnikans talked about how a person's names were important in how other people perceive them. Concerns about the significance of names were particularly expressed by those who had mixed family ancestry – where the name would reveal a non-Croat ancestry.

However, Zrinka, a Croat woman in her early 40s, told me that in the Balkans naming has always carried deeper significance and been about the politicized identities in the region. Therefore, she thinks no one escapes being judged by his or her name. One of the first times we met, Zrinka told me that her name was very much part of her identity and family ancestry, and that her dad deliberately chose names for her and her brother as a 'political and cultural statement'. Zrinka's name derives from the 'noble' Zrinski family, much celebrated defenders of the *antemurale christianitatis* (see Chapter 5). Zrinka was born in 1971, the year the Croatian Spring was heavily suppressed by the Yugoslavian authorities. Zrinka tells me that that although her dad's political allegiance was to the Communist party, the name he gave her was intended to be a 'clear statement' of his family's Croat identity. He thought it should be possible to be both politically a communist and, at the same time, proud of one's Croat culture and ancestry.

Despite the general turn towards Europeanization and cosmopolitan identity constructions, many informants repeatedly referred to a continued cultural emphasis on a person's family lineage. Those who could prove that their family ancestry went back to 'noble' Dubrovnikan families were still given higher esteem in the local community. Andro, a music-school teacher in his 40s, reflects:

> *In Croatia and in the Balkans generally, every aspect of identity has something to do with the past…we 'wear' our heritage through our own family. In Croatia and especially in Dubrovnik, issues of what family you come from are very important. In former Yugoslavia it was not so much important if you were a Serb, a Croat, a Slovenian or a Montenegrin, but it was much more important if you came from a notable and noble family.*

With a touch of irony and disdain he adds that although many people came from other parts of the Balkans or the Mediterranean throughout history, newcomers have generally assimilated quickly, wishing to become *'real, proper Dubrovnik men'*[162]. He thinks that Dubrovnik has always had such a 'strong imprint' on anyone who settles down there and that most desire and strive to 'become Dubrovnikans'. But he thinks that, with the changing demographics after Croatia's independence, this 'is all gone now'. Many informants expressed similar views and would often assert that the new population groups settling Dubrovnik do not identify with the city and its way of life in the same way as past newcomers. Andro thinks that one of the main

162 *Fetivi Dubrovčani* (plural), *fetivi Dubrovčanin (male) and fetivi Dubrovkinja (female)*.

reasons locals occasionally bring up their identification with the Dubrovnik Republic in conversations with one another is that it is 'the only good thing' they can think of in the past. Affiliation with the Dubrovnik Republic constitutes the crux of identity constructions and is mostly thought of as an ideal. As a music teacher, he witnesses daily how social hierarchies and differentiation are being conveyed and reproduced already in his pupils' childhoods. By insisting their children attend the prestigious classical musical school he teaches at, he thinks families attempt to differentiate their children and shape them to become 'genuine Dubrovnikans'. However, to be perceived as a 'genuine Dubrovnikan' one also has to have 'the right' kind of family lineage, preferably that of a family of a 'notable' Dubrovnikan name, stemming from Dubrovnik for as far back as one can trace. He thinks that all across the Balkans it is nearly impossible to escape one's descent and that this aspect, if anything, has only become strengthened after the dissolution of Yugoslavia. Many of my informants felt that, although it was preferable that one's ancestry could be traced back to Dubrovnik itself, families with distant ancestry in Italy are generally revered and awarded higher cultural status. Whereas families with ancestry in the interior parts of the Balkans find it much harder to be accepted as 'real, genuine Dubrovnikans'. Before I knew anything about Andro's ancestry I noticed that he would often locate Croatia by stating 'here in the Balkans' rather than 'here in Europe', as most people did. This spatial and cultural referencing deviated significantly from the general cultural discourses which attempt to disassociate Croatia from its Balkan neighbours.

Andro and his father both grew up in Dubrovnik, but his father's parents came from the largely Serbian Orthodox nearby city of Trebinje in Herzegovina. In the post-war period, Dubrovnikans have had a very conflicted relationship with Trebinje and several Dubrovnikans told me that they would never travel there 'after what happened during the war'. This referred to the memory that many of Trebinje's citizens had participated in the 1991 attacks on Dubrovnik and large numbers of the Dubrovnikan Orthodox population had fled to Trebinje immediately before the attacks. Some informants allegedly knew former Dubrovnikan Orthodox citizens who had been informed by citizens of Trebinje about the upcoming attacks on the city and left in secret a couple of days before. And when their families were safely in Trebinje, the males had joined the Serbian-Montenegrin attacks on Dubrovnik. One young informant told me that, although he did not know whether the Orthodox Serbs who had moved back to Dubrovnik from Trebinje after the war had actively participated in or supported the attacks on Dubrovnik, he still found it nearly impossible to trust anyone of

Orthodox faith who came from Trebinje. Given the strong climate of distrust and the 'silent hostility' that still very much exists between the two cities, Andro's conscious usage of Croatia's belonging to both the Balkans and Europe is significant. It reflects the sadness he feels over how his father, due to his ancestry, unwillingly feels forced to claim a Serbian Orthodox identity, despite having always lived in Dubrovnik:

> *Ethnically, my father is Christian Orthodox, in some distant past probably a Serb or Montenegrin. My father strongly identifies himself as a Dubrovnikan. That's his primal identity, Dubrovnikan! And since he was not Croat he also identified himself as a Yugoslavian. Nowadays there is no possibility of declaring yourself as a Yugoslavian [and] he's forced to be a Serb, which he cannot be. I think in a certain way he's nostalgic about Yugoslavia, which I can completely understand as his identity has nothing to do with being Serb. He's Dubrovnik Orthodox man!*

Many Dubrovnikans reflected on how ethnicity and religion was much less relevant in the former Yugoslavia and that civic identification with Dubrovnik brought people together across ethnic and religious schisms. Although descent has always been part of local identity constructions, it was not as much a person's ethnic and religious descent which was decisive in passing the test of being a 'genuine' Dubrovnikan, but first and foremost the numbers of generations of one's family who belonged to the city. Today, due to the traumatic war experiences and the involvement of Serbs in the siege of Dubrovnik, being of Serbian Orthodox descent can often be difficult even if one's parents grew up in Dubrovnik. Although these sentiments are not always apparent in social life and it is relatively common for Serbs and Croats to interact with one another, many Dubrovnikans find it hard to overcome anti-Serb sentiments. Although most Dubrovnikans described the religious-ethnic situation as having improved since time has passed since the war, certain ethnic and religiously loaded symbols can still provoke dissonance. Many Dubrovnikans told me about how nationalistic Serbs coming to Dubrovnik for summer vacations in the first decade after the war would raise three fingers (the long finger, index finger and thumb) in the religious 'greeting' of the holy trinity "just to provoke" Croats. Although this 'greeting' was historically also a part of Catholicism, in recent history it has become appropriated as a symbol of being an Orthodox Serb and is often used by nationalistic Serbs.

Although most of Dubrovnik's walled centre, including the Pile gate and its monuments, has been restored following the war damage, the index finger of the St. Blaise sculpture above the

Pile gate, which originally was raised in the 'greeting' of the holy trinity, has curiously not been restored. Early on in my 2009 fieldwork, one informant told me that the reason why the finger has not been restored is because of how this 'greeting' today is regarded as provocative and connoting Serbian Orthodox belonging. Throughout my different fieldwork periods, I made several attempts to ask different locals working in the fields of restoration, conservation and urban planning about when the damage to the St. Blaise sculpture occurred and why the finger had not been restored. The answers I got were generally very evasive and no one showed any willingness to provide me with concrete information about the matter. A few people speculated that the damage to the sculpture's finger had occurred during the 1979 earthquake, but most claimed that it had happened on December 6th 1991, locally named *Crni Petak* (Black Friday), since this was the day of the heaviest bombardment of the city centre. Often their speculations would quickly be followed up with comments such as, 'what a tragedy this day was for Dubrovnik's heritage' and the conversation would thereafter be steered away from the mystery of St. Blaise's missing finger. Observing how the issue seemed to cause unease, I did not press the issue. The particular circumstances of the damage caused to the St. Blaise sculpture, and the lack of restoration thereafter, remain unclear. However, the 'missing finger of St. Blaise' (see Figure 14) represents an example of the conflict which occasionally occurs between the desire to restore and preserve Dubrovnik's heritage (where St. Blaise epitomizes centuries' long heritage dating back to the Dubrovnik Republic), and the desire to eliminate all nationalistically loaded religious symbols used by the 'opposing side'.

Figure 14. 'The missing finger of St. Blaise'. Photograph by Celine Motzfeldt Loades.

Strangers Within

In many conversations with Dubrovnikans, it was evident that otherness and cultural borders were also shaped within the city that did not relate to religious or ethnic differences. Many of my Croatian informants viewed the Balkan interior as a place of uncivilized, crude, peasant-like, tribal, confrontational and unsubtle peoples. These kinds of attitudes were usually accompanied by a certain degree of embarrassment. They often arose in connection with the large numbers of rural immigrants from Herzegovina who arrived in Dubrovnik during and after the war. These 'internal' immigrants were placed in opposition to the long-standing 'sophisticated', cultured and cosmopolitan city culture, which Dubrovnikans were perceived to be immersed in.

Most informants admitted that they felt these immigrants were 'simple' and 'rowdy', and have not integrated well into 'the Dubrovnik way of life'. This 'way of life' referred to the Dubrovnik Republic, a way of comporting oneself and of relating to the urban environment. Many of the cultural stereotypes applied to population groups deriving from dissimilar

regional and topographical conditions have been reproduced for several centuries and the socio-structural hierarchies attached to each of these have undergone few changes. Yet, particular transformative historical events have provided additional meaning or shifted somewhat the degree to which certain groups and customs are seen as 'alien' and 'threatening'.

Migration from the Dalmatian Zagora and West-Herzegovina to the Dalmatian coast has a long history. Migration from the hinterland has provided Dalmatians with a 'counterpart' against which to shape their identities as coastal-rural or coastal-urban peoples, intertwined with the Mediterranean cultures and lifestyles. However, the increased emotional intensity deriving from the recent war experiences, as well as heightened migration from the hinterland to the coast, has exposed the existing cultural dichotomies of superior versus inferior and 'cultured' versus 'uncultured'. These stereotypes portray the presence of Herzegovinians as a threat to the endurance of urban, coastal culture and civilization. This negative emphasis on Herzegovinians as the main perpetrators in 'ruining the local identity' in the Dubrovnik region has also been strengthened by considerable co-ethnic migration across the whole Balkan Peninsula following the dissolution of Yugoslavia, and consequently ethnic-religious homogenization of the region. Due to this homogenization the coastal Dalmatian population generally have little daily contact with people of different beliefs or ethnicities. The differences in Herzegovinian lifestyle and traditions, regardless of whether these are real or imagined, mean that these groups become easy prey to 'othering' and exclusion.

The ways in which Herzegovinians and other groups stemming from the Zagora (hinterland) are conceptualized in opposition to city dwellers often draws on customs and clothing. These contrasts are thought to mark out the perceived differences of 'the civilized' city dwellers versus 'the uncivilized' mountain people. Similar notions are present in other parts of post-war Croatia, as well as in urban areas of the former Yugoslavia. In his article, *"Who's Afraid of the White Socks"*, Jansen (Jansen 2005) deconstructs how self-perceptions among urban populations in the Croatian and Serbian capitals, Zagreb and Belgrade, in the 1990s used clothing as symbols to 'other' these groups and brand them as 'uncivilized'. A common term in the 1990s for Herzegovinians who re-settled in the two capitals after the dissolution of Yugoslavia was *bijele carape* (white socks). Among urban populations, *bijele carape* was used as a derogatory term, referring to how Herzegovinians allegedly wore white socks regardless of the colour of their shoes. This was seen as a sure sign of someone who was not from the city and did not know the cultural codes of city living and the aesthetic 'knowledge'

of how to dress like an urban *gospođin* (gentleman) or *gospođa* (lady) (see below). Dressing 'properly' in the cities, at least in the past, involved adjusting one's socks according to the colour of one's shoes. The term, *bijele carape*, also most likely refers to traditional clothing in the mountainous hinterland, where socks were usually white and made of wool (ibid).

Marko, who grew up within Dubrovnik's walled centre, claims that he can identify someone from Herzegovina from a long distance. However, he asserts that it is not due to their clothes that he can recognize a difference from people raised in Dubrovnik. Instead, he can discern differences in the way that people from Herzegovina relate to one another:

> *What is telling is their way of communication. You can often hear that they are 'loud', they shout at each other across certain distance. For example, in Dubrovnik, what would be seen as a non-gentlemanly conduct is shouting on Stradun [the main street]. For instance, if you saw your friend approaching from, say, 10-15 meters away, you'd wait for him or her to approach you and then start talking, whereas it is a common stereotype – yet proven on a daily basis – that they [Herzegovinians'] would shout, like, "Hey, buddy!!! What's up!!!" even from ten meters away.*

The theme of Herzegovinians as being 'loud' and 'uncontained' in social interactions was a recurring feature when discussing with my informants the underlying reasons why these 'newcomers' were so little accepted in local culture. However, my informants' opinions of clear cultural differences and contrasts in mannerisms between 'real Dubrovnikans' (see below) and populations originating from Herzegovina was nearly always accompanied by some unease and embarrassment, as 'talking down' about other people is not considered part of the gentle mannerisms of a Dubrovnik *gospođin (gentleman)* or *gospođa (lady)*. The intensification in the numbers of migrants from the Dalmatian Zagora and Herzegovina who have re-settled in the urban, coastal areas of Dalmatia, especially since the Second World War, has created different dimensions to alterity and identification, which are largely unrelated to ethnic-religious belonging.

The large population influx from the Dalmatian Zagora since the Second World War has significantly altered the demographic composition of the urban, coastal populations in Dalmatia. The centres and peripheries no longer exhibit 'neat' correspondences between geographical locations, cultural characteristics, and socio-economic and political power. For instance, in Split, the large numbers of Herzegovinians who have arrived since the Second World War have had a strong influence on the city's local culture and now constitute a

majority. The segments of Split's population, which originate from the Dalmatian Zagora, have played a vital role in industrial and economic developments of the city, such as shipbuilding. These groups' socio-economic and cultural impacts on urban life in Split are uncomfortable truths to many citizens who consider themselves as stemming from the 'original' urban, coastal population, and who wish to submerge the influences of Balkan cultures on Dalmatian coastal cities. Although Split's population is roughly four times that of Dubrovnik, similar tensions and dynamics are equally conspicuous in Dubrovnik's cultural life. The merging of different population groups into the urban 'centres' has tended to reinforce perceptions that different city quarters (*četvrt*) constitute centres and peripheries. In several Dalmatian coastal cities, including Dubrovnik and Split, there are palpable tensions between inhabitants whose families have resided in the coastal cities for generations and the populations whose family origins can be traced back to the Dalmatian Zagora. This brings into conflict issues of locality, personal and city identities, social status, cultural heritage and power-relations.

Inhabitants from the Dalmatian islands who have re-settled in the urban, coastal Dalmatian towns and cities have generally been better received and have had an easier time in assimilating than those who originate from the Dalmatian Zagora and Herzegovina. Some of the main reasons for this are the longer history of cultural and maritime contact between the islanders and the coastal populations, and the shared experience of living by the sea. Whereas the Catholic Croatian populations from Dalmatian Zagora and Herzegovina historically have had closer cultural and commercial contact with the cultures of interior Balkans and the Ottoman Empire, the Dalmatian populations inhabiting the islands and coastal area have been subjected to strong cultural influences from the Mediterranean.

'Real Dubrovnikans'

In the daily lives of Dubrovnikans, more prominent aspects of exclusion often stem from assuming that certain cultural characteristics follow regional ethnography and different modes of habitation. This shapes notions of 'the acceptable self' and 'the misplaced other'. Whether someone is from the 'highlands' or the 'lowlands', from inland areas or the coast, or if one's family ancestry can be 'proved' to stem from generations of 'city dwellers' or 'rural peasants', tends to provide more formative perceptual frameworks in the constructions of selfhood and in constructing 'the strangers within'. These dynamics draw on long-standing cultural stereotypes and inter-regional cultural and political dynamics. They relate to cultural

discourses on the 'Europeanization' versus 'Balkanisation' of national and local cultures, and accompanying dichotomies of purity versus impurity, civilized versus uncivilized, modern versus backward and superior versus inferior. In daily encounters between the different members of the local communities in Dubrovnik and surrounding areas, certain population groups – namely the migrants stemming from Western-Herzegovina and the Dalmatian Zagora (the hinterland) – represent 'the stranger within'. Despite being nearly unanimously of Croat ethnicity and belonging to the Catholic faith, these groups of 'new-settlers' are often excluded from being part of 'the local'. Interestingly, this form of exclusion and the attachment of cultural characteristics of being 'primitive', 'backward' and 'uncultured' is often bestowed upon Herzegovinians regardless of how many generations ago their families migrated to the Dalmatian coast.

Certain groups of urban dwellers consider themselves *fetivi Dubrovčani* ('real or genuine Dubrovnikans – plural version)[163]. Use of this term implies a notion of the historical continuity and visible presence of 'the real', i.e. 'original', urban, coastal population in contemporary Dubrovnik[164]. The lexeme, *fetivi* (real, genuine), is a self-descriptive, emic term which has become a blanket description of the urban populations of the coastal cities, and is mostly unrelated to ethnic-religious heritage. However, when deconstructing the local usage of the lexeme, the *fetivi* are generally considered to be the Latinized, Slavic populations whose culture is distinctly influenced by Mediterranean lifestyles and civic values, similar to other former city-states across the Adriatic ocean. Many codes of conduct, such as the ways one speaks and relates to other citizens and how one interacts with and moves around the urban environment, are adopted and embodied in order to show oneself to be a *fetivi*. The usage of *fetivi* is thus dependent on the cultural context – on who utters it and who one is communicating with. Being *fetivi* relates less to a person's ethnic and religious background and more to their family's geographical origins and how many generations one can trace as having ancestry in Dubrovnik. People of Islamic, Orthodox Christian, Jewish faiths, or Catholic faiths, could potentially claim to be a *fetivi* if their families have resided in urban, coastal Dalmatia for several generations. Consequently, a Muslim or Serbian inhabitant of

163 The male version of 'real/genuine Dubrovnikan' is *fetivi Dubrovčanin* and the female version is *fetivi Dubrovkinja* or *fetivi Dubrovčanka*. *Fetivi dubrovački* refers to inanimate things, such as cultural customs, food or buildings, which are considered authentically Dubrovnikan.

Dubrovnik who can ‘prove’ his or her family ancestry to Dubrovnik can make a claim to be a *fetivi Dubrovčanin* or a *fetivi Dubrovkinja/ Dubrovčanka*. On the contrary, it would be harder for a Catholic Croat living in Dubrovnik, whose ancestry stems from the Dalmatian Zagora, to declare himself/herself to be a *fetivi Dubrovkinja/ Dubrovčanka*, despite having grown up in Dubrovnik and having parents and even grandparents who have also grown up in the same city. As a young, male citizen, himself with family ancestry within the walled centre of Dubrovnik, put it:

> *The religious and ethnic background is irrelevant as long as [the] people were born and raised in Dubrovnik, but it helps if their families have been established in the city for a longer time.*

My ethnographic research, however, indicates that in common Dalmatian usage *fetivi* does not include all coastal city dwellers, but is a more exclusive term mostly used to refer to Catholic Croats – but more importantly to those who can ‘prove’ their family heritage as urban coastal dwellers for many generations. Furthermore, to use the lexeme about oneself or someone else, implies that such a person is well acquainted with and embodies the Mediterranean-style, urban Dalmatian ‘civic codes’. A majority of my informants from Dubrovnik were cautious not to utter any derogatory remarks concerning people from the Dalmatian hinterland when in my presence. However, recurring comments such as *“I can spot a Herzegovinian at the other end of Stradun*[165] *by the way they walk and by their loud voices!”* reveal the perceived importance of civic codes in order to pass as a ‘genuine’ Dubrovnikan. The perception of the socio-cultural superiority of the urban, coastal population, the *fetivi*, is widespread among Dubrovnik’s cultural milieu. But it is not received unquestioningly by everyone. In fact, these perceptions, and the accompanying emphasis of the lasting legacy of Dubrovnik Republic in contemporary local cultural discourse, form some of the main lines of resistance for young Dubrovnikan artists, musicians, students, academics and others. However, it cannot be ignored that the perceived asymmetrical cultural power-relationships between people possessing family ancestry in coastal cities and in the Dalmatian Zagora is also a major area

of identity complex for those of my informants whose families originated in the Dalmatian Zagora, but who themselves had grown up in Dubrovnik.

Jelena, a woman in her early 40s, thinks that few young Dubrovnikans refer to themselves as *fetivi Dubrovčanin* (male) and *fetivi Dubrovkinja* (female) today. When it is used, it is often with a degree of humour. I experienced an example of this when I attended a celebration of the 1 Millionth tourist arriving in the Port of Dubrovnik (cruise ship and ferry passengers put together) in 2015. At the event, I got talking to representatives from Dubrovnik's Port Authority. The two colleagues humorously teased each other that they are *fetivi Dubrovčanin* (male) and *fetivi Dubrovkinja* (female). When I indicated I recognized what they meant by the term, there was glimmer in their eyes. While the young Port Authority staff used the term *fetivi* in a tongue in cheek fashion, alluding to themselves in this manner served the real purpose of bridging their family ancestries and their official roles in cruise tourism.

While the concept of being a *fetivi Dubrovčanin* or *fetivi Dubrovkinja* appeared to carry less real meaning to younger citizens of Dubrovnik, to certain others of older age groups the perceived fragmentation of Dubrovnik's 'civic codes', embodied in the term of being a *fetivi Dubrovčanin*, were seen as implying a destruction of Dubrovnikan identity. I once got talking to a man, probably in his sixties, seated by the Gundulić sculpture on the market square and drinking alcohol disguised in a paper bag. He had once been a tailor, but after his business had failed he had taken to drinking. When talking about how he experienced life in Dubrovnik he immediately stated that *"how can I enjoy life in this city anymore, when 'real Dubrovnikans' now are in the minority and the town has been taken over by the new settlers."* He stated that although he viewed the large numbers of tourists as a bit of a nuisance, he didn't think tourists have much real impact on local community. But he saw the groups of people from Herzegovina, who came to Dubrovnik after the 1990s war, as 'the real problem' as he thought they "damage all the good things" that Dubrovnik has inherited from 'its history' (implying the Dubrovnik Republic). Clearly, his jaded views may have been conditioned by his own personal misfortunes but it is hard not to see his outlook as, in a way, representative of a certain current of thought amongst older Dubrovnikans.

Outside of Dalmatia, the etic term, *fetivi* is a blanket term used to describe the urban, coastal population in Dalmatia. Someone living elsewhere in Croatia will generally use this term to describe someone presently living in coastal Dalmatia, or who has grown up there, regardless of whether their family ancestry can be traced back to the region. In the urban, coastal towns

the emic usage of *fetivi* is more nuanced and denotes ideas of inclusion and exclusion and the continuing importance of family lineage in shaping place identity. In Dalmatia, *fetivi* more specifically refers to inhabitants whose families have resided in the coastal towns for generations, preferably as far back as their 'family memory' and 'family knowledge' stretches. The terms *fetivi Splićani* (add male and female versions) and *fetivi Dubrovčanin* (referring to males) or *fetivi Dubrovkinja/Dubrovčanka* (referring to females), connoting a 'real', 'genuine', 'native' or 'authentic' inhabitant of Split or Dubrovnik, most likely emerged as a way of distinguishing between the 'original' urban populations of Split and Dubrovnik from the 'newcomers' from the Dalmatian Zagora or the Adriatic islands. Although the quintessential heart of Dubrovnik's urban identity is seen to be located in the walled centre, including the adjoining city parts, Pile, Ploče and Buža, locals can also describe themselves as being *fetivi Dubrovčanin* or *fetivi Dubrovkinja/ Dubrovčanka* when originating from other city parts within the city borders. As a young, male informant put it:

> *It [the term] refers to the people born and raised in the City of Dubrovnik, regardless of the neighbourhood. People from Gruž and Lapad can also be "fetivi Dubrovčani", so it's not exclusive to just the "stari grad" [old town]. What adds to this [the possibility to define oneself as a fetivi Dubrovčani] is also how far back they can trace their family roots in Dubrovnik.*

When discussing the usage of the term more closely with different informants, it appeared that although anyone 'born and raised' in Dubrovnik could classify themselves as *fetivi Dubrovčani* (plural form), the term still entailed a certain degree of qualitative grading. So that someone from the walled centre or other city parts where the urban fabric has retained a large degree of old architecture saw themselves as being more *fetivi* than someone from the newer, more peripheral settlements of, for instance, Mocošica. Equally, the term's implicit connotations of certain kinds of cultural practices and etiquette means that social class and educational background are significant factors in who it is applied to.

The need to place *fetivi* (real) in front of the name of the town where one lives is connected to the considerable demographic changes in the coastal Dalmatian population in the last century, and to ideas that these new groups threaten the longevity of a particular kind of urban, coastal identity, believed to have existed for centuries. The term, *fetivi*, is therefore not exclusively used to refer to people, but is also used as an adverb, as in *fetivi Dubrovački*, to refer to inanimate things, such as objects and products which are seen as 'authentically' Dubrovnikan.

It is also applied to cultural customs, urban features and buildings deemed to be 'genuinely' Dubrovnikan.

Even though being *fetivi Dubrovčani* (plural form) is predominantly related to being able to trace one's family ancestry to Dubrovnik, it would be unthinkable to many locals to describe someone as *fetivi Dubrovčani* if their demeanour did not also fit, at least to a degree, with the associated behaviour of the 'true' Dubrovnikan townsfolk. The type of behaviour epitomizing *fetivi Dubrovčani* is described in terms of being a *gospođin* (gentleman) or *gospođa* (lady). This aspect of being considered a 'genuine Dubrovnikan' is based upon *habitus* (Bourdieu *1977)*; in other words with acculturation of certain types of bodily dispositions and communicative practices and tastes, which become connected with, and over time are naturalized, as gentlemanly or lady-like behaviour. Locally the term *gospar* (colloquial version of *gospođin*) is more readily used to describe gentlemanly behaviour – the culturally acquired bodily and communicative expressions of what is perceived as a long and continuous 'noble legacy' stemming from the Dubrovnik Republic.

When querying as to how locals can distinguish someone as a *gospar*, the 'new settlers' from Herzegovina were nearly always used as an antithesis to the Dubrovnikan *gospar*. A young, male Dubrovnikan outlined differences in ways of communication and bodily containment to exemplify how one can identify Herzegovinian *habitus* as differing from the locally-elevated Dubrovnikan *gospar.*

A gentlemanly person can also be described as a *skladan čovjek* (harmonious man). The word, *sklad* (harmony) is a term often used to describe a sense of harmony within or between tangible objects, such as harmonious relations and a sense of proportion or measure *(mjera)* in the urban layout of a city, and the aesthetic harmony of a building's architecture. To refer to someone as a *skladan čovjek* thus gives connotations of a harmonious relationship between the city's urban fabric and its citizens. This intertwinement between the city and the citizens through particular embodied practice is also found in other Mediterranean countries – for instance in several central Italian towns with a former history as city-states. In the Umbrian towns of Montecastello (Silverman 1975) and Orvieto (Loades 2005), the concepts of *civilta* and *la vita civile* are used to describe particular codes of conduct associated with the citizens' urban identities and often "describe elite behaviour and elite values (Silverman, 1975:8). Silverman traces the concept of civilta to Renaissance Italian city-states, at least as far back as the 13th century (ibid). The Italian concept of *civilta* fits very closely with the Croatian

concept of *skladan čovjek*. The latter contains many implicit codes of conduct of human behaviour and embodied behaviour and connections them to the urban fabric and notions of harmony and sense of proportion between architecture and humans.

Silverman (ibid.) emphasizes that although *civilta* was important in Montecastello and many other central Italian city-states, the concept needs to be understood in relationship to the social reality of the present day. Likewise, the Croatian concept of *skladan čovjek* and of being a Dubrovnikan *gospar* (gentleman) is particularly embedded in the contemporary social context of post-war and post-Yugoslavian society, where the urban conducts of being a *skladan čovjek* are strongly contrasted with the Yugoslavian, communist past. This was particularly evident in one of my informants, Gabrijel, a man in his early 40s, who is one of the youngest members of the wealthy and politically influential heritage NGO, *Duštrvo Prijatelja Dubrovačka Starine* (*Association of the Friends of Dubrovnik's Antiquities*). In 2012, I attended a celebratory banquet following the opening of the newly restored city wall in Ston and was seated next to Gabrijel throughout the six course dinner. Gabrijel reflected on how specific types of behaviour and events such as the banquet we were currently attending were especially meaningful both to him and others who "have experienced the suppression of the former Yugoslavia" – in reclaiming the "stolen past" and true urban identity of Dubrovnik. Gabrijel's portrayed Dubrovnikan society and culture as in the process of 'crumbling' due to the Yugoslavian past. To exemplify what he saw as the degeneration of Dubrovnik's urban culture, he informed me that none of his friends, or anyone else he could recall ever having met, could make "at least ten different knots" on a tie. He regarded it as preposterous that Croatia, "the cradle of the *cravat*" [from which the tie was later developed] had "sunk so low":

> *People in Northern-Europe don't understand what it is like to live in a society in transition. You take all of this [pointing at the six course banquet] for granted...Communism was really hard for educated people. All the years of communism has damaged a lot...Communism damaged much of our cultured lives. I see the knowledge of making several different knots on the tie as an expression of our city lives. But this [pointing to the banquet] shows that something of our cultured lives remains. It is very important for us to be able to feast like this in this transitional society.*

Gabrijel's reflections reveal that when interpreting the meanings of practices and local discourses, such as the Dubrovnikan concepts of being a *gospar* and *skladan čovjek*, the

Yugoslavian past needs to be taken into account. It also shows that in the post-war and post-Yugoslavian context, consumption is by some used to convey ‘modernity’, Dubrovnik’s belonging to Western-Europe and its unique heritage.

Heritage as a Burden

Public representations of Dubrovnik’s past as an important, cosmopolitan, mercantile city with a rich cultural life, stand in stark contrast to the cultural desolation and peripheral position within the Croatian nation-state which many citizens of Dubrovnik experience today. Upon gaining the confidence of my informants, many would, after a while, confide that they increasingly experience a growing gap between their realities of living in Dubrovnik and the idealized identity discourses. This disparity often seemed to produce a strong sense of ambivalence and uncertainty in individuals. Many locals would reveal deep frustration with what they viewed as a considerable narrowing of identity discourses in the post-war period. Many Dubrovnikans perceived the dominant public representations of cultural identity as limited and questioned its relevance for or applicability in contemporary Dubrovnik. The dominant discourse of the Dubrovnik Republic’s legacy and alleged presence in contemporary local life can be described as ‘the authorized heritage discourse’ (Smith 2006b). The focus is on a specific historic period ‘frozen’ in time – the imagined zenith of the old Republic. All the attention is on the lives of the wealthy and affluent aristocracy and not those of ‘the commoners’.

Maša and Luce are media students at the University of Dubrovnik. Luce grew up in Dubrovnik, while Maša is from a central Dalmatian town of 2,000 inhabitants. Throughout our conversations, they revealed a great deal of frustration, annoyance and sadness about Croatian society, and think that the history of war and intolerance haunts their society. Maša reflects:

> *We always live in the past in Croatia and that is a burden to us… in our childhood we were burdened by stories of World War II, and in the beginning of the ‘90s when it was about time to forget these experiences, there was another war. It feels like I lived the first fifteen years of my life in World War Two and then in the Croatian war to the present, and now is enough! We always speak of the past. Even today we speak of World War Two, about the partisans and Ustaše…that my grandfather was this, or her grandfather was that. I don’t want to live in the past anymore.*

Luce agrees, elaborating on how the rhetoric of the past is found in all areas of Croatian society: in media debates, political speeches, religious sermons, and interactions with one's families, friends and neighbours. She believes that low rates of higher education in Croatia make it easier to manipulate people's emotions, and that emotional rhetoric fuels prejudice and hinders the population's ability to confront contemporary challenges. Most of my young informants described the current socio-economic situation as bleak; they repeatedly stressed that they consider it highly unlikely they will find employment in Dubrovnik other than in the tourist sector, and that the embedded culture of nepotism means it is hard to find a job without 'the right contacts'. Maša says:

> *Politicians don't have any plans…they don't have anything to offer for the future, so they just talk about past...Politicians are talking to the masses… And the masses are...sheep, really… So they speak in the language that sheep can understand… And that is a real burden…When I hear the word 'heritage', or 'culture'…I hear 'the past'.*

The majority of young Croatians do not necessarily share their views. There has been a resurgence of Catholicism amongst young Croatians since the war. *"When you think like me and Maša, you are not seen as a Croat"*, Luce proclaims. *"You're not a good Croat, but you're a communist in their eyes!",* Maša adds. Many of my atheist informants experienced the focus on religion and nationalism in contemporary identity constructions as being narrow and inhibitive of conceptualising and displaying one's identities in different ways. Although they frequently attend church and describe themselves as Catholics, Luce and Maša position themselves as 'outsiders' in Croatian society. Their critical position is representative of the educated, the young, left-wingers and liberals, cosmopolitans, internationalists and artists, many of whom distrust narratives of the Republic, seeing them as masking contemporary problems. Such critics argue that conventional representations of the Republic's heritage form a selective, exaggerated and mythologized version of local history, which does not correspond with how contemporary Dubrovnikans actually experience local culture. They contend that such representations produce an uncritical inward-looking self-satisfaction, and legitimize cultural inertia. Maša says that due to the upheavals of war and the change to market-liberalism, Croatian culture at large has its point of reference in past conflicts and endeavours. She asserts that since her home-town has never been politically or culturally significant, or was directly affected by the recent war, its inhabitants are to a larger degree 'able to live in the present'. Dubrovnik inevitably glorifies its Republic – however she sees this glorification as giving Dubrovnik's population a 'double-burden':

> *I think it's the people which make a city live, not the walls or the beautiful sights. I don't like the energy of this town. I feel people here are very depressed…they are not laughing, they are not together…it's like every person is for himself and living closed off from others. It's like every person is surrounded by the city wall.*

Tangible aspects of Dubrovnik's urban environment, such as the city wall and the large number of sculptures depicting the city's patron saint, St. Blaise, are frequently evoked in everything from political and religious speeches, to tourist pamphlets and the printed media. Furthermore, public events, such as the opening and closing of the St. Blaise festival and the Dubrovnik international summer festival, are intertwined with the material and symbolic.

While public discourse often celebrates the materiality of the past, this glorification – to echo Maša – can be a burden. Such informants often used the city wall as a metaphor for a conservative, defensive and closed-minded society.

While Maša sees Dubrovnik as a beautiful city, she thinks 'that's all it is', Luce, like most Dubrovnikans who are critical of Dubrovnik's mythologisation, still feels intimately attached to the city and its surrounding landscape. Both spoke of wanting to 'escape' from Dubrovnik, yet saw it as inevitable that they would have to move to Zagreb to find work. They bemoaned having to move to the country's interior, away from Dubrovnik and its 'Mediterranean rhythm', which they perceived as part of their being.

The ways in which heritage is selectively utilised in contemporary identity discourses and increasingly exploited in economic development has led Maša and Luce, and many other of my informants, to view heritage primarily as a burden. To these informants the mythologization and commercialization of heritage inhibits democratic change and cultural diversity. In his opening speech for 2012's St. Blaise festival, Andro Vlahušić, the then Mayor of Dubrovnik, asserted that historic Dubrovnik *'represented a European role-model, it gave ideas, people and values from which Europe has learned'*. But for critics of such past-oriented narratives, it is modern Europe which constitutes a role-model – representing good governance, democracy, transparency, social welfare and prosperity towards which Croatia should aspire. The Mayor's rhetoric of Dubrovnik as a cradle of European civilization is irrelevant to Maša and Luce. They are deeply frustrated, feeling they already live in this 'European way', but are surrounded by corruption, nepotism and economic and political instability.

Many of my internationally oriented and cosmopolitan informants expressed a deep concern towards how, after the last decade's attempts to foster democratization and to 'bridge' Croatia with a broad European cultural history, the nation is once again starting to close in onto itself and attempting to re-forge its 'walls'. These informants experienced a steadily narrowing parameters of identity constructions, where Croat ethnicity and Catholicism are brought to the fore in identity- and heritage production. Marko, a thirty-year-old tourist guide, is concerned with how nationalism has undergone a resurgence in the course of the last decade. Whereas he observes that large numbers of Dubrovnikans around his own age strongly oppose nationalism, he thinks that many born after the war are becoming increasingly nationalistic. He sees this as connected to the return of extreme right-wing politics and nationalistic propaganda in the media, and thinks these changes are linked to the wider global political climate and increased fear and uncertainty. With deep concern, Marko reflects:

The newly elected Croatian government is rather openly nationalistic and leaning more towards the far-right than ever before. Kids who were born after the war are becoming more nationalistic, especially under the influence of the media and perhaps their family[166].

These concerns, echoed by many of my cosmopolitan-oriented informants, highlight how identity constructions and their connections with shaping boundaries are malleable and relational. Many political analysts have argued that the Croatian political climate and identity politics have been on a steady course of moving from 'hot' to 'cold' nationalism in the 21st Century (Kuzio 2002, Tanner 2001). Although this might describe a general tendency, it is important to be aware of how the tensions between ethnic nationalism, and civic nationalism (and cosmopolitanism) are deeply embedded and co-existing elements of identity production in the territory comprising contemporary Croatia. The emphasis on one over the other in public discourse is influenced by contemporary political, economic and cultural concerns and are therefore prone to changing in relation to shifting global and national political circumstances. Global processes and events, such as 9/11 2001, the 2008 global economic crisis, the 2015 refugee crisis, and an escalation of international terrorism acts in Europe in

[166] In the 2016 parliamentary election, the prime minister, Zoran Milanović (SDP - the Social Democratic Party of Croatia) was succeeded by Tihomir Orešković (HDZ - Croatic Democratic Union), a Canadian Croat businessman. Due to an internal 'crisis' in the HDZ, Orešković was only in office as the prime minister between 22nd January – 19th october 2016, after which Andrej Plenković, also from the HDZ became the prime minister of Croatia.

the second decade of the new millennium, have made ethnic nationalism and the myth of the antemurale christianitatis more prominent in nationhood discourse.

In Dubrovnik, however, civic identity, and a civic patriotism, still holds a stronghold in local identity discourse. Many educated, middle-age and elderly Dubrovnikans of both Croat and minority ethnicities, seemed to hold relatively similar opinions – that ethnicity in Dubrovnik was not an issue for those who remained in the city during and after the 1990s war as those people had demonstrated their allegiance to their city. A prominent theme running through many conversations was how the local population was united by their experiences and their love and affinity with the city's cultural heritage, regardless of ethnic and religious backgrounds. According to these informants, an emphasis on Dubrovnik's urban heritage, with its focus on the concepts of being a *gospar (gentleman)and gospođa (lady)*, *skladan čovjek* (harmonious man) and *fetivi Dubrovčani* (real/genuine Dubrovnikans) amongst many middle-class Dubrovnikans, was more important in identity constructions than religious and ethnic background. It can be argued that this type of representation of inter-ethnic harmony based on Dubrovnik's shared war experiences and centuries' old urban heritage is part of reassuring outsiders that Dubrovnik is a peaceful, inclusive and tolerant community with a strong sense of shared urban identity. This, in turn, serves to avoid compromising Dubrovnik appeal as a holiday destination. The inter-ethnic- and religious strife in contemporary Mostar was often used as contrast and cited as a place where 'things don't work' and 'the different groups can't live together in harmony'. The same people would represent Dubrovnik as a city with a centuries' long history of cosmopolitan life and international milieu, where different ethnic-religious groups were always welcomed and played a central role in city life and trade. In the aftermath of the war, the phrase I would often hear from educated residents, was: *"Here we are all Dubrovnikans!"* This assertion becomes a kind of 'mantra', which stresses the perceived, shared aspects of all Dubrovnik's citizens and the inclusivity of its centuries' old urban heritage. In these types of conversations, Dubrovnik's UNESCO World Heritage status and the recovery of the city's international tourism, were frequently brought up as 'evidence' of how the cultural heritage of the Dubrovnik Republic and its international character was equally treasured by citizens of 'all backgrounds' as well as by 'the whole world'.

Conclusion

Croatia's intermediate position throughout history, and the enduring sense of being a European borderland, continues to mark discourses of nationhood and *Croatianness*. The desire to be fully included in Europe, and to disassociate from the Balkans, has an enduring influence on identities across the country. This tendency is particularly pervasive in Dubrovnikan identity discourse, as its citizens feel themselves to be part of Mediterranean cultural history. The transformative experiences of the Croatian war of independence and the rise of extreme nationalism, propaganda and media control that dominated national identity discourse until the start of the new millennium have created an image of Croatia as distinctly different from the other ethnic and religious groups inhabiting the Balkan Peninsula. Although the effects of the extreme nationalistic political line are still evident in contemporary society, the construction of Dubrovnikan identity relate to shifting global and local conditions and processes of change.

The establishment of the new national borders following the dissolution of Yugoslavia have heightened Dubrovnik's sense of being on the periphery. Many inhabitants of the city feel politically neglected and culturally marginalized within post-independence Croatia. These convictions anchor Dubrovnikans' use of cultural heritage, and particularly its World Heritage, in identity constructions. The historical centrality of the Dubrovnik Republic is given new meanings in local identity discourse.

7. *Place for Some or Places for All*

Introduction

As already established in the previous chapters, Dubrovnikans have a living history that shapes the relationship to heritage management and tourism development. Tourism has, and continues to, represent an important source of inhabitants' livelihood. The return of tourism to the war-torn society constituted a major way of stimulating post-war recovery. This was already present as a backdrop in identity discourse and economic strategies of local and national urban heritage management in the aftermath of the 1990s war.

Tourism developments, has steered Dubrovnik's post-war urban and rural reconstruction. Despite the city's small population of around 42,000, Dubrovnik receives nearly two million tourists annually and has become the third most popular cruise-ship port in Europe. This chapter analyses the consequences of post-war tourism strategies and the market-led reification of cultural heritage in contemporary tourism promotion and economic development.

'A Different Type of Tourism'

Tourism is one of the fastest growing sectors in the world economy, which also contributes significantly towards the global GDP. In the period of 1950-2016, the numbers of international arrivals have increased tremendously, from 25 million in 1950, 435 million in 1990, 674 million in 2000 to 1235 million international arrivals in 2016[167]. The direct economic contribution of travel and tourism amounted to approximately 2.31 trillion U.S. dollars in 2016, thus making tourism, as stated by the UNWTO[168], into a *"key driver for*

[167] https://www.statista.com/statistics/262750/number-of-international-tourist-arrivals-worldwide/.
[168] The World Tourism Organization (WTO), established in 1975, has for long taken a leading role in heralding tourism as a vector for economic development. The WTO's origins can be traced back already to 1920 with the formation of the International Congress of Official Tourist Traffic Associations (ICOTT), which in 1934 turned into the International Union of Official Tourist Publicity Organizations in 1934, and eventually became the WTO in 1975. Since 2003, the WTO became the UN's Specialized Agency for Tourism; the UNWTO. In 1999, the WTO implemented the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism and the World Committee on Tourism Ethics in 2004. The Code of Ethics were implemented in the attempts to reconcile the continued use of tourism as a vehicle of economic development, while attempting to mitigate the negative consequences of tourism, associated with for instance socio-cultural and infrastructural pressures and environmental depredation. The UNWTO has been awarded a central role in accomplishing the UN's work on achieving the Sustainable Development Goals, where tourism is included as vehicles in realizing Goal 8 – to achieve "inclusive and sustainable economic growth, employment and decent work for all", Goal 12 – to "ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns" and " Goal 14 – to "conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources". http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/ and (Saarinen, Rogerson, and Manwa 2011).

socio-economic progress"[169]. On the Dalmatian coast, tourism is a well-established industry, which, since the 1950s in particular, has propelled economic development. However, following the decline in agricultural production, the destruction of heavy industry and political and social restructuring in the post-war era, tourism has expanded into one of Croatia's main sources of income and economic growth. Many Dubrovnikans appreciate the contribution of tourism to the nation's social, economic and infrastructural recovery and development in the post-war period. However, the nature of tourism has changed quite significantly in the post-war period and it has fomented growing dissatisfaction among the local population.

Post-war recovery and the development of the Croatian economy has been heavily dependent on the return and expansion of tourism. Dubrovnik, and Dalmatia at large, thus play a highly central role in post-war national economic development. The estimations to how much tourism contributes to the national GDP varies and there is a degree of inaccuracy to many studies, as many attempt to incorporate both the direct and indirect contributions of tourism to the economy. A recent Croatian study, based on statistics obtained by the Croatian Bureau of Statistics, reports that the contribution of tourism and the tourism industry constitutes between 14, 2 -16, 3 percent to the national GDP (Ivandić and Šutalo 2018). According to this study, the total contribution of tourism to the national GDP changed from 14, 3 percent in 2005, 14, 2 percent in 2011 to 16, 3 percent in 2013 (ibid.).

Despite the clear economic benefits of tourism, the consequences of relying so heavily on one industry are multi-faceted. With approximately two million visitors annually crowding into Dubrovnik's small, medieval centre, mass tourism presents new infrastructural, socio-economic and environmental challenges. In Yugoslavia, Dubrovnik's tourism industry existed alongside other industries, such as its centuries' old maritime industry. Following the Croatian war of independence and the post-war reconstruction of Dubrovnik's urban fabric and infrastructure, Dubrovnik's tourist-heavy economy has become a near mono-economy. When my informants were discussing how tourism has changed after the dissolution of Yugoslavia, the subjects they often honed in on were: *lack of security* and intensified *seasonality* in work and income – in other words stronger seasonal fluctuations in the availability of work mixed with long periods of unemployment. These preoccupations were

169 http://media.unwto.org/press-release/2018-01-15/2017-international-tourism-results-highest-seven-years.

reflected in Petra, a woman in her 50s who worked for a travel agency in the former Yugoslavia and today is a self-employed market vendor selling homemade crafts to tourists:

> *Life was quite different [in the former Yugoslavia]. I used to say that there were many things that I didn't agree with in that time, but there were also some things that were good ... Because everything was state owned, when you started to working in an office or in bank, then you kept your work there. Today, because there are a lot private firms, young people can't say, 'ok, I'm working now and I'll be working there for 10 years, for 15 years.' Because they don't have [any] 'sigurnost' (security). Because they don't know whether they will come to work tomorrow and the owner will say – 'I don't need you anymore'. That's the problem. Some [work for]a very small salary and if ask for a bigger [salary], then the owner can say, 'if you don't like to work, you don't need to do that, because there are people who will work for less salary than I pay you'.*

Croatia's marketing slogans reveal changes in both identity politics, geo-political orientations and marketing goals the post-war era. The first post-war tourist slogan – *"Come to Croatia! The Coast is Clear!"* expressed the need to reassure tourists that Croatia was once again a safe place to visit. Rebuilding trust was seen as the prime objective of post-war tourism strategies. The slogan also reflected the domestic turn in political orientation – from the interior Croatia (Danubian orientation) to the Adriatic orientation (Rihtman-Auguštin 1999). This shift was also evident in post-war strategies aimed at achieving economic recovery.

The regional tourist slogan up to 2012 was "*Dalmatia – the Mediterranean as it once was*". The focus was on 'authenticity' and remaining unspoiled by tourism development, in contrast to many other tourist destinations in the Mediterranean. This slogan also under-communicated the experiences and impact of the war, presenting a 'fully restored' Dubrovnik, untouched by the destruction of the war – both architecturally and in the minds of the population. The slogan also removed Dubrovnik from the city's Yugoslavian past, and the Balkan region, placing it back in the stream of European, and particularly Mediterranean, cultural history. From 2012, the marketing slogan changed to: "*Dubrovnik – a City for all Seasons*". At this stage, tourism numbers had grown significantly and strategies to encourage all year around tourism were instituted in order to take the pressure off the tourist-heavy summer season. However, in reality, the numbers in the summer season have not lessened, although annual tourism visits have grown in total. The main advertising slogan in tourism promotion continues to be "*Dubrovnik – the pearl of the Adriatic*". This description of Dubrovnik as a

jewel of the Adriatic stems from the Irish playwright and Nobel Prize winner, George Bernard Shaw, who visited Dubrovnik in 1929 and afterwards proclaimed, *"Those who seek paradise on earth should see Dubrovnik"*.

In recent years, the local authorities, in cooperation with the tourism industry, have begun to focus on developing strategies to spread out the tourism impacts beyond the UNESCO World Heritage site. There has also been a growing focus onto how to prolong the duration of tourism visits and to expand the tourism season beyond the main tourist season. The 'Dubrovnik – a City of all Seasons' campaign, coupled with the introduction of more international flights in winter, is starting to have an effect on growing tourism numbers in winter. In 2012, the Ministry of Tourism published the Strategy of Croatian Tourism Development by 2020. The report identified seasonality as one of the main challenges to Croatia's further tourism development and to the employment situation in tourism- and service sector. The majority of tourism visits to Croatia take place over four months of the year - in 2012, 89, 8 % of the overnight tourism visits occurred between June and September. Moreover, in July and August 2012, the two peak months of Croatia's tourist season, 64, 8 % of the overnight tourism visits occurred[170]. A major reason to seasonality in Croatia's tourism market is connected to the high concentration of tourism visits in the coastal region. Seasonality in tourism visits is particularly pronounced in Dubrovnik and the entire Dalmatian coast and supports the assertion that although the city's cultural heritage constitutes a central part of its tourism appeal; 'sea and sun' tourism is also a major source of its popularity as a tourism destination. In order to encourage increased tourism in the remainder parts of the year, the *Strategy of Croatian Tourism Development by 2020* recognized the importance of diversifying the range of tourism offers and promoting tourism in connection with cultural events and public celebrations taking place outside of the main tourist season. This has since become a central strategy in the promotional activities of the Dubrovnik Tourism Board, which, in cooperation with Dubrovnik municipality and central cultural institutions, have awarded particular focus on three main areas for diversifying the tourism offers and extending the tourism season. Firstly, winter tourism has been prioritized as a major area of tourism promotional activities. Cultural events, which formerly did not attract many tourists (like the St. Blaise festival on 3rd February and the Dubrovnik Carnival (9th – 13th February) today receive widespread promotion and are used to highlight that Dubrovnik is a "city for all seasons" to tourists. Other cultural activities have been invented in order to encourage winter

[170] Source: Croatian National Tourist Board (Hrvatska turistička zajednica).

tourism. The Dubrovnik Winter Festival (December 6th – January 2nd) is an example of this. The numbers of winter tourists have grown significantly in the latter years. The heavy promotion of Dubrovnik as a "city for all seasons" has also had an overall effect on increased overnight tourism visits also in periods with no particular cultural events. In November 2017, 26,947 tourists visited Dubrovnik, which constituted a 23 % increase from the previous year[171].

Secondly, niche tourism types, such as heritage trails, rural heritage tourism, wine-, gastro- and agro- tourism have received strong promotion and several cultural events and activities, have been invented to encourage this (for instance, the Spring Gourmet Week (1st – 8th April), Dubrovnik FestiWine (16th – 22nd April) and Good Food Festival (18th – 21st October).

Thirdly, Dubrovnik increasingly also promotes itself as an international arena for business- and conference tourism. This has been a gradual process, but in the recent years active targeting and promotional activities at international conference fairs has become more widespread. In 2009, Dubrovnik was ranked the 50th most popular European place for hosting conferences and other conventions[172]. In 2010, a specialised unit the Dubrovnik Tourism Board, named The Conference Bureau, was established to facilitate and provide assistance to conference organizers, and to promote Dubrovnik in international convention and conference fairs. It is important to note that through the international research institution, the Inter-University Centre (established in 1972) conference tourism is a well-established tourism form in Dubrovnik. However, it could be argued that since 2010, conference tourism has been targeted more specifically as a part of Dubrovnik's 'elite tourism' strategy (see discussion below). The cross-overs between conference tourism with gourmet- and cultural tourism have also become more intertwined in the promotional portfolio of the marketed tourism offers.

Under Titoist communism there was no room for developing private, family-run hotels as everything was controlled by the state. Many of my informants saw it as problematic that, due to the desperate need for foreign investment in rebuilding the tourism industry, Croatia has sold off many tourism facilities on the cheap. International investments have helped to recover much of the tourism infrastructure. Without these investments there would not be enough capital to renovating the large hotel chains from the former Yugoslavia. However, this dependency has also created a long-term dependency. A large proportion of the money

171 Source: Dubrovnik Tourism Board.
172 Source: Dubrovnik Tourism Board.

generated from tourism does not benefit either the local community or the national economy. Paula, a tourist guide reflects:

> *After the war the country was so impoverished and I think one of biggest problems were that hotels before the war were too big. If they had been smaller, it would have been easier to privatize them.*

Paula thinks that tourism needs to be developed on a smaller scale – she thinks that smaller family-run hostels are better attuned to furthering the local economy and are much more appealing to tourists visiting Croatia.

However, according to some informants it is not just the scale of tourism facilities and investments that matter, but with the introduction of global capitalism people's attitudes also changed. Tonči, an employee in a tourism high school reflects on how tourism has taken a qualitative turn in the post-war period:

> *The philosophy of tourism changed [after the war]. In the years we had to reconstruct and rebuild our hotels, we decided to reconstruct it on a high level, and started to promote high level tourism in Dubrovnik, and we tried to be top level destination.*

Many Dubrovnikans asserted that locals feel alienated by the new types of tourism such as like cruise-ship tourism, which, due to its short duration and the fact that overwhelming numbers visit at one time, has an invasive effect on local life. Many talked about how the local population experienced tourism in Yugoslavia as non-invasive, as being a natural part of local life, which fulfilled the traditional Mediterranean host-guest relationship. Tourism in Dubrovnik under Yugoslavia mainly consisted of regional tourists from the Balkans, who came on pre-booked package tours for between one and three weeks. There was also more tourism during the winter. A fair number of tourists also came from other European destinations and were primarily educated and affluent tourists. Today, the average duration of stay in Dubrovnik is just one to two days.

Tonči thinks that the flightiness of the global tourism market has a strong impact on the local population. Whereas tourism in Yugoslavia was pre-booked by tour agencies many months in advance, the influence of internet booking today makes locals more vulnerable to changes in the tourism market and the global economic situation:

People change their minds at the last moment and also choose their holiday destination at the last moment ... because there are a lot of possibilities today. The travel agencies change their prices and the way of travelling changes. You see, in the last six months[173] *a few low cost airline companies changed the destination and some of them [went] broke.*

But Tonči also emphasizes that the competitiveness of global tourism has also, to some extent, brought about positive infrastructural developments in Croatia – tourist destinations now have to compete to attract tourists and therefore politicians feel obliged to develop infrastructure, such as motorways, to increase the accessibility for tourists. However, while the Adriatic motorway was prioritised after Croatia's independence, the coastal road from Ploče in the north-western part of Dubrovnik-Neretva County, which goes past Dubrovnik, and ends at the Montenegrin border-crossing, has been under-prioritized. This windy, small road is rated as one of Croatia's most dangerous.

Places for Some or Places for All?

The transition from Yugoslavian Titoist communism to global market-liberalism following national independence has caused unprecedented cultural commercialism as cultural products, artefacts, cultural heritage, experiences and places are relentlessly promoted to a growing tourist market. Croatia’s sudden, large-scale transition to the global market-economy, coupled with the urgent need to recover the national economy and rebuild post-war rural and urban environments, have created an unsustainable and noticeably uncritical tourist industry and poorly-integrated development paradigm (Ott 2006, 2005, Loades 2016). Deep-seated corruption, an inefficient bureaucratic system and unclear or absent land cadastre and real estate registration systems have further complicated the transition to private property ownership and heavily shaped the ways in which urban and rural developments are conceptualized, executed and received among the local population. The transition to global capitalism and private ownership has increased socio-economic disparities and the local population often has an intimate knowledge of those who profited from the economic transition and the chaos of a war-torn society and who did not. The awareness of the identities of the winners and losers of the new nation, and how a small elite have frequently gained their wealth through corruption, political and social connections (Bartlett 2003), fans a gnawing

173 My interview with Tonči took place in 2009, when Croatia suffered strongly from the global economic recession. However, the conditions Tonči described in 2009 are still just as true today and have become part and parcel of contemporary global tourism.

sense of resentment, envy and discontent in contemporary Dubrovnik. This pattern is also found in many other Croatian cities, and is particularly strong in many tourist-heavy Dalmatian coastal towns (ibid.).

Large-scale tourism has inevitably placed enormous pressure on the existing infrastructure in Dubrovnik and altered the population's movement, use of, experience of and relationship to the town centre. The pressures of tourism on place and existing infrastructure, coupled with the relatively swift and un-transparent transition to private property after national independence, has significantly increased the contestation over places and the sense of disparity between those who benefit from tourism and those who do not. Although many of the political and judicial challenges which Dubrovnik and Croatia at large face today are intimately linked to the specific historical and political circumstances of the Balkan peninsula, many similar challenges and areas of contestation are also found globally in tourist-heavy 'destinations'. These processes are often intensified in historic towns designated as World Heritage sites. Research carried out in several urban World Heritage sites point to how similar trends unfold following World Heritage enlistment and accompanied growth in tourism. Ronström's study of the consequences of heritage politics in Visby, Sweden (Ronström 2008, Ronström 2014) and Zhu's ethnographic study of heritage making and reconstruction of local life in Lijiang, China (Zhu 2016), discuss how urban World Heritage designated sites become gentrified and large numbers of residents move out to the suburbs and sell or rent out their apartments to tourists. Ronström and Zhu also observe how local businesses providing everyday amenities to the local population move out of the protected centre and give way to new, often high-end shops, restaurants, cafés or souvenir shops. Di Giovine's ethnographic study in the Vietnamese World Heritage site, Hội An (see discussion above), analyses the museumification processes following enlistment and accompanied tourism flows. Other studies, such as Miura's (Miura 2016) ethnographic research in Angkor, analyse how increased socio-economic disparities emerge between those who benefit from increased tourism following World Heritage enlistment and those who don't and how this inequality leads to new areas of contestation and power dynamics between different stakeholders. Increased tourism and investment often – although not exclusively – follows World Heritage enlistment. These processes may provide much needed investment and funds for restoration and urban regeneration. The money tourists spend on tourist taxes, entrance fees, cultural activities, food and drinks, souvenirs, transportation, accommodation, and other services, often contributes significantly towards the city budget and provides employment, both

directly and indirectly, to large numbers of citizens in the World Heritage sites and their vicinities (Timothy and Boyd 2003, 2006, Salazar 2015). In Dubrovnik's post-war context, for a long time marked by the pressing need for restoration, renovation and individuals' necessity to recover or develop a livelihood, economic incentives to encourage and further increase tourism are often compelling to large segments of the population. However, the income generated from tourism is not evenly distributed amongst Dubrovnik's inhabitants, and tourism in the post-war period has led to new socio-economic dynamics and power relationships. Many citizens increasingly question whether the costs of tourism – related to movability and access to places, a feeling of vanishing 'ownership' and exclusion from cultural heritage and the cities' amenities – are starting to outweigh some of the economic benefits that tourism and the city's World Heritage status provide. The ethnographic chapters presented in the thesis illustrate that contestation and dissonance over tourism-, heritage- and place- management have increased over the course of my research (2009-2018). Dubrovnik's cultural heritage and places in or near the World Heritage site are decreasingly experienced as being communally shared and enjoyed for the benefit of all citizens. Contestations over access to, and ownership of, places and heritage, social exclusion, issues of authenticity, heritage interpretation and representation and conflicts stemming from the difficulty of balancing conservation concerns, urban development and contemporary needs of the citizens – all of which are highly present in Dubrovnik – have equally been identified by several scholars . Such issues often become particularly pronounced in urban World Heritage settings, especially in 'tourist-historic cities' (Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000) like Dubrovnik, where there are numerous stakeholders with competing interests who are compressed into relatively small spaces of finite 'heritage resources' and land areas. Set within a post-war context and one of recent economic transition, issues of contestation in Dubrovnik have become even more pronounced and inflammatory.

The difficulty of accommodating facilities for modern tourism in historic, urban layouts and existing infrastructures creates many practical-technical challenges and influences how life is experienced in the World Heritage sites. The increased contestation of land and real estate often leads to a rise in economic disparity between social groups and may engender political strife and corruption. The symbolic value attached to World Heritage enlistment increases tourism numbers drastically, makes centrally-located properties more sought after and instigates a significant rise in housing costs, often followed by a depopulation of the historic centres.

Challenges relating to accommodating for a sustainable tourism and heritage management in Dubrovnik relates to scale, but also to the tourism types organized and a lacking management of tourism flow. In itself, the sheer number of tourists visiting Dubrovnik's World Heritage site at once, and in a relatively short period during the summer months, places a strain on the monumental heritage of the walled centre, its limited infrastructure, the environment and well-being of the local community. The emergence of new tourism products and types, such as rural heritage tourism, gourmet tourism, sport- and adventure tourism have emerged, but the stronghold on Dubrovnik's monumental, architectural heritage in the city's promotional activities continues to overshadow new tourism types from becoming viable alternatives which can spread tourism out of the city centre. Several individuals and NGOs engaged in small-scale tourism activities in rural areas of the Dubrovnik-Neretva County[174] told me that regardless of the political orientations, the local municipality continually lacks the will to support to grassroots initiatives and small-scale artisans and producers. By failing to integrate small-scale, grass-roots initiatives into the Dubrovnik region's promotional tourism activities, it could be argued that Dubrovnik's urban- and cultural heritage management over time may increase the museumified and fossilized qualities of its culture.

There is a need to address the extent to which Dubrovnik's tourism benefits the local population. Economic transition from the former state-owned tourism industry to global capitalism has opened up new possibilities for small to medium sized enterprises in the tourism sector (Peric 2005, Čavlek 2002). Small, family-run businesses, letting out accommodation, and small to medium-sized enterprises offering niche tourist products, such as food-tasting, guided tours, heritage trails, boat trips, kayaking, have in many ways benefitted from the economic transition. In fact, over the last 10-15 years[175], tourism growth in Dubrovnik has substantially transformed the city's socio-economic structures. Today, many self-employed locals letting out accommodation to tourists often earn considerably higher wages than public sector employees. When I looked into the average wages in different lines of work during my 2009 fieldwork, I discovered that the average salary of a teacher was around 5,000 Kuna per month (approximately €700), cleaning personnel earned around 3,000 Kuna (approximately €400) per month and academics employed at the University of

174 I carried out several interiews with individuals engaged in sericultural production and one individual trying to relaunch a closed down train journey between Dubrovnik and Konavle and turn it into a 'heritage trail' for rural villagers to sell their local produce.
175 This calculation is based on an estimation that Dubrovnik's tourism industry did not start to recover until around 2003-2005.

Dubrovnik tended to earn somewhere between 6,000-8,000 Kuna (approximately €800-1000) per month, depending on their rank (from lower level academics to professors). According to estimations made by some lower grade university staff, a few of the highest ranked university staff and personnel employed 'high up' in the university administration earned close to 10,000 Kuna (approximately €1,300) per month, but this was considered an unusually high income locally. In comparison, many locals operating family-run tourism accommodation could, in the period between April and October, earn wages similar to that of a professor in just one or two weeks. While Croatia's economic transition has undoubtedly benefitted many family-run and small enterprises in Dubrovnik, structural changes in the global tourism industry have had a large impact on the potential which tourism offers to the local economy. Čavlek (Čavlek 2002) emphasizes that the liberalization and globalization of the world economy has stimulated not only an integration of goods and capital, but also a global integration of services. This integration has helped create a global tourism industry, dominated by an increasingly small number of large multi-national corporations. The presence of large multi-national enterprises in Dubrovnik's tourism industry has grown considerably in the last decade or so and is contributing towards a situation where much of the income generated from tourism does not benefit the local and national economy to the extent that it did during the former Yugoslavia. Just three foreign-owned companies – Valamar Riviera, the Lukšić Group and Maistra – manage approximately 44% of Croatia's total accommodation supply. Around 60 % of the accommodation supply is managed by 10 companies[176]. In Dubrovnik the number of foreign-owned tourism facilities is even higher and the ownership structure is dominated by wealthy expatriates from the Croatian diaspora, notably the Lukšić Group. Similar patterns, where much of the economic revenue generated from tourism in World Heritage sites seeps out of the local community, have been identified by scholars in other parts of the world. For example, Breglia's (Breglia 2016) ethnographic study of the Mexican World Heritage site, Chichén Itzá, which under the conditions of neoliberal economy has essentially become privately-owned, raises important questions of who has the right to claim 'ownership' and to benefit from the site's increased tourism and economic revenues stemming from its World Heritage enlistment and enhanced marketability. According to Breglia, only 5 per cent of the money generated by tourism to the Chichén Itzá World Heritage site remains within the local community (ibid.). She argues that this huge loss of economic value – and not just the potential loss of cultural value associated with tourism development and the

176 *Consolidation within the hotel industry: Global vs. local perspectives*, Horwath HTL Croatia, 2015.

commercialization of World Heritage sites – should have implications for assessments regarding World Heritage nominations, enlistments and monitoring processes: Whereas 'value' in UNESCO discourse looks towards cultural significance in a historic sense, I would argue that the kinds of value articulated through a detailed understanding of a site's heritage tenure regime are just as important to consider in nominating and inscribing a site to the World Heritage List, assessing a site-management plan and determining the local benefit streams from a site (Breglia 2016:199).

Many Dubrovnikans I encountered expressed sadness over how much of Dubrovnik's tourism facilities were sold off cheaply to foreign-owned enterprises during the economic transition to global capitalism. Many Dubrovnikans thought that much of the basis for the city's autonomy in steering local economic development and natural resource management was expropriated from the local population in this process, thus creating a much stronger dependency on tourism than was the case during the former Yugoslavia. But I also noticed that regrets concerning the 'selling off' of tourism- and natural resources were frequently being made within a broader sentiment of this simultaneously leading to a 'selling out' of Dubrovnik's cultural heritage. Many locals conceded that the difficult economic situation due to the war had necessitated a lower threshold for allowing foreign-owned companies to invest in Dubrovnik's tourism infrastructure without dictating any sustainable terms and conditions to aid the city's long-term local economic development. But while many informants saw the economic dependence on foreign investment capital, created after the war, as unfortunate, yet to a degree understandable, they felt deeply provoked that the 'selling off' of Dubrovnik's common lands, natural and cultural resources still continues today despite the fact that city's economic situation, and infrastructural and restoration work, are no longer pressing, urgent concerns.

Congestion, limitation on free movement and available spaces in Dubrovnik's tourist centre make certain places into economic, political, cultural and symbolic battlegrounds, and transforms them into significant areas where contemporary constructions of cultural identities and place are forged and contested. Few locals would dispute that post-war tourism investments has had many positive effects – especially in creating a faster economic recovery, restoring the war-torn urban fabric and landscapes and making places accessible and usable again. For this to transpire it has necessitated large investments from international entrepreneurs, developers, and private and public organizations. However, the vulnerable historical period following the war and the economic transition has had palpable

consequences on contemporary power dynamics and the likelihood of future developments. A large proportion of the money generated from tourism does not necessarily benefit the town budget, national economy or the local community. International entrepreneurs and developers own a high proportion of the city's tourism facilities as well as many sought after, centrally located land areas. Many of these are foreigners or expats living in the Croatian diaspora. They constitute 'tycoon capitalists' – the small elite of Croatians who have made their fortunes after independence often through having political and business connections (Bartlett 2003).

Land and real estate ownership disputes continue to be both inflammatory and complicating factors in realizing new development projects. This was the case with the project, *Centar Iza Grada (the Centre behind the City),* which was commissioned on the behalf of Dubrovnik municipality. Launched as part of *European 11,* a themed international competition in 2011, the focus on sustainable urban developments and creating new public spaces and local amenities appeared a promising way of combatting depopulation and reinvigorating the walled centre. The project area covered a space of 10,000 m² immediately outside the northern and less frequented city gate, Buža. The winning team, an architectural group from Barcelona, envisaged the construction of a large underground car park, together with, amongst other buildings, a large library, and shops providing everyday facilities for the local population. However, as the land area is part owned by Dubrovnik municipality and one of the most influential developers in post-war Croatia, the Chilean *Luksić* Group of Croatian derivation, the project has been halted. The different owners have not managed to agree on a common vision as to how the area should be developed. Like the highly sought-after mountain plateau on *Mount Srđ* (see Chapter 9), *Iza Grada*, adjacent to the walled centre's north-eastern side, which has a relatively large undeveloped land area used for car parking, represents a potential goldmine for luxury real estate development. As such, the greater good of the local citizens is not much of a priority to developers. The fact that this land area also falls into the buffer zone of UNESCO protection and contains a Jewish cemetery, also creates certain challenges with regards to realizing any construction plans – the approval of Dubrovnik's conservation institute and of the Jewish ethnic minority group in Dubrovnik is needed.

Depopulation and 'Museumification' of the Walled Centre

The reliance on tourism and the absence of sufficient political regulations and management of tourism development in Dubrovnik's post-independence period has led to the emergence of many new political, social and environmental challenges (Ott 2005, 2006, Loades 2016). These problems are exacerbated by poorly integrated urban development, which is primarily steered by the lure of short-term economic growth and the interests of private business. The economic depression following the Croatian war of independence and the need to restore the war-damaged buildings in the walled centre has led to an intensification of private property transfer and resulted in significant depopulation of Dubrovnik's UNESCO enlisted walled centre. Similar processes of depopulation and subsequent 'museumification' of urban centres can be witnessed in several other UNESCO enlisted cities across the world, for example in Italy's Venice to Luang Prabang in Laos (Wang 2012, Reeves and Long 2011, Berliner 2012, Nasser 2003, Casagrande 2016).

Following national independence, the population of Dubrovnik's walled centre decreased from approximately 5,000 in 1990 to roughly 1,200 inhabitants in 2016[177]. There is not one official figure which classifies the exact number of residents in the walled centre, and some estimations claim that as few as 800 inhabitants can be said to have permanent residence in the walled centre. Research carried out by the University of Dubrovnik estimates a higher number of permanent residents in the historical core of the centre; to 1, 814 people (Prohaska 2012). One reason for the lack of certainty about the number of residents in the walled centre is the fact that many citizens with a registered address in the old town in fact rent out their flats to tourists for large parts of the year. These groups are often part of the population figures in the walled centre, but, in actuality, their apartments are empty when there are few tourists visiting the city. Today the walled city is largely populated by the elderly, while families with children and the young tend to move to outlying areas where property prices are lower. Many former residents of the walled centre who have moved to outlying areas of the city when establishing a family, often explained their decision as stemming from the desire to accommodate 'modern life-styles'. In the walled centre, the houses are often very narrow and in the hilly northern and southern parts of the centre, the steps are extremely steep, making it very difficult to live with small children. It is only possible to use pushchairs in the flat parts of the centre. With the growth of tourism, the majority of shopping facilities for locals have

177 Source: Dubrovnik Municipality.

moved out of the centre, to Gruž and Lapad. However, although Dubrovnik was also a popular tourist destination in the former Yugoslavia, most central amenities for the residents were located in the walled centre. The practice of moving central amenities out of the walled centre has largely occurred in the new century. This process has particularly escalated in the recent years. In the period of my research in Dubrovnik, several large shopping malls were constructed in rural areas several kilometres southeast of the city. Several of my informants who own a car preferred to use these shopping centres instead of the few remaining small food shops in or near the centre. Their choice to do so related to lower prices and larger range of products in the shopping centres. Some informants explained their choice to drive a car out of the centre as being particularly motivated by the desire to avoid the crowds in the centre.

In the traditional houses of the walled centre, the kitchen is located on the top floor[178], thus making it hard to transport groceries. Although the practice of placing the kitchens on the top floor may seem quaint to the modern spectator, there were sensible reasons for doing so. Because of the high likelihood of house fires, and the likelihood that fires would emanate in the kitchens, the inhabitants of the Dubrovnik Republic considered it as sensible to place the kitchen on the top floor. If a fire did occur in a house, the top floor might be destroyed, but at least the lower floors of the house could be saved by adopting this practice. Moreover, if the structure of the lower parts of the house remained, it was easier to rebuild the top floor. Traditionally, it was common to place a layer of sand below the hardwood. In case of fires, this would help in preventing the fire from spreading to the lower floors. Over the course of time, the interior layout of several of the houses in the walled centre have been changed to accommodate for easier access to the kitchen. However, most houses have kept the original structure with the kitchens on the top. UNESCO World Heritage legislation has strict rules regarding choices of building materials and modification to houses' exterior structures. However, the laws are much more flexible regarding the interior parts of the houses. I queried about this issue with Marko, who has lived his whole life in the walled centre. His family has kept the original interior structure with the kitchen on the third floor. Marko thinks that to people who visit Dubrovnik and has never lived in "such an old place" there exists many presumptions about what life is like to modern-day people living in a medieval city. Marko reflects that many outsiders have an inclination to ascribe an automatic irreconcilability between the mediaeval layouts of the houses and the necessities and desires of modern-day

[178] Most of the old houses in the centre have three floors.

lifestyles. He thinks that people who are used to very different living conditions, for example if they live in a spacious flat, may have certain expectations of a medieval town:

> *Maybe they will think of the bathroom as too small, the kitchen hard to reach, that there are too many stairs inside the house, that the houses are cold.*

However, if one takes inside many houses in the walled centre today, he reflects, many people have made their homes "*very modern and luxuriously decorated with modern amenities"*. He thinks that it is possible to accommodate for modern lifestyles in the old houses, but it does require a lot of money and effort. Marko sees the desire to assess whether modern-day lifestyles are possible in the historic city core as a futile exercise:

> *The question is often - how do we live a modern life in a medieval place? It's difficult to judge a medieval town by modern contemporary standard of living. To me, it is wrong to do so.*

He asserts that in the end, the way one judges ones living environment comes down to a matter of perception. Everyone has their own perceptions of what type of living conditions they think are normal or acceptable. To him, living in an old building is the life he has grown up with, and he therefore consider the conditions as normal:

> *To me, having the kitchen on the top is normal. I mean, sure, it's not easy to carry all your groceries two floors up, but it's what people are used to do, and we've learned to live with it.*

In the Dubrovnik Republic, groceries were brought up to the kitchens by baskets on a line. When talking about this historic practice with some of my informants, some informants remarked that this practice had been banned due to safety reasons and the large crowds in the centre. One informant remarked in modern day Dubrovnik it would be very "inappropriate and dangerous" if people were to pull up baskets of food to their homes if restaurants are located below. Another informant thought that this practice had not been officially banned, but was probably a practice that seized to exist over the course of time as Dubrovnik entered the modern era[179]. Some houses have changed the interior layout of their homes and have fitted kitchens on the lower floors, but the heritage legislation is very strict and it is difficult to get permission to do this. Residents of the walled centre would often express how frustrating

[179] It is uncertain when this practice sized to exist. It is probable that it continued at least to the end of the 19th century, and quite probably some way into the early 20th century.

the situation was every time they needed to have a household utility, like a fridge or a cooker, replaced in their kitchen on the third floor. Situations like that often made them despair that Dubrovnik's walled centre was not suited for 'modern lifestyles' and many admitted that they occasionally thought it might be a good idea to move out of the centre. But the same informants would quickly add that their strong attachment to the city centre convinced them that the 'sacrifices' they had to make were definitely worth it – the walled centre was too bound up with the 'core of their identities' to be able to part with.

However, in the last decades it has become common for families to let out their former family homes in the city centre to tourists and to have a house built in the countryside near the city. These new homes often contain several apartments, in order to house the extended family and different generations of the same family.

The economic advantage of letting a room or apartment in the walled centre to tourists, and moving to cheaper suburban or rural areas is clear. With real estate prices of approximately € 3,349 per m2 in the City of Dubrovnik, and even higher in the walled centre, it is difficult for residents with an average monthly income of around €500 to live centrally[180]. The degree to which my informants perceived tourism to affect their quality of life appeared connected to whether their livelihood was dependent on tourism. But where they lived was also a factor. Many Dubrovnikans who have moved away from the city centre claim that, since tourism has increased their material wealth and living standard, their quality of life is better. At the same time, many Dubrovnikans who have moved away from the centre suffer from identity deprivation, as local identity constructions in Dubrovnik are closely interwoven with the town centre. This is one of the reasons why those who remain in the city centre accept a somewhat 'lower' living standard, as they perceive their city identity and quality of life as inseparable.

In recent years, Dubrovnik Municipality has taken certain measures aimed at combatting the steady depopulation of local residents living in the walled centre. They have, for example, provided residents of the walled centre and the 'buffer zones', Pile, Ploče and Iza Grada, with free boat travel to the nearby island of Lokrum. These residents also benefit from a free pass to visit the cultural attractions and museums in Dubrovnik and reduced fares if they use the bus. However, many informants argued that the municipality's efforts towards arresting depopulation were tokenistic. In reality, they said, there has been scant willingness to

[180] https://www.globalpropertyguide.com/Europe/Croatia/Price-History

intervene sufficiently to control the tendency of market liberalism to stimulate further depopulation or to provide proper amenities for the local population.

Dubrovnik's tourism development has benefited many local property owners who rent out their homes to tourists. At the same time, tourism has considerably increased the living costs in the city. Tourism has widened socio-economic differences by creating a visible disparity between those who earn a good income from tourism and those who are employed in the public sector or are engaged in low-paid, often part-time and seasonal work in the tourism sector. Many houses within the walled city have been sold to foreign investors and affluent Europeans or people of the Croatian diaspora, who either let the houses to tourists or use them as holiday homes. Foreign investment has made a large contribution towards the faster restoration of the urban centre and ensuring that restoration is carried out in accordance with UNESCO protocols. However, many Dubrovnikans questioned what purpose the post-war restoration of the walled centre really has if the buildings are not inhabited by local residents who live there all year around. Andro, a music teacher in his 40s, is concerned with how the local inhabitants' quality of life and the infrastructural needs of daily life have largely been ignored in Dubrovnik's post-war restoration and tourism management. While he used to feel a strong connection to the citys' urban, architectural heritage, today he looks upon Dubrovnik as a 'lifeless museum':

> *What does it mean to protect our heritage? I think that if you convert something into a museum, even if it's perfectly restored ... it's gone from life. Before I thought we should restore buildings to their original forms. Now I value primarily living things. Even if [buildings] are spoiled by satellites and air conditioning, I would prefer that as long as it's a living city ... for the local population ... but not if restoration is aimed at apartments for tourists.*

Many Dubrovnikans I encountered expressed similar attitudes to Andro's. Several informants related that year by year, they felt that their city (and their lives) were being transformed into an 'exhibit' in an open-air museum. Less and less was the city looked upon as being for their own enjoyment and use. Some residents even experienced that their own homes were becoming 'museumified' and that their private lives were turned into exhibits for public scrutiny and 'spectacle'. This was especially the case for locals who lived in apartments overlooking the city wall, where continuous crowds of tourists walking on the wall constituted one of the main sights from their lounge, kitchen or bedroom windows.

Similar processes of 'museumification' of World Heritage sites have been observed by other anthropologists, heritage- and tourism scholars (Casagrande 2016, Di Giovine 2008, Reeves and Long 2011, Berliner 2012). In his research on the Vietnamese World Heritage site, Hội An (UNESCO enlisted in 1999), Di Giovine (2009) analyses 'museumification' processes following the city's World Heritage enlistment and tourism growth, and the multi-faceted consequences they have had on local cultural practices. He discusses how one of the city's main tourist attractions, the Lantern Festival (celebrated on the 15th of each month since 1998), temporarily imposes a range of restrictions on the local population's daily practices; on what they are allowed and not allowed to do:

> *Florescent lights are turned off, and the public spaces are illuminated by strings of traditional-styled paper lanterns lining the streets. Motorcycles and even bicycles are prohibited from entering the city center. Many shops are closed, or are restricted on the wares they sell. To maintain the eighteenth-century air about the town, even television watching in private is strictly prohibited, since it not only casts an artificial glow but its sound and images might break the suspension of disbelief hanging in the town (2009:270).*

One of the consequences of such restrictions imposed during the Lantern Festival, Di Giovine notes, is to create a distinction between 'heritage time' and 'modern time'. As an English language Vietnamese advertisement puts it, *"Hội An gives modern life the night off"* (2009:270). This creates an image of 'authenticity' during the duration of the festival, after which 'modern life', epitomized by technological usage, is allowed to return.

In Dubrovnik, the separation between a 'heritage time' and 'modern time' is not as distinct. But, following Di Giovine, one could instead argue that time is more seasonally divided in Dubrovnik – into 'tourist time' and 'local time'. Many residents of the walled centre explained that it was only when the main tourist season was over that they felt they could 'breathe again' and 'get on' with living their own lives. This involved catching up with friends and relatives more frequently, relaxing, winding down and doing as little as possible. In the 'tourist time', many Dubrovnikans experienced that the pace of life was fast and there was little time to foster family bonds, as they had to work as much as possible in the compressed tourist season (mainly April to October). Before the spring and summer months there is little or no work, and therefore also scant economic security. This insecurity, of course, relates particularly to people employed in the tourist industry. The 'tourist time',

however, affects the daily lives and practices of all residents of the World Heritage site (both in the walled centre and in 'buffer zone' around the centre). Petar, a man in his 50s, who is employed in the education sector, complained that locals often felt that life had to be "put on pause" when the tourists arrived in the centre. He pointed out that even in the residential area where he lives, Ploče (parts of which are in the 'buffer zone'), there are building restrictions in the tourist season. These include a prohibition on any modifications to the facades of one's house, such as renovation, painting window frames, putting up scaffolding, and so forth. Although residents of Dubrovnik's World Heritage site are allowed to carry out work inside their houses in the tourist season, there are restrictions on the sound level emanating from building and renovation work. In practice, this means that major renovation work has to be carried out outside the main tourist season. Petar saw this as an impediment to the locals "living their lives" for over seven months each year, and it also entailed that, in the short period when there are few tourists in Dubrovnik, many locals rush to get all the practical matters in their lives and homes sorted before the tourists return. Such restrictions on what one is allowed to do at different times of the year contributes towards a 'heritagization' of the city centre and its immediate suburbs, whereby 'fronts' (facades) and 'backs' (where lives 'carry on') of the urban fabric become separated. However, as mentioned previously, the boundaries between the private and public realms of local life are also becoming increasingly blurred as restaurants, shops, cafés, bars and 'heritage attractions' steadily encroach into more areas of the centre.

A common trait in many urban World Heritage enlisted sites across the world is the tendency of unification and aesthetization of the visual elements in certain urban areas designated as 'heritage areas', and simultaneously the heightening of difference between city parts through the reinforcement of separate zones (Ronström 2014, 2013). Visual signs in the urban fabric of World Heritage sites shape the ways in which we understand and interpret different city parts, and therefore also influences the ways we move around and relate to them. Homogenizing and controlling the visual signs of different city parts is integral to heritage production as they:

> *Function as keys to how one should understand and relate to the different parts of the city through creating a certain frame for interpretation…Cultural heritage separates*

fronts from backs, surfaces from their insides, forms from functions, centres from peripheries" (Ronström, 2008:61 and 186)[181].

Such ideas of 'insides' and 'outsides', 'centrality' and peripherality' emerged in conversations with local politicians, local staff working in Dubrovnik's heritage management sector and other professionals working on urban management issues. It was notable that heritage was invariably presented as encompassing urban architecture and monuments, whereas landscapes and other nature areas were generally placed 'outside' the 'realm' of Dubrovnik's cultural heritage. The latter were mainly deemed important for supplying added value to Dubrovnik's urban heritage. When urban- and heritage managers talked about Dubrovnik's surrounding landscape, it was often described as providing an 'aesthetic frame' for the architecture of the walled centre.

The different municipal governments during the course of my fieldwork periods have had different prioritizations regarding the visual layout of the walled centre. Under the policies of Dubravka Suiča, the Mayor of Dubrovnik from 2001- 2009, and her centre-right party, Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ – *Hrvatska demokratska zajednica)*, the focus on visual unification and aesthetization of the walled centre was noticeable. In Suiča's period as Mayor, sporadic signposting of shops in the central streets of the walled centre were exchanged with one type of signposting, a plush, 'royal' red signpost placed at the lower end of each street. These signposts listed all the shops found on each street. Under the lead of Vlahušić's liberalistic party, SDP, the city centre underwent an increased touristification, liberalization and commercialization. Although HDZ's some of the attempts to create a visual unification of the walled centre were continued, the visual markers in the urban centre also became more sporadic. I noticed how large banners, advertising tourist events, were placed on buildings of monumental and symbolic value. Moreover, although the plush, 'royal' red signposts at the start of each street were kept; many businesses frequently also advertised their business by placing signs on the streets in front of the shops. I also noticed that the walled centre's soundscape also underwent change. Frequently, commercial events, playing chart music on a very high sound level, were organized in squares and outside buildings of 'monumental value'. With the former HDZ municipal government, such events were generally not held. Mostly, folklore shows and classical concerts were held in the central squares. Occasionally, pop concerts were organized in the square in front of the St. Blaise church, but these were

181 My translation from the original Swedish text.

generally events organized by the municipality and the Dubrovnik tourist board. While these kinds of events were still frequent occurrences under the SDP municipal government, they were increasingly supplemented by events organized by commercial enterprises, such as car companies and Coca Cola.

Attempts to create an aesthetic visual unification of Dubrovnik's walled centre predates UNESCO World Heritage enlistment. When the *Association of the Friends of Dubrovnik's Antiquities* (DPDS - *Duštrvo Prijatelja Dubrovačka Starine*), established in 1952, began restoring the city wall, several buildings dating back to the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, which had been placed on top of the city wall's passageway, were removed. Although part of the reason to remove these structures was to increase accessibility – so to make it possible to walk all the way around the city wall – the removal also reflects the heritage NGO's perception that Dubrovnik's heritage constitutes architectural or monumental heritage dating back to the Dubrovnik Republic.

Photographs of the Pile city gate from the first part of the 20th century show the city gate covered in ivy. When DPDS commenced their restoration work on the city wall the ivy was removed. Ever since, plants have not been allowed to encroach on the city wall or its gates, indicating a heritage discourse which attempts to draw a line of separation between man-made architecture and the 'uncontrolled' world of 'nature'. While some vegetation today is found in well-maintained, cultivated garden patches within the walled centre, such as in the courtyards of the cloisters, a few squares and in pots in front of the entrances of private homes on the side streets, the major part of the walled centre and the city wall itself are kept free of vegetation. Any signs of ivy growing by the city gates will be removed as is seen to obscure the visibility of the city wall's monumental quality of the wall. This intentional separation between the man-made urban fabric from the natural world is less evident in other areas of the city. In the residential suburbs, climbing plants such as bougainvillea and ivy are often encouraged to grow on trellises by the walls of houses and are often used to create sun shelters across court yards in people's homes.

According to many of my informants, heritagization processes of Dubrovnik's walled centre have become more strongly pronounced in post-war period. Although commercial and economic incentives strongly influence these processes, Dubrovnik's heritagization processes are also connected with post-war identity politics. This ties in with the renewed symbolic and political role awarded to the Dubrovnik Republic and its perceived urban, aesthetic qualities

and sense of harmony and proportion. But is also connected to an emerging global heritage discourse, a ‘heritage-scape’ (Di Giovine, 2009), which emphasizes a connection between ‘classical values’ (of architectural ‘harmony’ and ‘unity’) and UNESCO’s ideal of heritage as a vehicle to achieve ‘peace in the minds of mankind’ (ibid.). This global heritage-scape is something which resonates strongly in the minds of Dubrovnikans. The experiences of the war damages inflicted upon the city centre, and the post-war restoration in Dubrovnik, are tied into individuals’ personal experiences and consolidation of their identities. The restoration of the city centre was frequently described in terms of also fulfilling a role as a ‘restoration’ of their cultural and individual identities.

Figure 15. Accommodating for modern life-styles in Dubrovnik's walled centre is not always easy. However, many Dubrovnikans' identification with the historic centre is so strong that they could not conceive of living elsewhere. Photograph by Rob Loades.

Figure 16. Residential area and the harbour in Gruž. As Dubrovnik's walled centre is dominated by tourism and the cost of living has become too high for medium income families, many Dubrovnikans have moved out of the centre. Of the relatively central parts of the City of Dubrovnik, Gruž is amongst the cheapest. But even this part of the city is relatively expensive today and many have been forced to move out of the city altogether to rural areas in the vicinity. Dubrovnikans who moved out of the walled centre often described gaining higher living standard, but many also felt a sense of identity deprivation and deliberately adopted strategies to maintain their identity bond with the walled centre. Photograph by Celine Motzfeldt Loades.

Elite Tourism

The city's recovery as a popular tourism destination and the architectural restoration of the World Heritage site has helped the citizens re-establish their proud historic city identity in the aftermath of the war. The conviction that tourism has played an important role in helping the city and the nation ride out the contemporary global economic downturn is likewise a widespread idea. Simultaneously, however, many citizens are increasingly concerned about relatively recent shifts in Dubrovnik's tourism strategies, which many feel marginalizes the needs and wishes of the local population.

In the post-war period, the spatial references of Dubrovnik's tourism promotion have especially been re-focused within the parameters of global tourism and neo-liberal capitalism. The longstanding focus on Dubrovnik as a city with a rich culture and heritage is still present in contemporary tourism promotion. However, increasingly the spatial orientations guiding Dubrovnik's promotion of being an 'elite' tourism destination are influenced by symbolic role-models of global capitalist consumerism. Such models include the USA, tax-havens like Monaco and elite tourist destinations on Cote de Azur, such as St. Tropez and Monte Carlo.

The large and steady growth of global tourism to Dubrovnik and the frequent local media coverage of international celebrities and film crews frequenting the city are frequently reported on in the local media. They become ways of measuring the city's 'heritage value' by mirroring its own worth in (elite) visitors' acknowledgement and presence in the city. This type of self-reflection, shaped in relation to outsiders' gaze upon the city, has played a part in the intentional resurrection of its perceived former grandiose position as an international, cultural centre.

More or less regardless of political affiliation, Dubrovnik's politicians are nearly exclusively engaged in processes of cultural commercialisation and marketing the city, with the aim of further increasing tourism. This viewpoint is evident in an interview I carried out with Dubrovnik's then Mayor, Andro Vlahušić, in 2012. In the interview, he argues that since Croatia and a majority of European nations have lost their traditional industries, knowledge, cultural events, cultural heritage and tourism are the only remaining resources they can produce, market and compete with today. In cooperation with the tourist industry and backed by the media, Dubrovnik's local authorities have initiated a visible local and global marketing of the city as an 'elite tourist destination' – with an increased focus on high-end tourism, such as business, golf, nautical, 'high culture' and gourmet tourism.

The spatial references of Dubrovnik's contemporary heritage production have especially been re-focused within the parameters of global tourism and neo-liberal capitalism. The spatial orientations guiding Dubrovnik's political and commercial discourse as being an international heritage city are influenced by symbolic role-models of global capitalist consumerism. Such models include the USA, tax-havens like Monaco and elite tourist destinations on Cote de Azur such as St. Tropez and Monte Carlo. The large and steady growth of global tourism to Dubrovnik and the frequent local media coverage of international celebrities and film crews frequenting the city are used in public identity discourse. They become ways of measuring the city's 'heritage value' by mirroring its own worth in (elite) visitors' acknowledgement and presence in the city. This type of self-reflection, shaped in relation to outsiders' gaze upon the city, has played a part in the intentional resurrection of its perceived former grandiose position as an international, cultural centre.

There are frequent reports in the local media about how the city attracts rich and famous international guests and represents an ideal location for the film industry. Parts of the popular HBO TV series, *Game of Thrones*, are shot in Dubrovnik, and this has enabled the city to

become the 7th most popular film locality in the world. In an interview with the local newspaper, *Dubrovacki Vjesnik,* Vlahušić estimates that *Game of Thrones* has brought an additional $10 million into the city's annual budget in direct and indirect income.

The filming of *Game of Thrones*, in particular, but also the growing number of other films and series shot in the walled centre, has had many direct and indirect consequences on increasing tourism numbers, as well as changing the character of tourism, such as the types and age composition of tourist groups visiting the city[182]. For example, some tourists now travel to Dubrovnik for the specific purpose of seeing locations used in filming. The popularity of Dubrovnik as an outdoor film location fits into Dubrovnik's elite tourism strategies by emphasizing the 'glamour factor' of the city and the fact that celebrities visit the city. At the same time, it serves to further increase the numbers of tourists visiting the city annually, thus adding to the interesting paradox of Dubrovnik being (or at least representing itself as) both an elite and mass tourist destination. The popularity of Dubrovnik as an outdoor film studio has been heavily capitalized on in the marketing of the city by Dubrovnik's tourism industry. Dubrovnik is portrayed as a destination where history and fantasy blend together into one picturesque, enticing product. The filming of *Game of Thrones* in Dubrovnik started a trend for using the city as a location for the film industry. Other films shot or scheduled to be filmed in Dubrovnik are: *Star Wars – The Last Jedi* (2017), *James Bond - Shatterhand* (2018) and *Robin Hood* (2018) and the fantasy TV series, *Emerald City* (2016-2017) was also shot in Dubrovnik. However, the city has become equally popular as a film location for Asian TV and film studios. Some examples of popular Asian TV programmes shot in Dubrovnik are the South Korean soap opera, *Romantic* and the travel reality series, *Noona over Flowers* (2012). The popularity of these series in South Korea has brought new tourist groups to Dubrovnik as well as to Croatia generally, as the series was shot in several locations across the country. In 2013, 252,000 South Koreans visited Croatia, an increase of five times from the previous year[183]. Large numbers of South Korean tourists today schedule their travel itinerary according to the Croatian locations used in the series and Dubrovnik has become increasingly

[183] https://www.thenational.ae/arts-culture/south-korean-tv-shows-turn-croatia-into-tourist-hotspot-1.639348.

popular as a destination for romantic trips and honeymoons for South Koreans. The symbolic functions played by *Game of Thrones* and other fantasy and romance films and series filmed in the World Heritage site are also important influences on tourism representations and local collective imaginaries of the city's "greatness" and "importance" globally. The popularity of Dubrovnik as an outdoor film studio has become central to post-war attempts to reconstruct the city's geo-political centrality nationally and on the international stage. To many locals, the fantastical depictions of the walled centre in myriad films and series becomes interwoven with the mythologized representations of the 'Golden Age' of the Dubrovnik Republic, forming one 'master-narrative' of Dubrovnik having recovered its 'former glory' as an independent, culturally and politically influential Western-European city, whose importance needs to be sufficiently recognized both nationally and internationally. This kind of perception was evident in the media reporting from 2016 over speculation that the new James Bond would be filmed in Dubrovnik:

It's going to bring a lot of popularity to the city and the tourism industry ... just for once, Dubrovnik should be given an opportunity to be presented for what it is. James Bond might be the ticket to reality. When featured in foreign productions, Croatia is often portrayed as the mafia-struck poor country, where people live in slums and don't have running water. Many tourists that visit Croatia think that the war ended a year or so ago, and their opinion is probably based on those images, amongst others. This time we can only hope that our negotiators find a way to present Dubrovnik on the big screen for what it is – a beautiful coastal town surrounded with natural beauties and well preserved historical heritage that annually draws hundreds of thousands of admirers ...It is time Croatia and Dubrovnik get a different coverage than the one they usually get in world media. Bond, James Bond, we're counting on you![184]

The writer of the piece goes on to explain how she would love for James Bond to "walk down the Stradun with one of his beautiful ladies" and experience a whole host of 'local colour' from eating freshly caught fish and locally grown vegetables in a restaurant. She than describes how Bond should visit a specific luxurious disco, which she rates as *"one of the 100 best clubs of the world"*. The whole text appears much like a tourism promotional piece, but it is also evident that her writing is motivated by the commonly held perception that Dubrovnik and Croatia are misunderstood and misrepresented internationally. The prospect of James

[184] '*James Bond to be Filmed in Dubrovnik?'*, by Ivana Šepak, Total Croatia News, 23 February 2016. Source: https://www.total-croatia-news.com/business/2577-james-bond-to-be-filmed-in-dubrovnik.

Bond being filmed in Dubrovnik therefore offers a springboard to delve into her imagination of how she thinks Dubrovnik and its citizens ought to be represented – as a place, which has simultaneously maintained its 'authentic' cultural heritage and, at the same time, has become a hot-spot for glamour and international luxury life-styles. She implicitly refers to the locally perceived, long-standing tradition of Dubrovnikan diplomacy when she urges "our negotiators to find a way to present Dubrovnik on the big screen for what it is". In this way, she weaves Dubrovnik's perceived 'Golden Era' of the Republic's political heritage into contemporary concerns about the city's lack of power and, according to her perception, the international misrepresentations of the city as peripheral, backward and 'balkanized'.

The huge interest in marketing the city as part of the *Game of Thrones* franchise in particular, is capitalized on by numerous interest groups – the local municipality, tour operators, tour guides, local businesses selling souvenirs, all of whom blend the walled centre and the HBO series together into one mythical 'consumer product'. *Game of Thrones* and *Star Wars* walking tours have become regular elements of the tourist offers of nearly all local guiding companies, and are often also the most popularly attended tours by tourists.

Salazar (Salazar 2010) argues that tourism as a commodity relies on the projection of future imaginaries to the tourists. He reflects:

> *This wonderfully packaged dream, usually a combination of linguistic and supporting visual elements, creates, codifies and communicates certain mythical experiences (2010:47).*

When the history of the Dubrovnik Republic is blended with the *Game of Thrones* franchise into one seducing, enchanting and mythical tourism product, there may be a risk of, as Salazar states: *"providing simplified and historically fixed versions of local heritage and culture* (Salazar 2010:47*)."* Several locals increasingly expressed such concerns during my 2015 fieldwork. Although many locals thought that the presence of international film studios in Dubrovnik and the depictions of their much-loved city in feature films and series worldwide was exciting, many of the same people were simultaneously critical of the *'Game of Thrones-ification'* of Dubrovnik's tourism and heritage imaginaries, as produced by numerous local stakeholders. A widespread concern was how these representations further an already simplified and mythologized depiction of the cultural and political heritage of the Dubrovnik Republic. Many think these portrayals conceal the recent traumas of the war and the present-day conditions and strife of local life by painting a picture of Dubrovnik as 'eternally'

glorious, peaceful and prosperous. During my 2015 fieldwork, the then Mayor of Dubrovnik, Andro Vlahušić, had recently attended the opening of a *Game of Thrones* visitor centre in the World Heritage protected Benedictine Monastery on the island of Lokrum. A newspaper article covering the event contained a photograph of Vlahušić sitting on one of the HBO series' props, the Iron Throne of the House of Lannister. When discussing the issue with Jelena, a university employee with a background in restoration and art history, she told me that she was distressed with the strong mythologization and simplification in local tourism representations. She used the *Game of Thrones'* commercial appeal as an example to the mythologization of Dubrovnik. Jelena, who had also seen the newspaper article, commented:

> *I can hardly believe that there is no end to how Dubrovnik's heritage is 'sold out' and marketed for profit! What does Game of Thrones have to do with our heritage?! It's preposterous! It is of great concern if tourists will travel to Lokrum to go to the Game of Thrones visitor centre, and will not come there to visit the Benedictine monastery itself and learn about its interesting history. There is really so little information provided there on the history of the monastery, but instead there is lots of information on Game of Thrones. I fear this will lead to a distorted sense of Dubrovnik and our history.*

Cruise-ship Tourism

Nautical tourism is nothing new in Dubrovnik and the Dalmatian coast. Since the beginning of the Dubrovnik Republic, seafaring and shipbuilding have played integral parts in the city's economic development and local identity as a marine culture (Stražičić 1996). Until the invention of steamships in the 19th century, seafaring activities were predominately linked to mercantile activities and the navy. Under the rule of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, a new type of seafaring activity was born – nautical tourism (ibid.). Steamship routes were established between Trieste, Rijeka and Dubrovnik. Dubrovnik's first hotel, the Grand Hotel Imperial, was built in 1897, and the city embarked on its early days as a tourist destination for the European bourgeoisie. Nautical tourism[185] played an important part in early tourism developments on the Dalmatian coast as well and Dubrovnik, especially, has been a popular

[185] Deriving from the Greek word, naus (boat), nautical tourism (nautički turizam) comprises a wide variety of sailing and boating activities. It can take place in cruise-ships, sailboats, yachts or paddle-sport vessels, such as rowing boats, canoes and kayaks, water skis, and the location can be the ocean, rivers or lakes (Lukovic 2013). Nautical tourism in the context of Dubrovnik refers to touristic activities along the southern parts of the Dalmatian coast. Sailboats, yachts and cruise-ships are the most popular forms of nautical tourism in the Dubrovnik region. Kayaking represents a growing niche in nautical tourism.

tourist destination since the 1950s (Racusin 2012). The modern cruise-ship industry had its beginnings towards the end of the 1960s, when the first cruise lines were established (Rodrigue and Notteboom 2013) [186]. The average number of passengers per ship was only 500 in the 1960s. Since the latter part of the 20th Century, however, cruise-ship tourism has grown significantly. With the introduction of 'mega ships' in 1998, passenger numbers per ship grew to 3,600 (Horak et al. 2007). Concurrently, the number of passengers arriving at one time rose as well, thus intensifying the impact on the ports of call. In recent years, several Croatian and international tourism scholars have criticized how this emergent type of tourism has been allowed to develop without accompanying sustainability measures to mitigate the environmental risks, pollution, social impacts and 'carrying capacity' (Carić 2010, Caric 2012, Horak et al. 2007). In the period between 1980 and 1999, passenger numbers worldwide increased by an average of 8.7 per cent each year, which meant an overall increase in passenger numbers of 385 per cent in almost 20 years. This upward trend is continuing. Whereas the total number of cruise-ship passengers was just under two million in the early 1980s, by 2010 it had reached 18.8 million (Peručić and Puh 2012) and in 2017 it had grown to 25.8 million[187]. Despite the cultural historical tradition of nautical tourism along the Dalmatian coast and the early establishment of cruise-ship tourism[188], the nature of cruise-ship tourism in Dubrovnik in the last two decades has changed the character of tourism in Dubrovnik significantly. Much of this relates to the increased global interconnectedness of the cruise-ship industry, to scale (both in terms of the number of cruise routes, the number and increased size of the cruise-ships), and to the escalation of the global cruise-ship industry's growth. The global cruise-ship industry's impact on Dubrovnik and cruise-ship destinations worldwide can be characterized as causing a state of 'overheating' (Eriksen 2016), which, in recent years, has stirred great deal of discontent and outright resistance in many host communities (Colomb and Novy 2016, Vianello 2016a). Cruise-ship tourism has been strongly encouraged in both regional and national post-war economic development. As many of Dubrovnik's facilities in the city centre and the suburbs were heavily damaged from the war, the restoration of the formerly state-owned hotels and frequent property transference

[186] Cruise-ship tourism, referred to as kružni turizam (cruise tourism) in Croatia, is characterized as vacation trips, which provide the passengers with a 'multi-centre holiday', whereby the ship provides a floating hotel, which takes the passengers between different land-based destinations for the purposes of relaxation, and pleasure (Mancini 2004, Stražičić 1996).
[187] https://www.statista.com/statistics/385445/number-of-passengers-of-the-cruise-industry-worldwide/.
188 Antun Asić, general manager of the Dubrovnik Port Authority, estimates that the first cruise-ships (albeit much smaller than the ships today) first arrived in Dubrovnik from 1953.

disputes delayed the revival of land-based tourism[189]. The provision of accommodation and catering facilities on board the cruise-ships, on the other hand, enabled a swifter return of Dubrovnik's cruise-ship tourism after the war. The first cruise-ship to return to Dubrovnik, *La Palma*, actually arrived in 1994, while the war was still going on in other parts of Croatia. However, while there was a steady return of cruise-ship tourism during the latter part of the 1990s. However, a significant escalation of cruise-ship tourism has taken place since 2002. In the period of 2002-2012 the cruise-ship calls to Dubrovnik tripled (Carić and Mackelworth 2014). Dubrovnik has become a transit port in an increasing number of international itineraries and today 80 % of Croatia's cruise-ships moors in Dubrovnik (ibid.). Recent developments in the global cruise-ship industry have had significant consequences for the character, impacts and challenges of tourism in local ports (Krželj-Čolović and Brautović 2007, Klein 2011). The intensification of cruise-ship tourism to Dubrovnik has presented many new challenges to tourism and urban management. In the last 10 -15 years, cruise-ship tourism has intensified the pressures on Dubrovnik's walled centre and its access roads and created fresh challenges with regards to overcrowding, traffic- and pedestrian congestion, insufficient infrastructure, pollution and waste management. Shuttle buses escort large groups of tourists in from the cruise port in Gruž. Cruise-ships that moor outside the walled centre (between the island, Lokrum and the harbour) organize shuttle-boats to escort passengers of to the harbour in the walled centre. The high numbers arriving all at once, most of whom access the centre through the city gate at Pile, contribute to forming a traffic bottleneck on the only road leading into the town centre. This influx also leads to pedestrian congestion both immediately outside and inside the walled town centre. During my 2009 fieldwork, many locals expressed discontent about overcrowding and pedestrian and traffic congestion caused by the large crowds of cruise tourists. When I returned in 2012, the situation had, according to many informants, significantly worsened. This impression also harmonized with my own observations.

Many Dubrovnikans emphasized that when cruise-ship tourism initially returned after the war, they were generally positive about it. To many locals, the return of cruise-ship tourism

189 Due to the war damage on many of Dubrovnik's large hotels, the accommodation number (number of beds) offered for overnight stays in the city is actually still below what it was in the former Yugoslavia. Several large hotels, like the Belvedere just outside the city centre, Sveti Jakov, and Kupari in Župa Dubrovačka, are still derelict and the reconstruction process has been crippled due to ownership disputes and a lack of investment capability.

became synonymous with the return of normality and stability and symbolized Dubrovnik's international character and connectedness with the wider world. Many Dubrovnikans thought that cruise-ship tourism would make a significant financial contribution towards the city budget since the average cruise passenger in the late 1990s tended to be relatively affluent. However, with the enormous growth of cruise-ship tourism in the new millennium, the prices of cruise tours have been reduced, and thus the average age of the cruise passengers, and therefore often the purchasing capability, has dropped (Peručić and Puh 2012)(Peručić and Puh 2012). Overall, these shifts have opened up the cruise-ship market to larger numbers and to medium income passengers. Furthermore, in recent years, there has been a shift of focus in the international cruise-ship industry away from the previously important land-based destinations and onto the boat journey itself with a variety of facilities offered on board. Cruise tourists are encouraged to spend more money on the ship itself instead of in the different port destinations (Perucic 2007, Peručić and Puh 2012). Rodrigue et al (Rodrigue and Notteboom 2013) argue that this has contributed towards a new geography of cruise-ship tourism, where *"the cruise industry sells itineraries, not destinations, implying a level of flexibility in the selection of ports of call"* (2013:1). The consequences of these shifts for the host communities are many, especially in terms of shrinking economic benefits, diminished predictability and vulnerability to economic fluctuations, political instability and environmental hazards.

There are, however, few signs that the popularity of Dubrovnik as a cruise-ship port is waning. In 2008, Dubrovnik was the third most popular cruise destination in Europe and the numbers of cruise-ships calls and cruise passengers have continued to increase since. In 2013, the number of cruise-ship passengers and number of calls to Dubrovnik reached its peak with the arrival of 942,909 cruise tourists and 553 cruise-ship calls. Since then, the numbers of cruise-ship calls to Dubrovnik has declined somewhat, but also fluctuated year by year. While there were 463 cruise-ship calls in 2014 and 806,558 cruise tourists, the numbers of calls reached a new peak of 529 in 2016. However, despite the higher number of cruise calls in 2016 to that of 2014, the total number of cruise tourists was 799, 916 passengers – evidence that more, but slightly smaller, cruise-ships called on the city. In 2017, the number of cruise calls was again reduced to 411 with 660,184 cruise passengers[190]. The fluctuations in the

190 http://portdubrovnik.hr/statistika/?idKat=8&godina=2017&=Unesi+%2F+Submit. It needs to be noted that in addition to the cruise-ship calls to Dubrovnik, there is also international sea traffic between Dubrovnik and Bari, Italy (60,619 passengers in 2017) and domestic sea traffic between Dubrovnik and the islands and other places along the Dalmatian coast (579,134 passengers in 2017).

number of cruise tourists and calls to Dubrovnik is linked to shifts in the global cruise market and how cruise-lines open up new cruise markets, destinations and thereby change their itineraries. However, the variations also relate to domestic and regional processes. The critique of cruise-ship tourism's negative impact has increasingly become a far more debated topic in Croatian academia, and to an extent also in the media and this appears to have had some effect on attitudes and management practices in the local municipality and the Dubrovnik Port Authorities. Some cancellations, a rescheduling of cruise-ship arrivals and certain limitations on the size of the cruise-ships arriving in the city have been imposed in the last few years. However, the ability of local municipalities and port authorities to control cruise-ship tourism is becoming increasingly harder. The international cruise-ship industry has undergone large structural changes in the new century (Rodrigue and Notteboom 2013, Perucic 2007). Especially evident is a monopolization process of the cruise-lines' ownership composition, whereby a smaller number of increasingly powerful multi-national consortiums control and shape the global cruise-market. In an article published in 2008, Perucić demonstrates that 75 per cent of the international cruise-ship market is owned by just three companies (Perucic 2007). Figures presented in a 2012 article by Rodrigue et al. (Rodrigue and Notteboom 2013), state that 96 per cent of the cruise market is controlled by only four companies[191]. With increased capital and power to pursue new cruise markets, this monopolization process leads to greater fluctuations in the cruise market, which can affect the services provided, the range of destinations offered and the demands placed on the host communities and ports. Consequently, it has become increasingly difficult for municipalities and port authorities in each of the cruise-ship destinations, to influence the traffic flow, routes, ship sizes and numbers of embarking passengers. This is especially the case in the smaller transit destinations such as Dubrovnik, where the cruise-ship passengers are only allotted a few hours in which to make a quick visit to the city centre. With the increased ship sizes and the capitalist logic of making cruise ships into 'floating hotels,' resembling 'floating towns,' tourists have all the desired amenities on board the ships and often spend little money in the ports of call, other than on a few souvenirs, drinks and snacks. According to a survey carried out by the travel agency, Rea, in 2006, the majority of cruise-ship passengers have 'medium

191 The four main holders of the cruise market (with percentage of ownership in parentheses) are: Carnival Lines (49.2) Royal Caribbean (23.8), Norwegian Cruise Line (7.1) and MSC Cruises (5.8) (Rodrigue and Notteboom 2013).

range purchasing power.' The same survey concluded that the 70% of cruise-ship passengers who decide to disembark in Dubrovnik spend, on average, just €25 (Krželj-Čolović and Brautović 2007). Of this money, a substantial amount is usually spent on the entrance fee of the popular city wall. Around 1 million people visit the city walls annually, and at the height of the tourist season, the walls have registered up to 8,864 visitors in one day. In 2015, the city walls provided an income of around 100 million Croatian Kuna annually (approximately €3.1 million), and with increased entry fees of €10 in 2016 this is likely to increase further. Of the total amount derived from the city wall fees, 25% VAT is paid into the national budget, and the remaining income is divided between Dubrovnik municipality and the city's main heritage association, which has undertaken many of Dubrovnik's restoration and conservation projects. Furthermore, Dubrovnik municipality receives a high income from various port charges and mooring fees, such as on transit passage fees, wharfage, agency fees, pilot dues, garbage collection, water, and electricity (ibid). Since cruise tourists spend, on average, less than half a day in Dubrovnik, many of my informants questioned whether they make any real contribution to the local economy.

Another structural change in global cruise-ship tourism is that, increasingly, large multi-national corporations lease the cruise-ship ports on a long-term basis. This can make it more difficult for the host communities to determine terms and conditions for steering cruise-ship management locally. It can diminish the local port authorities' and the municipalities' power to institute constraints on the number of cruise-ship arrivals, as well as affecting their power to encourage a seasonal spread of cruise-ship arrivals and thus mitigate overcrowding at the height of the cruise season. However, not infrequently local municipalities are also central drivers in outsourcing the control of the ports to multi-national consortiums. Venice, for instance, has undergone a process of rampant privatization and out-sourcing of tourism facilities and urban areas since the early 1990s. Today, multi-national corporations, such as Prada, Benneton and powerful Chinese investors, own many Venetian historical buildings, squares and streets[192]. Although Croatia's economic transition occurred following national independence in 1991, the challenges of post-war economic, infrastructural recovery and large-scale restoration work, delayed this process somewhat. However, in the period from 2009 onwards, when the former Mayor, Andro Vlahušić, entered office, the privatization process has escalated considerably and is largely following the 'Venetian model'. On

[192] Source: *'Tourists go home!'* (2016), written and directed by Antje Christ, ZDF.

February the 15th 2016, the municipal government in Dubrovnik, led by the Liberal Democrat, Andro Vlahušić from HNS[193] until 2017, signed a 40 year contract to lease a land area next to the existing cruise port in Gruž to one of the world's largest cruise-ship port holders, the French-Turkish consortium, International Cruise-Port Investment. The port investment, with an estimated value of €94 million, involves the construction of a 25,000 m^2 new port next to the existing one (continuing along the *Rijeci dubrovačkoj*, the Dubrovnik river), a new passenger terminal, bus station, 700 parking spaces, and a shopping centre for cruise tourists[194]. The construction of the new cruise port and the contract signed with International Cruise-Port Investment became a highly contentious issue during 2016-17. Jubo Nicolić, a member of the municipal government, and the only representative from the civil initiative, *Srđ je naš*, in the city government, expressed his concern with the fact that the terms of the contract were kept secret. The limit placed on the daily numbers of cruise-ship passengers allowed to arrive in the city is currently set at 8,000. However, at the height of the summer months (July and August), this number is relatively often exceeded[195]. The estimated 'carrying-capacity' for the walled centre is also set at 8,000 people, so when one also includes local citizens, land-based tourists and tourists arriving from ferries, sail boats and other craft, the challenge is already evident. Ljubo Nikolić criticizes the absence of a city management plan and tourism strategy that focuses explicitly on cruise-ship tourism, sufficiently addresses the implementation of sustainability measures and pays heed to the recommended 'carrying capacity' numbers. In an interview with the British newspaper, *The Telegraph*[196], Nikolić expresses his concern with how the 40 year contract signed with International Cruise-Port Investment is likely to go in an opposite direction from a sustainable management of cruise-ship tourism. Since the intention is to let the port management to a foreign concessionaire, with no exact plans to limit the number of visitors, or synchronise the number of visitors with the city management plan, our concerns remain.

Nikolić thinks that it is clear that the company holding the concession to manage the new port extension will be interested in further increasing the number of cruise passengers. This, he

[193] HNS – *Hrvatska Narodna Stranka – Liberalni Democrati (The Croatian People's Party – Liberal Democrats).*
[194] International Cruise-Port Investment consists of the two enterprises, the Turkish company Global Ports Holding, which specializes in developing and managing cruise and trade ports, and the French port construction company, Bouygues Bâtiment International. http://www.thedubrovniktimes.com/news/dubrovnik/item/304-new-passenger-terminal-for-port-of-dubrovnik-by-2018 and https://www.total-croatia-news.com/item/12720-the-concession-value-of-the-new-terminal-in-dubrovnik-is-750-million-euro.
[195] Source: Dubrovnik Port Authority.
[196] https://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/destinations/europe/croatia/dubrovnik/articles/dubrovnik-faces-overcrowding-cruise-ship-visitors-/.

thinks, will happen without any concern for the local conditions in the city. *"It will take the life out of the local community. The city will only become a tourist destination",* he asserts, when interviewed in the German documentary, *'Tourists go home!'* (2016).

The international cruise-ship industry represents a prime example of the multi-faceted processes of globalization, which entail a de-territorialisation of capital, labour, destinations (Perucic 2007), and also increasingly, of ports, as the case of Venice and possibly also Dubrovnik, shows. I would also add that cruise-ship tourism might play a central role facilitating an increased 'dis-location' of consumer products, such as souvenirs and products sold as 'local heritage traditions'. With the rapidly growing tourism market in Dubrovnik, which largely has occurred due to cruise-ship tourism, the demand for tourist souvenirs has risen. International companies capitalize on this potential. A large number of so called 'local souvenirs' today are actually Chinese-made or made in other places in South-East Europe where wages are even lower. It could be argued that the growth of cruise-ship tourism may be integral in causing a further touristification and commodification of cultural heritage, perhaps to a greater extent than land-based tourism, due to the ships' short visits. Such a claim would be difficult to verify, as there are too many variables to take into account and any direct patterns of cause and effect could hardly be proved. However, it represents a widely held impression amongst a large number of my informants. They believe that the shrinking duration of visits to Dubrovnik, epitomized by cruise-ship tourism, and the escalation of cheap, foreign-made tourist souvenirs, which have accompanied the growth of cruise-ship tourism to the city[197], are contributing towards an up-rooting of the local and diverse meanings and histories attached to the local heritage. Many informants working in the tourist industry observe that with the increasingly shrinking duration of visits to the city, there is simply no time to tell the 'real stories' of how the locals experience the city and the diversity of meanings it holds to its citizens. Within the logic of cruise tourism's numerous, but short, visits to a range of destinations, it could be questioned whether the heritage monuments, products and performances turn into little more than idealized statements of Dubrovnik's cultural heritage, directed at tourists. When cultural heritage is reduced to little more than the sale of commodities within a competitive market of World Heritage sites, and is produced and

197 Today many souvenir shops directly target cruise tourists by offering special discounts to passengers on the cruise-ships. In the shop windows, many souvenir shops display the signs of different cruise lines, stating that the products they sell are recommended by the cruise-lines.

controlled by numerous interest groups at different scales, citizens living in the World Heritage sites may over time lose a sense of the heritage being 'theirs'. A widespread sentiment among many of my informants working in the tourism industry was nostalgia and sense of having lost the well-established host-guest relationship; an aspect which many felt was strongly present in the former Yugoslavia, but is in the process of vanishing today. Most informants who expressed these sentiments thought that one of the prime causes was the shrinking duration of stays in the city, a process which they saw as being inexorably escalated by cruise-ship tourism. While the focus on cruise-ship tourism's impact on local identity, heritage and quality of life in the city are among most pressing issues in local discourse, other less discernible effects, especially the environmental impacts of cruise-ships, have become more widely debated in recent years. When one includes the money from tourist services, such as excursions and transportation, carried out by travel agencies, the total amount of money deriving from port charges and tourism was estimated to be more than €9.1 million in 2005 (Krželj-Čolović and Brautović 2007). As such, tourism, including cruise-ship tourism, has a very direct, positive influence on the local economy. However, these benefits do not take into account the 'hidden costs' which cruise-ship tourism generates. Cruise-ship tourism's environmental impact has increasingly come under scrutiny in Croatia over the last decade. Economic studies presented by the Institute of Tourism in Zagreb state that while cruise tourism generated €50 million for Croatia in 2009, it caused 388 million Euros' worth of environmental damage (Carić 2010, Caric 2012).

Eriksen (Eriksen 2016) notes that the double-bind of tourism is *"by default part and parcel of the fundamental double bind of growth and sustainability as it relies on high energy use"* (2016: 69). While supporters of Dubrovnik's cruise-ship tourism often tend to emphasize the positive economic effects and may use economic studies to back up these assertions, the less apparent costs to environmental sustainability have, until recently, rarely been brought to the fore.

Research carried out at the Institute for Tourism in Zagreb has scrutinized the environmental impacts of cruise-ship:

> *Cruise tourism is one of the fastest growing sectors of the tourism industry and one that has significant environmental, economic and social impacts on target destinations. Yet, tourism decision makers, developers and managers rarely incorporate or estimate environmental impacts in their tourism development planning. Indeed, the analysis of*

the resulting resource exploitation is rarely undertaken until carrying capacity is breached and attractiveness diminished (Caric, 2010).

Long-term quantitative research carried out on the Adriatic coast concludes that the economic benefits of cruise-ship tourism in Croatia amount to €50 million, however, the estimated environmental costs of €338 million, dwarf that figure (Caric, 2010). Based on sustainability measures and recommendations on carrying capacity[198] in Caric's and Horak's research (Caric 2012, Horak et al. 2007, Carić 2010), some regulation of cruise-ship arrivals and ship sizes have been introduced. Until then up to five cruise-ships could arrive daily. On 20 August 2011, seven cruise-ships moored in one day in the ports of Gruž and in the sea passage between the port of the old city and the island of Lokrum. On this day, the number of cruise-ship passengers reached close to 14,000. When one adds the number of tourists arriving in the historic, walled city with three city gates and many narrow and steep streets, it becomes apparent that carefully planned tourism management is necessary to improve the living conditions for the local population, as well as for visitors. These findings clarify the importance of a more holistic approach to tourism development in Dubrovnik. While Caric's research is illuminating in bringing attention to the environmentally unsustainable sides of cruise-ship tourism, it is harder to measure the extent to which this kind of tourism negatively affects the lives of the local population. However, there can be no doubt that the large number of practical difficulties relating to lack of space, traffic congestion, parking, waste management, pollution, and the displacement of everyday facilities from the city centre to outlying areas in order to accommodate for tourist facilities, combine to detract from the local population's life experiences and quality of life. A minority of the citizens thinks there are no viable alternatives to tourism, but many residents argue for a more inclusive public debate focusing on how tourism can generate economic benefits and, at the same time, maintain the citizens' identities, heritage and quality of life. Dubrovnik's historic, urban centre framed by its city walls, with its five city gates[199] narrow and often steep streets, presents many

198 There are many different definitions of carrying capacity. I shall use Fernando J. et.al's (Fernando et.al. cited in Ren-jun 2005) definition, which describes *"carrying capacity as the maximum number of people who can use a place without an unacceptable alteration in the physical environment and an unacceptable decline in the quality of the recreational experience"*. While many definitions focus on carrying capacity as related to ecological concerns, importantly emphasizes that the carrying capacity of a place "expresses the relationship between a population and the natural environment" (Abernethy 2001:9).
199 Three of Dubrovnik's city gates are accessible from the land (the Pile, Ploče and Buža gates). The other two are accessible from the harbour (the Peskarija and the Ponta gates). As the bus station, located outside the Pile gate, receives the greatest pedestrian pressures. This is where cruise-ship passengers embark and disembark in shuttle buses between the walled centre and the cruise port in Gruž.

challenges to accommodating modern lifestyles and developing an adequate infrastructure to receive the steadily increasing numbers of tourists. A majority of my Dubrovnikan informants argued that the types of tourism and the types of tourism-related challenges have changed significantly in the post-war period, and specifically over the course of the last decade or so. The large growth of cruise-ship tourism often featured heavily in conversations on how Dubrovnik's tourism has changed the experience of living in the city. During the course of my fieldwork periods, I both witnessed a large growth in tourist numbers and the numbers of cruise-ships mooring in Dubrovnik every day. At the same time – especially following Horak's critical research on cruise-ship tourism in 2010 – the theme of the 'carrying capacity' of tourism numbers, estimated to be 8,000 at any one time within the walled city centre, became far more prominent in both the media and in conversations with my informants.

In local discourse on the impact cruise-ship tourism has on local identity, the negative effects on Dubrovnikans' quality of life, access to and mobility in the city centre were often brought up. However, a focus on how cruise-ship tourism – due to the large crowds and the colossal size of the ships – provokes a 'devaluation' of Dubrovnik's 'unique quality', 'heritage value' and aesthetic quality of the urban architecture was just as common. This type of discourse relates to the widely acknowledged local perception that Dubrovnikans have inherited a 'heritage of scale and harmony' from the Dubrovnik Republic, which exists in an organic relationship between the city, its people and the landscape. This is often presented as a legacy which has been unbroken to the present, but which is now under threat due to recent tourism developments. However, the view that the presence of cruise-ships and cruise tourists 'degrade' Dubrovnik's World Heritage and disrupt the aesthetic, harmonic relationship and scale of the UNESCO protected centre, is not shared by all locals.

Antun Asić, the General Manager of Dubrovnik Port Authority[200] and a former captain, sees nautical tourism as an essential part of the city's heritage and a natural element of the coexistence between Dubrovnik's citizens, the city's activities and the natural resources:

> *As a captain I see nothing bad with the ships. Just two days ago we had a public discussion about the study for the new port. And one lady said that sound of the anchor dropping into the sea [when mooring] disturbs the people living nearby. But, for me it's exciting, because I like to drop the anchor when you come to the port. As a seaman, my*

200 The Dubrovnik Port Authority operates under the auspices of the Ministry of Maritime Affairs, Transport & Infrastructure.

view is quite different; we have the [UNESCO protected] Old city, but Dubrovnik in the past lived from development. If you read the books about the history of Dubrovnik, they accepted all the new technology, from ammunition to ships. So the picture of the Old city and the cruise ships passing the Old city, it's nothing bad for me. It's not collision of old and new. It's ... suživot (coexistence)...like joint life; because those people [cruise industry and cruise tourists] again build life in Dubrovnik, as in the past. It's just changed the shape.

Antun talks enthusiastically about how he and his peers growing up in the walled centre of Dubrovnik developed a strong fascination with ships. To him, ships were synonymous with 'life'; with life coming, passing through and leaving an imprint on its citizens. In the 1950s, in the early days of modern nautical tourism, the harbour of the walled centre was used as a cargo port. Most ships sailing for tourism purposes moored further out, towards the island of Lokrum. However, when the ships sailed in to the harbour to allow passengers to embark or disembark, Antun and hordes of other children living in the centre would flock by them and watch. *"Very famous ships came here",* he reflects, emphasizing that in his childhood and adolescence the tourists who came to the city, including many famous and rich people, presented a source of curiosity and excitement to many citizens. To him, the arrival of the ships from all over the world was one of the highlights in making Dubrovnik into a vibrant, living city with an international character.

Antun is critical of how the heritage management departments want to keep Dubrovnik "as it is", thus preventing it from developing in new directions. To him, change and technological innovation are important parts of the past, of Dubrovnik's historical 'greatness', and should also be welcomed in the present:

In the past Dubrovnik developed all the time ... We have to protect new buildings and we have to protect the old, but we also have to develop new technology because we need it.

Antun does not see it as a problem that the rapidly growing cruise-ship tourism is changing the local surroundings as long as that change is well handled. In addition, he is concerned that the cruise-ship industry is growing so fast that it is creating many challenges for the management and preparedness of ports worldwide, including Dubrovnik. He does not dispute that Dubrovnik's cruise-ship tourism has grown faster than the city has been prepared for or that it poses many challenges to the existing infrastructure of the city.

The attitudes towards cruise-ship tourism in Dubrovnik are undoubtedly mixed and many locals express a great deal of ambivalence towards this emergent tourism-form, perceiving it to bring both benefits and detriments to the city. However, over the course of my fieldwork periods between 2009 and 2015, I noticed an expressed turn towards apprehensiveness and critique about the overwhelming impacts that the large crowds have on everyday life.

Many host communities in the Mediterranean have increasingly met the enormous growth of cruise-ship tourism, accompanied by the increased monopolization of the cruise-ship ownership structures and outsourcing of cruise destinations' assets, such as the ownership or control of ports, with resistance. In Venice, in particular, local resistance has grown hugely (Vianello 2016a) and has led to the establishment of the civil action group, *No grandi navi* (*No large ships*)[201]. The civil initiative has held a range of demonstrations in the Giudecca canal of the Venetian lagoon. The activists make use of banners, boats, torches and use their own bodies to block the cruise-ships from entering canal by spreading out and swimming in the lagoon[202]. Every day around 20 large cruise-ships enter the narrow canal, dock in the Marittima port and then disembark some hours later. The large scale of the ships – often over 300 meters in length, 50 meters in width and 60 meters in height – places an enormous pressure on the fragile foundations of Venice's buildings, which are often built on poles. According to figures presented by the civil initiative, when the cruise-ships pass through the lagoon, an estimated volume of between 30,000 and 35,000 cubic meters of water (depending on the ship's size) is shifted, first by being pressed against the foundations, then pulled back again as the cruise-ship leaves[203]. At a larger scale than Dubrovnik, Venice has experienced an exponential growth rate in tourism since the 1950s. The city received an average of around 2 million tourists during the 1950s. But by 1995 this had grown to 12 million and reached 16 million in 2011[204]. The large growth of cruise-ship tourism is connected to this growth rate and has led to the number of tourists visiting the city to rise by 15 per cent[205]. Between 1997 and 2009, cruise-ship tourism to Venice increased by 374.5 per cent, and the city has become the fourth most popular destination in Europe. Both Venice and Dubrovnik experience many

201 http://www.nograndinavi.it/.
202 Source: '*'Tourists go home!'* ' (2016), German documentary, directed by Antje Christ, Christ media, ZDF.
203 http://www.nograndinavi.it/.
204 https://web.wpi.edu/Pubs/E-project/Available/E-project-121212-121903/unrestricted/ve12-Trans_Report.pdf
205 It does, however, need to be noted that the growth rate of land-based tourism, recorded by the number of overnight stays, accounts for the largest growth rate in this period. Of course, many tourists may stay overnight in Venice before or after their cruise tours, thus making the figures of 'distinct' tourist groups somewhat unclear. In Dubrovnik, however, the distinction between cruise tourists and 'land-based' tourists is clearer as the city is a transit destination in cruise lines' itineraries.

of the same pressures relating to tourism being spatially confined; Venice by its lagoon and Dubrovnik by its city wall. As in Venice, local resistance against cruise-ship tourism in Dubrovnik has grown, especially over the course of the last decade. Many Dubrovnikans repeatedly complained of how, despite strong local discontent with the congestion and pollution caused by cruise-ship tourism, the municipal authorities and port authorities did little to manage it. Unlike Venice, however, there has been little visible resistance in front of tourists. Although the Venetian demonstrations against large cruise-ships entering the lagoon clearly inspired and encouraged many Dubrovnikan political activists I encountered, there is no parallel in Dubrovnik to the types of demonstrations or the blockage of cruise-ships from docking. When I queried into the reasons for this absence, many activists would respond that the relatively recent return of tourism, which has enabled economic recovery after the war, was experienced as still quite fragile. Many therefore saw it as unwise to take actions that would deter tourists from visiting the city. Critiques of cruise-ship tourism have however been expressed by the local civil initiative, Srđ je naš[206], but largely through political lobbying and by calling on the aid of heritage 'expert groups', such as UNESCO and ICOMOS. In a letter to Francesco Bandarin in 2012, members of *Srđ je naš* wrote to the assistant director-general for culture of UNESCO expressed their strong concern with the negative environmental and communal impacts of cruise-ship tourism on Dubrovnik:

> *The cruise ships do not only enter the Port of Gruž, but also the local seas of Lokrum, the island which, in 1976, was proclaimed as a Special Reserve of Forest Vegetation on the basis of its unique flora, and which is located only a few hundred meters from the historical city center! The Island of Lokrum and the channel between the island and the city represent a unique landscape well-known in the whole world. Therefore, it is incomprehensible that the channel of an important landscape value, which is too narrow to provide adequate leeway in extraordinary circumstances, has become a parking plot for cruise ships. The impact of sound, vibrations as well as liquid waste itself on the living world of Dubrovnik's local seas is yet to be determined.*

The letter lists a number of incidents with environmental impacts on the local area:

206 See chapter 9 for further discussion of *Srđ je naš'* activism. The civil initiative has voiced a strong critique of what they see as inadequate management of cruise-ship tourism and of the proposed *Golf Park Dubrovnik* construction on Mount Srđ, the mountain plateau overlooking Dubrovnik's UNESCO enlisted walled centre.

- In August 2004, two cruise ships, *Armonia* and *Club Med 2*, collided due to bad weather conditions, where their anchors were entangled. This event occurred near to the island and nature reserve of Lokrum. The accident caused damage to the subsea pipelines, electric and telephone cables, which were cut, the water supply for Lokrum was cut off and the island was temporarily closed to visitors. The cost of repairs and from the loss of visitors to the island ran to tens of thousands of Euros.
- The letter also mentions several incidents in 2009 and 2011 of clear environmental pollution, such as high levels of soot and sea pollution being observed on and by the beach of Sveti Jakov, from cruise-ships mooring between the mainland and Lokrum.

The letter criticized the local municipality and port authorities for their repeated failure to investigate pollution when locals have filed public reports on particular incidents. It also censured the municipality for avoiding measures to prevent future cruise-ship collisions in the narrow sea passage by Lokrum, and for repeatedly neglecting to press charges on international cruise-ship companies in cases where environmental or infrastructural damage was evident.

Srđ je naš' appeal for international intervention by UNESCO and ICOMOS led to a joint UNESCO and ICOMOS reactive monitoring mission to Dubrovnik in 2015 (discussed in more detail in Chapter 9[207]). In 2016, issues relating to the need for Dubrovnik municipality to provide UNESCO with a new, sustainable tourism management plan – which introduces sustainability measures taking into account the 'carrying capacity' of the walled city – were debated at the World Heritage Committee's 40th session[208]. The evaluation highlighted the management of cruise-ship tourism as a major area in need of improvement. Following the joint UNESCO and ICOMOS reactive monitoring mission, and the World Heritage Committee's concluding report, the carrying capacity for the number of people entering the walled centre of Dubrovnik was set at 8,000. Afterwards Dubrovnik municipality have initiated certain measures to monitor and control tourist numbers. In January 2017, towards the end of Andro Vlahušić' term of office as the Mayor of Dubrovnik, 116 live surveillance

207 whc.unesco.org/document/141053.
208 Under point 4 a) of the WHC's decision for the Old City of Dubrovnik (40 COM 7B.50), the Croatian State Party is required to *"develop and submit to the World Heritage Centre for review by the Advisory Bodies the Management Plan of the property, including a tourism strategy, legal regulations for cruise ship tourism, identification of the sustainable carrying capacity of the city, a risk-preparedness action plan and an interpretation strategy",* https://whc.unesco.org/en/decisions/6715.

cameras, monitoring the numbers entering and leaving through the city wall entrances – updated every 15 minutes and publically accessible on the internet – were installed by the five city gates. This represents a growing area of urban tourism management which utilizes new technological solutions to measure and control tourism flows. Other UNESCO World Heritage sites that struggle with overcrowding at certain times of the year or certain points of the day have introduced similar technological solutions. In the five UNESCO enlisted fishing villages, Cinque Terre in Italy's north-western province, Liguria, the local authorities have introduced a ticketing system and a mobile phone application[209]. Through these measures, tourists can obtain figures on the tourist numbers at any given time. At certain times of the year tourists have to pre-book their visit to the town, and when numbers exceed 1.5 million people annually, new visitors are rejected. UNESCO and the local authorities have expressed their concerns with the strains the large tourist numbers place on the small fishing communities. However, the large crowds also cause environmental and safety concerns. The likely environmental strains (in the form of landslides, threats to natural habitats) and potential risk to the safety of tourists cannot be ignored as the 'heritage trail' involves a walk between the five villages, which are connected by a very narrow cliffside path.

The reaction locally to the installation of live surveillance cameras in Dubrovnik has generally been positive. In June 2017, by email, Marko, a thirty year old resident in the walled centre expressed relief that eventually measures had been taken to make Dubrovnik into a liveable city again. *"The days with overwhelming crowds [are] significantly reduced",* he reflected optimistically. But he highlighted that these measures were the result of the international intervention of UNESCO and not something which would have been generated by the local politicians unless Dubrovnik had been subjected to external pressure. After Mato Franković was elected the new Mayor of Dubrovnik on 21st May 2017, the issue of limiting cruise-ship tourism to Dubrovnik was given much more attention in the local media. Early in his term of office, Franković announced that he intended to drastically reduce the numbers of people entering the walled centre at any given time by restricting the maximum number of visitors to 4,000 people (in other words, half of the recommended 'carrying capacity' numbers set by UNESCO). One way to achieve this, he argued, is to reduce the number of cruise-ships calling on Dubrovnik in the tourist 'high season' (between April and October). At the start of 2018, Franković scheduled a meeting with the Cruise Lines International Association (CLIA) to discuss potential measures of limiting the daily arrivals of cruise-ships calling at

[209] https://www.thelocal.it/20160817/italys-tourist-jewel-feels-the-strain-of-fame.

Dubrovnik. The new measures will, if approved by the local municipality, come into effect from 2019. In an interview with the British newspaper, *The Independent*, Franković states that the main intention behind his plan to reduce the number of people entering Dubrovnik at any given time is to improve the quality of life in the city. However, interestingly (but perhaps not so strange as the interview was carried out with a foreign newspaper), his attention on the need to improve quality of life in the city is framed as benefiting tourists, and not so much the local residents. Nonetheless, Franković's reflections exemplify a relatively new turn towards a sustainability discourse in Dubrovnik's tourism management, which was relatively absent under Vlahušić where the further expansion and growth of tourism numbers was always the top priority. Franković reflects:

> *The cruisers [cruise-ship companies] will not agree with me, but my main goal is to provide quality for tourists, and that will not happen if the situation remains as it is. For the next two years, we will lose the profit of tourism, we will lose maybe a million euros, but in the long run [it] will pay. We deserve to be a top quality destination.*

Franković's statement to *The Independent* interestingly combines the discourse of sustainability with the established local 'elite tourism' strategy, which has been heavily promoted in the last decade or more.

It can be questioned whether the installation of the surveillance cameras is intended to provide reassurance to the local population, or to UNESCO and IOMOS, that measures are being carried out to conform to the recommended 'carrying capacity'. Despite their stated aims, it remains uncertain whether Dubrovnik's authorities actually will intervene and control access to the city centre if the numbers breach the 'carrying capacity'. According to the local municipality, from 2018, there will be attempts to divert the flow of pedestrians if the numbers go above 6,000 people. When the numbers inside the walled centre reach 8,000 people, the police will start to prevent further crowds from accessing the walled centre. Exactly how the authorities plan to divert the crowds, and what criteria will be used for allowing or denying people to access the city centre, is not clear. With regards to the installation of the surveillance cameras, the local municipality stated to the international press that Dubrovnik also plans to launch priority tickets which can be bought before arrival by tourists who may be concerned that they will be able unable to enter the walled centre. Tour operators, unless properly regulated, could easily exploit such measures. And the cruise-line industry – the tourists' guarantee that they are provided with access to Dubrovnik's World

Heritage site is essential if they are to market the site as one of the attractions in their itineraries. Will priority access perhaps be given long in advance to tour operators and cruise-lines, which rely on pre-scheduled travel itineraries? If this proves to be the case, a negative consequence could be to further reduce the numbers of land-based tourists to the city and therefore also diminish the number of overnight stays. If so this will reduce the annual income to local families who rely on letting a room or an apartment to tourists. Will local residents in future also need to carry an identification card proving that they live in the centre or have a reasonable purpose to go there? Will measures of restricting the numbers of visitors by a pre-booked ticketing system perhaps also contribute towards further museumification of the city centre and result in the access of certain groups being prioritized over that of others?

In later correspondence with Marko, he remarked that his initial optimism had turned into doubt. Although his impression of Franković was relatively good and he thought it was very positive that he appeared willing to take action to reduce numbers of visitors to the centre, he was not so sure that, when it comes down to it, the municipality would carry out the limitations in the numbers of cruise-ship passengers to the city. "*As the Croatian proverb goes: "Živi bili pa vidjeli!" ("May we live to see it!"),* he wrote.

Marko thinks that 'sustainability discourse' has become relatively widespread as an ideal and future goal in local discourse on tourism and heritage management. In the last decade, he has noticed how words such as *održivi razvoj* (sustainable development) and *održivi turizam* (sustainable tourism) are frequently used by politicians and groups working in the tourist and heritage management sectors. In practice, however, he thinks that, unfortunately, few locals are willing to sacrifice the prospect of making as much money as possible from utilizing their heritage as a selling point in tourism:

> *The [economic] transition wasn't easy, and there was the question of priorities ... [the] number one priority was to generate economic growth. The country was struggling, so at first, it was necessary to generate a certain income and growth, disregarding the sustainability. As time goes by, people and decision-makers are aware that the two [economic growth and sustainability] should go hand-in-hand. But greed is the number one factor that proves to be the biggest weight on sustainable development of cultural heritage. People want to make money and are not willing to give up on the money in favour of sustainability. It's the human psyche and the mentality of the local people*

[Dubrovnikans] – a lot of them couldn't care less about sustainable cultural heritage as long as that cultural heritage brings them money.

Although increasingly many locals are expressing discontent with the impacts of cruise-ship tourism on the quality of life, few informants thought that the local politicians, tourism industry and port authorities will initiate sufficient measures to limit the numbers of daily and annual arrivals. The idea of limitless tourism growth, many Dubrovnikans lamented, is seen as too tempting to citizens who have experienced war and destruction. Furthermore, the recovery and growth of the local tourism industry harmonizes with perceptions of Dubrovnik's 'recovery' of its cultural identity as an international, cosmopolitan and peaceful city with a rich cultural heritage and one which is globally accessible to 'all' of mankind. As such, the return of tourism in the post-war period is seen as vital in fostering a perception of Dubrovnikans as being embedded in a Western European tradition of civic patriotism rather than ethnic nationalism.

Although media reports and civil activism against the negative consequences of cruise-ship tourism have become more present in Dubrovnik in recent years, this kind of activism is far more visible in Venice. As pointed out by Marko, Venetian activism has had a certain knock-on effect in Dubrovnik, as a majority of the cruise-ships mooring in the city also call at Venice. During my different fieldwork periods, many Dubrovnikans drew comparisons between the two cities, using Venice both as a role model for aspirational civil activism and as a 'worst-case scenario' of how Dubrovnik may turn out unless sufficient measures are adopted.

The parallels between the two World Heritage enlisted cities, Venice and Dubrovnik, are many. Although there are differences in terms of the larger scale of mass tourism to Venice, the fragile eco-system on which the city is built and the extent of the process of economic liberalization and out-sourcing of urban areas to multi-national consortiums, which has occurred on a much larger scale than in Dubrovnik. In many ways, Venice provides an 'effective model' and reference point which many Dubrovnikans draw on in discourses on urban development and tourism development. Being environmentally confined by the shallow Venetian lagoon and consisting of a group of 118 islands joined by 400 bridges, the environmental pressures and urban challenges stemming from the approximately 30 million tourists visiting Venice annually are magnified. As in Dubrovnik, mass tourism, accompanied by the large-scale privatization of urban areas, has contributed towards property prices that

are too steep for many local residents. This has caused a significant depopulation of the historic core of the city (the *centro storico*) to the mainland, a continuing exodus that result in a decline of 0.2 per cent each year. In 1951 there were 174,808 inhabitants living in the *centro storico*. By 1980, this had fallen to 120,000 and by 2008, the numbers had dropped further to 60,208[210]. In the German documentary, '*'Tourists go home!'* ' (2016), the current population of the historic core of Venice is estimated at 55,000 people. The strong reliance on global tourism for national and local economic development, as well as for individual livelihoods, makes Dubrovnik particularly vulnerable to global processes and events. Environmental catastrophes, economic recession, international political conflicts, refugee crisis, acts of terrorism and warfare have negatively affected the tourism industry in many places (Henderson 2007a, Beck 2005, Henderson 2007b). If the political situation in the Balkans was to flare up again, this could have a decidedly negative impact on Dubrovnik's tourism industry. In a region marked by recurring political conflict it is risky to base the main source of the economy on tourism, creating a so-called 'lock in' economy (Racusin 2012). Moreover, with the continued outsourcing of tourism facilities and the monopolization of certain tourism forms, such as cruise-ship tourism, by large multi-national cooperations, Dubrovnik may lose some of its control over destination management.

On June 13th 2017, the Norwegian national newspaper, *Aftenposten*, reported on the increase in political conflicts and ethnic tensions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Serbia[211]. The article reported that the Norwegian Minister of international relations, Børge Brende, had expressed grave concerns about the recent rebound in ethnic and political tension in the Western Balkans. While in February 2017 the Norwegian government reported that they would continue providing the same budget for aid to the region as the previous year, 175 million *kroner* (approximately 18, 3 mill. Euros)[212], in June 2017 Brende informed *Aftenposten* that the budget will "be increased considerably". Dubrovnik is, due to the recovery of the tourist industry, a high performer in national context and the unemployment rate is amongst the lowest nationwide. In regional context, Croatia is, also largely due to tourism, preforming comparatively well economically, and ethnic and political and ethnic

210 The total population of Venice is 270,884 inhabitants, which is divided by a 22:8:70 ratio between the historic centre (the centro storico), other islands in the Venetian lagoon and the mainland. Source: http://www.venipedia.org/wiki/index.php?title.
211 https://www.aftenposten.no/verden/Norge-er-svart-bekymret-for-okte-konflikter-pa-Balkan-Na-oker-Brende-bistanden-kraftig-622997b.html.
212 https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/brende-bekymret-over-situasjonen-pa-balkan/id2539038/.

conflicts are far more muted than in many other Western-Balkan nations, such as Bosnia Herzegovina and Kosovo, which have a stronger mix of ethnic populations. The country is therefore a low priority for foreign development aid. However, if regional political conflict reappears and if war breaks out in one of the nearby countries in the future, Croatia's tourism industry will almost certainly suffer. Despite the large geographical distance between Kosovo and Croatia, the knock-on effect of regional conflict was evident in 1999, during the war in Kosovo. After the end of the Croatian war of independence, the renewed unstable political conditions in the Balkan region precipitated a sudden drop in cruise-ship arrivals to Dubrovnik. This was witnessed during the 1999 war in Kosovo where Dubrovnik's tourist industry, which was on the rebound, temporarily collapsed. Although the political situation in Croatia had stabilized, in the 'mental geographies' of many tourists and cruise-ship companies Kosovo was seen as near. Due to the Kosovo war, many tourists considered the entire Balkan region as unsafe to travel to. Cruise-ship companies changed their itineraries accordingly. While 187 cruise ships moored in Dubrovnik in 1998 (with a total of 108,595 passengers), the number dropped to 36 (13,425 passengers) in 1999[213]. This sense of vulnerability to changing regional circumstances and the potentiality of a future war in the Balkans was something that many of my informants had in the back of their minds. In tourism development strategies, on the contrary, the potential detrimental effects on the tourism industry if a regional conflict was to ignite, is largely absent.

213 Dubrovnik Port Authorities.

Figure 17. A cruise ship, previously moored near the island of Lokrum, sailing past Dubrovnik's walled centre. Many Dubrovnikans express concern about the environmental footprint of cruise-ship tourism. To some, cruise-ship tourism is also seen as disrupting the heritage of scale and harmony, aspects perceived as stemming from the Dubrovnik Republic. Photograph by Celine Motzfeldt Loades.

An 'Overheated' World Heritage City

The development of Dubrovnik as a 'tourism destination' has undergone many phases. Although figures show steady growth in both tourism numbers and annual GDP deriving from tourism, there have been clear, periodic set-backs, which reveal the vulnerability of the current tourism-dependent local economy. The city's tourism 'life cycle' has been closely related to global and regional processes of change – especially to regional political instability, war and global economic recession. However, Dubrovnik's attractiveness and continued appeal as a 'tourism destination' is not only affected by the these factors, but also by a range of aspects concerning how tourism is managed locally and the long-term impacts which it has on the human and natural environment. Indicators such as the range and diversity of tourism offers in the city, the appearance of other, comparable tourism offers in nearby places, which may affect the tourism appeal of Dubrovnik, the management of congestion in the city centre and the city's road access, may over time affect Dubrovnik's tourism 'life cycle'. The idea of tourism destinations as having a 'life cycle' was proposed in the 1960s by Christaller (Christaller 1964). In the 1980s, when low cost air travel and tourism package tours were starting to proliferate, academics working in the fields of tourism research expressed increasing concern about the vulnerabilities of the places on the receiving end of mass tourism, and the transformation of local communities into tourist destinations. Butler (Butler

1980) formulated a diagram of *Tourism Area Cycle of Evolution in Tourism Sites*. This diagram showed the different stages of likely development and attractiveness of a tourist site. He proposed six different stages that most tourist places may pass through depending on factors such as how tourism is managed and on the range of other tourism offers. These stages were exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation and decline.

Tourism research frequently cite Butler's diagram today. Walter (Walter 1982) similarly proposes that tourism sites have a certain, limited carrying capacity, which means that:

> *Sooner or later, a threshold will be reached after which the destination will be decreasingly desirable. In other words, tourists coming in sufficient numbers will destroy what they come to see (Walter 1982).*

Butler and Walter's theorizing is relevant to Dubrovnik, where the number of tourists has grown dramatically after the surge in cruise-ship tourism and the overall popularity Dubrovnik as a destination. In the period of my research in Dubrovnik, I have noticed a marked difference in congestion, and dissatisfaction amongst the locals with their living conditions. I am also aware that, while few Norwegians I know from my home city, Oslo, had visited the city in 2009, over the last few years, Dubrovnik and Croatia have become one of the most popular holiday destinations. In the last year or so, I have frequently heard statements such as *"I really liked Dubrovnik, but I think I will go to Montenegro next as it is still less crowded and not so expensive"*.

Until 2017, Dubrovnik Municipality took few measures to diminish congestion and or limit the 'carrying capacity' in the walled centre. As Marko reflected, the reduced number of cruise-ship passengers is already having positive effects on locality and liveability. If the municipality continues taking similar measures and attempts to develop a tourism which is more focused on quality for tourists and locals alike, and not just on encouraging ever increasing numbers of visitors, then the 'decline stage' in popularity, as proposed by Butler (1980) may not happen in Dubrovnik.

Eriksen (2016) describes the contemporary globalized world as suffering from *overheating*. Used both in a concrete sense – as in climate change – and perhaps more in a metaphorical way, Eriksen sees *overheating* as having become endemic in the globalized world, where populations in disparate geographical areas of the world increasingly experience interrelated crises. He identifies three areas, in particular, as being affected by 'overheating':

- *Environment* (and the threats of climate change, pollution, diminishing bio-diversity etc.), which tends to be downplayed under the neoliberal economy and the pursuit of economic growth. Therefore, accelerated growth and consumption produces an overheating in the environment.
- *Economy*, which due to its increasingly global interconnectedness, lack of diversification and 'scaling up' is particularly vulnerable to global events, processes and potential recessions and collapse.
- *Identity,* which relates to an experienced crisis in the reproduction of identity, locality, place and cultural diversity. This is connected with processes of 'disembedding' (Eriksen 2007) relating to globalization, increased mobility, technological innovation, flows of products and ideas, cultural commercialization and commodification (for example of cultural products, practices and heritage). Globalization processes may stimulate cultural homogenization and standardization in certain areas, but globalization also provokes local responses and has diverse effects on identity production and identity politics in different localities. Globalization has also opened up to new opportunities for transnational connectivity and exchange of ideas, such as 'alter-globalization'(Eriksen 2016), human rights movements and environmentalism, but also to political and religious radicalization.

These 'three crises', Eriksen (2016) asserts, tend to involve crisis in *reproduction* and *clashing scales*, where, for example, the double-bind of accelerated economic *growth* and cultural and environmental *sustainability* is becoming ever more palpable, and seemingly irreconcilable, in the context of global climate change.

Eriksen (ibid) describes global tourism as exhibiting all the central features of 'overheating'. In the context of Dubrovnik and Croatia, all three crises, as described by Eriksen, are apparent. They relate closely to the effect of contemporary international tourism on the city, but as will be discussed in the following chapters, also to local and regional historical events and processes, which condition the responses to these 'crises' and help to give form to their particular expressions.

One sign that global tourism is 'overheated', as discussed by Eriksen (ibid) – which he also argues is a characteristic feature of all forms of 'overheating' – is the *"double-edged sword of integration into higher levels of scale ... where localities increasingly depend on the higher systemic levels for their survival"* (2016:69). This is certainly the case in Dubrovnik, where

the economy and the livelihoods of large segments of the population are entirely dependent on international tourism. The economy is thus highly susceptible to global processes and events and at risk of temporary setbacks or even collapse. Although tourism also constituted a large chunk of national revenue in Yugoslavia and European cultural tourism to Dubrovnik was already well established, the Yugoslavian tourism industry was much more self-contained, as the city represented a major destination for Yugoslavian regional tourism. The old type of tourism also tended to be more stable all year round.

Eriksen (ibid) argues that a major dilemma in 'overheated cities' is the discrepancy between a growing population and stagnant infrastructure. Dubrovnik's relatively small population of just over 42,000 inhabitants poses challenges concerning how to adapt the infrastructure for 'modern lifestyles' due to the city's medieval architectural layout and strict heritage legislation. However, with the addition of tourist numbers reaching up to two million annually, the infrastructure of the city is inadequate and could be said to cause 'overheating'. According to Eriksen:

> *When a tourist destination has passed the tipping point beyond which it ceases to be a locality to which tourists come, but rather has flipped into a tourist destination with locals providing services for the tourists, it is no longer autonomous and self-defining, but is instead assigned a role in a transnational play whose script has been written elsewhere, beyond the direct influence of locals." (2016:69)*

It is of course difficult, if not impossible, to determine when a 'tipping-point' has been reached – when a locality has 'ceased' to exist as a place first and foremost for the locals and not merely for the pleasure of visitors and the economic gain of society. However, Eriksen's reflections would most likely resonate strongly with the experiences of many residents of Dubrovnik, who no longer feel that the city's urban development is happening on their terms. They see that their relatively newly achieved national autonomy and much cherished *libertas* discourse has been compromised and 'cheapened' due to the rampant commercialization of the city's cultural heritage and the impotence of citizens when it comes to defining future development.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the experienced consequences of post-war tourism strategies and the market-led reification of cultural heritage and place in contemporary tourism promotion

and post-war economic development. It explored how mass tourism and Dubrovnik's tourism management affects the inhabitants' everyday lives, social practices and their relations with the city centre and the surrounding landscape. Both post-war local tourism management and recent changes in global tourism (especially cruise-ship tourism) have profoundly affected social practices and the conditions of life within the walled city centre. I have suggested that post-war tourism management have forged conditions of 'overheating' (Eriksen, 2016). This overheated condition results in a scarcity of space, depopulation of the city centre, increased living costs, congestion, cultural commodification, mounting social and economic inequalities and uneven access to place and materiality. This produces strong feelings of dissatisfaction and identity deprivation and conflict, which I will further ethnographically explore in the two chapters to follow.

8. *The Overheated City – Tourism and its Discontents*

Introduction

This chapter explores Dubrovnikans' experiences of, and responses to, tourism, post-war tourism-driven economic development and changes in the urban environment in the post-war period. My ethnographic material indicates that the particular circumstances in which Croatia's economic transition to a market economy occurred, and the accompanying changes in tourism development strategies in the post-war period, have together transformed the ways in which the local population experiences their locality and inter-community relations. While UNESCO's concept of World Heritage has steered heritage in Dubrovnik in a more inclusive direction, the increasing interconnectedness of heritage and urban management with tourism and economic development, has intensified friction and generated exclusion along new lines. These divisions appears related to class, educational background and income levels. Due to large tourist crowds and a strong focus on adapting urban spaces for tourism development, many informants with higher education also felt excluded from local decision-making and in defining heritage and its uses.

As the local economy, jobs and daily lives are increasingly attuned to tourism and the commercial promotion of Dubrovnik's cultural heritage, many locals feel trapped in the city. My ethnographic material illustrates that ambivalence, nostalgia and a sense of identity deprivation are prominent features of contemporary local life. As we will see, many Dubrovnikans feel marginalized. The demands of economic growth through increased tourism development overrules the locals' needs and places them on the sideline of decision-making. Consequently, the civic communal interests of local inhabitants are neglected.

"Dubrovnik was Once Our Living Heritage"

> *Come! Let's buy an ice cream and get away from the crowds. I'd like to show you my favourite place in Dubrovnik!*

Ivana and I have just completed a plateful of pasta in a tucked away *konoba*, where the prices are less steep than in the more touristy areas of Dubrovnik's walled centre. We purposefully avoid having to zig-zag past row upon row of restaurants on the slightly larger backstreets and instead navigate our way through some of the quieter alleyways to get to the main street, Stradun. The large number of restaurants, cafés and bars grouped together in the small town centre makes it difficult to avoid the hustle and bustle. Even on the quieter backstreets, bursts

of loud voices, laughter and music emanating from the more touristy streets blend with the far-reaching smells of grilled fish and meats. *"That was a satisfying meal to a decent price! I must bring my family there another time"*, I think. My thoughts of the meal I have just eaten are soon replaced with a sighing relief; *"I am really glad we chose to live in the outskirts of town this time! Dubrovnik really is so beautiful, but I wouldn't want to live in the centre; amongst the unbearable tourist crowds, the noise and food smells".* I feel confident that my decision to rent a suburban flat a 15 minute bus ride from the city centre was the right one now I had become a mother. When I had spent a month in Dubrovnik earlier in the year with my daughter, the frustration with having to carry the little toddler, food shopping and a push-chair up and down over 100 steps to reach the flat near the centre I then rented took its toll. The decision to rent a more spacious place in a level residential area, with easy access to a large park and several uncrowded beaches, seemed obvious to me when I returned to Dubrovnik for a new fieldwork period in late summer. In this area our child could run around and play more freely, and we no longer had to navigate the large tourist crowds or exhaust ourselves climbing lots of steps to reach the flat, the beach or to simply go for a stroll. Although the relative absence of children playing in the streets in the centre of Dubrovnik saddened me, I fully understood why so many families moved further out after they had children. During my many stays in Dubrovnik I encountered a number of Dubrovnikans who could never conceive of living outside the walled centre, even if they experienced the living conditions there as challenging and difficult. And many locals who had moved away from the city centre thought that part of their identity had been severed. Dubrovnik's walled city seems to have a particular sway on its population, albeit the emotions attached to the city centre often seem bitter-sweet and mixed with a strong sense of ambivalence and nostalgia.

As we walk towards the Pile gate at the western end of the walled centre, Ivana tells me she wants to show me a beautiful and quiet place where she often comes to be alone with her thoughts, undisturbed by the unbearable crowds and noise in the centre. Ivana has lived her whole life in the heart of Dubrovnik's walled centre. When she became an adult and established her own family, her mother had the childhood home divided into two so the two families could continue living next to each other. Ivana is a classical pianist and works as a music teacher in a classical musical academy for children. She often performs at Dubrovnik's prestigious venues, like the Rector's Palace, and is seen as one of Dubrovnik's top pianists.

On these kinds of occasions, Ivana often comes into contact with Dubrovnikans who exemplify the continued presence of the Dubrovnik Republic's heritage in modern-day

society. The fact that Ivana's family ancestry can be traced back to Italy and the Western Adriatic, has been an advantage in being accepted as a gospođa ('gentle woman') in certain social circles. But her ancestry is of little importance to her selfhood and she deplores the past centredness of Dubrovnik's cultural life**.**

Although Ivana cherishes the beauty of the urban, material heritage of the city, more and more she feels drawn away from the urban and finds a sense of escape in nature. In recent years, she has developed a keen interest in photography and finds inspiration in places which are open and relatively free of human activities.

Ivana often complains that the living conditions in Dubrovnik are quite intolerable, yet she feels so intimately attached to the walled centre she could never see herself living anywhere else. Ivana is in her early 40s and her only son moved to Zagreb a few years ago for his studies. She is convinced that he will have an easier time in finding employment in Zagreb after he has completed his undergraduate degree. Although she feels very happy for his sake, she admits to feeling a little sad that he will most likely not want to move back to Dubrovnik as the prospects of finding employment outside of the service sector are slim and the city's property prices are no longer within reach of most Croatians.

The way she talks about the city resembles a feature film's depiction of a bitter-sweet love story – abundant with allure, passion, love, loss, nostalgia, disappointment and expectation. She sighs. Her gaze leaves behind the large number of people who await their turn to enter or exit the Pile gate and she looks upward towards the city walls. I wonder, what does the city walls mean to her? I have visited her home on other occasions and admired the beautiful view of the city walls and the Minčeta tower from her bedroom. I contemplate what it must be like to relate to this scenery – when it is the first and last thing you see when opening and closing the curtains each day. What thoughts and emotions do these impressive limestone fortifications – some of which date back to the 12th century – evoke in her and in the other citizens of Dubrovnik? Can bewilderment and awe at even the most beautiful sights continue indefinitely? Or will the commonplace experiences of daily life and routines eventually lead to a sense of indifference? Do the solid city walls give the citizens a sense of security or do they equally make people feel trapped? Do the city walls, the focal symbol of the Dubrovnik Republic's freedom and long-lasting autonomy, speak of freedom to contemporary citizens when they see them getting clogged up with tourists in the summer months? Does the structure of the walls provide a frame in reinforcing cultural continuity and embuing a sense

of connection with the different peoples who have resided within the walls in the past? How much do the thoughts and emotions of Dubrovnikans who lived within the city walls during different epochs resemble each other? My thoughts wander and I recall some of my first experiences of staying in Dubrovnik, back in 2009.

For my first fieldwork period in Dubrovnik three years earlier I had rented a small, but welcoming flat a short walking distance from the Ploče city gate. Located in an attractive and rather expensive residential area in the hilly parts above the historical centre, the picturesque postcard-like view of the UNESCO-enlisted centre made this a highly sought after area to live. Every mealtime my family and I would enjoy our food at an old, neglected patio, savouring the fairy tale panorama of the walled centre, the turquoise, glittering sea and the lush, sub-tropical island of Lokrum. Experienced from afar, even the large cruise ships moored between Lokrum and the town centre had a certain appeal. Watching them hurriedly transporting thousands of passengers back and forth to Dubrovnik's harbour in little, yellow pods often gave me the sensation of witnessing a science fiction epic unfold. I imagined the cruise-ship as the mother ship of a large crew of space travellers about to embark in space shuttles to get a taste of the new planet and its alien life forms before travelling on to other galaxies. Experienced up close, the large groups of tourists who were led around for a swift sightseeing tour by a guide often appeared as slightly bewildered time travellers. How much insight into the seemingly alien world and its lifeforms could they obtain in a matter of less than four hours? Yet the local population does not live separated by the universe in space and time. Tourists may come and go at a high speed, but to those living in Dubrovnik, daily life continues despite the changing circumstances of the last decades.

The reflections of Marko, a young, local tourist guide often spring into my mind. *"Many tourists don't seem to realize that people still live here! Some visitors actually think that the centre is an open-air museum today!"* he once told me. During his guided tours, Marko had frequently overheard tourists exclaiming with surprise at finding washing lines stretched out in the courtyards of some of the more remote parts of the city centre. They were equally startled by the large number of satellite disks, painted red to blend in with the tiled roof tops of the centre. However, the idea of being an open-air museum or having been reduced to a mere monument, were also themes that local residents would bring up in our conversations. The question of whether one should move away from the walled centre when having children was a very familiar dilemma to many Dubrovnikans. Several families I got to know in the outskirts had been very reluctant to move out of the city centre as they felt that physical

separation from the walled city would uproot their identities. Dubrovnik's walled city seemed to exert a captivating force on the more than two million tourists visiting annually. Yet when faced with the dilemma of establishing a family, increasingly large numbers of Dubrovnikans choose to gain more space and freer movement by moving to one of the suburbs or the countryside – though the high property prices in the central parts of Dubrovnik may often be the decisive factor.

My ponderings are stopped abruptly as Ivana and I have reached the city entrance by Pile. Large numbers of people wait to get through the narrow gate. Beneath the solid foundations of the north-western passageway a plush, red rope has been stretched out between two shiny poles. The rope is placed along the middle of the gate – sectioning off one side for those are entering the centre and one for those who are leaving. Despite the clearly mounting frustrations of having to queue to get through the city gate, tourists and locals alike accept the orderliness of the rope and no one tries to push past. Walking past the red rope and polished stands to get outside the city walls gives me associations of exiting a museum or theatre. Has Dubrovnik's urban centre become like a museum? Or do the citizens feel themselves to be unwilling performers in an open-air theatre? However, the temporary nature of the rope reveals that this only presents one aspect of the city. Passing through the city gate does not always require organization and patience.

I recall a memory of walking down the main street, Stradun, on a cold, windy December day in 2009. On my walk into the city centre, I had seen several bins filled with broken umbrellas, most likely damaged by the strong *bura* wind which is a characteristic feature of Dalmatian winters. I had hurried past the exposed, open stretch by the city beach, Banje. Large and foamy waves crashed up on the empty beach, and the pebbles, which earlier in spring had meticulously been spread across the beach by a digger in preparation for the tourist season, were once again piling up in heaps. I rarely bothered to carry an umbrella anymore, as the northern Bura wind, a familiar accompaniment to the Dalmatian winters, ensured that their life-spans are particularly short. As I entered the eastern Ploče gate and reached Stradun, I was relieved to see that there were a few people walking about. While large numbers of restaurants and shops all across the walled centre had been closed for the winter and their entrances were covered up with wooden planks, a few signs of a living community remained on Stradun, where many Renaissance and Baroque buildings were adorned with Christmas lights and garlands. However, on this particular day no lights were shining. Earlier that morning I had woken up to the surprise of finding the electricity had disappeared – winter

storms had cut the electricity supply and necessitated a trip into the centre to buy candles. As it was Sunday and the seasonal tourists had long ago left Dubrovnik, my mission turned out to be difficult. Eventually I managed to obtain a handful of long, devotional candles from a friendly, Serbian man in Dubrovnik's only Orthodox Church on Uliča Od Puća. He smiled warmly and told me in broken English that I was very lucky as these were the last candles he had left. Many locals had already visited the church to buy candles at a token price. Before setting out, my next-door neighbours had informed me that the power-cut was likely to last for a few days. Apparently occurrences like this were not that infrequent. Having purchased the candles I suddenly felt a little guilty at my earlier annoyance, prompted by the thought of the discomfort I was most likely about to endure. I remembered the stories of hardship that so many Dubrovnikans had told me about the war, especially the 1991 Siege of Dubrovnik which lasted for eight months. The enormous discomfort, humiliation and uncertainty of having to live without electricity and running water for months after the Yugoslav army deliberately bombed the power station and water reservoir seemed to be particularly evocative memories to Dubrovnikans. However, the stories of hardship were usually intertwined with stories of public spirit which the war induced – of sharing sparse resources, of neighbouring families hiding out together in the basements of houses through the bombardments, of helping each other through the centre and to the port of Gruž to fetch water and food supplies from external helpers. However, when locals recounted these kinds of stories to me I often wondered whether the public spirit of war reached out to include Dubrovnikans of all ethnic and religious backgrounds. My visit to the Orthodox Church made me contemplate whether pleasant exchanges like the one I had just encountered happened between the Catholic, Orthodox and Muslim populations of Dubrovnik during the war.

Ivana and I have left the city centre behind and head towards a small kiosk to buy an ice cream. I feel slightly disappointed to discover that they only sell pre-packaged ice creams, the types of which one could have bought in any European city. On our walk through the centre we had passed by dozens of shops which sold delicious hand-made ice creams by the scoop and I had looked forward to savouring a Croatian *sladoled* (ice cream), a thorough feast for the eye and pallet. Perhaps the large queues in the ice cream bars of the centre had put Ivana off from purchasing one there? Or maybe she had wished to postpone having a treat until we had broken free of all the crowds? We continue along a road which leads you out of the town centre and towards some of Dubrovnik's residential areas. We pass by a couple of cafes which are full of local students and most people we pass by speak in Croatian. I feel relieved

that we have made it out of the centre. Ivana also looks more relaxed and starts to tell me about why the place she is going to show me is so meaningful to her and how sad she is about the changes which have happened to Dubrovnik in the last decades:

> *Dubrovnik was once our living heritage, you know …but we can't live here now…I don't think it's possible to live a normal life in Dubrovnik during the summer season! Because of tourism everything else is subordinated…Tourism is dominates everything and locals can't live normally. It's simply too crowded!*

Ivana did not used to feel this way about Dubrovnik. She is aware that the passing of time and the accumulating responsibilities of adulthood have influenced her sense of nostalgia for the Dubrovnik of her youth. However, she is in no doubt that the conditions of life in the city have changed significantly since the start of the century. But despite her mixed emotions of living in Dubrovnik she is quite certain that she will never move elsewhere. Living in one of Dubrovnik's outskirts would be inconceivable to her. She has many fond memories of life in the walled centre before the war, and like a lot of Dubrovnikans, she talks about her life in the city as separated into two distinct epochs. It is as if Dubrovnik, before and after the war, represent two parallel realities. In the minds of citizens something was gained but something was also lost when Croatia became independent. Was it inevitable that the rewards of national freedom and the new (or renewed) 'love affair' with the market economy and international tourism would have to entail a dramatic depopulation of the city centre, the loss of open urban spaces and flexibility of movement and a narrowing of the citizens' activities? And have aspects of urban life, culture and locality been lost for good or are the inhabitants of Dubrovnik rather in the process of adjusting to the city's relatively recent metamorphosis into a World Heritage destination within the context of consumer capitalism? However, in the minds and hearts of many citizens, Dubrovnik before and after the war have become like two estranged twins.

Dubrovnik's influence on Ivana's identity has many levels and transcends the merely physical. She describes life in the Yugoslavian era as in many ways being easier and more stable. When she recalls her memories of life in Dubrovnik before the war it is the diverse activities of local life which spring to mind, evoking a 'living city' for its citizens:

> *The first thing [which comes to mind] is what I see around me, and that is how children used to play football in the streets, and they would kick the ball onto the cathedral and the priest would go outside and tell them to stop. And then I remember the housewives*

hanging their clothes washing out, all the cats around [in the streets] and the old women who would sit on the stone benches nearby the Rector's Palace. These are the first appearances of life in Dubrovnik that comes into my mind.

Many informants talked about these things as if they had vanished, yet I observed them as still being part of local life – such as wild cats prowling in the streets, outdoor clothes washing and old women on benches selling their crochet works, and young boys were still playing football in some of the backstreets. One on occasion, however, I witnessed a group of tourists telling off some boys playing football in small square for 'being in their way'. It was clear that many kinds of activities have become marginalized and moved to the 'backs' of the centre, so to speak. And along with Dubrovnik's continued tourism' overheating' (Eriksen, 2016), the boundaries between the residential 'backs' of the walled centre and the 'fronts' of the commercial, cultural and touristic centre are also becoming more blurred. This can sometimes lead to a diminishing possibility for local residents to continue practices and shaping their own personalized 'imprints' on the city's materiality. For example, a female resident in the walled centre had for years decorated the steps leading up to her home with cat sculptures and plants. She was keenly feeding and providing shelter for the many wild cats in front of her house. As her house is located right across the Buža bar – which is very popular among young locals and tourists alike because of being located through an opening in the city wall – she was eventually asked to stop. When I returned to Dubrovnik for my 2015 fieldwork, I noticed that not only were the many food bowls she provided for the cats gone, but the steps to her house also had far fewer plants and the cat sculptures had been removed. Many locals had complained that they were bothered about the smell of cat urine and the noise of cats fighting, so it would be wrong to assign the changes in her practices as being enforced by processes of touristification of the walled centre alone. But, interestingly, many residents also voiced concern about how her feeding the wild cats might put off tourists from enjoying the picturesque views of the old centre's side streets. The road where the Buža bar resides and where the woman lives is one of the main side street routes which tourist guides recommend for exploring the back streets of central Dubrovnik, as they wind along the inside of the city walls. Also, nearby are the *Jesuit stairs*, which are shot frequently in *Game of Thrones* due to leading up to the '*House of Lannisters'*. I suspect, therefore, that this route has increasingly become part of the guided tours, and the woman's uses of this urban space do not conform with the kind of picturesque, filmic, fairy-tale impression which many Dubrovnikans and the tourist industry want to portray to tourists.

Ivana and I turn off the main street and continue down the hill towards the sea. Finally we reach the pebbled beach. In this secluded area the sea washing up onto the surrounding cliffs and a couple of birds squeaking create the only sounds around us. Although these sounds are perhaps as loud as the buzz of the human voices in the centre, I experience the rhythmic sounds of the waves as tranquil. Next to the rocky beach there is a cemetery and a small monastery. There are no people around us, apart from a few nuns tending to the graveyard. This is the place Ivana wanted to show me. Sometimes she feels an intense need to get away from the masses of tourists in the centre. Establishing her own area of 'escape' by the sea enables her to cope better with life in Dubrovnik.

As we talk, we watch the waves wash up on the shore and Ivana talks about how being by the sea is meaningful and essential to her life: *"In this open space you can breathe, it's an illusion maybe, but you can feel free here."* She tells me about one of her photographs. The picture is a close of her unclothed body, of her waist and hips, lying down horizontally. The way the body curves in the photograph makes her think about the horizon of landscapes, the point where the ocean and the sky meet, where the different elements both blend together, yet are also separate. Ivana describes the photograph as representing her own horizon, the place where her own body meets, merges with and separates her from the natural and human-made environment. She reflects:

Sometimes [the horizon makes me feel] freedom, sometimes this horizon also makes me feel like in the movie, the Truman show…you know…it's like a wall around us and not like freedom. I'm closed in this body, that's my horizon.

Throughout our conversation a narrative of connection and separation of the self, a kind of double-separation – of the self from the urban environment of Dubrovnik's walled city – emerges. *"The city walls [are] the most beautiful cultural monument in Dubrovnik, but it has a kind of duality,"* she says. *"It defends you … but also imprisons you. That's the conflict I experience with the city walls!"*

Many of my informants described their 'special places' which they liked to 'get away' to. But increasingly these places have been bought up and turned into tourism facilities. For example, a small park near the church, Sveti Jakov, the only green area to the residents living in this area, has been turned into luxury tourism apartments and the gardens closed off from the public. When I first encountered Petar, one of my neighbours in 2009, he told me about how he and his wife prefer to swim from the rocky area below the park in Sveti Jakov, as they find

Banje, the city beach unbearably overcrowded. When I returned in 2012 access to this rocky area was blocked by high gates surrounding the luxury apartments. A portion of the main beach at Babin Kuk, just two miles north of Dubrovnik, where a family I met in 2009 liked to go fishing, had been, by 2012, cordoned off as an area to rent beach chairs.

Walsh (Walsh 2002 [1992]) argues that when history is turned into heritage *an "intensification of the experience of synchronicity, and the concomitant destruction of diachrony—the loss of a sense of the past—are promoted (Walsh 2002 [1992]:68)".* The selection processes entailed in heritage production (where certain, nationally or locally, publically sanctioned historic images, values, events and relations are prioritized over others), can result in a simplification and reification of the pluriversality of different pasts into one or a few selected 'master-narratives' (Salazar 2012a) of a place's heritage. Walsh (Walsh 2002 [1992]) is concerned that heritagization processes and the making of places into heritagized 'tourist spaces', contributes towards "the destruction of actual places". What exactly he means by the term, 'actual places' is not specified, however, going by his later discussion of how "the destruction of traditional centres of communication and organization" have induced a process whereby places to a large extent lose their identities and are at risk of becoming homogenized, it appears that 'actual places' relate to city and town centres which have a diversified range of production-, employment- and cultural forms, and is not reliant on one major mode of economic and cultural production, like tourism. Walsh (ibid.) asserts:

> *Homogenization is enhanced by the heritagization process which many places have undergone. Each area or region has its own idiosyncratic contribution to make to the heritage, but the superficiality of much heritage denies the uniqueness and importance of each of these local histories. We are left with a series of commodities, differentiated from one another only by their surfaces…The danger is…that only safe and selected images will be preserved, and the history of a place will be neglected, while the heritage, over subsequent generations, helps construct an image of place which is based on superficialities. The historical phenomena which should link places, such as modes of production and concomitant class consciousness, will be replaced by modes of heritage imagineering which unite places only through the promotion of façade and the desire to consume the spectacle.*

In his study of the Angkor archaeological World Heritage site, Winter (Winter 2005) argues that such sites should not be viewed as *"monumental landscape[s] of the 'ancient' past, [but*

should instead] be considered as a form of 'living heritage' pivotal in the articulation of contemporary cultural and national identities". This, he argues, is of particular relevance in the context of the social practices of international tourism to World Heritage sites. In numerous conversations with Dubrovnikans, the walled centre constituted to them a 'living heritage', which transgressed the city centre's materiality. At the same time, many of the same people would also highlight that their identities and 'life worlds' were intimately connected to, and relied on a continued 'nourishment' of being enmeshed in the materiality of the walled centre. The connections between the citizens, the city's materiality and the continuation of cultural practices which embed the citizens with the city, are experienced are complimentary elements of Dubrovnik's cultural heritage. Many former inhabitants of the walled centre have, due to economic reasons or tourism developments, moved away from the centre. Others, who daily or weekly used to travel into the centre for pleasure or work, today rarely spend any time there. Amongst many inhabitants who have chosen to remain living in the centre, tourism and economic transition have changed many Dubrovnikan inhabitants' practices and daily experiences, which may in turn affect the citizens' identification with the city centre. To many informants, the city's' formerly 'living heritage' has turned into a 'lifeless museum' for consumption and display for visitors. It is increasingly, then, experienced as Dubrovnikans' own cultural heritage. However, countless personal narratives of how individuals' adapt to the changing circumstances of local life by finding their own 'special places' to 'breathe' and nourish the experienced connections between themselves and their environments, also featured high in my informants' reflections. This gives evidence to the fact that heritage is constantly in the making, being defined and re-defined under changing circumstances.

While there was a strong focus in early- to mid- 1990s social sciences of how globalization processes produce a 'delocalization' (Appadurai, 1995), 'disembedding' (Giddens, 1991) and state of de-territorialisation of cultural identities from its connections to place and 'locality', (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992), the focus on individuals' agency and cultural practices in 're-localizing' (Thomas 1998), and 're-embedding' heritage and cultural identities, within the context of global tourism, have been awarded more attention in recent social sciences (Jiuxia and Tao 2012, AlSayyad 2013). In his discussion on the intersections of the 'local' and 'global' in heritage production, Turtinen (2000) argues that the configuration of 'World

Heritage' relies on a process of disembedding and re-embedding[214], which allow: the sites to become local sites in a global framework and perspective, and to take on new meaning through that framework and perspective (2000:15).

The process of 'disembedding' and 're-embedding', as described by Turtinen on the production of 'World Heritage', can equally be attributed to the production of 'intangible cultural heritage'. Following this perspective, cultural traditions are 'disembedded' from solely being linked to a particular locality or group of people, and are afterwards redefined and 're-embedded' as a nation-states' 'intangible heritage' worthy of UNESCO protection. Consequently, 'intangible cultural heritage' gain a new repertoire of meanings, and sometimes also functions, which may be linked to particular national interests and ideologies.

Life in the Vacant Heritage City

A large number of my informants were deeply distressed with how the post-war period in Croatia has been marked by an intensification of commercialism – whereby the continuous growth of tourist numbers is always prioritized over the needs and welfare of the local population. Many of my informants expressed great frustration with both national and local politicians for their perpetual accommodation to tourism, and how they simultaneously neglected the needs of the local population.

A majority of my informants had mixed feelings about how the growth of tourism was turning Dubrovnik into a virtual mono-economy. While nearly all my informants either directly or indirectly benefit economically from tourism, their scepticism about the development of this sector was widespread. They lamented the lack of integrated and sensitive management of tourism by national and local authorities, and felt that the prioritization of market interests over common social interests, was taking a toll on the quality of life in Dubrovnik. Two themes recurred in the critique of local citizens. Firstly, the poor management of particularly cruise ship tourism in Dubrovnik and secondly how recent changes in legislation allow for the construction of large-scale tourism developments in areas previously under environmental or

214 Giddens (Giddens 1996) saw 'disembedding' and 're-embedding' of cultural forms as two complimentary sides of the what he termed 'the late modern period'.

heritage protection. Also, many Dubrovnikans would frequently tell me that the quality and type of tourism has altered significantly since the war.

Some Dubrovnikans, however, thought that tourism alone was not responsible for how the community has changed, despite the tendency of locals to pin 'everything bad' on tourism. They saw global processes of modernity – consumerism, speeded-up lifestyles, modern transportation, changing living situations and commuting to work – to have also contributed towards change. Antun Asić, the general manager in the Dubrovnik Port Authority (see above), thinks that tourism can't alone be blamed for causing changes to local communal life, but change and the ending of traditions are linked to other modern processes, such as the introduction of new technology. Antun grew up in the walled centre and remembers how on hot summer evenings, children were often allowed to stay up late as the temperature in the apartments became unbearable. On these evenings, his family and many other residents of the walled centre would leave their apartments and gather by the cliffs in front of the harbour. There they would cool down by the sea breeze, swim, and socialize well past their normal bed times. But when air conditioning arrived, this practice largely disappeared, and families instead choose to stay in their own homes – comfortable but isolated. As an adult, Antun has lived on the outskirts of Dubrovnik. He describes his lifestyle as comfortable and his home as spacious. But it saddens him that he experiences little 'communal togetherness' where he lives:

> *Everyone just drives their car back and forth to work, and to the supermarkets, and many don't know, or hardly greet their neighbours when they meet on the street.*

Isolation and selfishness were prominent themes when I talked with my informants about their experiences of living in Dubrovnik. Many stressed that the transition to capitalism, and more recently the ubiquitous influences of globalization, have significantly increased social stratification, selfishness and alienation in the community. An informant from England, who moved to Dubrovnik in the late 1990s after marrying a Dubrovnikan girl who fled to London during the years of the war, argues that capitalism and globalization have diminished the quality of life, and that growing economic and material disparities have split the population:

> *I've seen it change over the years I've been here. When I first came here everybody mixed with everybody, there was no class system and you could speak to everybody. In the eighties, in the system which my wife was brought up in, nobody had a BMW, everybody had a Yugo. Everybody who had a car was content with that. In the system*

[capitalism] we've come into, we are bombarded with advertising. Globalization, democracy and capitalism all came as one shock literally in a few years. And then people with money didn't want to drive a Yugo anymore, they wanted to drive a BMW or a Hummer or a Mercedes. The other people with Yugos couldn't afford it, so as soon as you make differences between people you create classes.

The marked changes to Croatian society after the introduction of capitalism were lamented by many of my informants. Tonči, an employee in a tourist high school, thinks that tourism has been beneficial to overall post-war economic development, but it disheartens him that the change-over to capitalism has been embraced so uncritically and has, in his view, made communal values nearly unrecognizable:

[After independence] we have had a lot of problems with the influence of money. People just think about money, money, money ... In the past people thought much more about the value of the town, the value of living, about public interests, and not just private interests. Today, the whole world has changed and everybody just thinks about private interests, and this is a problem.

Tonči thinks that since the capitalist system fosters the desire to prioritize one's own interests, people have to develop ways of reasserting shared public interests in local development. In his view, the need for this and for protecting cherished local values of civic life, which have been passed down for generations, have never been given any attention, and capitalism has been allowed to develop without sufficient checks and balances.

These kinds of reflections were common among my informants. In stark contrast to the public discourse of Dubrovnikans' having a strong civic identity, Jelena, a university employee in her early 40s, would often tell me how capitalism and individualism have had markedly negative consequences on their local community: *"There is no sense of civic identity in Dubrovnik anymore,"* she remarked. *"People are only thinking about themselves and their own families today, not what's best for the community"*.

Jelena would often complain about how she had problems with some of her neighbours in the housing block she lived in. A young male resident frequently practiced the electric guitar at high volume. Although she repeatedly had complained about this issue to the owner of the apartment, who was also his mother, it made no difference as she was met with an attitude of 'this is my apartment so I can do as I wish'. Jelena often told me that 'nothing works here and

people just don't know how to co-operate'. In 2010, Jelena visited me and my husband in Oslo. When she saw the shared garden of our housing estate, she first talked about the garden as a 'park'. When I told her that it was not a park, but a shared garden which is tended to by the residents and a 'live in' caretaker, she exclaimed: *"That's incredible! It would never work having a shared garden in Croatia as everyone would just fight over every aspect of managing it!"* In contrast, her housing estate has a contract with a public gardening firm which manages the estate and gardens. She asserted that this was the normal practice in any shared housing estate in Dubrovnik, and that it would never function in any other way. There was a prominent perception that civic, communal values and cultural traditions were degenerating. However, often when locals would tell me that certain practices had more or less stopped, I still observed them as being present in local life. The widespread reflections of a dying out of local practices and communal interactions instead appeared more related to a feeling of losing control over the local environment, of being placed at the margins of determining local, urban development, and of being deprived of the opportunity to carry out daily activities and cultural practices according to ones' own desires.

Ivana's experiences of living in Dubrovnik's heavily dominated touristic and heritagized old centre were echoed by a large number of my informants of all ages and backgrounds. There was a common sense of claustrophobia over the hordes of tourists in the centre and the decreased access to public places. These reflections point an increasing lack of correlation between the prominent *libertas* identity discourse and its focus on the civic as central to Dubrovnik's 'intangible heritage', and my informants' experiences of fragmenting community relations and decreased freedoms. I would argue that the feeling of being trapped and the feeling of disenfranchisement have become prominent features in local life.

The large monetary gains which tourism brings to many households and the local economy at large means that many are willing to accommodate their lives to the changes which mass tourism entails. But the ethnography presented in this thesis demonstrates that the tourism-led developments in the post-war period have created an equally strong sense of ambivalence about the sacrifices the community has been forced to make in the process and nostalgia for the past.

"Piliti granu na kojoj sjediš! – We are breaking the branch on which we are sitting!"[215] – a young archaeologist called Luka tells me when reflecting upon the effects which tourism and economic change have had on local life in Dubrovnik. He is quick to emphasize that he is not opposed to development per se, or to individuals' desire to benefit economically from tourism. From an archaeological point of view he thinks there is reason to be concerned about the long-time de-generation on the material urban heritage due to the large tourist crowds. However, his use of the metaphor of 'breaking the branch' rather emerges from his deep concern with the challenges to the longevity of Dubrovnik's immaterial heritage, his perception that under the conditions of current day tourism developments the locals' identification with the city centre diminishing and many experience that the quality of life for the population is getting worse. Luka's concerns stem more from a socially and politically motivated perspective than with the wish to preserve and conserve 'the past'. He sees it as problematic that there is a general unwillingness to recognize that mass-tourism also comes with many undesirable costs, and the willingness to sufficiently deal with these challenges in local politics is constantly hampered by the lure of economic gains which tourism promises. By giving in to the desire for ever-increasing tourism growth in a limited space, he thinks that tourism inevitably infringes on local life. At the current rate of development, Luka thinks the long-term effects of tourism in Dubrovnik will come with a crippling price. *'Where will Dubrovnik be in 20 years?'* he asks? Luka wonders what will be left for the local population and whether anyone will live within the walled centre in future. What will be the value of the city's heritage if the centre becomes a 'dead' museum? Luka has lived his whole life in Ploče, just outside the eastern city gate. He refers to the town centre as his 'living room'. Hardly a day goes by without him being there. But in the last decade 'his living room' has undergone a considerable transformation – with the increased numbers of restaurants, bars and cafés occupying the public areas and the large increase of visitors (especially due to recent cruise-ship developments), Luka finds that he can no longer do the same things he used to in the centre. Like many Dubrovnikans I encountered, he highlights cruise-ship tourism as one of the largest factors in creating pedestrian and traffic congestion and in changing the character of the city centre. He stresses how tourism in other parts of the Dubrovnik-Neretva County is more diverse, providing a much wider spectrum of tourism offers, such as walking tours in the

215 The verb, *piliti*, translates as '*to saw*'. The accurate translation is therefore, "*To saw the branch on which you sit"*.

countryside or visits to local homes integrated with food and craft demonstrations. He thinks the narrow focus on Dubrovnik's architectural heritage has hampered the potential for creating more sustainable tourism, which does not become a burden to the local community. However, he is convinced that with more long-term planning and a better integrated tourism, which spread tourist numbers more evenly across the county and region, the negative impacts experienced by Dubrovnik's population could ease. But this would require, not only a change in tourism strategies, but equally an overhaul of the contemporary moral values which he sees as being very destructive to communal life.

Luka thinks that the cultural heritage which comes under UNESCO protection is largely treated as 'décor', to be used as a selling-point to tourists. He sees this as disrespectful to locals and tourists alike and thinks that the type of tourism in which has developed over the last decade has damaged 'the substance' of the city. When Luka talks about 'the substance of the city', he especially refers to the social, economic and political structures of the city, non-tourist related public and private workplaces, which have been moved out of the centre and relocated to other city parts like Gruž and Lapad. However, he is also eager to emphasize the city's 'substance' is formed not only by the society's structures, but also by the people inhabiting it, and the daily encounters between them. Luka thinks that the intangible qualities of communal, civic life, which Dubrovnikans cherish so highly as the city's unique heritage, have changed significantly in the last decades. With grave concern, he explains that tourism's economic potential has stimulated an approach where the municipality and individuals alike are willing to devote "every square centimetre of the heritage" to tourism facilities as long as it can generate more money. While he thinks that while the initial effects of returning tourism in the aftermath of war was to increase diligence, greed and selfishness have replaced an industrious working attitude. The deep-seated sense of togetherness, hospitality to visitors and desire to repair the city after the war, have been superseded by an 'every man out for himself' attitude.

Luka contends that, to many Dubrovnikans, their affection with the city's walled centre exists more on "a declarational", symbolic level today. He knows many people who have moved away from the city centre and rarely visit the walled city anymore. Since nearly all the local amenities and workplaces have been relocated in other, more outlying parts of Dubrovnik and the prices are generally too steep for most locals to enjoy the cultural life in the town centre, many Dubrovnikans have little reason to visit the walled centre. Luka thinks that it is difficult to develop a real affection for the city if one only visits the walled centre a few times a year.

He thinks that maintaining an intimate relationship to the city centre relies on spending as much time as possible in the centre. He knows several Dubrovnikans, who due to economic reasons or the confinement of space, have moved away from the walled centre, but who deliberately make sure they travel into the centre most days, as they feel uprooted without the intimate connection between themselves and the urban fabric of the walled centre. In other words, Luka and many of his friends perceive continued *maintenance* and *practices* as essential to preserving local identity and selfhood. Without this, Luka thinks that Dubrovnik's heritage will lose its real value and meaning.

He thinks that the reification of Dubrovnik as a symbol of World Heritage is shown by recent changes in the local terminology. While Dubrovnik's walled city was locally referred to as *'grad'* ('city') until relatively recently, Luka increasingly hears locals talking about the town centre as *'stari grad'* ('old city') today[216].' Luka thinks that the increased usage of *stari grad* implies that a large segment of the population experience a distance to the walled centre, as if it is something 'foreign' to them. Like generations have done before him, Luka talks of the walled city centre as merely 'grad'. Maintaining this nearness in language usage is, to him, an essential element of fostering his affection and making sure the urban environment of Dubrovnik means something to its citizens. Otherwise he feels that the city centre is taken out of the hands of the citizens and becomes a lifeless symbol of World Heritage, rather than being a living, organic and thriving centre for the local population. Marko, a 30 year old resident of the walled centre, equally uses the term, *grad,* instead of *stari grad*, to refer to the city centre. He argues that the way a person talks about the city centre can reveal much about the intimacy of their personal relationship to the urban fabric of the city centre:

> *I think that using 'grad' in Croatian means the person is more traditionally connected to the Old Town. I would say that those who use 'Stari Grad' are likely to be newcomers.*

In our conversations about how he experiences living in Dubrovnik, Marko revealed a deep relationship with the walled centre. The walled centre appears as the very nucleus of his life,

216 It is important to note that the inscription title of Dubrovnik's World Heritage site is "the Old City of Dubrovnik". The term stari grad (old city) is a well-established term used to describe the historic cores of several cities in Croatia and the former Yugoslavia, and long predates Dubrovnik's UNESCO World Heritage inscription. However, it could be speculated that heritagization processes, and the strong focus on Dubrovnik's World Heritage in tourism promotion in the post-war period, have influenced how locals perceive and talk about the city today.

from which he would find it very hard to uproot himself. While both Marko and Luka are concerned with detecting alienation to the walled centre through language, Marko is especially concerned with the loss of cultural etiquettes, such as the way people talk and relate to one another in the public space. He sees these as markers of a changing identification with the city. Like Luka, Marko frequently speaks with sadness about Dubrovnikans losing their identification with the walled centre. He emphasizes that there are so many things, which he looks back on as important aspects to his childhood, which children growing up today can't do. Marko was eight years old when the war ended. Despite growing up in a society struggling to recover from the war and being surrounded by ongoing restoration for much of his childhood, he describes this period as, in many ways, easier to grow up in than today:

> *I'm glad that I was able to have my childhood in a much easier time – right now, the kids today don't have anywhere to play. When I was growing up in the '90s, [and] I was 10 years old in 1997, we would be riding bikes on the main street all summer long ... ten of my friends. Now it's basically impossible because the entire old town is swarmed by pizzerias, souvenir [shops], restaurants… [and] you have 3,000 people rushing into the old town all day long, and, until they leave on the cruise ships, there's nowhere for the kids to play on the main street, not just for riding bikes, but also for playing football.*

Marko's concerns about changes in Dubrovnik are especially centred on the erosion of intangible cultural traditions, which he sees as being important parts of city identity and the citizens' relationship to the urban environment. Marko uses football as an example to illustrate changes in city identification. He has fond memories of playing football with his friends in front of the cathedral, a tradition which can be traced back for centuries:

> *Even back in renaissance times, they played football ... like an improvised version of modern football, they would be kicking the ball against the walls. It was fun so it quickly spread throughout the Mediterranean; it came here to Dubrovnik and of course, Dubrovnik merchants who saw the game being played in Florence brought it here so soon enough they started to play football and right now, of course, the tradition is dead because of the pizzerias.*

Up until the 1990s, says Marko, different parts of the old town would have their own football team and be fierce rivals. *"They had teams in Karmen, that's the area near the cathedral, where they played football. Now's it's impossible – it's definitely completely different",* he contemplates.

Marko regards the old town, increasingly devoid of locals and over-flowing with tourists in the summer months, as becoming something of a ghetto. He worries that the 'old spirit' of Dubrovnik is fading away:

> *Recently, in the old town you can find tags, graffiti saying "Ghetto"… it has something to do with the local feeling of being isolated over here – that more and more people are living outside of the old town, that the old town is becoming ghettoized, that's the thing that they're trying to express. It started a couple of years ago – you can see all over some parts of the city walls, everywhere.*

Young Dubrovnikans are trying to continue the old customs, says Marko, but find it very difficult. Marko thinks that one custom, embodied by the word 'gospar', stipulates:

> *All sorts of qualities that a person living in the old town, not just the old town, in Dubrovnik, should possess. It's like a touch of class, fine behaviour towards everyone – friends, unknown people. People who are rude, who are yelling all the time, are not considered to be gospari.*

But, in the circumstances of contemporary Dubrovnik, it is increasingly hard to pass on these customs:

> *For example, my mother, she was born in 1949, so she lived here throughout the fifties, sixties, seventies and so on, so back in the times she had the chance to learn how it is to live and I also got to learn from her. And right now you don't have so many opportunities to learn … the people are forced to sell apartments for huge money, so they can live in the western part of the city but lose connection to the old town, so it's a different story.*

The means of assessing whether Dubrovnikans are experiencing 'identity loss' varied between individuals. Many informants seemed to adopt different markers to 'measure' the extent of identity deprivation. The type of perception – whereby individuals feel an intimate bond with the city centre, but fear that others around them are about to lose that connection – is prevalent among many Dubrovnikans. To many locals, such views are closely related to concerns that the commodification of Dubrovnik's culture and heritage is eroding a sense of communal togetherness. Many Dubrovnikans are deeply concerned that the commercialization of the urban environment in recent decades has led to the appropriation of

Dubrovnik as merely a symbol for economic and commercial purposes. Consequently, Dubrovnik's citizens feel estranged and 'shut out' from the city.

Zita, a student of folklore, works as a tourist guide and a foreign language teacher at an institute of tourism studies. She has worked as a tourist guide for a decade, and although the income is relatively good in local terms, she cannot make a sufficient living on this alone as it is seasonal and sporadic. Zita grew up in Gruž, in the outskirts of Dubrovnik, an area dominated by modern housing blocks and warehouses. It is of great importance to Zita that her two daughters grow up within the walled centre to make sure they "get the special connection" with Dubrovnik's heritage. For most of the last decade, therefore, her family have rented her uncle and aunt's 12th century house in the walled centre. Although she has only lived there a small part of her own life, she perceives herself as being from Dubrovnik's 'old city', as her 'relatives have lived there for centuries'. She has fond childhood memories of playing in the walled centre when visiting her relatives, and thinks that its architectural beauty and history has been much more influential on her identity than Gruž, which she considers ugly:

> *The old city of Dubrovnik is completely part of my identity… people from Dubrovnik have a really strong local identity…We are saying we are from 'the Town'…it's like Dubrovnik is the model of all possible towns in the world, like a prototype. It's like a Disneyland that is really old…but everything is for real here…and that is the nice thing. The thing that isn't so nice is that we have this type of tourism…In a way tourism makes us prostitute our heritage.*

Zita has mixed feelings about earning her living from tourism. Although tourism is central to the post-war economic development of Croatia, she thinks the effects on local community are negative. *"Dubrovnik is unpleasantly overcrowded in summer when all the tourists are here, but is left like a ghost town in winter"*, she asserts. Although Zita is critical towards the effects of tourism on the local community, she also thinks that working as a tour guide has, in some ways, helped to refresh her experiences of and affection towards Dubrovnik:

> *Maybe it's only now that I really realize how much I enjoy being here, and the thing that I'm always wondering is how it would be for me to see Dubrovnik for the first time. So, working as a tourist guide gives me a little bit of this initial idea that I always have, and I really do think that my guests [referring to tourists] feel how much I'm in love with this place.*

Zita's reflections on how the presence of tourists has helped her to see Dubrovnik afresh, highlights how meaning and valorisation are not produced in isolation among the city's inhabitants. Nor can the importance of Dubrovnik's cultural heritage and the citizens' attachment to the walled centre be seen as primarily a consequence of the heritage policies of trans-national heritage organizations and the city's officially designated World Heritage status. Heritage meaning and the significance of the walled centre to Dubrovnik's citizens is characterized by *pluriversality* (Salazar 2012a). Although international heritage policies, as well as local and national uses of Dubrovnik's cultural heritage in political and cultural discourse, greatly inform the citizens' 'heritage gaze', personal encounters 'on the ground' also co-produce how the city's heritage is interpreted and experienced by locals. The meaning of heritage relies on sustenance and nourishment, and, for Zeta, her daily encounters with tourists help her to recover and sustain what she describes as her 'special connection with the old city'. Personal, daily encounters occurring between locals and tourists (as well as with people visiting Dubrovnik in other capacities, such as for politics, business, academic reasons and other lines of work) can be just as compelling in shaping local attachments to the walled centre as locally and internationally sanctioned cultural and political discourses about the city's cultural heritage' universality and 'worth'. To Zeta, the locally celebrated Dubrovnik Republic discourse bears little resemblance to how she thinks locals actually experience life in the walled centre today. On the other hand, the personal encounters between tourists and locals help, she feels, the citizens re-discover their pride and love for the city and its cultural heritage in the aftermath of war, economic transition and the strong commoditization of cultural heritage in the last decades; processes which she sees as having damaged some of this intimately experienced connection between the citizens and the city. In her view, Dubrovnikans need to re-discover their pride in being hosts, and not just be relegated to side-players in a globally produced and commercial 'tourist destination' where the city's cultural heritage is increasingly uprooted from lived experiences of the citizens. Similarly, she thinks that because of negative developments in the types and effects of tourism after the war, the citizens are starting to lose their traditional perception of those visiting the city as being their welcomed *goste* (guests) rather than transient tourists who mainly benefit the economy.

UNESCO's World Heritage programme and the enormous growth in global tourism, including the niche tourism genres, cultural and heritage tourism, have generated a globalization of heritage. However, as Salazar (2015) points out, there is no universally accepted meaning of heritage, but *"heritage interpretation is always enmeshed in complex*

webs of meaning, variously cherished and expressed by shareholders at different levels (Salazar 2015:128). Tourist guides (and tourists themselves) also need to be seen as central actors in co-producing and mediating these 'complex webs of meanings' between different groups and across the local-to global scales (ibid.). Salazar argues:

> *When the interpretation of heritage crosses boundaries and becomes entangled in the complex web of global tourism, it can have the effect of disembedding local (or nationally) produced senses of identity. Local tour guides, therefore, play an instrumental role in mediating the tension between ongoing processes of global standardization and local differentiation (2015:123).*

In her tour guiding, Zeta strives to convey her 'special connection' to the walled centre and she prefers to tell all the 'little stories' about what life is 'really like' to the locals rather than reproducing the 'glorious stories' about how great Dubrovnik was in the past. But, to Zeta, this 'special connection' is also nourished through her encounters with her *goste*. Her tour guiding works as a two-way mirror, where she mediates her specially felt relationship to the walled centre to her *goste* and the visitors' amazement, wonder and enthrallment reflects back on to her, sustaining her enchantment with the city and making her feel like a proud host again.

This kind of mutual reinforcement of significance produced through personal encounters between locals and those visiting the city was not, however, shared by all locals. Several reflected that, while they thought they were privileged to live in such an aesthetically pleasing city, they felt sad that over the years they had 'grown blind' to its beauty. This sense of lamentation was strongly expressed by Petar, one of my neighbours in the suburban part of the city, Ploče. When walking together up the steps to the lateral road above his house, where his car was parked, I would often pause to take in the picturesque view of the walled centre encircled by the glittering, turquoise sea, the island of Lapad just off the coast below, the distant, lush Petka hills in Lapad and the back-drop of the rugged and relatively barren Mount Srđ. On several occasions he commented that the view from his house really was a pleasing 'postcard scene', but he found it difficult to really absorb the beauty of the scene anymore, as he had grown too used to it and therefore felt 'blinded' to its aesthetic appeal. In other conversations with Petar during my 2009 fieldwork, then still in the midst of the global economic crisis, he expressed that his life was marked by a large amount of stress and worry related to workloads, cutbacks and the insecurity of providing for his children's economic

future and education. On numerous occasions, he also disclosed that, while for some Dubrovnikans the war experiences were treated as something firmly in the past, for him “it was as if it happened yesterday”. As an internationally oriented and cosmopolitan citizen, Petar sees tourism as generating many positive influences locally, not only to the economy, but also to people’s mindsets. He is critical of what he sees as a constant moaning amongst locals about how tourism is “ruining local life” and thinks that Dubrovnik “needs tourism”. However, unlike Zeta who experiences encounters with tourism as facilitating a reinvigoration of her affection for the city, Petar avoids places with large numbers of tourists and rarely visits the walled centre anymore. Once a week he drives to a large and more affordable, German-owned supermarket in a village southeast of Dubrovnik to buy most of the week’s groceries. If he wishes to eat out with his wife they drive to the western-lying suburb of Gruž, where they have found a *konoba* (tavern), mostly frequented by locals, which sells, according to Petar, “all right, but at least cheap food”, and every Saturday around noon he meets a neighbour and colleague for a coffee in a local café to “talk about life and look at the old city from afar”. For much of the year, he admits to day dreaming about the summer holidays when finally he and his family can “escape” the over-crowded city and spend the hottest time of the year in a tranquil, rural family holiday home in the northern coastal parts of Croatia.

In contrast to Petar’s conscious efforts to avoid crowded and touristified areas of the city, Zeta cannot conceive of living anywhere else but within the walled centre. And although she, too, finds the over-crowding of the city centre unbearable, she finds the daily personal encounters with tourists very stimulating and refreshing both to her senses and her mind.

In her study of the Moroccan World Heritage site, Fez, Istasse (Istasse 2016) argues that although *“officially designated heritage can be a political tool, an economic resource and, arguably, a human right ... people also relate to heritage through the senses and affects” (2016:37).* These aspects, she argues, are overlooked in World Heritage politics, which has a predominant focus on the technical, economic and political aspects of heritage. Istasse’s (ibid.) research is inspired by Muriel Girard’s (2006[217]), concept of *émotions patrimoniales* (‘heritage emotions’), where the author proposes that the nucleus of heritage needs to be seen

217 Girard, M. 2006. ‘Imaginaire touristique et émotion patrimoniale dans la médina de Fèz’ (Maroc’, Culture et Musées 8 :61-90). The original text is in French and is therefore beyond my comprehension. See Istasse (2016:38) for a discussion on Girard’s research.

as an ‘enchanted relationship’ which exists between people (in her research, tourists), materiality and atmospheric elements, such as contrasts, colours, odours and sounds (2016:38). Similarly, Istasse (ibid.) proposes that senses and affects shed light *“on what people care for, [and] are components in the making and actualization of heritage”* (2016:54-55). Some of the features identified in her research in Fez, include the importance her informants placed on sight (which often produced a feeling of being dazzled and amazed), contrasts in sounds (of how they experienced sounds in different city areas and contexts, such as the contrast between the noisy streets and the quietness of the houses. Different senses, she argues, stimulate different affects – for example, a sense of calmness, harmony, beauty, but also spark less positive experiences, such as feelings of loss, disappearance and nostalgia. Many informants described a sense of loss and nostalgia for different aspect of communal life they saw steadily vanishing. Simultaneously, many also felt alienated from public identity discourses, which draw a line of continuity between the (imagined) cultural and political values of the Dubrovnik Republic to the lasting materiality of the walled city. My ethnographic findings indicate that regardless of my informants’ backgrounds and their differing perceptions of how or whether the history of Dubrovnik Republic assert any influence on contemporary identity constructions and communal interactions, the *materiality* of Dubrovnik’s walled centre is highly formative to the identities of the majority of its citizens. But the materiality of the city’s urban fabric, and the landscape it is situated in, holds a range of different meanings to different individuals and are relate closely to their life experiences and practices, which together help to form their *émotions patrimoniales* (‘heritage emotions’). A social constructionist approach can be beneficial in deciphering the particular meanings that architecture, monuments, landscapes and the materiality of cultural traditions hold for individuals and groups, and can point towards how heritagization processes affect their meanings and uses. However, treating heritage as mere constructions would limit our understandings of how materiality can assert a strong influence on the daily lives and worldviews of local populations. This is particularly the case in a city such as Dubrovnik, where families can often trace continued residence for hundreds of years.

Zita, a tourist guide in her fourties, would often express that despite being concerned with processes of change which have occurred in the walled centre in the last decade, the materiality of the walled city continues to be highly formative to her selfhood. Zita thinks the small, wall-enclosed centre, with its narrow passageways, stairway side streets, and mostly small, humid apartments, is not made for ‘modern-day lifestyles’. Yet her affection for the

place keeps her living there, to her husband's discontent. Zita describes life in a 'heritage city' given over to tourism as often being a struggle for residents. Shops selling amenities for locals have gradually been eclipsed by souvenir shops and boutiques, schools have closed, and local artisans struggle to make a living as Chinese copies of 'local crafts' flood the market. Furthermore, tourism changes the inhabitants' relationship with their locality. As children, many informants often cycled and played football in the old centre. Today, with the overwhelming number of tourists and restaurants, they prefer to navigate the city through steeper yet less crowded back-streets. Zeta's acknowledgment of the difficulty of accommodating a modern-day lifestyle in the old city was reflected by a large number of my informants. Many expressed that it takes 'a particular type of person' to choose to remain living in the walled centre today, amid all the impediments to modern living.

Pete, an expatriate from Northern Europe who has lived in Dubrovnik since the late 1990s, despairs at the lack of political intervention to preserve the intangible qualities of the ways of life within the walled centre – which he describes as being inscribed in the local identity of his Dubrovnikan wife, as well as in the identities of most people who live or have lived within the walled centre. According to Pete, the citizens' intimate relationship to space and scale has been disrupted due to changing economic conditions since he first moved to the city:

> *If you want to live in the old city, you have to very quickly get used to the fact that you're going to open the window and see the guy across the road sit on the toilet. We used to live very close to the old city and we'd have conversations through the window the whole time. Now you get foreign people coming here and they're not used to living like that, they want their privacy and they want to close the lace curtains, but it can't happen, it's like you're living on people's doorsteps. If you can't live with your first neighbour or second or third, then you can't live there. It forces you to mix. If you're all living like fish in an aquarium, you all have to get along with each other. If one fish eats the other fish, there's chaos.*

Pete thinks that the reproduction of this kind of lifestyle has become nearly impossible today due to a large number of apartments in the walled centre that are either rented out to tourists or owned by wealthy foreigners who may only spend a few weeks a year in Dubrovnik.

Petra, an artisan and market vendor in her 50s who we first encountered in Chapter 6, talks a lot about the drastic urban transformations of Dubrovnik. She thinks that the city has become nearly unrecognizable to its citizens since the war. However, she is not referring to the urban

fabric, but instead changes to cultural values and community interactions. She thinks that the many changes that have occurred since the war have induced a strong sense of nostalgia among the inhabitants. Increasingly, as conditions for the local population change – in her opinion for the worse – she experiences a growing disparity between her own experiences of living in Dubrovnik and the local, public discourse of the historic continuation and relevance of the Dubrovnik Republic's celebrated ideal of *libertas* (freedom) in present-day local culture. Petra herself does not feel free, but rather feels trapped within a very limited set of options and, at the same time, feels shut out from any part in deciding the future of the city she has always lived in. She feels that the much celebrated 'Dubrovnik Republic discourse' (see chapter 9) has little resonance to her life:

> *I'm so sad that Dubrovnik has lost its soul. Dubrovnik is not what it used to be…Life now and then is like living on two separate planets… A lot of people continue to speak about the war in their everyday lives… and do you know why? It's because we didn't think we would win the lives which we have now. It always makes me feel so sad to think about the young people who died during the war, and I ask 'why and for what did they die?'… For what we having NOW?*

In Petra the disparity between what Smith (Smith 1992) describes as the 'authorized heritage discourse' and her experienced life is evident. Petra has no higher education and has worked in the service sector since she finished school. She does not relate to so-called 'high art' and culture which many Dubrovnikans proclaim as representing the intangible 'evidence' of the old Republic's legacy for contemporary society. To her, the urban structures of the city are attractive, not because they date back to a particular time-period or architectural style, but because they contain the treasured memories of her childhood, her youth and her loved ones. The long-lost and mythologized Dubrovnik Republic has little meaning to her and it is not part of her cultural make-up or repertoire. When she talks about not recognizing Dubrovnik anymore, she is referring to the intangible aspects of society which she thinks have changed since the fall of Yugoslavian communism.

Petra' life-story reveals a strong degree of internal conflict as to how she fits or doesn't fit into the dominant public identity discourses and about how she feels deprived of 'her cultural heritage'. Petra has undergone many strongly transformative and traumatic experiences. More so than with any other Croatians I got to know intimately, she struck me as someone who had been so strongly affected by the experience of war that it became crippling to her present

quality of life. Nonetheless, many of Petra' reflections on changes in communal life and her strong sentiment of cultural and individual ambivalence, were echoed by a large number of my Dubrovnikan informants. Although the emotional intensity may vary, I would argue that Petra' reflections were representative of a common Dubrovnikan experience of 'heritage deprivation' and the tendency to equate this state of contemporary society with being taken advantage of by a range of different interest groups.

Petra has lived her whole life in Dubrovnik. She grew up in a small flat on the main street, *Stradun,* where she lived until her early 30s. Having many painful memories and experiences of the war, she decided to move out of the historic centre with her newly established family. While the ongoing post-war restoration of the old centre constantly reminded Dubrovnikans of the war, the yearning for space and serenity seemed more important than ever to many residents, including herself. The desire for more spacious living quarters, as well as the tranquillity of gazing onto the open sea and being surrounded by lush vegetation, were formative in the decision to move to a residential area further up the hill, on Dubrovnik's northern side. Although Petra thinks that the restoration work has restored the architectural beauty of the city, she feels that the Dubrovnik she grew up in has vanished for good. As a child and young woman her life in Dubrovnik offered all she desired – a loving family and friends, stability and a self-contained universe. Everything one needed in one's day to day life was within arm's reach, and most social activities were contained within the city walls. Before the war, *Stradun* was the centre of local life, where locals met and observed each other with curiosity. Most days, in the early evening, she would partake in the informal, local custom, the *đir*[218]. When the sun started to cast long shadows over Dubrovnik's polished, limestone streets, and a pink glow illuminated the flocks of swallows gliding above the terracotta roof tops, residents of all ages would meet on *Stradun* and stroll back and forth from the city clock to the *Pile* city gate. Each stretch was named a *đir*, and local residents cherished the fact that the promenade had no other purpose than to socialize, observe each other and chat about their daily lives, often while enjoying an ice cream in the late afternoon sun. However, the daily *đir* had the more subtle effect of making residents feel a sense of belonging and togetherness as citizens of Dubrovnik. After the war, the *đir* slowly vanished

218 The *đir* is a relatively wide-spread Mediterranean custom, with equivalents in, for instance, 'la rambla' in Spain and '*la passegiata'* in Italy. It is uncertain exactly how long this custom has been present in Dubrovnik, but most likely it dates back a long time due to Dubrovnik's longstanding mercantile and cultural contact with Italian city-states. Whereas the *passegiata* remains a central part of local life in many smaller Italian towns, such as Orvieto (jfr. Loades, 2005), the *đir* has largely disappeared from Dubrovnik.

from local cultural life, and many citizens speak with sadness about how the tourist crowds and the diminishing numbers of residents living inside the city walls simply have made it impossible to maintain the practice. But in 2012 two teachers working in a high school near the old centre created a Facebook page[219] with the aim of bringing back the *đir* to Dubrovnik's old centre. The idea was met with a lot of positive responses and was reported in the local press as a step towards reclaiming Dubrovnik's 'true' identity. The initiative aimed to formalize the *đir* by organizing a weekly promenade after work or school. Although the initiative is partly fuelled by nostalgia by older generations, for the younger people it builds on attempts by global movements to 'reclaim city centres' as places for the local population and enjoyment of 'slow time,' and not just as venues for tourism and commercial transactions. As of October 2012 the *đir* can once again to be seen on *Stradun* every Thursday at 6 o'clock. However its longevity, and whether the promenade will develop into a living custom, remains to be seen. Although many informants said ideally they wished to take part in the re-introduced *đir*, many argued that the conditions and pace of social life have changed considerably in the last decades. Large tourist crowds and the occupation of central urban spaces by restaurant and café tables make it difficult to practice the *đir*. And the fact that a majority of Dubrovnik's population live outside the city centre and have long and irregular working hours (especially in the tourist season), coupled with the infrastructural challenges of parking spaces, are added impediments to successfully reintroducing the promenade. (Petra is positive towards Facebook campaigns like the initiative to revitalize the *đir*, but is adamant that the post-independence period has altered the citizens' feelings for and attachment with the city. She is aware that some of the reasons that she doesn't feel the same about the city anymore can be explained by her own life experiences and the passing of time. She feels different about Dubrovnik today due to the loss of many of the people she loves, and with each of them a little piece of the Dubrovnik she cherished has seized to exist for her. Her father, a captain on a tanker ship, insisted in living on *Stradun* his whole life, even though the flat was quite small and dark for a family of four. Even though his job placed him in an economically privileged position and they could have bought a large house with garden outside the city walls, Stradun constituted the most meaningful place in Dubrovnik to him. After her parents died, Petra felt very differently about the historic centre; "*Although Stradun often is full of people in the tourist season, for me it is an empty place today",* she says mournfully. Petra admits to feeling nostalgic for the times of her youth in Dubrovnik. *"A lot*

219 *Điravanja Stradunom.*

of things make me sad today and very often I find that I'm living in the past...But I must go on and try to smile all the time…although very often I don't feel the way I look", she adds.

However, she is convinced that discontent over life in contemporary Croatia is widespread among people of all generations. She thinks there is a prevalent dissatisfaction over the disparity between the hopes and expectations that Croatians had before gaining national independence, and the actual consequences of the last decades' social and political change. She often complains about the current political leadership, but admits to also having felt dissatisfied with the old Yugoslavian political situation. She has never considered herself to be nostalgic for the Yugoslavian era, but she has come to realize, in retrospect, that Yugoslavian socialism provided a sense of security and stability which is missing in today's Croatia:

> *In Yugoslavia you could work your whole your life in the same company, so in many ways it was easier to live in those days. When young people start working now they only get a limited contract...for three months, five months…It is awful, because when they want to make a family and buy a house they can't get credit from the bank because they don't have stable work. It's a very big problem. It's too hard working three or four months during the year and you must live the whole year from this.*

Petra is ambivalent towards the effects of tourism on Dubrovnik's society. She thinks it's problematic that tourism is geared towards a short period in the summer months, while for the rest of the year the majority of the population is unemployed and struggles to get by. Like many informants, she is concerned that, apart from tourism, there are virtually no other industries on the Dalmatian coast. Yet she finds it difficult to imagine how it would be possible to stimulate other industries in a region which has for so long relied almost exclusively on tourism. Given the difficult economic situation in contemporary Croatia and the high unemployment rate, Petra considers herself and her family lucky to make a decent living from tourism. Yet her work also demands certain sacrifices. *"During the summer, the lives for all of us stop. We just work and that's it,"* Petra tells me. She is relieved that her grandson goes to school in the walled centre so he can visit her at the market stall after he finishes. Otherwise weeks can go by in the tourist season without her seeing her relatives.

Since 2004, Petra and her husband have had a market stall, producing and selling sea creatures-themed palm leaf carvings. Her working days are on average between sixteen and seventeen hours. She only takes one day a week off work. While her husband carves the sea

figures, Petra polishes and varnishes them, helps to gather the palm leaf material and spends on average nine hours on the market stall daily selling their produce. Every week she meticulously studies the local newspaper's printed time table of the following week's cruise ship departures, their duration of stay and the numbers of passengers, so her husband can plan out how many figures to produce for each day. Every time she sells a product, she phones her husband and tells which model of carving she has sold so he can replace it for the following day. She says both her and her husband try to develop a sense of humour about 'the mad situation in Dubrovnik' to cope with the pressures of life in the city:

> *After spending the whole day in the centre, I usually say that it's like I have been in a psychiatric clinic. Every morning when I go to work and my husband goes to work [on his carvings] in the garden [shed], we kiss each other and my husband says; 'I'm going to the mine' and I say; 'ok, I'm going to the psychiatric clinic!*

Their livelihood entirely depends on tourist demand, and although she is confident that their niche tourist products will ensure a certain level of sales, she admits that the unpredictability of sales brings certain worries. This uncertainty also means that they have to work long hours when the tourist numbers are high. Petra only allows herself to take one day off week and this will usually be dictated by the day when the cruise ship numbers are at the lowest. Although Petra sees her family's income as reliant on cruise-ship tourism, over the last few years she has started to question to what degree locals actually benefit much from this newer type of tourism. She tells me how cruise-ship tourism has made it unbearable to live in Dubrovnik. And she thinks that the global economic crisis is having clear effects on how much money that cruise-ship tourists spend during their short stays:

> *A lot of people in Dubrovnik make a living because of cruisers [cruise-ships], but it's ruining all tourism. When we saw the big ships in the past, we used to think…oh my God, these people are rich… but they are not actually rich people. The tourists have everything on the ship so they don't need to spend anything [in Dubrovnik]…And people on the cruisers don't have that much money today.*

Over the last few years[220] her family's income has nearly halved. She thinks it's getting increasingly more difficult for locals to live from selling their crafts, but still thinks her family business will survive as their crafts are 'one of a kind'. In her previous job in a tourist

220 Petras' calculations on how their family income has halved was uttered in 2012.

agency, her income was more stable and she worked fewer hours. But despite her long hours, she values the sense of freedom she has now. She cherishes her role in creating things of beauty and of curiosity and items she hopes will evoke fond memories of Dubrovnik in the tourists who come to visit. She admits to concealing how she feels about contemporary Dubrovnik to the tourists she encounters, and laughs ironically and sadly when she states:

> *It looks nice [in Dubrovnik], but isn't easy to live here...but I don't want to tell of all the wrong things we have here. Let them [tourists] think that everything is nice here. That's patriotism for me! I can say anything wrong about my town, but I don't allow anyone else to say so.*

Another aspect which attracts Petra to the production of sea creature carvings is found in her attraction to the sea. Like Lucija's attachment to the sea as described earlier in the chapter, the sea also evokes openness and freedom to Petra. This is something which has come to be even more meaningful to her as the historic centre gets more and more crowded every year throughout the summer months. The sea themed palm leaf carvings evoke her imagination of travelling far away westwards and exploring the world. During the winter, when the city centre is more or less devoid of tourists, they shut down the market stall between December and April. Without this period of rest and a decent stretch of time to spend with her family, she feels she wouldn't be able to cope with the high tempo and stress of the working year. After working the whole day on the market stall, the sound of bird twittering and sense of peace that her current home provides, makes up for spending hours in the centre, in which she describes as sunless, airless and empty.

Distressed by the past war experiences and of the present hectic life working as a market vendor, she finds it necessary to create spaces in her life where she can feel free of all the burdens of life. Watching the sea from her veranda with a cigarette and a cup of coffee provides her with a certain sense of peacefulness and freedom every morning before she goes to work in the centre. She describes herself as someone who could only cope with living in a warm climate and by the sea, yet throughout the tourist season she longs for the peace and freedom in which the winter and traveling to other destinations bring. During this time she and her husband go on motor bike trips to central Europe, mostly to the mountainous areas of Austria and to Germany's different Bavarian cities. She emphasizes that she has no interest in traveling towards the east, to the Balkan interior, as she feels the cultures are too dissimilar to Croatia. Instead they always choose travel westwards and northwards as she feels more

culturally at home in Western Europe. Petra finds the appeal of riding a motor bike to lie in the sense of freedom it provides, but perhaps to an even larger extent, in the possibility of being undisturbed and alone with one's own thoughts.

Petra appears to be very confident in her interactions with tourists at the market stall, and alternately converses in five European languages in which she has acquired a relatively good grasp of throughout her long working career in the tourist sector. In our conversations, on the other hand, she often expresses strong feelings of sadness and emptiness. She emphasizes that although her life experiences have contributed towards shaping these sentiments, she thinks they are common to the local population of Dubrovnik.

"Što južnije, to tužnije![221]*"* Petra proclaims contemplatively, and explains that the phrase refers to how people living in the southernmost parts of Croatia feel sadder than the inhabitants of the central parts of the country. According to Petra, this phrase became widely used in southern Dalmatia after the war, and relates particularly to the strong sense of isolation that the population in Dubrovnik-Neretva County feel, especially due to the difficulties of travel following the establishment of the Croatian-Bosnian national borders at Neum after the break-up of Yugoslavia (see Chapter 5). She thinks that topographical and political borders makes life in southern Croatia comparatively harder than in central-Croatia as everything is more expensive and inaccessible. Like a large number of Dubrovnikans, she feels annoyed about how Dubrovnik's considerable economic contribution, generated through tourism, is paid in taxes nationally. She feels upset that the locals work so hard in tourism and has helped to economically recover the country after the war, yet Dubrovnik is hardly prioritized at a national level. She sees the deferment of the Peljesać Bridge (see chapter 5) as evidence of how Dubrovnik gets ignored nationally. The particular usage of *"što južnije, to tužnije"*, as described by Petra and confirmed by other informants, is, in fact, a relatively recent interpretation of the phrase. Whereas the current usage particularly conveys the widely experienced sadness that many feel due to heightened regional isolation following Croatia's independence, several Croatian internet forums suggest that, during the Yugoslavian era, it was commonly used in all the parts of the federation and usually referred, derogatively, to how the further south in Yugoslavia one travelled, people increasingly came across as more 'undeveloped' and thus 'sad'. This interpretation is supported by Čupković who asserts that this phrase and the similar phrase; *"tuga s juga"* ("south sadness"), conceptualizes "the south

221 English translation: *"The further south, the more sad one is."*

as a less developed area and hence the aggregate of a specific mentality" (2014:5). Petar, an employee at the University of Dubrovnik (introduced in chapter 6), makes a comparison to the north-south division of Italy and reflects that the pattern in both Italy and Croatia is that "the further south you go, the situation is becoming worse. In the southern parts, life is going slowly and generally there is less money". Petar also elaborates on how, in general, capital cities are located inland and they command the majority of investment and wealth. Although he thinks this pattern has also been the case throughout much of the history of the territory of Croatia, he thinks that, with the changing employment conditions in post-war Croatia, the north-south division is no longer really applicable to the situation in Dubrovnik today. Because of tourism, Dubrovnik receives a lot of seasonal labour from the northern parts of the country, especially from the north-eastern, inland region, Slavonia, where the unemployment rate is very high. Petar does not use the *"što južnije, to tužnije"* phrase himself but he can identify more with people's use of the phrase to convey Dubrovnik's increased peripherality than to highlight southern Croatia's alleged plight as an 'underdeveloped' region**:** Now, everyone here is complaining why we still have to pass through the borders in Neum although we belong to the country which is member of the EU. They are using sentence "sto juznije to tuznije" to explain that situation too.

But Petar, who himself is dedicated to the cause of Croatia's further internationalization, is wary of 'all the complaining" about Dubrovnik's tourism:

> *Honestly, I don't like it ['sto juznije to tuznije'] because there is no optimism in it at all. People are always complaining and usually without a proper reason. If there is no tourists in Dubrovnik it is a disaster, if the tourists are coming in large numbers it is also disaster.*

While a large number of my informants share Petra's perceptions that tourism developments, political and economic change in the post-war period have stimulated a significant commodification of local culture, and have created new conditions for inter-community relations, cultural identification and quality of life in Dubrovnik, the degrees to which change is considered as advantageous and constructive, or disadvantageous and destructive, varies strongly between individuals. Sociological factors such as ones' family background, educational level, economic standing and area of employment contribute significantly towards shaping the perceptions, experiences and responses to change in the post-war period. However, differing life-experiences, such as the degrees of emotional and psychological

trauma experienced due to the Croatian war of independence, ones' individual experiences of life and community relations during Yugoslavia and the sense of inclusion and exclusion before and after Croatia's independence equally influence the ways in which Dubrovnikans relate and respond to cultural heritage, tourism developments and change. Petra and Bosiljka, both of whom have little formal education, but come from different ethnic-religious backgrounds, illustrate that factors such as ones' life experiences, sense of inclusion or exclusion before and after the war, and the meanings one ascribe to Dubrovnik's cultural heritage is of great relevance in how change is experienced.

Petra' strong sense of nostalgia and ambivalence are in contrast to the overtly positive and optimistic attitudes towards social change expressed by Bosiljka, a Bosnian woman of Serb ethnicity. Bosiljka grew up in a village on the outskirts of ethnically mixed and cosmopolitan Bosnian city of Sarajevo. She moved to Dubrovnik in the early 1960s, with her husband, a ship's captain, and is now in her mid-80s. In contrast to many citizens from Dubrovnik who portray the city as 'always having been a cosmopolitan and open city', Bosiljka thought Dubrovnik extremely provincial when she arrived – she was, at first, frustrated with the general lack of amenities and lack of diversity. Over the years, however, Bosiljka and her husband grew very fond of the city and realized that, despite its provincial character, life in Dubrovnik had many other advantages. Living in an area with a warm climate, in the vicinity of the sea having direct access to fresh fish made for a good quality of life to her and her family. These were some of the reasons to why Bosiljka and her husband decided to stay in Dubrovnik when he was offered a new work position in Bosnia and had an opportunity to move back to Bosnia many years later. Having become a mother of two shortly after moving to Dubrovnik, Bosiljka found that her priorities changed and she did not mind the provincial character of the city as much as she viewed it as a very safe and accommodating place for her children to grow up in. Bosiljka thinks that towards the end of Yugoslavia Dubrovnik gradually became more a more open and inclusive city and, with the money which tourism generated, the city experienced positive development in this period. Bosiljka is generally very positive towards how tourism has changed Dubrovnik. From her veranda, which overlooks the sea and two of Dubrovnik's luxury hotels, she likes to sit and watch the large groups of tourists strolling back and forth into the walled centre. When she chooses to go into the centre it is usually early in the morning to do her errands, before there are many people around.

For both Bosiljka and Petra tourism has an impact on the way they use the city centre. But, in contrast to Petra, the new conditions of tourism in the post-war period appear to have no

negative effects on Bosiljka's attachments to Dubrovnik. She perceives tourism as something which has enabled the city to recover a sense of local community across ethnic-religious lines following the rampant nationalism of the 1990s. It helps make Dubrovnik a more cosmopolitan, open, connected and international city. This runs counter to Petra' impression that the potentially large amount of money which locals can earn from tourism has stimulated greed, selfishness and a steady fragmentation of a sense of shared local community. Furthermore, Petra and Bosiljka use and relate to the city centre and their neighbourhoods in different ways. Petra' livelihood depends on selling her and her husbands' crafts. She decides the weekly and annually work schedule at the market stall according to the numbers of tourists in the centre. Whenever cruise-ships arrive in Dubrovnik, Petra will be working at the market stall. To her spending time in the city centre mostly constitute a necessity to her today, whereas her home situated a little way up the hill on Dubrovnik's northern side, is where she longs to be. Whereas Petra perceived the walled centre 'as the whole world' in her childhood and young adulthood and experienced the human activities and community interactions as enthralling, after the traumatic war experiences and the large rise in visitor numbers in the last decade, her home and immediate neighbourhood becomes an enclave of serenity, space and freedom. In contrast, Bosiljka chooses to spend time in the city centre when there are few people around, but in her neighbourhood she finds the presence of human activity from the two large hotels in the vicinity of her home refreshing. Due to her perceptions of Dubrovnik as a provincial place, as well as her frustrations with the intolerance and close-mindedness stemming from the war experiences, Bosiljka experiences that tourism contributes towards a more cosmopolitan, open, connected and international city.

Bosiljka earns money from tourism by renting out a small apartment. This enabled her – and her recently deceased husband – to rebuild her home and garden, which was damaged by shrapnel in the war. But although she has economic incentives to make her positive towards tourism, it appears that Bosiljka views the constant flow of people visiting the city and interacting with the locals as contributing towards a more open and tolerant society. Bosiljka speaks hardly any English herself, but her friendly and hospitable personality still enables her to interact with the tourists who come to stay in her apartment.

During the Bosnian war, many of Bosiljka's friends and relatives fled to other European nations as refugees. Some also moved from Sarajevo to Belgrade, or to other places in the Balkans. She describes her extended family living today across many parts of the Balkans and central Europe as constituting a 'little Yugoslavia'. Although Bosiljka is generally not

nostalgic about life in the communist era, the official Yugoslavian aspiration to create 'brotherhood and unity' (*bratstvo i jedinstvo*) between the different ethnic-religious groups connotes something positive to her. Most times when I visited Bosiljka she would assert that to her religion and ethnicity does not matter to her. In her personal life she likes replicating the ideal of 'brotherhood and unity' on a broader European scale, and regularly travels to stay with her relatives who have settled down in several different countries. Many of her relatives have inter-married and established families across ethnic-religious lines and nationalities. Bosiljka indicates that life in the aftermath of the war was not always easy for Serbs living in Croatia. This is one of the reasons she is positive about the impact of tourism – not only has it helped in recovering from the destruction of the war, but it has slowly opened up the local community and enabled Dubrovnik's citizens to move on.

Due to ethnic tensions and intolerance in the post-war period, it is uncertain whether Bosiljka's positive depictions of tourism, social change and ethnic relations are entirely what she feels and experiences. There might be a gap between her self-representations and portrayal of Dubrovnik's community relations and her actual perceptions and experiences. Bosiljka makes her living from tourism and might want to portray the local situation in a favourable light to outsiders. However, I think it would be safe to say that the growth of tourism has eased some of the tensions which ethnic minority groups experienced in the first decade or so following national independence. In times of economic difficulty and when material war damage is clearly visible, ethnic-religious tensions are presumably stronger than when economic prosperity prevails and the urban environment has been restored. It can, of course, be questioned to what extent inter-ethnic community relations are actually affected by tourism and economic growth. Perhaps the general move away from the inward-orientated nationalism of the 1990s, to a more internationally- and EU-oriented socio-political climate, coupled with the general passing of time since the traumas of the war, have been equally important for community relations. Nevertheless, regardless of tourism's actual effect on creating an open and inclusive society, Bosiljka still regards the large number of nationalities visiting Dubrovnik and interacting with one another as a refreshing counterpoint to the inward-oriented, provincial society she experienced in the past. However, although Bosiljka is positive about the cosmopolitan effects of mass tourism on the city, she also expresses strong sentiments of ambivalence towards the current situation and a nostalgia for the Yugoslavian past. While she regarded Dubrovnik as provincial in the former Yugoslavia, she also experienced a large degree of tolerance and inclusivity between different ethnic and religious,

in both Dubrovnik, and the wider Yugoslavian cultural context. Today, she experiences Dubrovnik as having a more international character, yet she is disconcerted by the post-war demographic homogenization and lack of cohabitation and inter-marriages across ethnic and religious divides. She is nostalgic about the 'brotherhood and unity' approach in the former Yugoslavia, although she does not yearn to bring back communist political ideology. Although she for many years looked upon Dubrovnik as provincial, she also found the pronounced civic identity of the citizens as fostering an inclusivity which cut across ethnic-religious schisms. The perception of Dubrovnik's civic identity in the former Yugoslavia as being less connected to religion and ethnic belonging featured strongly in several informants with minority and mixed ethnic family backgrounds. Although there wasn't a great deal of nostalgia for the Yugoslavian past as such, many were nostalgic towards the pre-war era, when, in their view, Dubrovnik's civic identity was far less related to its Catholic and Croat cultural heritage than today.

As we have seen so far in this chapter, sentiments of nostalgia and ambivalence are palpable in how large numbers of Dubrovnikans talk about how conditions of life, and in their sense of connection towards the walled centre have changed. However, nostalgia and ambivalence are relational concepts, often with particular temporal and spatial underpinnings. They are influenced both by individuals' accumulated life experiences and memories and by public discourses of loss and change, aspects of which relate closely to class, educational and ethnic-religious background.

However, the ways in which nostalgia has become firmly anchored in post-war local culture also relate to many shared experiences of socio-cultural change which affect most Dubrovnikan citizens, regardless of their life experiences and backgrounds. My ethnography indicates that nostalgia is found in two main areas of local cultural life. Firstly, nostalgia is found in perceptions of how socio-political and economic change has negatively affected the community's 'intangible' culture. By this Dubrovnikans refer to the sense of civic identity being eroded, of individuals' self-interest and perceived 'right' to prosper economically from tourism, being placed above communal interests. It also relates to the ways in which cultural mannerisms and modes of interaction between different members of community, which are seen as embodying 'Dubrovnikaness', are in the process of being detached from its cultural history (something which is seen as connected to having a 'heritage of harmony and scale' (see Chapter 6). Exactly which meanings locals attach to the concept of 'civic identity', and

which parts they see as being eroded, varied between informants and appeared to relate to their different backgrounds and life experiences.

The second area informing a sense of nostalgia relates to aspects of cultural practices, which no longer are seen as possible to reproduce due to post-war social change. To use the analytical apparatuses of Eriksen's 'overheating' metaphor (2016), nostalgia is a consequence of 'overheating', caused by, amongst other factors, the sheer number of tourists, and the escalation of tourist crowds arriving at once and the shrinking duration of tourist visits to the city, which, all together, cause congestion. The consequences of this overheated tourism on residents' daily routines, mobility, access and use of urban areas and landscapes, which formerly were more freely available to all citizens in the past, are widely experienced as having negative consequences on the reproducibility of the citizens' attachments to the walled centre. The type of nostalgia produced by these changes centre more on "the things we could do before, which now are impossible or have vanished", and therefore relate closely to challenges in the reproduction of practices, more than of cultural concepts. An economic 'overheating' stemming from tourism and economic transition has also induced a permeable sense of nostalgia of the walled centre as no longer being commonly 'owned' by the citizens. There is a widespread perception that post-war tourism developments and the accompanied privatization of property, cultural heritage and formerly public common land, has led to identity loss and the disconnection of the local citizens from attachments to their cultural heritage and to place. This produces a strong sense of ambivalence amongst the citizens. Dubrovnikans are aware that the use of the city's heritage as a commodity for sale in tourism is central to the city's post-war economic recovery and provides a source of livelihood for large numbers of citizens. Yet, the commodification of heritage has simultaneously uprooted some of the foundations for perceiving the city's heritage as 'theirs'. According to many informants, the connections between heritage and identities suffer incrementally the more heritage is compartmentalized into different 'products' for consumption and sale.

The ambivalence experienced by Dubrovnikans in connection to the privatization and commodification of the city's cultural heritage resembles the ethnographic findings in Breglia's (Breglia 2006) study of 'monumental ambivalence' on the Yucatan Peninsula[222]. Breglia explores how different areas of ambivalence have emerged after the formerly state

[222] Breglia's multi-sited ethnographic study is carried out in the two Mexican archaeological sites, Chitchén Itzá (a UNESCO World Heritage site) and Chunchucmil, which had recently become an official 'archaeological zone' at the time of her fieldwork.

controlled national patrimony has undergone privatization. Her study shows that the private sector has intervened in monumentalizing the national patrimony. However, she also asserts that not only multi-national 'big business' can be seen as responsible for the privatization and monumentalization of the archaeological ruins. Indigenous communities living or working in or near the archaeological sites, she asserts, are *"vital players in the continuous privatization of heritage resources…through various entrepreneurial and land-protectionist activities" (2006:211).* While the monumentalization of heritage attempts to erase ambivalence and the multiplicity of meanings, Breglia asserts that *"once we look for the fissures in monumentality, we find that ambivalence abounds" (2000:3).* She identifies the occurrence of ambivalences on many levels; between different agents (expressed through for example national laws and international heritage conventions), and between diverging interests of different groups (the scientific interests of 'expert' groups, government development projects, the commercial interests of the private sector and the local residents inhabiting the archaeological sites). Breglia discusses how the logic of growth and measurability promoted by capitalism globally, has affected how heritage is viewed as a resource, which can reap economic profit to governments as well as private institutions and individuals. This type of logic, uproots much of the grounds for the connections between heritage to personal, communal or national identities, and creates a sense of *"that which is everybody's is nobody's".* Breglia reflects:

> *The ambivalence of "that which is everybody's is nobody's" produces a seemingly irresolvable tension between a state that needs to sell off its patrimony to be in line with global circulations of capital, and it citizenry, which heavily invests in the monuments and symbols of national patrimony as a way of defining its social identities and place in the global landscape" (2006:3).*

Breglia's argues that to farmers with land tenure rights in the archaeological sites, heritage is *"part of everyday experiences and common-sense knowledge" (2006:208).* To the Maya communities inhabiting or working near the archaeological sites, the ruins of former Maya temples are importantly situated in a landscape, which is laden with multiple meanings and a rich symbolic genealogy:

> *At Chunchucmil, local residents – some of who are excavation laborers – also articulate a strong connection to the newly declared archaeological zone. However, for these agriculturalists, patrimony is found in the land, not the ruins (2006:208).*

Breglia argues that the archaeological zones of Chunchucmil and Chitchén Itzá need to be seen as *"a social space with multiple inflections" (2006:2003).* The meanings of the land and the ruins are produced by multiple interest groups, and, over time, they become *"neutralized as a "natural" ground for social relations" (2006:203)*. By paying attention to the spatial genealogy of place, and how the land has *"a history and coexistence of different inscriptions, codes, and territories" (ibid.)*, ambivalences become apparent. The increased monumentalization of Dubrovnik's walled centre after Croatia's transition to global economy, masks the many ambivalences experienced by the local residents to the walled centre, the wider landscape it is situated within and to the World Heritage status and its use in tourism and economic development. Despite the commodification of the centre as a 'unified product' and monument in homage to the Dubrovnik Republic, for sale in tourism, a range of 'intangible' practices, qualities and meanings are attached to the walled centre for its citizens. As we shall see in the following discussion of the Feast of St. Blaise, many of the meanings and symbolism attached to the festival and its relation to the walled centre of Dubrovnik have a longstanding spatial and temporal genealogy. However, the meanings ascribed to the festival and its associated practices can be also be seen as a process, which relates to contemporary circumstances and events and therefore undergo change.

Creating Bridges – The Feast of St. Blaise (*Festa svetog Vlaha*)

Dubrovnik's patron saint, Saint Blaise (*Sveti Vlaho* or *Sveti Blaž*)[223], is much more than a relic from the past. Despite changing socio-political circumstances, St. Blaise continues to play a significant role in the citizens' spiritual lives, providing an anchor for constructions of locality and identities. St. Blaise was chosen as the patron saint and the official state guardian of the Republic of Ragusa in 971, and the Feast of St. Blaise (*Festa svetog Vlaha*) has been celebrated annually in the city on February the 3rd ever since[224]. The festival's longstanding

223 St. Blaise is referred to locally as both *Sveti Vlaho* or *Sveti Blaž*, with a propensity towards the former. *Sveti* is Croatian for Saint. *Blaž* is the Croatian version of *Blasius*, which is the common derivative terminology for the saint in many Catholic communities across the world. The most commonly used term for the saint in Dubrovnik, *Vlaho*, derives from the Greek figure, *Vlasios*, which was adapted to *Vlasi* from the 13th to the mid 18th centuries (before this *Blaž* was more commonly used). The first record of the current usage of *Sveti Vlaho* can be found in 1751 (Lovrić Jović 2017).

224 A variety of academic and non-academic sources states that Dubrovnik adopted St. Blaise as its patron saint in 971 A.C. (Lovrić Jović 2017). There remains some uncertainty, however, as to the full accuracy of this assertion. It is difficult to say anything more concrete than Dubrovnik adopted St. Blaise as the city's patron saint at some point between the 10th and late 12th century. The first known mention of St. Blaise as the city's patron saint and of the festival dedicated to him, is found in the historical document named *Franchisia Sancti Blasii* which dates back to 1190. In the document a law establishes *'the Immunity of St. Blaise'*, which entitles

continuity and the fact that it is still a thriving local celebration generating a large number of associated rituals resulted in the inclusion of the Feast of St. Blaise on UNESCO's World Heritage List for Intangible Culture in 2009[225]. In order to understand the historical and contemporary significance of St. Blaise it is necessary to take a closer look at what is known about him. It is also important to explore some of the reasons why a historical figure who came from afar and most likely never set foot in Dubrovnik, was chosen as the city's patron saint. Little reliable information exists about St. Blaise as the main source about his life and deeds is found in the Annals, written around 300 years after his death. However, that his actual life and accomplishments had no connection with the citizens of Ragusa is a near certainty. Historians place the birth of St. Blaise at around 280 A.D., in Sebaste, the capital of Lesser Armenia. Today the city is known as Sivas, and is located in the Anatolian Highlands of Central Turkey (Kremenjaš-Daničić, 2012). Historical sources state that he grew up in a wealthy family and worked as a doctor until he was elected to serve as the Bishop of Sebaste on the grounds of his healing abilities, popularity and good deeds. Based on a vision by a Catholic priest named Stojko in 971, in which St. Blaise warned of a Venetian attack on the city, Dubrovnik adopted St. Blaise as its patron saint, the following year (ibid).

fugitives and debtors to stay in Dubrovnik for a period of three days before and three days after the St. Blaise festival (Source: UNESCO inscription text of intangible heritage element, 2009).

225 The St. Blaise festival first became inscribed in the *Register of Cultural Goods of the Republic of Croatia* on May 2nd 2007, under the category of 'intangible cultural heritage' (*nematerijalna kulturna baština)*. The official application to get the Feast of St. Blaise included on UNESCO's World Heritage List for Intangible Culture was issued by the Institute for Restoration and Conservation in Dubrovnik, which operates under the auspices of the Croatian Ministry of Culture.

Figure 18. St. Blaise depicted with Dubrovnik in his left hand. Photograph by Celine Motzfeldt Loades.

The choice of St. Blaise as Dubrovnik's patron shows that the Saint had a political role as a guardian of the historic city-state's autonomy. Two of the most important signifiers of the political role of St. Blaise in the Dubrovnik Republic can be found in the images of the patron saint on the Republic's official flag and its coins. The ubiquitous presence of St. Blaise in the city-state's socio-cultural and political life was seen as a threat to the supremacy of both the French and the Austro-Hungarian Empires. Following the French conquest and abolition of the Dubrovnik Republic in 1808, Napoleon's General Marmont ordered the banishment of the state flag and its removal from the Republic's ships and from the Orlando Column which faces the Collegiate Church of St. Blaise (Ahmetović, 2008). In contemporary Dubrovnik, the Republic's flag is raised every year for the duration of the Feast of St. Blaise and the Dubrovnik Summer Festival. This can be seen as a symbolic re-enactment of Dubrovnik as an autonomous Republic – before the flag carrying the image of St. Blaise is again replaced with the Croatian national flag. This brief assertion of Dubrovnik's historically unique libertas is symbolically potent in the context of Dubrovnik's contemporary peripheral position in the Croatian nation-state. Furthermore, the material and immaterial heritage of St. Blaise was readily drawn on in debates over Croatia's EU membership, a matter which has strongly

marked political and cultural discourses in the new millennium. St. Blaise was utilized in order to try to unify Dubrovnikans and reassure them of the city's cultural uniqueness and autonomy. The role of St. Blaise in unifying and providing a bridge between different aspects of local cultural and political life, and positioning Dubrovnik within the wider world, was especially resonant in Dubrovnik's post-war and pre-EU period. The political and cultural uses of St. Blaise and the spatial and temporal dimensions embodied in the celebration of the patron saint were particularly evident when I participated in the 2012 St. Blaise festival. At this particular point in time, these uses related specifically to the recently held Croatian EU referendum, and to a degree also to nationalistic sentiments and widespread support for the release of war general, Ante Gotovina, from the ICTY[226] (see discussion below). These examples illustrate how heritage can become connected with *"the politicization of culture and the mobilization of cultural forms for ideological ends"(Peckham 2003:2).* They also illustrate the processual nature of heritage production – how the meanings and uses of heritage become enmeshed with not only cultural identity production, but also with intentionalities connected to contemporary, political debates, and geo-political power relationships. As of 2018, Croatia has already been part of the EU for five years and Ante Gotovina was not convicted by the ICTY trial. These particular uses of St. Blaise's heritage in 2012 can be seen as transitory and show that heritage production is always negotiated and defined in the present and related to concerns and intentions of the near-future (Ashworth, Graham, and Tunbridge 2007, Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000, Smith 2006b, Lowenthal 1996). It would, however, be unjust to portray St. Blaise, and the festival dedicated to his honour, as merely serving particular political and cultural functions in the present. During the five day St. Blaise festival, citizens from all across Dubrovnik-Neretva County flocked to the walled centre of Dubrovnik to participate in a large number of rituals[227]. For this festive period it is as if Dubrovnik retreats to being its own republic and its citizens adhere to festive rituals which generation upon generation before them have enacted in honour of the city and its patron saint. The veneration of St. Blaise, which has been going on for over 1,000 years, is undoubtedly experienced as something deeply meaningful to

[226] ICTY - the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.
[227] In the UNESCO inscription text for the inclusion of the St. Blaise festival as an intangible heritage, the following geographical areas are included as the communities participating in the celebration of the patron saint: "the City of Dubrovnik and its surroundings, including the area of Rijeka dubrovačka, Elafiti (Deer islands), the Island of Pelješac, the Island of Lastovo, the Towns of Ston and Korčula, and the Municipalities of Konavle, Župa Dubrovačka, Ston, Blato, Dubrovačko primorje, Janjina, Lumbarda, Mljet, Orebić, Smokvica, Trpanj and Vela Luka" .

Dubrovnikans' cultural and civic identity. I therefore see it as apt to provide a closer description of the events and rituals associated with the Feast of St. Blaise itself[228], before I proceed with discussing the meanings and uses of the patron saint and the festival in contemporary Dubrovnik.

Figure 19. The St. Blaise procession on the 3rd of February. Source: The City of Dubrovnik. Published with permission from the City of Dubrovnik.

I arrive in Dubrovnik on a cold and rainy winter day the afternoon before the festival is about to start. My connecting flight from Zagreb to Dubrovnik had nearly been cancelled due to the strong bura wind in southern Dalmatia, but after setting off from Oslo 13 hours previously, and having to catch two connecting flights, I eventually reach Dubrovnik. Having flown across the snow-capped Dinara mountain chain and seeing hardly any people out in the streets, Dubrovnik appears particularly remote and subdued in comparison to the heaving crowds in the summer time of my last fieldwork three years earlier. The morning after my arrival, on February the 2nd, I travel into the walled centre in order to participate in the opening of the St. Blaise festival – the Candle Mass, locally referred to as the 'Kandelora'

[228] The description of the Feast of St. Blaise is based on my own experiences, source material from the Institute for Restoration and the Conservation Unit in Dubrovnik, the Dubrovnik Museums, and the UNESCO inscription text.

(the holiday of light). Arriving early for the opening ritual, there are few people to be seen in the streets, only a handful of East-Asian tourists walking up and down Stradun, photographing the decorated main street. All along Stradun, an abundance of flags depicting St. Blaise are flying. Tucked in between each of the St. Blaise flags, there is the red and white historical flag of the Dubrovnik Republic, which reads LI-BER-TAS (libertas – liberty/freedom). Gradually locals start to gather for the opening ceremony of the festival, at the Luža square (Luža Trg) in front of the St. Blaise church (Crkva svetog Vlaha). An air of excitement and informal chatter begins to replace the formerly subdued atmosphere of expectation. Young women and girls, clad in regional costumes from across the county, line up in front of the church, which for the festival period is decorated with laurels. Political and religious heads, the trombunjeri (historical troops), the festajuli, flag bearers from each parish of the county, and many other local and regional individuals deemed of importance are present. The opening ritual starts with trumpeters performing a salute from the Sponza palace, followed by the lowering of the Croatian national flag from the Orlando Column and in its place the Sveti Vlaho (St. Blaise) flag is raised to the tune of the Anthem of St. Blaise (Himna Svetoga Vlaha)[229]. Afterwards everyone part of the audience call out: Žive Svetog Vlaho!' ('Long live St. Blaise!') Each year two 'festanjule'[230], who constitute the secular masters of ceremony of the festival, hold the honour of lowering and raising the Sveti Vlaho flag. These festanjule are mostly sea captains and artisans, which celebrates Dubrovnik's important historic role as a maritime and merchant republic. Candles are lit for the ceremony, and white pigeons are released from a cage to symbolize Dubrovnik's lasting peace and freedom. Afterwards the Bishop performs a 'laus' (a 'wishing well' prayer) and the girls clad in regional costumes, locally called trznice, offer fruit from their baskets to the spectators, to symbolize a new year of abundance and growth. In the background the bells of the clock tower in Luža square chime, rounding off the opening ceremony. Afterwards, large

229 Since 1939, *The Anthem of St. Blaise (Himna Svetoga Vlaha)* has been performed on Candlemass each year of the festival and has over time become virtually synonomous with the raising and lowering of the St. Blaise flag on the Orlando Column. The anthem was composed as a gift to Dubrovnik by the 'Zagreb masters of the ceremonies', Rade degl'Ivellio (composer) and Vinko Vilić (lyrics) (*St. Blaise – in History and the Present*, The Dubrovnik Museums, 2012).

230 The tradition of appointing two *festanjule* as the secular masters of ceremony for the festival dates back to 1874. One of the *festanjule* is always a sea captain, the other is usually either an artisan or a tradesman. Festanjule are always men. Until the Second World War, festanjule were appointed by the local authorities, but the tradition of appointing *festanjule* got disrupted during the war and in parts of the former Yugoslavia. After 1970, *festanjule* were appointed by the church and since 2001 by the Brotherhood of the festanjule. The *festanjule* can fullfill his role as the secular master of ceremony after receiving a decree from the bishop. To be appointed a *festanjule* is considered a great honor and is as a general rule something one can only be appointed as once in a lifetime.

crowds queue up to enter the St. Blaise church, where a mass is held. On all my previous visits to the St. Blaise church, it has rarely been more than half full, but on this occasion this relatively large baroque church cannot contain the large crowds who have come to attend mass. Throughout the prayers and hymns large numbers of people wait patiently outside the church's two entrances, expectantly waiting for the customary 'blessing of the throat' (grličanja) ritual. After a sermon, the congregation line up to take part of the traditional healing ritual.[231]. The priest places two candles in a cross and raises them onto the throat of the one awaiting to be healed. He recites: "By the intercession of St. Blaise, Bishop and Martyr, may the Lord relieve you of sickness of the throat and other evils. Amen!" Early in the morning of February 3rd, the main celebratory day of the Feast of St. Blaise, bells chime from the bell towers across the city. The 'trombunjeri', Dubrovnikan men who represent 'historical troops', fire festive shots from the harbour area[232]. The focal point for the celebration is the religious procession through the main streets of the walled centre. A flag bearer, carrying the flag of St. Blaise, heads the procession, followed by the bishop and other local and national Catholic clergy, the Rector of St. Blaise's Church, monks from the Dominican, Franciscan, Jesuit and Capuchin monasteries and nuns from nine convents in the region. Members of the 'festanjul' brotherhood of St. Blaise, the trumpeteers and musketeers, banner holders, notable local and national politicians, ambassadors, and other dignitaries proceed, followed by priests who carry a large number of relics in glass containers, celebrated as being the bones of St. Blaise as well as other 1st century 'holy martyrs'. The Dubrovnik fire brigade, celebrated locally as heroes during the 1990s war, also participate. Finally, the general population from the different parishes across the county are allowed to proceed, each parish carrying their own banners, followed by large numbers of people of all ages clad in costumes of the different areas, and many girls (trznice) and women carrying baskets of fruit. The procession ends in the Luča square in front of the St. Blaise church, where the Rector of the church is handed the reliquary of St. Blaise on a platter, which he then brings up to the alter of the St. Blaise church. Outside the church, the different parish flag bearers wave their flags rhythmically and high in the air. Many other lesser public events take place throughout the duration of the festival, including concerts, and a street bingo,

231 Based on the legend of how St. Blaise miraculously healed a child who had a fish bone stuck in the throat, St. Blaise, who allegedly was a doctor in his lifetime, became known as a 'healer of throats'. Due to this miracle, he gained a place as one of the Fourteen Holy Helpers (Dubrovački Muzeji (Dubrovnik Museums). 2012. *St. Blaise in History and in the Present*).
232 Historically the trombunjeri troops would fire shots from the city walls, but in modern history this has not been allowed for safety reasons.

which is particularly popular among children. The festival is completed on the first Sunday after the main festive day of St Blaise (3rd February)with an early morning mass in the St. Blaise church in the walled centre, followed by a pilgrimage p to the Gorica hill, on the Lapad peninsula, where the Votive church of St. Blaise is located (Crkva Svetog Vlaha od Gorice). This 15th century church, built on the foundations of an 11th century, had newly been restored when I participated in the St. Blaise festival. However, the closing of the festival mass is always performed outside the church and is followed by a ritual performance of the flag bearers of the different parishes. With the flags of the entire county rhythmically waving, two at each time, lit up by the gentle morning sun and encircled by the glittering, turquoise sea, Mount Srđ and the walled centre in the distance. After the flag bearers have finished performing, the pilgrimage returns back to the walled centre, where the rector awaits and holds a final speech. To the sound of the musketeers firing shots from afar and the anthem of St. Blaise being sung, the festanjuli have the honour of lowering the St. Blaise flag and replacing it once again with the Croatian national flag. This act officially ends the festival.

While many of the customs associated with the St. Blaise festival take place outdoors and are open to the public, there are certain rituals which are not accessible to all. One of these is the *candelorna* dinner, taking place on the evening before the parade. This celebratory banquet is not accessible to the public, only to dignitaries, religious community, and the honoured ritual masters of the ceremonies, the *festanjule*. Some customs also take place in families' homes and are not easily accessible to anyone outside the extended family unit. After the public procession, the festival continues privately in people's homes and is very much family oriented (and was inaccessible to me). The customary meal served at lunch on St. Blaise day is called 'dirty macaroni' (*Šporki makaruli*) and consists of macaroni with tomato sauce and minced meat. The background to this rather modest and uncharacteristically festive type of meal is found in a legend of St. Blaise when he allegedly was imprisoned in Sebaste by the Roman governor, Agricolaus. To honour his suffering when imprisoned, tortured and shortly thereafter died, Dubrovnikans have adopted this modest meal as their celebratory meal at lunch for the 3rd February[233]. Dubrovnik's historical urban development has many similarities to other Dalmatian coastal towns, such as Zadar, Šibenik, Split, Budva, Kotor and Bar (the latter three are today part of Montenegro), and the Dalmatian island towns, like the stari grad

233 Some historians attribute the background to 'dirty macaroni' to the Dubrovnik Republic aristocracy. After completing their festive meals, the aristocracy would allegedly on festive days spare the remnants of their meal for their servants and the poor, and the servants would mix together the remaining macaroni, scraps of meat and tomato sauce into one dish.

(old cities) of Hvar and Korcula. These cities share a similar history "in that by building on a Roman or early medieval foundation they emerged as strong economic and cultural centres between the 14th and 16th centuries". The fairly similar historical and economic developments of many of the coastal Dalmatian cities in this period is reflected in their urban structure, and makes Dubrovnik, on first glance, into a typical Dalmatian town. However, there is one striking difference between Dubrovnik and the other Dalmatian cities, which illustrates how the city has its own history, largely separate from the rest of Dalmatia which for a long period was ruled by Venice. Whereas many Dalmatian cities, like Split, have sculptures depicting the Venetian city symbol, the Lion of St. Mark, Dubrovnik has an abundance of St. Blaise sculptures in all parts of the walled centre.

A large number of these stone sculptures are found by the city gates, along the city walls which face the Adriatic Sea, on several towers, fortresses and on numerous Renaissance and Baroque buildings[234]. Two churches in Dubrovnik and its vicinity are dedicated to the patron saint. The main shrine of devotion to the Saint in both Dubrovnik diocese and in Croatia as a whole, is the Baroque Collegiate Church of St. Blaise (*Crkva Sveti Blaža/ Crkva Sveti Vlaho*), located on the main street, *Stradun* (*Placa*). The current Baroque church, erected in 1715, was built on the grounds of a former medieval St. Blaise church, which was destroyed in a fire in 1706[235].The veneration of St. Blaise worldwide is first and foremost a Catholic practice, but in Dubrovnik the patron saint (*parac*) and the Feast of St. Blaise also fulfil many other aspects of local community and identity. They provide a bridge between the Dubrovnik Republic and the present and St. Blaise becomes a uniting figurehead of the old Republic's political heritage of *libertas* (*freedom*, *liberty*), melding the religious, civic, cultural and political elements of local community. As UNESCO's nomination text, which provides an explanation of the importance of the Feast of St. Blaise as Intangible Cultural Heritage, reads: *"the Festivity of St. Blaise, is the most deeply rooted tradition, a historic symbol of the unity of the church, state, city and the people"*. Through the enactment of a large number of rituals associated with the festival, the tangible structures of the city and the intangible elements of cultural practices are intertwined - thus revitalizing local identity and shared belonging. The

234 Stone sculptures of St. Blaise are found in the following sites; on the outside and inside of the Pile and Ploče city gates, by the entrances to the city from the sea; the Gate of Ribarnica (Fish market), the Ponte gate and the Ložda gate, on the Minčeta tower on the north-east side of the city wall, on the Fort Revelin, Fort Lovrjenac and St. John Fortress, on the tower of Puncijela, on the bastions of the St. Saviour, St. Margaret and St. Steven, on the Curch of St. Blaise, the Sponza Palace, the Town Hall, and the Rector's Palace (Ahmetović, 2008).
235 Katarina Horvat-Levaj "Church of St. Blaise, Dubrovnik" in "Discover Baroque Art", Museum With No Frontiers, 2017. *http://www.discoverbaroqueart.org/database_item.php?id=monument;BAR;hr;Mon11;7;en*.

Feast of St. Blaise is a practice that nearly all my informants participated in regardless of age, social, educational, religious and ethnic background. Atheists too are among the participants. Although people sometimes highlighted different elements of the festival as particularly important, local residents nearly unanimously perceived the festival as being an essential part of being a citizen of Dubrovnik and viewed the ritual period as fostering a sense of togetherness as for the city. But the Feast of St. Blaise is not a celebration confined to citizens of Dubrovnik alone. People from other towns, villages and the islands across the whole county come to Dubrovnik to participate in the festival.

In the section of the Dubrovnik Tourist Board's website about the Feast of St. Blaise, a local conservationist assigned to compile a description of the festival writes: *"St. Blaise is woven into every pore of life…to honour him means to express freedom LIBERTAS"*. The correlation between Dubrovnik's patron saint and the Dubrovnik Republic's celebrated political heritage of *libertas* is decisively part of the sustained appeal of the festival to the local community. It may be argued that in post-war Dubrovnik and in the context of the pressing issue of Croatia's EU membership, the connection between the veneration of St. Blaise and the experienced fragility of national autonomy and Dubrovnik's continued cultural uniqueness has grown particularly prominent. The patron saint's symbolism of *libertas*, and of being a protector of Dubrovnik's cultural and historical uniqueness, was especially conspicuous in religious and political speeches during the 2012 Feast of St. Blaise, the same year as Croatia's national EU referendum. In that year, there were two strategic publications and events: the Dubrovnik Museums' (*Dubrovački muzeji*) exhibition, *St. Blaise – In History and in the Present*, with an extensive accompanying catalogue and the *Europski Dom Dubrovački* (European House Dubrovnik) publication: *Saint Blaise: Veneration without Boundaries*. Whereas the two publications both emphasize the intimate connection between the patron saint and the political heritage of *libertas*, they move in somewhat different directions. They reveal contrasting underlying agendas of how contemporary Dubrovnikans should understand and interpret St. Blaise in a volatile time when the population remained deeply split over the EU question. The museum publication is more concerned with stressing how an internationally venerated Catholic saint was transformed into a locally unique patron saint, becoming the very embodiment of the city itself. By contrast the *Europski Dom* publication wants to establish connections between Dubrovnik's unique heritage and St. Blaise's position in the web of global connectivity and shared world heritage. Both, however, stress the importance of the patron saint in bridging differences within the population and in uniting contemporary

Dubrovnikans. The attempt to make the patron saint and the city as facets which all Dubrovnikans can unite around and cherish, is evident in the opening reflections of the Dubrovnik Museums' (Dubrovački muzeji) catalogue of the 2012 exhibition, *St. Blaise – In History and in the Present*:

> *While other cities have their patron saints, in Dubrovnik a saint has his city. St Blaise and Dubrovnik are a single entity…The celebration of St Blaise in Dubrovnik is a unique example of the coexistence of a city and its patron. This saint's protection… is tightly connected with the history of the city…transforming St Blaise from a universal into a local saint. Nothing in Dubrovnik has ever been started or completed without invocation to St Blaise, and he has been called upon in all conditions, lauded as holy man, protector and defender of freedom…*

In the preface to the Europski Dom Dubrovnik[236] publication, "Saint Blaise: Veneration without Boundaries", the Bishop of Dubrovnik, Monsignor Mate Uzinić, emphasizes how the Saint has always provided the city with a 'blessed future' and has given strength to the population through times of hardship:

> *This tie could not and cannot be broken by any kind of catastrophe including the misfortunes and devastations of war, the recent wounds of which have not yet healed. Nor can personal tragedies, regardless of frequency or severity, sever the connection nor can distance from the homeland because reverence for St. Blaise helps 'overseas' citizens of Dubrovnik, who love and carry the Saint in their hearts, to transform foreign soil into 'a' home" (2012:5).*

The Bishop's reflections on the 'eternal' immaterial heritage of St. Blaise to Dubrovnikans living near or far, as long as they "carry the Saint in their hearts", had particular resonance at the time. The book was strategically published in 2012, the same year as the referendum over Croatia's EU membership. In the aftermath of more than a decade of inflammatory EU-debates in politics and the media, and a growing sense that the EU question had turned the recently unified country into a divided people, the St. Blaise publication played an important role in unifying and appeasing the local population. It encouraged the idea that Dubrovnik could retain its unique, local character and cultural heritage, while also being a European and global actor. This double role is particularly important in the context of Dubrovnik-Neretva

[236] European House Dubrovnik.

County, which turned out to be the most Eurosceptic County in Croatia. The underlying message in the St. Blaise publication is clear – there is no need for concern that Croatia's EU membership will compromise national and local autonomy and the 'unique' qualities of the culture.

The St. Blaise publication's assertion of how the veneration of St. Blaise takes place in a virtually global, and particularly European context, harmonizes with overarching Croatian identity discourses in the new millennium and with the political goals of pro-European proponents in Croatia. However, the particular contemplations of Dubrovnik's Bishop also reflect local circumstances of war and hardship which have tainted the citizens in the last decades, and reads as a sermon not to give up hope in St. Blaise's binding power in maintaining the city and its citizens even though Dubrovnik stands at the threshold of a 'new era' in the EU.

The opening speech of Nikola Dobroslavić, Dubrovnik-Neretva's prefect, at the 2012 St. Blaise festival (3rd February) evoked the narrative of 'returning to Europe':

> *Dubrovnik is its own, Dubrovnik is Croatian, Dubrovnik is European and [part of] the world. By joining Europe, Dubrovnik returns home. Dubrovnik returns to the values it always belonged to. We don't have to be afraid of competing with the best. Dubrovnik can do it. We expect our homeland to join us to the Croatian mainland. Dubrovnik deserves that. Croatia needs that. It is fair and realistic.*

Tellingly, the prefect's 'return to Europe' is also a movement in the opposite direction – a return to the 'Croatian mainland', an entity which for much of Dubrovnik's past has been distant and peripheral to its concerns. That there is some measure of uncertainty in Dubrovnik's relationship to the mainland is hinted at in the Mayor's speech:

> *Today Dubrovnik supports Croatia's joining the EU, but with certain restraints because it knows that in July 2013 its borders will become closed. [Dubrovnikans] will still, wherever they go, have to wait on the borders. One of the most valuable accomplishments of contemporary Europe, movement without borders, will not work for them. We will be unique by our beauty but also by our geographical and transport isolation [referring to the 'Neum corridor']. The recent EU referendum results show that a significant number of citizens of Dubrovnik are starting to feel isolated.*

Perhaps because of this isolation, the then Mayor was keen to stress Croatia's European ties: *'Dubrovnik has proven its European identity a long time ago'.* He emphasized that the city had 'left all the obstacles behind'. In the festival's opening address, by contrast, the Bishop of Dubrovnik, recalled 'recent wounds which have not yet healed'. He said the 2012 festival had special relevance; it was both the twentieth anniversary of the siege of Dubrovnik, and the year of the EU referendum:

> *The positive result of the referendum is that we will soon be a part of EU…Dubrovnik has always been a European city...[However, there is a] conflict of two opinions [which] speaks of a great division in Croatian society. This division can be seen in that our county had the lowest support for EU membership, earning us the name Eurosceptics. If this suggests a fear of losing national sovereignty, today I wish to extend my voice of encouragement, the same voice of…St. Blaise – be brave, my people! Do not fear! Be united and everything will be fine, just like our unity with St. Blaise throughout 1040 years. Without that, it would be impossible to understand how this small community, surrounded by greedy and cruel enemies, could have survived and prospered like it has. This is our secret of survival in the EU and in this way the most famous miracle of St. Blaise can happen again. Instead of fearing the EU, we [should see the] big potential for our country…Like our ancestors we will remain free.*

The Bishop's speech illustrates how local symbolism (St. Blaise) was marshalled to persuade Eurosceptics that EU-membership would not compromise local autonomy and identity. The Catholic Church has played a key role in politics since Croatia's independence, supporting nationalist parties. In the first decade of independence, most centre-right nationalist parties – such as Tuđman's party, HDZ, and therefore the church – were separatists. But in the new millennium this changed and HDZ – along with the Vatican – both became strong supporters of EU-membership. Together they influenced the domestic political discourse on the EU, which portrayed membership as an inevitable solution for Croatia.

When I participated in the St. Blaise festival in 2012, Dubrovnik's patron saint provided an especially important symbolic and political function in the local discourse on Croatia's forthcoming EU membership. By representing both a 'bridge' and an 'anchor' in the perceived 're-unification' with the 'European community' (as St. Blaise is both 'locally unique' as Dubrovnik's patron saint and a widely celebrated Catholic saint in many Catholic European countries), the strong focus on the veneration of St. Blaise as both Dubrovnikan and

European in 2012 helped attempts to reassure the local population of the continuation of Dubrovnik's 'unique identity' within the EU. The Croatian EU referendum, which took place less than two weeks before the Feast of St. Blaise, showed that Croatian Eurosceptism was strongest in the Dubrovnik-Neretva County[237]. Arguments about how the EU posed a threat to Croatian autonomy and was little better than the former Yugoslavia, still circulated widely in the period following the EU referendum. Although the dominant identity discourse around St. Blaise in 2012 centred on using the patron saint as a 'bridge' between the EU and the local libertas discourse, I observed other symbolic uses of St. Blaise, where Dubrovnik's patron saint was used to reinforce specific nationalistic aims. This particular and transitional use of the patron saint stands in stark contrast to St. Blaise's role in the discourse of Croatia's integration within a 'European community', through EU membership.

When I entered the Pile city gate on the morning of the St. Blaise procession, a young woman in her early twenties was selling politically charged nationalistic souvenirs (see Figure 20). She was selling three souvenirs together, which collectively emphasized different aspects of a compound cultural identity – Catholic, Dubrovnikan and Croatian. However, more importantly, they exemplified how the heritage of St. Blaise was temporarily tied into a particularly relevant and contentious ongoing issue in Croatia in 2012, namely the court proceedings against the Croatian lieutenant general, Ante Gotovina, in the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY).

One of the three souvenirs was a small postcard with Catholic imagery. It featured an angel holding a lantern in her left hand and tucking in a sleeping child with the other. The child clasped a bouquet of daisies (a common symbol of innocence, purity and new beginnings). The other souvenirs were two coat pins with the red, white and blue stripes of the Croatian flag and a picture stapled onto each them (see Figure 20). One of these pictures displayed an image of an old painting of St. Blaise in the classical posture; his left hand holding a model of Dubrovnik's walled city and his right hand raised in a blessing. Underneath the image the text

237 The results from the Croatian EU referendum on 22 January 2012, illustrated that the population of Dubrovnik-Neretva County was the most Eurosceptic on a national basis. 42.2 % of the population in this county voted against Croatia's EU membership, as opposed to 30.6 % in favour (53 % turn-out). In comparison, pro-EU sentiments were very strong in many parts of the country. For instance, in Zagreb County 65 % voted in favour as opposed to 34.5 % against EU membership (55 % turn-out), and in Međimurje County, bordering on Hungary and Slovenia, the vote in favour of Croatia's EU membership was the strongest nationwide, with 75.7 % in favour and 23.7 % against (51 % turn-out). Source: http://www.izbori.hr/2012Referendum/rezultati/rezultati.html.

read: '*Sveti Vlaho moli za nas'* (*'St. Blaise pray for us'*). The picture on the other coat pin featured an image of the Croatian coat of arms and a photograph from the 1990s of Ante Gotovina in military uniform. The text underneath the photograph read: '*Heroj rata, legenda Hrvata'* ('*War Hero, Croatian legend'*).

Figure 20. The three souvenirs sold together on the Feast of St. Blaise show how the uses of the patron saint relate to contemporary concerns. While many of the meanings attached to St. Blaise are embedded and remain relatively constant, other meanings can temporarily be brought to the fore. In 2012, St. Blaise become central in identity discourse on Croatia's EU accession and the desired acquittance of Ante Gotovina from the ICTY. Computer scanning of souvenirs by Celine Motzfeldt Loades.

In the period between 2008 and 2012, Gotovina was put on trial in the ICTY in The Hague for his actions during the Croatian war of Independence[238], particularly in *Operation Storm* (*Operacija Oluja, July - September 1995,* see Chapter 4). On April 15th 2011, Gotovina and Mladen Markač, the Commander of Croatian Special Police, were together indicted for *"crimes against humanity and violations of the laws or customs of war committed by the Croatian forces during the Operation Storm military campaign"*[239]. They were respectively sentenced to 24 and 18 years of prison[240]. Their indictment caused huge uproar nationally as they were widely regarded as 'war heroes' and their actions during Operation Storm were

238 During the Croatian war of Independence, Ante Gotovina held the rank of Colonel General in the Croatian army and was commander of the Split military district.
239 http://www.icty.org/en/press/tribunal-convicts-gotovina-and-marka%C4%8D-acquits-%C4%8Dermak.
240 http://www.icty.org/en/press/tribunal-convicts-gotovina-and-marka%C4%8D-acquits-%C4%8Dermak.

perceived by many Croats as necessary in facilitating Croatian independence[241]. Markač's indictment did not receive as much attention in the Dubrovnik region since he comes from Northern Croatia. Gotovina's family and military connections to Dalmatia, however, gave his 'war hero' status an especially strong dimension in this region. During my 2009 and 2012 fieldwork periods, a large billboard displaying Gotovina in military uniform next to the Croatian coat of arms was positioned along the motorway to the airport in Čilipi, south of Dubrovnik. I also noticed several posters of Gotovina on private houses and on some smaller, rural shopping centres along the same stretch to the airport. On one occasion, when traveling past the Gotovina billboard in a taxi from the airport and to Dubrovnik, I asked the taxi driver his opinion of the Gotovina verdict. Taking it as a self-evident matter, he stated assertively that, although he wished that the war had never happened, Operation Storm and Gotovina's actions during this military operation were completely necessary and he ought not to be unjustly scapegoated. He then went on to talk about how Gotovina was innocent of war crimes and was seen as a hero to "most Croatians" as he ensured their freedom. Alluding to the local *libertas* discourse and to the heritage of the Dubrovnik Republic, he concluded that it was in their "nature" to be a "free people". As with the taxi driver's assertion of the connection between the locally perceived heritage and the ability of Dubrovnikans to remain a "free people", the three souvenirs sold by the young woman were an effective way of tying together local heritage and identity with nationalistic concerns. Put together, the three souvenirs circulated on the Feast of St. Blaise provide a clear politically loaded message: The angle, the light shining in the lantern and the daisies in the hand of the child on the postcard communicate 'Catholic purity', the 'innocence' of Ante Gotovina and the promise of 'new beginnings' (the verdict was shortly afterwards appealed). The image of St. Blaise performing a blessing implies that their patron saint prays not only for Dubrovnikans, but also for the release of Gotovina. These three souvenirs illustrate how the meanings of heritage are continuously in a flux of negotiation and re-definition. Set within both particular and shifting cultural and political contexts, the production of heritage at a particular point in time is multi-faceted and can reveal a lot about the processual nature of identity discourse. While some of

241 The issue of Gotovina's status as a 'war hero' was particularly problematic in the Croatian state's desire to obtain EU membership. Croatia's refusal to fully cooperate with the ICTY in extraditing Gotovina to the international tribunal represented, in fact, one of the major obstacles in completing Croatia's EU negotiations, and delayed the process significantly. (Frank Schimmelfennig (2008) EU political accession conditionality afterthe 2004 enlargement: consistency and effectiveness, Journal of European Public Policy, 15:6, 918-937, DOI: 10.1080/13501760802196861).

the meanings of a particular heritage, such as St. Blaise's associations with the embedded *libertas* discourse and the reification of the Dubrovnik Republic in local identity are reproduced across generations, other meanings will disappear or reconfigure as political and cultural situations change. Shortly after the ICTY verdict on Gotovina and Markač, their cases were appealed. On November 16th 2012, Gotovina and Markač were both acquitted. Most posters of Gotovina and the billboard of him along the motorway to Čilipi were removed. With the aims of Gotovina's acquittal and Croatia's EU accession both achieved, the symbolism of St. Blaise in nationalistic discourse or nationhood building has become less prominent.

As we can see, the meanings and uses of St. Blaise are not fixed. While many of the meanings and values attached to the patron saint are embedded and are reproduced through particular practices, the uses of St. Blaise also relate to contemporary conditions and concerns. Moreover, the 'intangible' cultural practices associated with the St. Blaise festival, and their importance to Dubrovnikan identity do not exist in isolation from the materiality of the walled centre for sustenance. As I have discussed, on 3rd February, people travel from all over Dubrovnik-Neretva County to the walled centre to participate in the festival. There are also several smaller St. Blaise processions occurring simultaneously throughout the Dubrovnik-Neretva County, and in Croatian expatriate communities globally. However, the materiality of the walled centre, whether in personal memory or in narration, is essential to the sustained importance of the St. Blaise festival amongst the festival's participants. To Dubrovnikans and expatriates with family lineage in the Dubrovnik region, the history of Dubrovnik's walled centre and its materiality gives meaning to the veneration of St. Blaise. Similarly, the walled centre would not have the same meanings for its citizens without its connections to the patron saint and the Dubrovnik Republic. To Dubrovnikans, the 'intangibility' of the patron saint, the festival dedicated to him and the practices associated with the festival are intimately connected to the materiality and history of Dubrovnik's walled centre. This highlights the artificiality of Dubrovnik's World Heritage site and the Feast of St. Blaise as two separate UNESCO inscriptions.

Urban Transformations from Below?

While cultural heritage management in Dubrovnik remains dominated by technical and scholarly 'expert groups', the concept of 'heritage from below' (Robertson 2012) – taking account of cultural diversity 'on the ground', different values, views and wishes of 'ordinary

people' and civil society organizations – has made some inroads in the last decade or so. This tendency reflects a certain democratization of the heritage concept and the potential roles which cultural heritage can fulfil, which has taken place in international heritage discourse in the 21st Century. Some of this democratization has been stimulated by local NGOs, heritage practitioners and grassroots cultural and political institutions. However, interestingly, these processes also often occur between local practitioners, 'expert groups' and benefactors operating at a transnational, rather than a national or local level.

Zvonimir is a renowned conceptual artist, both locally and nationally. He was involved in establishing the cultural and NGO centre, Art Workshop Lazareti (AWL), in Dubrovnik. He feels that his work and life is increasingly affected by the local politicians' commercially motivated policies in the post-war period – policies which, in his view, favour the economic potential of tourism at the expense of local community, identity and creativity. AWL was founded in 1988 by a group of local artists and philosophers. It is located in a 14th century quarantine complex from the time of the Dubrovnik Republic and is placed under protection by the UNESCO list for world heritage along with the whole of Dubrovnik's walled city. After slowly being restored after decay and the effects of war, this is thus a prestigious building for the municipality's disposal.

AWL was aimed at giving young Dubrovnikans the chance to take part in local cultural life and arts production and to seek "broader exposure for the local culture" (AWL internet site, 2009). The organisation signed a 25 year contract with the Dubrovnik municipality, and has grown to become one of the main cultural institutions for Dubrovnik's young population. The Lazareti complex also houses a children's ballet school, and several NGOs, which were established during the Croatian war of independence.

According to many informants there was a renaissance in local culture the decade following Croatia's independence. Then, amid the young nation's search to define its identity, cultural production was encouraged by the municipality. This was a period of great solidarity, and the municipality considered it important to inspire creative outlets and production, in a society traumatized by difficult experiences of the recent war. AWL was strongly supported by the local municipality as Dubrovnik was in need of strengthening and reshaping both local and Croatian identities. But today, political decisions are driven by commercial incentives at the expense of local culture.

During my fieldwork in 2009, Zvonimir told me about his daily battles and increasing frustration over the municipality's proposals to take over parts of the quarantine complex which houses Lazareti for the purpose of a multi-media centre for cruise ship tourists. As an alternative, Zvonimir was proposing that these parts of the premises should instead house a school and be used to expand the community centre's activities as a way of hopefully combatting the diminishing population within the walled city. The depopulation of Dubrovnik's old centre, from 5,000 before the Croatian war of independence to approximately 800-1200 people today, is an ongoing and seemingly irreversible process. The money local home-owners are offered by foreign investors to sell their properties, or by tourists wishing to rent them out as apartments, is too appealing in a post-war society struggling with debts and economic instability. Yet, Zvonimir feels that grassroots initiatives put forward by organizations such as AWL are not appreciated by the local authority. Obsessed with the commercial pay-offs promised by any venture it supports, the municipalities' intransigence thus contributes to killing off local life in the old city[242].Investing in cultural production and creativity is based on carefully thought-through prioritizations. One needs to ask what kinds of cultural production and creativity are promoted and supported and why certain cultural products and activities are left to wither. Dubrovnik's prioritization of high and classical arts fits with the city's identity narratives. They highlight the aspects of Dubrovnik's past which allude to a cultural continuation from the Dubrovnik Republic. Additionally, the fine arts attract 'high-end' tourism and thus can be expected to boost the economy. Cultural production at Lazareti, on the other hand, is seen as representing a different, modern Croatia. It is more linked to a 'global post-modern dialogue' and does not aid much in stimulating the economy. Also, the lack of prioritization given to cultural production *locall*y – several of Dubrovnik's artists have gained a reputation across Croatia and have received artists' grants – relates to nepotism. Support for local arts and culture offers a challenge to established power relations in Dubrovnik and questions public identity discourses (see Figures 21 and 22).

Zvonimir's frustrations with how the city's municipality continually prioritizes increased tourism development over the citizens' access to and use of cultural heritage was mirrored by

242 When I returned to Dubrovnik in 2015 I was informed that *AWL* and *Đesa*, a humanitarian organization working with rural populations, also located in *Lazareti*, had managed to secure their financing and renew their contract with the local municipality for continued use in the curent premises. The proposed project to establish a school in the vacant areas of Lazareti, however, appeared as an unlikely outcome as the local municipality was still pursuing the project of creating a multimedia centre for cruise-ship tourists there.

many informants. Several pointed out that the sustainable development discourse and its application in cultural heritage management has become little more than a way of expanding the tourism potential further and eclipsing the more negative effects of local development discourse. The restoration of Lazareti, which was praised internationally as a successful example of sustainable heritage management, provided an example of the disparity between representations internationally and the local realities of the population.

According to one informant, a tourist guide, discourses on sustainable development in tourism- and heritage management was largely seen as a new potential to diversify the tourism offers and to geographically spread out the impacts of tourism to regions which were already receiving high tourism numbers, like Dubrovnik. Several NGO's operating in Dalmatia, for instance Dubrovnik-based *Deša*, have for long advocated sustainable heritage tourism as a means of revitalizing war inflicted rural regions, providing small-scale, family-based livelihoods and recovering the rural villagers dignity and identity after the war. Heni, one of the founders of *Deša*, thinks that local politicians often refer to the NGO's sustainable rural tourism- and heritage projects in the Dubrovnik region for its outward appearance and promotion in international context, while in local politics the NGO is underprioritized and not considered as important:

> *When they need us, if there are some important political guests from Europe, they will bring people here to show them [our work], and when they don't need us we are not anymore considered. Now we have a problem with Vlahušić, he wants to rebuild Lazareti [and] he wants to kick us out! All the NGOs here!*[243]

Whereas the sustainability discourse over the last decade become relatively established in promotional profiles of rural tourism in the Dubrovnik region, several informants criticised the lack of implementation of integrated tourism strategies for managing tourism in the city of Dubrovnik and its rural regions sustainably. Srđjan, an activist in the civil initiative, *Srđ je naš*, thinks that in Croatia's, discourses on tourism, heritage and economic development have been strongly influenced by the post-war context, where a majority of politicians appear to consider any 'development' and construction as something positive for the nation's recovery and further economic growth. This type of attitude, he thinks, is equally echoed in the

[243] My interview with Heni took place in autumn 2012. At this point the future of the NGO's in Lazareti was uncertain as the long-term lease of the premises had expired and Dubrovnik municipality were considering to use lazareti for tourism related activites. When I returned in 2015, Deša had managed to renew the contract, albeit on a short-term basis.

‘mainstream media’. Until recently discourses on the need to stimulate sustainability measures in tourism- and heritage management have largely been confined to academic circles, however the ‘sustainability discourse’, he thinks, has recently become more present in national politics. Srđjan credits this shift to one politician in particular, Mirela Holy[244], who in 2015 established the political party, *Održivi razvoj Hrvatske* (*Sustainable Development of Croatia*, *orah* means *walnut* in Croatian). Srđjan, however, is not optimistic that management practices and policies will change towards the implementation of sustainability measures in practice: When they [politicians] support new developments it just a matter of procedure and [they] hire their own ‘experts’ to prove that something is sustainable. That is why 96% of the environmental impact assessments are approved…heritage [has] often [been] a magnet for 'unsustainable development' and real-estate investments. Investors and politicians believe that [in the] vicinity of important sites, heritage monuments and cities, touristic investments will easier find new customers in the market. This has influenced a process where the pressures of construction developments have [become] higher and the space for conservators, architects interested in sustainability [has become] smaller and smaller. Many times public debates have just been 'a stage' where the local community can complain, but 'the voices' of local population or independent experts are never strong enough for changing the always present coalition of politicians, investors, speculants and media.

[244] Mirela Holy served as Croatia’s Minister of Environment from 2001-2012. She was a member of SDP - *Socijaldemokratska partija Hrvatske* (the Social Democratic Party of Croatia) in the period of 1998-2015.

Figure 21. The ‘death’ of Dubrovnik? The Grim Reaper holding a picture of Dubrovnik's walled centre in his hands. Exhibit in an AWL organized art exhibition in Lazareti, 2012. Photograph by Celine Motzfeldt Loades.

Figure 22. Art piece depicting the shape of Dubrovnik’s walled centre painted in the flag of China. A critique of commoditization processes and the large number of ‘Croatian’ and ‘local’ cultural products being made in China. Exhibit in an AWL organized art exhibition, Lazareti, 2012. Photograph by Celine Motzfeldt Loades.

Towards a 'Living Heritage' and Values Based Approach to Heritage Management?

My ethnographic research points towards a stark absence of community involvement in urban development policies and heritage management practices. As I have discussed previously in the chapter, Dubrovnikans increasingly feel placed on the sideline of decision-making power and feel excluded from being able to define the values attached to the city's cultural heritage. This tendency makes Dubrovnik's heritage less into a 'living heritage' and strengthens the qualities of the walled centre as an outdoor museum aimed at and dependent on tourists, rather than a living city, for residents and visitors alike. However, in recent years' international heritage discourse, heritage scholars, heritage managers and heritage related organizations have increasingly addressed the importance of community involvement international heritage management discourse. To some extent, this is incorporated into heritage management practices (Poulios 2014). Poulios (ibid.) argues that since the 1990s, three main approaches to heritage management have emerged. Although these sometimes overlap in managerial practices, these can broadly be defined as the material based approach, the values based approach and the 'living heritage'[245] approach to heritage management. As discussed in Chapter four, the 'authorized heritage discourse' (Smith 2006b), which has shaped a material based approach to heritage management, has been, and continues to be the dominant approach in international management practices. The material-based approach to heritage management is driven by scientific 'expert groups', who hold the power and responsibility to define and preserve heritage (Poulios 2014). The possibility for community involvement is herein very limited.

Since the 1990s, and increasingly so in the new century, the traditional material based approach to heritage has come under closer scrutiny and has been supplied by strategic innovations in heritage management practices (Poulios 2014). The values based approach to heritage management, attempts to incorporate the multiple values attached to heritage by different stakeholders into decisions made in heritage management practices (ibid.). This approach was particularly forwarded by ICOMOS in the 1999 Burra Charter, but has been developed further by several heritage institutions since, for example through projects by the

[245] It is important to note that a 'living heritage' approach to heritage management is not the same as the UNESCO category, 'intangible heritage'. The 'living heritage' managerial approach includes both 'intangible' and 'tangible' heritage in its scope (Poulios 2014).

Getty Conservation Institute[246] (Poulios 2014). This type of approach has primarily been utilized in areas where the cultural values of indigenous groups or non-Western cultures conflict with the Western dominated material based heritage approach. Examples of this type of approach is for instance found in the USA and Australia (De la Torre 2005). Aspects such as indigenous groups' cultural values, ethnic dignity and spiritual values have gained a wider recognition as important elements to strategically map and incorporate into management practices. In such cases, stimulating communal involvement, initiating strategic analysis of the diversity of community values, and the significance of values attached to different places, are seen as important elements in order to stimulate a sustainable heritage management. The focus on preventing conflicts between different community groups and stakeholders engaged in resource management is central to fostering a sustainable heritage management (Poulios 2014, De la Torre 2005).

The 'living heritage' approach focuses on fostering a heritage management, which aims at sustaining continuity and correspondence between the care of heritage (both 'intangible' and 'tangible') and communities' relationships experienced 'bond' to heritage and place (Poulios 2014). This approach also incorporates change as a central element to continuity (ibid.). If heritage is to retain value as a 'living heritage' to communities affected by or involved in heritage management, the interconnections between heritage production and changing social, political, cultural and environmental circumstances also need to be taken into account.

Although changes towards a values based and 'living heritage' approach to heritage management to a certain extent been incorporated into Dubrovnikan heritage discourse regarding intangible cultural heritage, it is more or less completely absent in managerial practices regarding urban development and heritage preservation in Dubrovnik's World Heritage site.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored Dubrovnikans' experiences of, and responses to, tourism, post-war tourism-driven economic development and changes in the urban environment in the post-war period. I argued that the particular circumstances of Croatia's economic transition to a market economy, concurrent changes in tourism development strategies in the post-war period, and recent developments in the global tourism industry, have combined to transform the ways in

[246] This is for example seen in the 2002 Getty Conservation Institute report, *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage: Research Report*, by Marta de la Torre.

which the local population experience locality and inter-community relations. My attempt has been to explore how these processes have contributed towards turning the walled centre from 'living heritage', integral to the inhabitants' cultural identity, to a museumified centre, which is largely developed for tourism purposes. This places the concerns and well-being of the local population on the sideline. With the elevation of tourism into a near mono economy, the citizens feel 'trapped' within the city wall as their opportunities dwindle. Simultaneously many also feel excluded 'outside' the wall, as their decision-making power diminishes as tourism 'takes over' the city. My ethnographic research evidences the stark absence of community involvement in heritage management practices and urban management. Thus I argue a need for a value based- and 'living heritage' based approach to be incorporated into the management of Dubrovnik's World Heritage.

The perception that the landscapes adjacent to Dubrovnik's World Heritage site are also important parts of the city's cultural heritage, have become more present in many of my informants' perceptions in the recent years. Thus, there is a need for Dubrovnik's World Heritage to be perceived and managed in relation to the wider spatial areas adjacent to the World Heritage site. Growing discontent over the conditions of life in the city centre, as well as of the lacking protection of near-lying landscapes which are central to recreational needs, cultural symbolism and values, are essential in understanding the conflict and outright resistance towards the proposed golf- and real estate construction on Mount Srđ. As we shall see in the next chapter, the absence of community involvement, a value based- and 'living heritage' approach is especially evident in the context of this project and the local authorities' dialogue with different stakeholders.

9. *Contested Places*

Introduction

This chapter analyses the local responses and mobilization relating to *Golf Park Dubrovnik*, a planned golf, recreation, and real estate project[247] on Mount Srđ, the mountain plateau overlooking Dubrovnik's World Heritage site. Due to the strong resistance this project has met locally, from a wide spectrum of local cultural, environmental and heritage NGOs, as well as from the *Society of Architects Dubrovnik* (*DAD - Društvo arhitekata Dubrovnik*) and the *Veterans of the Homeland War* (*Udruge branitelja Domovinskog rata*), *Golf Park Dubrovnik* has not yet been realized. This chapter explores the different responses to the golf project and examines the political, cultural and civic activism that it has provoked. I argue that these responses need to be understood in the light of local identity discourses and the strongly politicized cultural climate of post-war Dubrovnikan society. Many areas of contestation have arisen in connection with the golf project, all of which build on already contentious issues in the city.

The chapter illustrates that that the *frictions* described in Chapters 7 and 8 have, in the context of the golf development plans on Mount Srđ, turned into *resistance* and *outright conflict*. New lines of resistance have been formed in opposition to the perceived misuse of heritage as a commercial transaction and privatization of the citizens' common land. The chapter furthermore illustrates that the increasingly close ties between heritage and the market economy have created new areas of inclusion and exclusion. These are not based on the traditional dividing lines of ethnicity, religion and nationalist sentiments. Rather they hinge on access to power, land and wealth. The increased inequality and social stratification in post-war society is intimately connected to Croatia's transition to global capitalism. To many Dubrovnikans, the golf project is indicative of the continued disparity between those who have benefited from economic transition and those who have not. It also highlights

247 *Golf Park Dubrovnik* is a planned recreational and sport tourism centre of 359 hectares on the mountain plateau of Mount Srđ and Bosanka, situated directly above the UNESCO heritage protected city centre. The golf park is located in the two zones named *Bosanka Sjever* and *Bosanka Jug*. Large parts of the area designated for the golf and recreation centre covers an area of forest under nature protection laws. The golf park encompasses two golf courses, 240 luxury villas, 2 hotels, 408 apartments, an amphitheatre, an equestrian club, parks, promenades and recreational grounds for golf tourists (http://www.golfparkdubrovnik.hr/en/view/golf-park-dubrovnik-project/25). For matters of readability and convenience I will hereby refer to *Golf Park Dubrovnik* either with its official title, or as 'the golf project'.

Dubrovnik's vulnerability to resource exploitation due to the pressing need for economic and infrastructural recovery and growth following the war.

The Mountain in the Hearts - Situating the Controversy

Positioned on a narrow, rugged stretch of land between the Adriatic Sea and the Dinara mountain chain of the Balkan hinterland, Dubrovnik's topography and geo-political position have undoubtedly shaped the city's urban and spatial planning throughout its history, as well as well as moulding the identities of its citizens and their relationship with the surrounding landscape. Until the 20th century, new housing constructions were placed along the coastal strip and less rugged terrains to the west and east of the city. From the middle of the 20th century Dubrovnik gradually expanded along the lower slopes of Mount Srđ, on the city's northern side. Urban and spatial regulations have prevented construction of houses above the city's northern access road, and apart from a cluster of houses in Bosanka[248], an old village with a population of 139 on the Srđ plateau, the remainder of the mountain plateau has remained untouched by housing developments until now. The first mention of golf construction took place in the 1970s under Tito's leadership – Mount Srđ was singled out as a potential location for golf development in the *Adriatic Plan*. In 1999, golf construction became more central to post-war of tourism plans. In the document, *Starting Points for Tourism Development* (*Polazišta za razvoj turizma*), golf construction on Mount Srđ is discussed more concretely. In 2001 the City of Dubrovnik's revised urban plan (*Prostorni plan uređenja Grada Dubrovnika* included three golf courses as part of the 'sports and leisure facilities' category (marked by the zoning code '*R1'*, ('R' standing for *rekreacija* (*recreation*) and *'R1'* specifically for golf development). However, no accommodation facilities were included in these plans.

The first plots of land planned for the golf construction were acquired in 2003 by Erwin Sommerfield, a German golf investor. After several changes in ownership structures, the Israeli-owned golf investment company, *Golf Razvoj doo.* (*Golf Development Ltd.*,

248 *Bosanka* is a village situated in the hinterland of Dubrovnik (4 km. north of the city), on the central parts of Mount Srđ's plateau (265 meters above the sea). According to the 2011 national population census it has a population of 139 inhabitants, most of whom are Croat Catholics. Bosanka became part of the Dubrovnik Republic in 1323 and was central to the old Republic's caravan routes and strategic defence the city. During the Croatian war of Independence Bosanka was nearly completely destroyed and burnt by the JNA - *Jugoslavenska narodna armija (Yugoslav National Army*) and Chetnik troops and large numbers of land mines were placed on the mountain plateau.

established in 2007) has been the owner of the project known as Golf Park Dubrovnik[249]. From 2003, *Golf park Srđ d.o.o.*, started to buy up land on Mount Srđ. In October of the same year, the golf investment company signed a contract with the City of Dubrovnik for developing a golf park on the mountain plateau. At that time the project's estimated value was €70-80 million.

Since this point, *Golf Razvoj* have developed the concrete plans of the project known as, Gold Park Dubrovnik. *Golf Razvoj's* plans only became known to the general public in the subsequent years when 100 hectares of land had already been bought up. In the summer of 2010, right before the proposed alterations to the Urbanistic Plan (UPU) were announced in a public debate, Golf Razvoj's construction plans for Mount Srđ were publically announced. At this time there was a lacking transparency to the extent of land areas owned or leased by Golf Razvoj on the mountain plateau[250].

Golf Park Dubrovnik's proposed project has met a lot of resistance locally and has, in a sense, gradually influenced, and to a certain extent altered, the cultural symbolism of the mountain plateau and its place in the identity of Dubrovnikans. The considerable scale of the proposed golf, recreation and real estate construction – an area 20 times the size of Dubrovnik's historic, walled centre, twice the size of the whole city and five times the size of Dubrovnikans' major recreational area, the island of Lokrum – places it at the heart of contemporary constructions of identity and place. *Golf Park Dubrovnik* has met with criticism from many sources, including local and national NGOs, and has become one of the most controversial proposed construction schemes in the region, also receiving a fair amount of coverage from the Croatian national media. A full 13 years after the first plots of land were bought by golf investors, the question of the development or preservation of Mount Srđ remains undecided and constitutes an ongoing source of dissonance in the local community. During the Yugoslavian era, several suggestions were made regarding potential developments

249 There have been many changes to the ownership of the golf investment company. In June 2004, when *Golf Park Dubrovnik- Srđ d.o.o. (Ltd.)* was established, the former owner, Erwin Sommerfield, sold all but 3% of their shares to Braslav Turčić. In June 2006, Sommerfield withdrew from the project and the Israeli entrepreneur, Aaron Frankel became Turčić' new partner. In 2007, Turčić sold his shares to th Israeli investor, Aaron Frenkel. The investment company was renamed *Golf Razvoj doo.*According to estimations reported in the regional newspaper, *Sobodna Dalmacije*, the project's estimated value in 2007 was €250 million. The purchasing price, by contrast, was €8.8 million. Frenkel is still the owner of *Golf Razvoj* today.

250 There is still not full public transparency to the volume of land areas owned by *Golf Razvoj* and the volume of land areas leased by the golf investment company from local owners. In the 2010 amendments to the Urbanistic Plan, the total volume planned for constructions on Mount Srđ is 359 hectars. Out of this volume, 310 hectars is the resort volume planned for Golf Park Dubrovnik, and the rest is scheduled for two other tourist projects in the planning zones, *Bosanka sjever* and *Bosanka jug*.

on the Srđ plateau. The first concrete plans for any development on the plateau were incorporated into the *Urban Plan of the South Adriatic* (*Regionalni prostorni planJužni Jdran*) in 1969. Compared to the northern parts of the Yugoslavian Socialist Republic of Croatia (*Socijalistička Republika Hrvatska*), the Adriatic region in the 1950s was much less developed industrially and had poor infrastructure. Emblematic of Yugoslavian Titoist communism, the Urban Plan of the South Adriatic posited industrial development on Mount Srđ, suggesting the development of factories and an industrial railway connecting the otherwise remote region to the Yugoslavian interior. Statistical predictions of future population growth in the South-Adriatic region made in the 1950s, an aspect taken into account in the *Urban Plan of the South Adriatic* (1969) meant that some of the plateau was reserved for future housing developments. However, contrary to these predictions, population growth in Dubrovnik has been marginal and there has been little need to expand the city's residential areas further up the hill.

Today, property prices in Dubrovnik are the highest in Croatia and the property prices in the walled centre are the highest in Dubrovnik[251]. Urban and spatial planning regulations, as well as blurry land ownership rights on Mount Srđ (a result of Croatia's parting from Yugoslavian communism), have until now prevented investors from building on the mountain plateau. Some Dubrovnikans therefore see a need to develop more affordable housing on Mount Srđ. However the cultural symbolism of the mountain plateau has fed a widespread perception that it needs to be protected from commercial forces and should remain a 'pristine' area which, together with the Adriatic Sea, provides an 'aesthetic frame' to the heritage enlisted walled centre. A belief in tourism's central role in economic and societal recovery following the 1990s war underpinned the Croatian Ministry of Tourism's '*National strategy for tourism development'*[252] in 1999. This strategy recommended the expansion of the tourist industry by broadening the range of tourist attractions beyond simple beach and city holidays. The new element which the strategy proposed was the development of golf tourism, as it was envisaged this could aid in lengthening the tourist season beyond the summer months and increase the average duration of each tourist visit. The strategy proposed the construction of approximately 27 golf courses across Croatia, with the majority of these located in the already tourist-heavy

251 In August 2016, *The Dubrovnik Times* reported that the average square meter price in Dubrovnik is the most expensive in all of Croatia, and nearly the double of the Zagreb average - €3,073 per m2 in Dubrovnik as opposed to €1,589 m2 in Zagreb (http://www.thedubrovniktimes.com/news/dubrovnik/item/942-dubrovnik-property-prices-the-most-expensive-in-croatia).
252 *Nacionalna strategija za razvoj turizma.*

areas along the Dalmatian coast and Istria. The large, largely undeveloped mountain plateau on Mount Srđ, with its spectacular views of the UNESCO-listed walled centre of Dubrovnik and the Adriatic Sea, was one of the locations designated as particularly attractive for golf developments. Amendments to national laws passed by the Račan government[253] at the start of the new millennium permitted large-scale constructions in many areas of Croatia which were previously protected from intervention by regional or local urban planning and environmental regulations. And in 2003, the urban plan for Dubrovnik-Neretva County[254] was revised and the Srđ plateau marked out as an area in which golf courses and touristic facilities were allowed. Further amendments to national laws concerning the legality of constructions and land ownership, especially a law popularly referred to as the 'golf course law' (*Zakon o golf igralištima*) in January 2008, granted the government the right to exercise eminent domain[255] in areas designated as suitable for golf developments. Eminent domain is generally intended to ensure that public projects, usually infrastructural developments, are not halted by the unwillingness of private owners to sell or lease their land. However, as golf tourism had been deemed important in stimulating Croatia's economic development (as stated in the *National strategy for tourism development*), the 'golf course law' granted the government the right to delegate eminent domain to private companies who wished to invest in golf constructions. The 'golf course law' was criticized by many Croatian NGOs for allowing private investors to acquire land for constructions entirely intended for commercial activities and not for 'the common good' of the citizens. Zorislav Antun Petrović, President of Transparency International Croatia (TIC) between 2002 and 2010, regards the national golf laws as unconstitutional and a prime example of how corruption, politics and private interests are interlocked in Croatia:

253 Ivica Račan (1944-2007) served as Croatia's prime minister from January 2000 – December 2003. As the head of the centre-left Social Democratic Party (*SDP - Socijaldemokratska partija),* he formed the first coalition government since Croatia's independence. Račan was the first prime minister to succeed the centre-right Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ - *Hrvatska demokratska zajednica,*), which had been in power since 1990 and had produced the previous seven prime ministers.
254 *Prostorni plan Dubrovačko – neretvanske županije.*
255 "Eminent domain refers to the power possessed by the state over all property within the state, specifically its power to appropriate property for public use. In some jurisdictions, the state delegates eminent domain power to certain public and private companies, typically utility firms, such that they can bring eminent domain actions to run telephone, power, water, or gas lines" (www.expertlaw.com).

The golf case is a textbook example of the worst possible corruption. The law on golf courses was written by the former [Sanader] government[256] *for several, already known investors. I tend to believe that this investor on Srđ [Jfr. Golf Razvoj Ltd.] was one of the investors for whom this whole law was written. In 2010 we [TIC] submitted an appeal to the Constitutional court because we believe it is a non-constitutional law, as it endangers the rights of equality for all citizens and for businesses. This law allows investors of golf courses to expropriate private land, and we see that as unacceptable.*[257]

Several international investors have expressed interest in developing golf parks in Dubrovnik, as well as in other areas along the Dalmatian coast. Since 2007, Golf Razvoj d.o.o (Golf Development Ltd.), an investment company owned by Loyd International Ltd, has steadily acquired ownership of large parts of the Srđ plateau and intends to develop an area of 350 hectares into a 'golf park'. The proposed construction includes two golf courses comprising 188 hectares, 268 villas, 400 apartments, several large hotels, artificial lakes, park areas and recreational grounds.

Additionally, another construction project planned for Mount Srđ has also received a lot of resistance locally. This construction project, by a London based investment company, is named *Fenestra village*. The project aims to build 26 Mediterranean-style luxury villas in Žarkovica, adjacent the village, Bosanka. The project has therefore been given the colloquial name *Bosanka II*[258]. Although many local citizens support the development of *Golf Park Dubrovnik,* particularly due to the investment company's promises of new employment opportunities, one cannot ignore the unprecedented grassroots political resistance which the project has inspired. In 2009, widespread local discontentment over the golf project crystallised in the establishment of the civil society initiative, *Srđ je naš* (*Srđ is ours*)[259], a

256 Zorislav Antun Petrović refers to the Ivo Sanader government, (HDZ - Croatian Democratic Union], particularly to his second term as prime minister (2007-2009), when HDZ formed a coalition government with HSS (Croatian Peasant Party) and HSLS (Croatian Social Liberal Party).
257 Interview with Zorislav Antun Petrović, from 2012.
258 The estimated investment value of the *Fenestra village* project was 36 million Euros in 2014 (Source: *Večernji List,* 19th December 2014).
259 The civil initiative has managed to secure some funding for its activities from *the National Foundation for Civil Society Development*. It has also won several prizes, such as an award for citizens' activism and democracy development by GONG (Non-Partisan Citizen's Organisation) and a 'reader's award' by the local weekly newspaper *Dubrovački list*.

partnership of six established local NGOs[260]. The proponents of *Srđ je naš* argue that the establishment of the national 'golf course law' in 2009 has enabled investors to exploit a loophole in legislation regarding new developments, whereby the construction of golf courses is largely driven by the desire to build exclusive hotels, villas and apartments in areas otherwise protected by relatively strict urban and spatial planning laws. *Srđ je naš* has also put pressure on *Golf Razvoj* and the Dubrovnik Municipality to provide full public transparency to the volume and land areas owned by and leased by the golf investment company. This requirement has still not been met. Calculations carried out by *Srđ je naš* in 2013 estimate that *Golf Razvoj* owns approximately 1/3 of the land area, leases 1/3 from local owners, that ¼ is still owned by the state or state owned firms and the rest is still locally owned. Following heavy lobbying, by five NGOs in particular,[261] the 'golf course law' was revoked in November 2011. Although *Srđ je naš*' has not, as yet, managed to stop the golf project, it has repeatedly brought the construction project to a standstill or halted its realization. The initiative has reported a number of issues to the local and national courts. These include illegalities relating to corruption, non-transparent circumstances of how the land on Mount Srđ was acquired and illegal modifications in the *General Urban Plan* (GUP - *Generalni urbanistički plan Grada Dubrovnika)* and the *Urban Development Plan* (UPU - *urbanistički plan uređenja*)[262], which has ensured a significant increase in the land area to be developed by the golf investment company. In December 2014, after eight years of lobbying by several NGOs[263], the issue was eventually treated in the Croatian High Court of Justice. Due to

260 *Srđ je naš'* comprises six NGOs*; Udruga Grad ('City Organization'*; a 'citizen interests' organization), *Art workshop Lazareti* (an arts', cultural and community centre) , *Zeleno sunce* (*'Green sun'*, an environmental organization)*, Domovina ('Homeland';* a cultural and natural heritage association based in Konavle*), Udruga mladih Orlando* (Orlando youth association and music club), *Društvo prijatelja prirode* DUB (*'The Dubrovnik association of friends of nature'*). In addition *Srđ je naš* cooperates with Dubrovnik's *Society of Architects Dubrovnik (DAD - Društvo arhitekata Dubrovnik* and national NGOs, such as *Zelena akcija* (*'Green action'*) and *Pravo na grad* (*'Right to the city'*), and Transparency International Croatia. These national-wide NGOs have lobbied against similar golf construction projects in Croatia (by the lake of Vran, Motovun, Kopački rit, Muzil peninsula (Istria), Pula and Šibenik) and helped to get the 'golf course law' revoked in 2011.
261 *Transparency International Croatia* and the following five NGOs lobbied against the 'golf course law': *Zelena akcija (Green Action)*, *GONG* (an NGO which monitors and ensures transparency in political elections), *Zelena Istra (Green Istria)*, *Pravo na grad* (*Right to the City*) and *Srđ je naš*.
262 The *Urbanistički plan uređenja* (UPU - *Urban development plan*) is a detailed plan which provides information on particular projects, city quarters and other. The *Generalni urbanistički plan Grada Dubrovnika* (GUP - *General Urbanistic Plan*) is "a broad planning guideline to a city's or county's future development goals and provides policy statements to achieve those development goals". In Dubrovnik the GUP concerns the City of Dubrovnik, whereas the regional plan for the whole is called *Prostorni plan Dubrovačko neretvanske županije* (*the Spatial Plan for the County of Dubrovnik-Neretva*).
263 The NGOs, *Domovina* (*Homeland*), *Baština* (*Heritage*), *DUB - Društvo prijatelja prirode* (*'The Dubrovnik association of friends of nature'*), and Eko-Omblići (*Eko–Ombla,* an environmental NGO) together made a formal law suit against the amendments in the county spatial plan in 2006. After the establishment of *Srđ je naš* in 2010, the civil initiative became central in lobbying against the amendments.

continuing unclarities regarding the legal volume of Golf Park Dubrovnik (100 or 310 hectares), the construction permits were temporary blocked[264]. The golf company managed later to obtain a new location permit, but in 2016, *Srđ je naš* reported several more illegalities to the Administrative Court in Split and the location permit was revoked. However, despite repeated setbacks and legal twists, the golf investment company continues to announce publically that the project will go ahead in the near future. Following repeated appeals from *Srđ je naš*, a small team of UNESCO and ICOMOS officials visited Dubrovnik in 2015 for a reactive monitoring mission to assess the potential impact of *Golf Park Dubrovnik*, the *Fenestra villa* (*Bosanka II*) construction and cruise-ship tourism on Dubrovnik's World Heritage Status as a site of *Outstanding Universal Value*[265]. Based on the report of the joint UNESCO/ ICOMOS monitoring mission in 2015, the World Heritage Committee later discussed Dubrovnik's status as a place of *Outstanding Universal Value* at its World Summit in Istanbul in July 2016. The question of placing Dubrovnik on the *World Heritage List in Danger* arose for the second time, revealing the fragility of the heritage site to the city's population. In actual fact UNESCO's verdict made in the 2016 World Summit was that Dubrovnik will not be placed on the *World Heritage List in Danger*, but is allowed to keep its status as a site of *Outstanding Universal Value (OUV)*. But the World Heritage Committee also placed several requirements onto the State Party and local authorities to adopt Dubrovnik's OUV to fit with modern guidelines and 'best practices' in heritage protection – conditions which have changed since the initial inscription of Dubrovnik as a World Heritage Site in 1979. According to *Srđ je naš* activists, the Ministry of Culture and the local municipality have continuously postponed meeting UNESCO's demands to update the OUV and domestically they continue to back the golf project's realization.

In a cultural context marked by mass-tourism and a marked commercialization of cultural heritage, Mount Srđ is increasingly central to the attempts of citizens to 'locate heritage' outside the realm of consumer capitalism. It has become, in effect, a focus of Dubrovnikans' endeavours to re-negotiate their 'social space'. But the ensuing stalemate illustrates how both embedded power dynamics and heritage discourses are deep-seated and difficult to uproot.

264 Despite the Croatian High Court of Justice's ruling, the Minisry of Construction and Urban Planning gave their support of maintaining the volume of 310 hectars for the golf project. This was later accepted by Župan Dobroslavić, the Mayor of Dubrovnik-Neretva County and only 7 months later *Golf Razvoj* again started to apply for obtaining construction permits.

265 *Srđ je naš* also expressed concerns about the large growth of cruise ship tourism, and what they perceive as insufficient tourism and cruise ship management. They consider these additional factors which compromise Dubrovnik's *Outstanding Universal Value.*

The power to decide what kinds of developments should be permitted – and which areas should be protected from development – is tantamount to defining what Dubrovnik's heritage consists of and how the city centre's materiality relates to nearby landscapes.

The Mountain in the City

> *Every visit to Srđ is for me an attempt to find a zone where the wasteland of life in which I usually find myself cannot reach. Hills and mountains belong to the world and we usually forget they exist. When you climb up Srđ and look down, you realize how everything is both magical and fragile. For me, Srđ is a place where I can escape from the civilization which crumbles and destroys us. [Whatever will be] done on Srđ should not compromise that feeling.*

Reflections by Stijepo, a Dubrovnik citizen in his 50s.[266]

The cultural meanings of Mount Srđ to Dubrovnikans are rich in cultural and political symbolism. The mountain constituted, for example, the main area of defence of the city during the Croatian war of independence. To a visitor arriving in Dubrovnik, the contrast between the small pockets of sub-tropical vegetation surrounding each of the coastal settlements below the motorway, and the dry and relatively bare limestone (*karst*) terrain scattered with scrubs above the road, reveals little of the entangled relationship that exists between the mountain, the city and its citizens. Depending on one's viewpoint, Dubrovnik appears to cling on to the legs of the mountain, preventing itself from being swallowed up by the vast encircling sea, or the city is in the process of climbing up the hunched back of an old man, weighed down by civilization and time.

The changing nature and fragility of civilizations and landscapes, as expressed in Stijepo's contemplations, is an underlying, though perhaps opaque, theme in conceptualizations of identities and localities among Dubrovnik's inhabitants. Stijepo experiences Mount Srđ as a place where he can "escape from the civilization which crumbles and destroys us". But his reflections also indicate that the existence of mountains is often forgotten. This acknowledgement has extra resonance in Dubrovnik. In a city imbued with a rich cultural history, which has also undergone rapid social, political change and the turmoil of several

266 Stijepo uttered these reflections in a public debate following a presentation of a visual impacts study of golf construction on Mount Srđ, Inter University Centre (IUC), 22.10. 2012. Translation from Croatian by my Ph.D. assistant.

wars, human-made heritage is reified in identity discourses. As tourism, as one of the main sources of livelihood to the population, relies so heavily on the commodification of Dubrovnik's urban environment and human-made past, the longing for 'escaping civilization', as expressed by Stijepo, brings Mount Srđ into the hearts of Dubrovnikans.

The shift to a market economy in post-independence Croatia, coupled with the intensification of tourism in the 21st century, has intensified the symbolic role which Mount Srđ plays in the identity of contemporary Dubrovnikans. In a town which attracts around two million tourists annually, the increased pressures on the small historic centre and its population turn the remaining undeveloped areas in Dubrovnik's vicinity into economic, political, cultural and symbolic battlegrounds. They become significant areas where contemporary constructions of cultural identities and place are forged and contested. Stjepo says everything is both 'magical and fragile': current large-scale developments make heritage, local identities and physical environments fragile, and imbue them with magic due to the symbolic resonance of the mountain plateau. To many locals, the 'magic' of the beauty of Dubrovnik is vanishing because of rampant commercialisation. Stjepo affirms that Mount Srđ 'belongs to the world'. This is both a critique of private ownership and a comment on the lack of public involvement regarding decisions on the future development of the mountain plateau. He says we usually forget mountains and hills exist – an assertion of the lack of awareness regarding human activities and relation to their environment, as well as on our obliviousness to developments.

Although the open plateau of Mount Srđ provides a place of escape from the large crowds in Dubrovnik's historic centre during the tourist season, the history and future of the mountain and the city are interwoven into experiences, life-stories, and the ebb and flow of Dubrovnik's cultural history. The advantageous geographical positioning of Mount Srđ played an important role in Dubrovnik's longevity as a Republic and throughout history the mountain plateau has been a presence in local cultural recollection, individual life-worlds and public, symbolic expressions. Representing both the city's highest vantage point towards the sea and a protective mountain range towards the Balkan interior, Srđ has always been one of the principal strategic positions for preparing or defending the city against attacks. Interwoven with the local *libertas* discourse (see Chapter 5), Mount Srđ[267] simultaneously embodies a place where the city's freedom is defended and its religious and cultural borders are drawn.

267 Named after Dubrovnik's former patron saint, St. Srđ (Latin: *Sergius*), the symbolism of the mountain as a protector of the city is telling. From 971, St. Blaise (*Sveti Vlaho* or *Sveti Blaž*) has been the city's patron saint.

Depending on one's perspective, the mountain epitomizes a frontier or a crossroads between Roman Catholicism, rooted in a Western civilization, and Eastern Orthodox and Islam, rooted in Eastern civilizations. Mount Srđ was historically part of the Dubrovnik Republic's trade routes between the Balkan interior and the Mediterranean. In contemporary Dubrovnik, Mount Srđ's cultural symbolism is much more centred on its function as a place of defence and a border than as a crossroads. This symbolism has undoubtedly been reinvigorated in recent history, as it served as the main line of defence against the Serbian and Montenegrin siege of Dubrovnik in 1991-1992 (see Chapter 5). In the following discussion of Mount Srđ's place in Dubrovnik's socio-cultural and historical understandings, I intend to analyse the diversity of ways in which the mountain-plateau is conceptualized by different groups of the population. These insights can provide a better understanding of how different groups perceive social change and give an indication of how different scenarios for the future of Mount Srđ are perceived as wanted or unwanted. According to Đuro, the *Srđ je naš* activist, the loss of Srđ means the loss of any opportunity for genuine urban planning for Dubrovnik's population:

> *The crowds we have here during the summer means that people don't have space to live their lives. So Srđ is in the heart of Dubrovnik. Whatever is planned there will affect us. Instead of planning another area for recreation, education, living quarters, or sports facilities that will help the town... if you make this into a resort, put it behind barbed wire and say; 'locals prohibited'...and 'stay away', then you occupy the heart of the town, and all future generations will have lost any kind of opportunity for real urban planning.*

Due to the increased pressures of tourism, Srđjan reflects, Mount Srđ is seen, by many of Dubrovnik's citizens, as one of the last available areas of recreation. "The main part of Srđ must remain pure nature," he insists:

> *During the summer, people run to the island of Lokrum because the town is suffocated. You cannot find a clear beach; you cannot find a place for you and your family to swim. Everyone wants to go somewhere to enjoy themselves without the pressures of tourism. The city needs that kind of oasis. In a city which is losing the gardens, the trees and the parks you must open a new recreational ground or nature centre somewhere up on Srđ. If you look [at Srđ] now, it is devastated from the [forest] fires during the war and [also some fires] a few times after, but we all remember how Srđ was different and much*

greener...And that's one of their [golf investors] key arguments – it's barren, there's nothing there, just rocks, so you are lucky to have investments there. You know, they keep saying that it's worthless, and just by the touch of their golden hand it will become priceless.

Through my conversations with Srđjan and numerous other Dubrovnikans critical of the planned golf and real estate constructions on Mount Srđ, it soon became clear that the fight to protect the mountain plateau was deeply related to the sense of being hemmed in by tourism developments and excluded from decision making.

In order to gain an understanding of the controversy which *Golf Park Dubrovnik* has generated, one needs to look at the entangled cultural-historical relationship between Mount Srđ and the city, and explore the ways in which the mountain plateau is formative in local identity constructions and perceptions of local heritage. While the historic architecture of the UNESCO-listed centre is undoubtedly the most dominant feature in tourist promotion, as well as in local cultural representations of Dubrovnik identity, Mount Srđ is definitely there in the shadows. It acts as a back-drop in explanations of the longevity of freedom and independence from nearby empires throughout Dubrovnik's history. It plays a part in the idea of a political and perceptual heritage, which portrays Dubrovnikans as always having been a 'free' and 'independent' people. The invocation of Mount Srđ's as a place of defence against 'war-mongering' Balkan neighbours throughout history means that the mountain plateau is conceived as the protective border of Dubrovnikan identity, but rarely seen as a core where identities are shaped and created. Golf development has changed this – Mount Srđ is arguably in the process of relocating to the centre of contemporary identity constructions, where the scarcity of space and political and ideological world-views are combatted.

Mount Srđ sits at the heart of *cultural memory*, and is, according many Dubrovnikans, central to the memory of the Croatian war of independence. Since 2008, the *Museum of the Homeland War* (*Muzej Domovinskog rata*) have used the main parts of Imperial Fortress (*Tvrđavi Imperial*) for exhibitions[268]. However, the war museum has not got a permanent contract to use the site and receives only half of its funding from the City of Dubrovnik[269]. Its

[268] The war museum makes use of 312 m² of the fort. Large parts of the fort are still unrenovated and in a poor condition.
[269] About 50% of the museum's funding derives from private sponsors and war veterans. The remainder comes from the City of Dubrovnik's funding of the *Dubrovnik Museums*. The war museum has around 50,000 visitors annually.

future therefore remains somewhat uncertain. According to two senior employees I interviewed, the war museum has never – since its initial conception in 1995 and eventual realization in 2008 – been given a high priority by the local municipality (although there are some exceptions to this attitude among local politicians). In 2009, Dubrovnik municipality signed a contract with *Golf Razvoj* which gave the company the concession to renovate and develop Fort Imperial for 'tourism and hospitality activities'. Located at the end of the funicular railway and offering a spectacular view of the UNESCO enlisted city centre and the sea, Fort Imperial is seen by the golf company as integral to the tourist resort's visual appeal. Since spatial regulations are strict with regard to the visibility, from the city centre, of any new constructions on Mount Srđ, the importance of the fort's location to the tourist resort is compounded. In *Golf Razvoj's* project plans, restaurants and bars are envisaged for the Fort Imperial site. A restaurant, named *Fort Imperial restaurant*, boasting spectacular views of the sea has, since the early conceptualisations of the project, been included in the image gallery of *Golf Park Dubrovnik*'s website. In the computer generated image of the restaurant, two Croatian flags and two *Libertas* flags fly – clearly an attempt to reassure citizens that, although touristic activities are planned for Fort Imperial, it remain a symbol of Dubrovnik's history of defence. The golf project's plans for Fort Imperial, however, have still provoked large resistance locally, especially among war veterans who feel that the memory of the war, and the sacrifice of those who fought in it, are being disrespected. *Golf Razvoj* proposes to remove the city's main TV antenna, which is located on the western side of Fort Imperial another 200 meters west of the fortress. As the building hosting the TV antenna is a later addition to the Napoleonic fort, it does not come under the same level of protection as the rest of the fort. The golf company, therefore, plans to tear it down and build new premises for the war museum in its place – something which according to several informants would defy the spatial regulations of Mount Srđ.

The *Veterans of the Homeland War* (*Udruge branitelja Domovinskog rata*) have been particularly active in speaking up against the golf project's plans for Fort Imperial. In 2015, when it became known that the *Ministry of Construction and Planning* had issued a construction permit to *Golf Razvoj* for their plans for *Fort Imperial* and the Ministry of Culture had given their approval, the conflict came to a head. *Golf Razvoj* was criticized for having obtained the planning permission under untransparent conditions, and that the public should have been notified before the planning permission had already been obtained.

In July 2015, the war veterans organized a demonstration targeted at the local municipality's failure to honour the memory of the war and that of Dubrovnik's war defenders. Displaying slogans such as, '*Is Profit More Important than Future Generations?'* ('*Je li profit važniji od budućih generacija')*, the war veterans argued that, as the key symbol of Dubrovnikans' defence during the war and their achievement of freedom, Imperial Fortress needed to be 'returned' to the citizens and future generations. The *Veterans of the Homeland War* urged Dubrovnik municipality to cancel their contract with Golf Razvoj. To the war veterans, but also to many citizens generally, the war museum continuing to be housed in its *current* premises is integral to honouring the *centrality* of those who fought in the war and placed their lives in the line of fire to defend their city, and also to commemorate those who died or were incapacitated because of the war. The *Veterans of the Homeland War'* outrage against the proposed removal of the war museum from its current location stems especially from a perceived lack of respect towards the *memory* and *integrity* of those who defended the city and its freedom. But it is also part of a much wider cultural discourse of concerning how the lure of economic profit from developing luxury tourism resorts continually overrides local interests and needs. Implicit in these critiques is a questioning of the real worth of Croatia's freedom and Dubrovnikans efforts to win back their freedom – and its centuries' long heritage of *libertas* – if public land is sold off and average citizens are excluded from its use. If the culturally and symbolically resonant Mount Srđ is commercialized for economic gain, many citizens worry that the cultural memory of the mountain plateau will also lose its integrity and special place in the 'hearts' of the population. The controversy around *Golf Park Dubrovnik* indicates a prominent sentiment amongst large swathes of the population. Many locals experience that the close ties between politicians and investors take precedence over the local population's access to public common grounds and deprive the citizens any part in defining the future development of the scarce public land areas that remain**.** To many local residents, perceptions of how the golf project is aimed at wealthy tourists instead of those who live in Dubrovnik, and the fact that the land has been sold to external investors, brings to the fore the feeling that Croatian culture and heritage is taken 'out of the hands' of its population. This needs to be seen in connection with the chaotic period of transition to global capitalism which coincided with the Croatian war of Independence. This has created a widespread feeling of being preyed upon by a small power elite and external investors – a process dubbed 'tycoon capitalism' (Bartlett 2003).

As I have illustrated, Mount Srđ has always been a central part of the public memories, experiences and life-worlds of Dubrovnik's population, and when focusing on issues of heritage and identity, the natural-cultural environment of Srđ and the surrounding countryside and the sea needs to be taken into account. When the funicular railway, first opened in 1969 but damaged by bombing during the Croatian war of Independence, was rebuilt in 2012, Dubrovnik was symbolically reconnected with Mount Srđ. But in reality the funicular railway presents yet another example of how the local population is excluded from developments aimed at visitors. The high cost of taking the funicular railway means that locals don't ride on it and Bosanka villagers can't afford to use it to go to school, for example.

Central to this tale of freedom, and hence of cultural, political and economic prosperity, lies the protective back of Mount Srđ. In cultural representations, attempts to revitalise Dubrovnik's former glory as a cultural centre, like a phoenix rising from the ashes, are fuelled by reference to the increasing numbers of tourists who visit the World Heritage enlisted city each year. Like the phoenix in Greek mythology, the cyclically rejuvenated bird which arises from the ashes of its precursor, local cultural rhetoric, found in public speeches, the media and self-representations, weave a tapestry of rejuvenation and of cultural continuation of the city's appealing heritage – the Dubrovnik Republic. Simultaneously, the unwanted, ugly knots of the cultural and historical tapestry are made opaque by the luminous colours of the overall picture. The restoration of Dubrovnik's urban fabric following the devastating material damage of the war, as well as the return and expansion of tourism, which has given a considerable boost to post-war economic recovery, is publically portrayed as a story of success. However, like the phoenix, the implicit knowledge that Dubrovnik draws its life from the echoes of times long gone, is an uncomfortable truth to many Dubrovnikans. While tourism helps reinvigorate and sustain local citizens' sense of importance and centrality in the development of a European civilization, large investments, like the golf project on Srđ, make many locals feel that they are mere extras in a play aimed at the international stage.

While some Dubrovnikans see the proposed golf project as an opportunity for stimulating the economy and providing more jobs for locals, others perceive the project as threatening the very notions of freedom which the citizens cherish as their foundational legacy. Mount Srđ's symbolic role as a place of defence and in ensuring the city's freedom is invoked once again. But it is a different kind of freedom which is now defended – in a transitional society the battle is over political world-views and social allegiances, where market interests, individualism, collectivism, resources and uses of land are some of the key flashpoints.

On '*Srđ je naš*'s internet homepage, a blogger wrote: *Srđ je Grad – Grad je Srđ* (*Srđ is City – City is Srđ*[270]*"* This statement is interesting for a number of reasons, and indicates that the hill needs to be included in the cultural understandings of what constitutes Dubrovnikans' local identity. Furthermore, it suggests that the hill cannot be perceived as merely a natural, physical feature, but has symbolic and cultural significance which is entangled in the total make-up of Dubrovnik's heritage. Globalisation theorist Anna Tsing (Tsing 2005, Tsing 2002) – introduced in Chapter 3 – propounded the idea that natural spaces (such as hills or forests) are not 'outside of society' but part and parcel of the cultures that surround them. Personal biographies and community histories are, according to Tsing, 'inscribed' into these places. It can be argued that heritage management in Dubrovnik is too focused on architectural and monumental conservation – exemplified by the UNESCO enlisted walled centre – at the expense of natural spaces such as Mount Srđ. Indeed this charge could be levelled at the 'authorised heritage discourse' in general, which subscribes to a narrow conception of heritage, arguably at odds with what really matters to local populations. However, what often motivates activists opposed to development on Mount Srđ is anger at the local municipality's failure to recognise Srđ's importance to the city's *cultural* heritage and their willingness to exploit it for commercial gain. And although there is a growing awareness among heritage managers and urban planners that the environment of Mount Srđ needs protection, the mountain plateau's main function, to these groups, is that it provides a 'clear and clean' aesthetic frame to Dubrovnik's priceless urban heritage. Srđ's own living and evolving heritage is of lesser significance.

Mount Srđ been integrated in the life-worlds of local populations throughout Dubrovnik's history. The Napoleonic Fort Imperial has been important to the city's defence both of the sea and the interior parts of the mountain chain. In the 19th century and for part of the 20th, a bell tower was positioned on Srđ, and as the departures and arrivals of cargo boats and ferries were still not regularized, a man was employed to ring the bell when he saw the boats on the horizon, thus giving the population time to catch the next ferry. During the war, it was from Mount Srđ that the arrival of food and medicines to the port of Gruž was announced when the city was under siege. The hill also evoke pleasant memories for many of my informants – as a popular area for weekend excursions and as a place where feelings of love, joy, sorrow and

270 To anyone living locally, the term '*Grad'* is in daily speech synonymous with 'Dubrovnik'.

happiness were experienced in the popular discotheque which overlooked the walled city during the Yugoslavian era.

Likewise, the 'Srđ je naš' blogger's quote indicates that Dubrovnik and Mount Srđ are inseparable and both integral parts of the 'local heritage'. The symbolic role of Mount Srđ in the shaping of local identities became clear to me mainly through reading local history books. Intriguingly the hill was never mentioned in conversations about 'heritage' and 'identity', other than when referring specifically to the case of the 'golf park'. However it can still be meaningful even if people don't use it – it can be classed as 'aesthetic heritage'. And many of the reasons why people don't use they don't use Mount Srđ are both understandable and surmountable. They lie in the frequency of forest fires, the danger of mines laid during the war, the damaged funicular railway (now restored, but expensive for locals) and bad infrastructure (i.e. small roads make it difficult to get there.)

The Heritage of Harmony

To some groups opposed to the realization of Golf Park Dubrovnik, constructions on Mount Srđ are perceived to disrupt a cultural heritage of *proportion* and *harmony* in urban planning and landscape management. This kind of view is particularly present among my informants with backgrounds in restoration, conservation, architecture and archaeology. To Dubrovnikans of such opinions, these are principles which are seen as handed down from the Dubrovnik Republic and the 1272 Statute (see Chapter 4) and they mandate that Mount Srđ remain undeveloped and 'unspoilt'. Mount Srđ has for generations obtained a deep-seated local symbolic imagery as a place characterizing the city's borderland status, defence and autonomy. However, after the Croatian war of independence, the mountain plateau has gained a far more potent symbolism and role in public memory and cultural identity than was the case during the former Yugoslavia. Before the 1990s war, the symbolism of Mount Srđ contained a strong and interconnected duality, by being perceived both as a geo-political borderland (a 'natural wall' towards the Balkan hinterland) and simultaneously also a cultural, religious cross-roads (epitomized in cultural memory and through discourses of connectivity, the Dubrovnik Republic's mercantile activity and diplomacy between the Western and Eastern hemispheres). After the war, however, the cultural memory and symbolism of Mount Srđ as a cross-roads has become far more subdued, whereas the mountain plateau's borderland status and its importance in Dubrovnik's defence and autonomy has come to dominate cultural memory. The local importance of Mount Srđ to public memory and post-

war identity reconstruction efforts have furthermore become even more pressing and contagious following the public announcement in 2007, of the planned, large-scale golf- and tourism resort construction plans on the mountain plateau.

Mount Srđ not only embodies an important *place* where public memory and recollections of the 1990s war are forged and negotiated, it can also be seen as one of the most important locations which personifies the locally cherished *heritage of libertas* (freedom). Consequently development strategies of the mountain plateau become intertwined with Mount Srđ's past and rich cultural and political symbolism. To certain groups, especially to many working within the fields of heritage management, architecture and urban planning, but also the wider local population with a relatively high educational level, *Golf Park Dubrovnik* and the local municipality's largely 'pro-golf' attitudes are anathema. They are seen as deeply disrespectful of some of the main pillars of local identity construction and heritage – both of the political heritage of the Dubrovnik Republic *(*i.e. *libertas)* and recently gained and hard-fought national independence. *Golf Park Dubrovnik* is also seen as posing a threat to the continuation of the perceived *heritage of aesthetic*s – to Dubrovnikans inherited *sense of scale* (*mjera*), *sense of proportion (proporcija)* and sense of harmony (*sklad*) (see Chapter 6). These concepts can be traced back to the principles of urban planning first laid down in the Dubrovnik Republic's Statute of 1272.

The urgent need to protect the perceived unbroken heritage stemming from the Dubrovnik Republic was repeatedly evoked in numerous public meetings about the golf project:

> *This 'golf town' on Srđ is not happening on a plain away from such an excellent, world class value that is Dubrovnik. In the last 200 years people of Dubrovnik have been fighting against inappropriate interventions destroying its natural and cultural heritage…since the fall of the Republic. Had Dubrovnikers not given such a strong resistance, today we wouldn't have the city walls, Lazareti, Pile or Ploče, or Fort Lovrijenac. The main resources for social and economic life of generations of Dubrovnik citizens would be destroyed.*

Ivana, a local architect[271].

271 Excerpt from a public debate following the presentation of a visual impacts study of *Golf Park Dubrovnik* and *Bosanka II*, in the Inter-University Centre, 22.10.2012. Translation from Croatian by my PhD assistant.

In numerous public discussions relating to the construction plans on Mount Srđ, as well as on general issues of Dubrovnik's tourism management and urban planning, representatives of the Dubrovnik Architects' Society (DAD - Društvo arhitekata Dubrovnik[272]) were very vocal and clearly held a position of respect and authority in the local community. On several occasions I noticed that particular individuals from the of Dubrovnik Architects' Society were given far more time than others to express their opinions in the public debate sessions following the presentations of the different impact studies relating to the golf project and other tourism-related issues. On one occasion in September 2015, following a lecture on Dubrovnik's cruise-ship tourism and tourism management by a researcher from the Croatian Institute for Tourism, in Zagreb, I noticed that a particularly respected member of the Dubrovnik Architects' Society was the only member of the audience to be given a microphone when she put questions to the lecturer and expressed her opinions. Throughout my fieldwork periods it was strikingly evident that the Society of Architects Dubrovnik represented one of the key authoritative voices locally in defining the parameters and worth of Dubrovnik's heritage and in reproducing the notion that valuable heritage was largely constituted by the urban, architectural heritage of the city. To many local architects and heritage managers, the surrounding landscape was secondary to the urban fabric of the city. To these groups, the need to protect the mountain plateau did not stem from an environmentalist perspective, but much more from the logic of heritage aesthetics – where the hill represented an untampered 'frame' and 'mirror' to the historical beauty of the city centre. The ways of talking about Dubrovnik's heritage amongst these 'expert groups' – concentrating on its worth and 'correct' historical uses – resembles Smith's (2006) notion of the 'authorized heritage discourse'. My observations regarding the authoritative role of the Dubrovnik Architects' Society in Dubrovnik's local community were echoed in the reflections of several informants. An activist from Srđ je naš once confided that, although the activists and the architects often emphasize different aspects in arguing for the protection of Mount Srđ, the 'weight' given by the local architects society to their mutual purpose makes all the difference to being heard. Without this highly respected institution on their side, he reflected, it would be hard for the group of activists to oppose the golf project. Similarly, a female Dubrovnikan in her mid-twenties, who had just qualified as an architect, told me she was mightily relieved that she had recently been accepted as a member of the institution. Had she not been a member, she confessed, she did not think there would have been any real opportunities to find work as an

[272] *The Dubrovnik Architects' Society* is part of the national association *the Croatian Chamber of Architects*.

architect in Dubrovnik: *"because all work in Croatia relies on having the right connections"*. Although the staff working on heritage management in the Institute for Restoration and Conservation, urban planners working in the Dubrovnik Municipality and members of the wealthy and influential heritage NGO, Duštrvo Prijatelja Dubrovačka Starine[273], all play significant roles in influencing local heritage discourse and steering local developments and prioritizations in urban and rural management, members of the Dubrovnik Architects' Society appeared to be far more vocal in public debates and presentations regarding constructions on Mount Srđ. It would, however, be unjust to portray the opinions of members of the Dubrovnik Architects' Society as expressing the notion that Dubrovnik's heritage is solely about the urban, architectural fabric of the city. In fact, the experienced connection between the citizens and the enclosing landscape, expressed through the history of the Dubrovnik Republic, was frequently alluded to when they voiced their opposition to any constructions on Mount Srđ. Following the aforementioned public debate of the visual impacts of Golf Park Dubrovnik and Bosanka II, Sonja, evidently a revered member of the Dubrovnik Architects' Society, reflected on how the presence of a centuries' old connection between Dubrovnikans and their cultural landscape, as expressed in a large number of Ragusan Renaissance poems, was justification for the full protection of Mount Srđ. In her opinion, protection of the mountain plateau from construction was of paramount importance to the cultural heritage of the Dubrovnik Republic and the continuation of its political heritage of libertas. To Sonja, the construction plans on Mount Srđ appeared as a kind of 'fall from grace' – from deep-seated wisdom and a sense of harmony and connectedness between the city, citizens and the enclosing landscape evident among Dubrovnik's ancestors (the urban gentry and aristocracy):

> *They [the Ragusan poets] recognized and expressed with their artistic depictions this special area of Dubrovnik, and described this landscape and its importance in forming of the people and their history. They knew very well that the genius loci should be respected and appreciated, that carelessness towards space is punished, and that the value of a spiritual being comes from its relationship with nature... Symbols of freedom, the durability of life and happiness are built into these areas*[274].

[273] The NGO, established in the 1952, carries out a large number of restoration projects in Dubrovnik-Neretva County. Until the introduction of the tourist 'city card' in 2012, the NGO received the entire sum from the city wall's entrance fees. Today it receives 50% of the total sum generated by the entrance fees, while 50% goes to Dubrovnik Municipality.

274 Translation from Croatian by my PhD assistant.

Although there was a degree of political pressure to demolish certain areas of Dubrovnik's old centre to allow for new housing during the Yugoslavian period, today most locals, regardless of their socio-educational background, respect that the areas inscribed on UNESCO's heritage list are worthy of full protection. While many residents of the historic core may find that restrictions on which building materials are allowed or how their homes may be modified, interfere with their personal interests, few would disagree with the level of protection assigned by UNESCO's heritage legislation to the walled centre. Legislation regarding developments or modifications in the UNESCO protected centre is relatively clear, inflexible and generally not open to interpretation or changes in political leadership. However, it is a different story with other parts of the city and the surrounding countryside that come under urban planning legislation at local, regional and national levels. They are much more vulnerable to changes in the political and ideological climate and can become major arenas of contestation regarding whether certain buildings, monuments and sites which should be protected, restored or conserved and to what extent new developments should be permitted. Many of my informants reflected that UNESCO heritage enlistment and the subsequent cultural tourism which the enlisted heritage city attracts, means that local heritage has more or less become synonymous with the walled city. Many criticized how other areas of the city and surrounding countryside are often separated both conceptually and politically from what is evaluated as local heritage. They felt that opportunistic and sporadic urban planning and new housing constructions, particularly in the wake of Croatia's incorporation into global capitalism, has devalued or, at worst, deranged a sense of interconnectedness and balance between the monumental and architectural heritage, with the cultural landscape and nature in the region. This was a view voiced by Sonja in the visual impacts study of the proposed golf construction project:

The measures of planning protection and preservation inherited from the unique structure of the city will also in the future ensure the attractiveness and special quality of the Dubrovnik environment in the very relationship of the city and its walls, that is, its natural surroundings. Dubrovnik, with its walls, is a nucleus of a wider spatial frame and in spite of the expansion that happened so far it has remained the focal point of visual rays that beam from it and towards it[275]. These kinds of concerns regarding the negative effects of urban and tourism developments, and how one could balance the social and historical integrity of the Dalmatian cities with urban developments and economic growth, were also present during the

[275] Translation from Croatian by my Ph.D. assistant.

Yugoslavian era. They were expressed by, among others, scholars in the Croatian diaspora who witnessed the transformation of Dalmatia in the wake of Yugoslavian modernisation and development strategies. In 1972, seven years before Dubrovnik was inscribed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, Francis Violich, a North-American academic, born to Croatian parents, expressed his concerns about how Yugoslavian 'modernisation' strategies and incentives to develop tourism and achieve economic growth placed 'valuable cultural and architectural urban heritage' at risk:

> *If we separate out the development of the past decade oriented to tourism, we find incongruities in the physical and visual quality of urban places that – while relatively mild in scale as yet – suggest a future disastrous impact… The scale of new physical development should be reduced to be compatible with that of the past when elements of the urban heritage of high cultural and architectural value is the focus of new development…Today, the ecological and environmental forces and the intuitive judgment of relatively unsophisticated people have been left aside in the interests of 'modernisation', 'development' and 'economic growth' producing urban forms and elements that have been designed to appeal to an image of an exotic environment in the minds of the tourist market.*

Views from the Hill – the Neglected Heritage of Bosanka Villagers

Bosanka is a small village of 139 inhabitants located on Mount Srđ about 4 km north-east of Dubrovnik's historic centre. Bosanka's location places it in an intermediary position between the coast and the hinterland. The livelihoods of Bosanka's inhabitants have historically been shaped by the relatively unfertile conditions of the karst (anhydrite) environment, which is not suitable for agriculture. Due to relatively good conditions for grazing, however, the Bosanka villagers have traditionally kept livestock. But today many of the villagers work in Dubrovnik, often in the service sector, and generally speaking they are poorer and have less formal education than the Dubrovnik average. Moreover, due to being under-prioritized, compared to Dubrovnik, in terms of getting funds for renovation and restoration, Bosanka has not yet fully recovered from the widespread damage caused by the 1990s war. It is still one of the poorest villages in the Dubrovnik-Neretva County. To some villagers, therefore, tourism development is welcomed as an opportunity for increasing their household economy and for renovating the village. While for others, the golf project and the local discourses surrounding the golf development exude strong connotations of the exploitation of the poor and

vulnerable, and illuminate centuries' old unequal power relationships between the coastal city populations and the hinterland.

Not all Bosanka villagers like Dubrovnikans or other 'outsiders' to 'speak for their case' or to portray them as victims of historical and political circumstances – whether they be golf developers, local politicians or activists. At the public meeting and presentation of an environmental impacts study[276] of *Golf Park Dubrovnik*, a male Bosanka villager raised the question of how members of the civil initiative, *Srđ je naš* (*Srđ is ours)*, can claim that the hill-top is 'theirs' (as Dubrovnikans) when the Bosanka villagers are the ones living there. While all the *Srđ je naš* activists I spoke to thought it both natural and self-evident that the *naš* (ours) in *Srđ je naš* is *inclusive* of Bosanka villagers and affirms that the mountain plateau belongs to the *general public* and shouldn't be privately owned by a rich elite, this particular Bosanka villager sees the future development of his village and Mount Srđ as *separate* from 'Dubrovnikan interests' and does not wish the civil initiative to *speak on behalf* of the villagers. Similar kinds of sentiments, espousing the right to represent themselves and to advance their own interests regarding the golf project, were voiced by several other inhabitants of Bosanka at different public meetings held about the construction plans on the hill. Of the Bosanka villagers who spoke in favour of *Golf Park Dubrovnik*, land ownership and continued land usage were their most prominent themes, seen as legitimizing the fact that Mount Srđ rightfully belongs to Bosanka villagers. At the same public meeting regarding the environmental impact report about the golf project, Branka, a Bosanka villager, asked the audience how many of them had actually been to Mount Srđ. She claimed that the forest had been decimated by tree cutting to heat the homes of Dubrovnikans and that the hill was used as a place to dump waste:

> *And now look at the signs saying 'tree cutting not allowed' and 'waste disposal not allowed', she went on. "Those signs were put there by the golf people and they also cleaned up all the waste on Srđ... I see all these signs saying 'Srđ is ours'. Do we know whose Srđ is? Mine, that's right, it's mine!*[277]

276 The environmental impacts public discussion took place on the 8th January 2013 in the *Sloboda movie theatre*. Some of the central public debates and impact studies relating to *Golf Park Dubrovnik* (and the Bosanka II construction) took place outside of my fieldwork periods and I could therefore not attend these. However, for some of the most important ones, such as the environmental impact study (2013), and a public debate regarding the question of Dubrovnik municipality holding a referendum relating to *Golf Park Dubrovnik* (2013), my PhD assistant attended in my absence, recorded the event, and thereafter translated and transcribed them for me.
277 Translation from Croatian by my PhD assistant.

Another female villager from Bosanka recalled:

> *As a ten year old girl, I went there [Mount Srđ] to feed the cows, so I know it very well. Now the cows are gone but there are wild hogs that we can't eradicate. They approach the houses at night! And what will happen when the wolves and the foxes come? We also have wild dogs up there who slaughtered my brother's livestock. Nobody takes care of that! I'm only saying what's happening there. It would be nice to make something [there]; it would be nice to make a road, to have power and telephone.*[278]

The villagers who voiced these kinds of concerns generally tended to be landowners on Srđ, many of whom were leasing land areas or have sold plots of land to Golf Razvoj. So it is important to be aware that it is in many Bosanka villagers' personal interests to see Golf Park Dubrovnik realized. Monetary interests may drive some of those who are pushing for the golf project. However, the conflicts also need to be seen in the light of the relationship between different socio-educational groups and perceptions of differentiation between Dubrovnik's urban, coastal population and the populations of the Dalmatian hinterland (see Chapter 5).

Dubravko, a taxi driver in his 30s, falls into the category of a landowner on Srđ who is in favour of *Golf Park Dubrovnik*. Seeing that Dubrovnik's tourist industry was rapidly expanding in the new millennium, his father realized the potential monetary value of the land on Mount Srđ and decided to transfer the ownership of several plots of land to his children. As the war had left them with little material wealth and large debts to cover the restoration of their home after the war-time destruction, letting his children inherit land was the best and only way he could help them economically. Dubravko has lived his whole life in Bosanka and still lives in his childhood home, which has belonged to his family ever since it was built by a distant relative over 400 years ago. When talking about what is meaningful to his life his attachment to the village and his family's home looms large in a lot of his reflections. Whereas when he talks about the landscape of Mount Srđ, however, it is primarily in utilitarian terms. This perspective stands in clear contrast to the aestheticizing narratives about Mount Srđ discussed above which venerate the hill as central to the preservation of Dubrovnik Republic's heritage. Dubravko sees Mount Srđ as an unused resource and perceives the arrival and investments of Golf Razvoj as a long-awaited opportunity for improving the living conditions in both the village and for his family. He does not see the hill

278 Translation from Croatian by my Ph.D. assistant.

as a rightful part of Dubrovnik's heritage, but thinks that land ownership on Mount Srđ bestows the only legitimate right to dictate any potential future developments there:

> *Srđ has private owners, so I can do what I want with my land! Srđ je naš or other people who speak about [the future of] Srđ can't say that at some time we will have to move the town on the top and that they should be building flats there [for Dubrovnikans]. I will say what will be on the top [since] I am an owner. 80% of people in Bosanka think like me. We also have 20% who don't think this way, but they are just jealous! They live there, but they come from the town [Dubrovnik] so they don't have land and they're not like me. My family has lived there for 400-500 years.*

Dubravko's reflections need to be seen in connection with historically established regional relationships and experiences of unsymmetrical power relationships between the inhabitants of the coastal cities and of the Dalmatian hinterland (see Chapter 5). The relatively recent history of the war, which severely affected the lives and livelihoods of Bosanka's residents, has further deepened the experienced disparity between the urban citizens of Dubrovnik and the villagers of Bosanka. While Dubrovnik's UNESCO enlisted heritage centre and the heritage protected buffer areas have received large funds for restoration caused by war damage, the Bosanka villagers have been more or less left to their own devices. Like many other residents of Bosanka, Dubravko feels that Dubrovnik municipality has neglected the post-war renovation of their village, so, to him, the golf project and the promises made by the golf investment company to restore the main buildings in the Bosanka represent an opportunity or even a necessity. Dubravko was 10 years old when the war broke out. Throughout our conversation it becomes clear that the war experiences have made a strong imprint on his selfhood and his perceptions of socio-cultural and ethnic-religious differences and relations. He repeatedly emphasizes how Bosanka was one of the worst affected places in the region. Nearly all the houses in Bosanka were burned and heavily damaged by the Serbian-Montenegrin troops and the village was occupied for over a year:

> *My village was the last line where Serbs came so there were strong fights there and it was a strategically important vantage point; right above Dubrovnik. My village was occupied and we had to move into town [Dubrovnik]. Bosanka was completely gutted; every house in my village burned. We lost everything and had no money to rebuild. We only got a little money from the government, but our house is big so we spent almost all of that on [repairing] the roof. So when somebody came and wanted to buy my*

> *[family's] land we saw that there was a chance to get the money to pay all the loans back. So I can say that we are happy that the golf [company] came, nobody wanted to help us before. After we got the money from the golf [company], we could rebuild the buildings and we could start to live normally again.*

Like the other inhabitants from Bosanka, Dubravko and his family all of a sudden became refugees in Dubrovnik. For the first year of the war they stayed at a relative's home in a suburb. Due to the large numbers of refugees who came to Dubrovnik the municipality turned the city's hotels into refugee camps. After the first year of the war Dubravko and his family were quartered into one of the city's hotels, along with the large numbers of refugees from nearby villages in the Dubrovnik district who also had lost their homes. Although the war ended in 1995, Dubravko and his family could not move back to their village until 1997.

For many years after they returned to Bosanka it was not safe to move freely about on Mount Srđ due to the large number of land-mines buried there during the war. While the mountain plateau had been a place the village children had freely played on before the war, it was transformed for many years afterwards into a barren and potentially dangerous place to be. One day not long after they had moved back to Bosanka, Dubravko heard an explosion and went out onto the heath to investigate. He was first person to arrive at the scene and found a close relative, only in her teens, lying lifeless on the ground. To Dubravko, and many other Bosanka villagers who have directly seen the consequences of war on the mountain plateau and village, the *heritagization* of Mount Srđ as an aspect and symbol of the political and cultural heritage of the Dubrovnik Republic, does not resonate with their experiences of hardship, loss and sorrow. To him, the proposed constructions on the mountain plateau instead offer the chance to inscribe different kinds of public memory into the hill. So it becomes a 'renewed slate' where new hopes, renewed life and prosperity can be etched onto it in the years to come. Dubravko is not entirely convinced the golf project will realize these desires in actuality. But regardless of the uncertainties swirling around the current project, he thinks that *something* must happen on Mount Srđ soon – he thinks it is time for Croatians to *move on* from always 'living in the past'.

Dubravko reveals that the war experiences have influenced the way he is today, yet he also has a very pragmatic outlook about the future. He thinks that Croatians need to get better at leaving behind their troubled past and should focus more on how to encourage foreign investments in the country. Dubravko regards the current laws on urban planning in the

Dubrovnik district, which dictate that no buildings on Mount Srđ should be visible from Dubrovnik[279], as a major impediment for attracting investments in the area. He views the regulations as too strict and uncertainty about what will or won't be permitted has resulted in a delay of over seven years in the golf project getting off the ground, which he finds frustrating. He hopes that if the golf project finally commences, he will be able to give up his job as a taxi driver. Dubravko understands that protective laws have prevented the Dalmatian coast from being spoilt by over-development in the way the coastlines of other European countries have been. But he feels there should be more leeway:

> *Maybe that's good that we protect the Croatian coast, that they are not damaged with buildings, like in Montenegro or Spain. You can see more than 30-40 km coast without any buildings here. That's good, but the urbanistic laws are very strict – you need a lot of time to get some permission to build.*

Dubravko recalls attending a public discussion about the golf project at the Rector's Palace in central Dubrovnik in 2010. He was given the microphone and firmly linked the golf project to future prosperity:

> *After we get money from the golf [company], we could rebuild buildings, we could start to live normally. But if the golf [company] didn't come we would still be in hotels[280], like after the war.*

His remark was applauded by large parts of the audience.

By contrast, Srđjan, the *Srđ je naš* activist introduced previously, sees the Bosanka villagers as the biggest victims of *Golf Park Dubrovnik* as they are the ones who will be the most directly affected in their living space and day to day life if any constructions are given the go ahead on Mount Srđ. He thinks that the villagers, most of whom have struggled economically and materially in the aftermath of the heavy destruction of Bosanka during the Croatian war of Independence, have largely been taken advantage of by the golf developers. He sees the golf company's stated aims of creating employment opportunities for locals in the golf resorts as inflated promises, arguing that the number of actual jobs which will be offered will turn out

279 Dubravko refers to the *Urban Development Plan (UPU - urbanistički plan uređenja*) and the *General Urban Plan of Dubrovnik* (GUP - *Generalni urbanistički plan Grada Dubrovnika*). Several informants with little formal education appeared to have a relatively good knowledge of the different urban- and spatial plans.

280 Dubravko refers to how Bosanka villagers were refugees, living in Dubrovnik's hotels during and after the war.

to be far fewer than claimed by the golf company. Such jobs would only create employment in the relatively short season when golf tourism would be suitable on Mount Srđ. Additionally, he thinks that the construction plans have divided the villagers against each other. They have magnified the differences between those who own land and those who don't, while some have acquired land illegally and sold it onto *Golf Razvoj*. A coalition against the golf resort in Bosanka has been formed and they cooperate closely with *Srđ je naš*. Srđjan estimates that over half of the villagers are strongly opposed to the golf project and are very positive towards *Srđ je naš* initiatives and political lobbying. The next time I met Srđjan in 2015, I brought up the question raised by the Bosanka villager in the environmental impacts study, who was incredulous at how *Srđ je naš* could claim that Mount Srđ was 'theirs' when it is Bosanka villagers who live there, use and own the land and therefore the plateau was 'rightfully' theirs. Srđjan remembered this remark and said it had both surprised and saddened him to hear how the man had misunderstood the civil initiative's use of *naš* (*ours*). He thought that the main messages in the *Srđ je naš* campaigns – that Mount Srđ belongs to the *general public*, to everyone who wishes to roam there, and should not be privately owned and expropriated – were rather clear. He thought it was strange that the man misunderstood the use of *naš* (*ours*) as meaning Dubrovnikans only and therefore excluding Bosanka villagers. After all, Srđjan argued, *Srđ je naš* sees it as especially important to ensure the continued right of Bosanka villagers to use the mountain plateau and argues that if the golf project is allowed to go ahead they will become a marginalized village enclosed within a large-scale luxury tourist resort.

Political Struggles and Contested Heritage

How the mountain plateau's present and future is envisioned relates to where one's interests lie – to one's political and ideological viewpoints and economic and social background. Perceptions are thus numerous, complex and frequently marked by contradictions and feelings of ambivalence. Exploring the dissonance which *Golf Park Dubrovnik* has induced can thus provide valuable insights into cultural discourse and socio-political change in Croatia. This section will explore the ways in which different population groups represent the mountain plateau to themselves and the public and how different groups legitimize their own positions and delegitimize the views of others. While some Dubrovnikans see the mountain plateau as a neglected, barren, wasteland and a potential goldmine for further expanding the tourist industry and boosting the economy, to others it represents one of the last areas of 'unspoiled'

land in Dubrovnik, and its protection from large-scale interventions is seen as vital to the city's longevity as a heritage site and to ensure a living city for the local population.

The local controversy over the golf project is indicative of a number of inflammatory issues and societal challenges in post-independence Croatian society – such as land ownership disputes following post-communist property transference, a systemic, crippling bureaucracy and legal system, deep-seated corruption and a lack of economic, political and legal transparency. The discussion will not involve an assessment of the importance and prevalence of such challenges, but will rather discuss the cultural discourses of these issues and the ways in which local citizens understand and experience contemporary local power relations and how this reflects upon their world-views and responses to change.

Due to the symbolic effect and accompanying increased market value of Dubrovnik's World Heritage site, there is pressure for construction and the development of infrastructure, real estate and leisure activities. The increased monetary value of land following the enlistment of a heritage site often increases the level of social conflict and can lead to feelings of being disenfranchised and excluded from processes of meaning making on the part of many people. The struggle over the future developments on Mount Srđ involves a lot more than merely a tug of war over natural and economic resources. Set in the context of Croatia as a transition society, *Golf Park Dubrovnik* also importantly embodies a struggle over political 'world-views'.

Denis, a Zagreb-based lawyer working for the environmental organization, *Zelena Akcija*[281] (*Green Action*), sees the golf project as exemplifying a *paradigm shift* and a 'broader policy framework', which has occurred after Croatia's independence and economic transition. To him, the golf project presents a clear instance of *"how resources in general and society as a whole is managed".* Having grown up in Dubrovnik, Denis soon connects the history of the Dubrovnik Republic, and its ideal of tending to *civic values,* with the changes he has experienced since independence. He argues that, although Croatia as a whole has undergone a general process where civic values increasingly are replaced by private interests, he thinks that Dubrovnikans feel this paradigmatic shift particularly deeply since civicism is so closely aligned to their local identity and heritage. He reflects:

281 *Zelena Akcija*, established in 1990, is the largest and oldest environmental organization in the Repubublic of Croatia. The NGO is part of the *Friends of the Earth* network.

From the period of Dubrovnik Republic ... you had a very strong sense of community. This 'republican spirit' in the old sense...promoting the common interest was thought to be equal to promoting one's own interest – whereas now the situation is quite [the] reverse. Now we have [the idea that] it is through promoting one's self interest [that] you're actually benefiting the community. People are at least pushed toward believing and 'buying' those kinds of stories.

Echoing the reflections of many other informants (Chapter 8), Denis describes the last decades as marked by a complete *"loss of a sense of community*" and argues that much of this loss of community can be understood in terms of abrupt and uncontrolled economic deregulation. *"All of a sudden people started believing that the 'exit' [and] the 'solution' to all our problems was [found] in massive deregulation",* he reflects. Denis thinks that the golf project on Mount Srđ and the *Ombla* hydroelectric power plant[282], two projects he has been actively involved in lobbing against, are clear cases of the distortion of truth – whereby the investors promote their project as benefiting society as a whole, while, in reality, the main beneficiaries are the investors themselves:

The investors will profit from this, but [they say that] this will also benefit the overall society, that it will help the citizens, it will create new jobs. It's always some sort of blackmail [involved], you know, to sell your social space, to sell your social existence to fulfil your basic needs, which were stripped away from you initially by those same actors.

Denis conveys that *Zelena Akcija* have 'serious concerns' that *Golf Park Dubrovnik* and the planned *Ombla* hydroelectric power plant projects are connected and that the true motivation behind the power plant is being concealed from the public. In the relatively dry and warm Mediterranean climate, growing grass poses many challenges in the Dubrovnik region. In the City of Dubrovnik grass is scarce and there are two main parks on the Lapad peninsula – one is a public park and the other is a recently established park managed by a private hotel, with lawns on it. In all of my fieldwork periods I would repeatedly observe that the lawns got burnt by the sun and the grass died back, only to be rejuvenated months later through rainfall and

282 The proposed area for the hydro electric power plant is in the Ombla river, which is located on the *Rijeka Dubrovačka* bay, close to the City of Dubrovnik. The initial plans to construct the Ombla hydro electric power plant emerged in the 1980s and the first studies on the plant were carried out in 1989. An official Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) study, was conducted in 1999 and is still in use today.

cooler weather. In other words, with a limited water supply from the existing water plant, it is generally not seen as appropriate to 'waste' water on irrigating lawns. The issue of developing large areas of lawn for the golf courses is therefore a tender issue to many. To irrigate two golf courses one would need far more water than is available in Dubrovnik today. Calculations carried out in the preparatory phases of the project, estimates that the Ombla hydroelectric power plant will be able to increase the amount of available water by three to four times. The perceived need to increase the water supply, and therefore to develop the Ombla hydroelectric power plant, was written into the revised Spatial Plan for the Dubrovnik-Neretva County in 2005. Denis is concerned that the research into the environmental impact of the proposed plant is outdated and builds on data collected under highly undemocratic circumstances in 1999:

> *In the context of 1999, [in] the post-war period, people were interested in their basic existence. They also feared any sort of public engagement and [to] voic[e] their concerns about anything. So you cannot expect that a procedure conducted in 1999 was very democratic because Croatia, as such, was not very democratic. It was a very isolated and authoritarian country in the 90s. And now obviously they're [golf investors] trying to push this – [based on] solutions that were formally passed during these very problematic times – under the excuse that there are no legal barriers to doing so.*

Denis reflects that many researchers have expressed their concerns over the unsustainability of the project – that it's economically, financially and technically questionable, and that the local community will most likely not benefit much from it. Some of the concerns about the plant revolve around questions of pollution, increased muddied drinking water, negative impacts on wildlife, how to ensure enough potable water to the local population, and the negative impacts on the livelihood of the residents and land owners next to the Ombla river.

The holding company for the hydro electrical plant, *Hrvatska Elektroprivreda d.d.* (HEP), initially managed to secure a loan of up to €123.2 million from the *European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD)*. The estimated cost of the project is €152.4 million. However, partly due to active political lobbying and demonstrations in 2011 by *Zelena Akcija* and other environmental NGOs, the EBRD has expressed concern about the potential negative impacts of the power plant and has temporarily withdrawn the loan. The EBRD project information site states:

The most significant potential impacts were determined to be to biodiversity (bats and spring and cave-dwelling organisms and habitat) and to landowners and residents whose land will be needed for project roads.[283]

The EBDR required HEP to carry out a closer assessment of the potential negative impacts of the power plant, in particularly two areas. Firstly, it required a biodiversity assessment and the introduction of a biodiversity management plan, in line with requirements of the EU Habitats Directive. Secondly, it required the development of a Resettlement Action Plan incorporating agreements for the compensation of land and resettlement. Estimations provided by Zelena Akcija calculate that around 84 private owners (both residents in the area and owners of agricultural land) will have to be resettled or be awarded new land areas.

Denis thinks ensuring enough potable water to the population can be achieved in much easier, less invasive and cheaper ways than with the construction of the Ombla hydroelectric power plant – for example by installing a 'purification installation' in the existing publically owned water plant also by the Ombla river:

This makes you ask yourself if this [project] is just helping the private interests of the [golf] investors on Srđ. I see an obvious link between these two projects and we [Zelena Akcija] fear that the adamant pressure to continue with this investment in Ombla hydro power plant is quite possibly because of meeting the private interests of the [golf] investors.

Together with Transparency International Croatia, *Srđ je naš* and several other NGOs, *Zelena Akcija* successfully campaigned to revoke the national 'golf course law'. Like other activists opposed to the golf project, Denis sees the true motivation behind the project as not being golf, but the desire to construct apartments and hotels by building ‘another city’ above Dubrovnik for rich elites. He talks about the golf project as being ‘a city above the city' and emphasizes that, since its total area is close to the size of the entire city of Dubrovnik, it is preposterous that the local population has not been allowed to define its own future:

This is the only available space where Dubrovnik can plan its future development ... being such a huge area it should be under public scrutiny, the decision should be made taking into account the wishes of the local population, of how they envisage their future,

283 http://www.ebrd.com/work-with-us/projects/psd/ombla-hpp.html.

of what they want with their city and with the space around the city ... From my perspective as a citizen of Dubrovnik it is very sad that you have to have external force to enforce these rules, that this is not a product of the life of the community. So it shouldn't have to be UNESCO coming to us and saying that you will lose your status as a protected UNESCO site if you do this [allow the golf park to go ahead]. You know, the community as such should act, be forward thinking and prevent things like this from happening.

In common with many informants who are critical of the golf project, Denis sees civic ideals as an important legacy of the Dubrovnik Republic. To him, it appears, the hallmark of planning ahead for sensitive urban and rural developments is to respect and value the Republic's ideals of civicism and harmony of scale between humans and their natural and cultural environments. This, he thinks, would also foster sustainable development.

On *Golf Park Dubrovnik*'s website, which features descriptions of the project and its 'vision', terms such as environmental sensitivity and sustainable development are often employed:

The Golf Park Dubrovnik Project will be an example of environmental sensitivity, sustainability, and advanced design, inspired by the unique beauty of this natural environment. The beauty and power of this site enable us to create a unique and unforgettable experience, in harmony with the spirit and tradition of this city…The Golf Park Dubrovnik will fully evaluate the unused area of the mountain of Srđ, which is an iconic part of Dubrovnik's history. By returning the plateau of 350 acres to the residents of Dubrovnik, the Golf Park Dubrovnik will create a continuous connection between the Srđ Plateau and the city of Dubrovnik by creating a sporting, recreational, globally renowned attraction, and a lively place for relaxation and entertainment[284].

Some of the arguments used to convey impression of being attentive to environmental and local concerns are focused on how the project intends to revitalize rural areas, extend the tourist season, offer new recreational activities which are 'missing' in Dubrovnik's current tourism offers and to provide 1,000 new jobs, mainly aimed at citizens of Dubrovnik and Bosanka.

284 http://www.golfparkdubrovnik.hr/en/view/golf-park-dubrovnik-project/25.

However, Srđjan, the *Srđ je naš* activist (see above), sees *Golf Razvoj's* description of the golf project as being in "*harmony with the spirit and tradition of this city"* and as being environmentally sensitive, as divorced from reality. As with Denis, pressing local water issues feature high in Srđjan's concerns about the environmental impact of the project:

> *If you want to bring water up there [Mount Srđ] and keep it flowing in the conditions that we have during the summer, it takes an incredible amount of water ... to create grass, lawns ... imagine how many trucks and thousands of tons of soil they have to bring up there to create that kind of surface [and] all the fertilizers [which] will go into the soil ... our rocky karst terrain will suck everything up like a sponge.*

He is critical of how the golf developers attempt to sell the project as progressive – as if the mountain plateau has no existing environmental value, but with their investments 'value' will be ascribed into the environment. He thinks that many locals only see the cultural and symbolic values of the mountain plateau, but do not realize its environmental worth. Inside the crack and caves of the karst there are many species endemic to this particular area which would most likely be threatened by the pesticides used to sustain golf courses:

> *The local society does not see them [the endemic species] as having any kind of value. It just sees [the mountain plateau] as a wasteland, as stones which could be turned into a touristic paradise.*

This perception, he thinks, makes it easier for many locals to accept the golf project's vocabulary of progress, sustainability, and of invigorating the natural environment of the mountain plateau. In light of the attractive project designs in the image gallery of the golf project's website, it is perhaps not so strange that the golf company's plans may appear to some as representing a visual improvement to Mount Srđ. The image gallery contains over 50 images of golf courses, apartments, an amphitheatre, walkways, swimming pools and restaurants set in lush surroundings, with tree-lined boulevards, cypresses, palm trees, deciduous trees, an abundance of brightly colourful pink and purple flowering plants, such bougainvillea, and fields of lavender. Many of the modernist, flat-roofed apartments are also covered, nearly entirely, with ivy. To critics of the golf project these kinds of images are trying to 'sell a dream' to tourists and locals, which in reality would be nearly impossible to sustain without an enormous and unsustainable use of resources. Srđjan believes that there are significant hidden costs to the golf project – and to the local population – which are not apparent in the project design. He sees the uses of resources which would be required by the

establishment and maintenance of the golf project as insensitive to the needs of the population which already struggles to make a living. To him, regional sustainable development instead involves helping agricultural production to recover. With the warm Mediterranean climate and long summer season, the conditions for agriculture in Dubrovnik-Neretva County are good. But due to the poor infrastructure for irrigation and the strong focus on boosting tourism and the service sector rather than helping agriculture, there has been, since the dissolution of Yugoslavia, a strong decline in regional agricultural production. Srđjan lives in a rural area south-west of Dubrovnik and is concerned that in Dubrovnik's adjacent regions, such as Konavle, Župa Dubrovačka, Primorje and the Pelješac peninsula, the populations often struggle to maintain agricultural production. Many villages have insufficient irrigation systems for growing olives, vegetables and other agricultural produce. He thinks that the large scale of the golf project and the resources it requires are unjust to people living in the region:

> *The golf project will reserve water, bringing water pipes to [Mount Srđ] just to have this kind of ecologically unfriendly excuse for construction.... And there are also many public costs – they will pay something, one [initial] sum, but continually you have to maintain the whole mechanism [and] the expenses for maintaining the entire system will be [placed] on our shoulders.*

Srđjan thinks that the wealthy tourists who will buy the apartments planned for Mount Srđ will not contribute much to the local economy either, as they will only spend short periods of the year there**.** He explains how he sees the construction of real estate by private interests as the real motivation behind the golf park:

> *In Croatia, golf is used as an excuse to go into untouched nature, right next to the most beautiful towns and surroundings, and build where you cannot build in any other legal way...and it's not just about building golf courses and clubs, but it's also followed by large-scale construction of villas and apartments. So we keep telling people that the golf project is not really about developing sport or tourism, but it's rather a large-scale construction scheme.*

Srđjan has a full-time job in the education sector, but spends a lot of his spare-time working on *Srđ je naš*' activities. Since the establishment of the civil initiative in 2009, his work has involved everything from local and national political lobbying, to taking part in public meetings and arranging press conferences. He has frequently been part of discussion panels as the civil initiative media spokesperson**.** In 2011, the civil initiative launched a quarterly

newspaper, which according to Srđjan, attempts to inform people about the likely negative consequences of the golf project. It also focuses on the non-transparent and corrupt political processes which accompany the project; matters, he believes, which are usually concealed from the public. While many of Srđjan's activities in *Srđ je naš*' are concerned with lobbying at the political and judicial levels, he sees it as equally important to address the role of citizens in democratisation processes and to present other sides to the golf project to the general public which, he thinks, are not coming through in most local and national media reports:

> *The media space is plastered with their [the golf investors'] propaganda; not even one media [organization] in Dubrovnik would objectively talk about it, and especially not the national TV, it's completely impossible to get through ... We managed to get different groups – architects, for instance, and some scientists and other experts to write about it more objectively ... we also republished some articles from national journals to make different opinions visible to people living here. We also tried to get politicians on our side, but it's like a wall. The previous government supported this project, and the government in power now locally, were against it before, but now they support it because the Mayor supports it – and we cannot get to them*[285].

Although some of my informants expressed concern about the intended development plans for Mount Srđ, it was only after I left following my first fieldwork period at the end of 2009 that growing discontentment and local resistance became widespread. Many Dubrovnikans described a public meeting about the golf project on 1st September 2010 as the turning-point in the case, when "the local politicians and golf developers finally realized the extent and seriousness of the resistance." Those openly opposed to the golf development talked about this public meeting as occupying the space between a 'circus spectacle' and 'a declaration of war'. When I returned for my 2012 fieldwork period, it was noticeable how the political climate had changed in Dubrovnik – the golf project had grown into one of the most controversial issues locally. Increasingly the project also gained a lot more national media attention. A large number of my informants, attributed the rise in dissension to the fact that the Mayor of Dubrovnik[286], elected in 2009, had repeatedly failed to keep his promise to hold

285 Srđjan's reflections date from 2012 and therefore refer to the then Mayor, Andro Vlahušić, and the municipal government coalition of the Liberal Democratic party; *HNS – Hrvatska Narodna Stranka – Liberalni Democrati* and the centre-left, Social Democratic party; *SDP – Socijaldemokratska partija Hrvatske*.
286 Andro Vlahušić, was the Mayor of Dubrovnik from 2009-2017 and represented the liberal democrat, *Croatian People's Party* (*Hrvatska narodna stranka – liberalni demokrati).*

a local referendum over the proposed plans, despite appeals by Srđ je naš and other associations. The Mayor had reportedly gained widespread support in the 2009 local elections because of his promise to hold a local referendum concerning the future golf development plans for Srđ. These claims were confirmed by two senior politicians on the city council whom I interviewed in 2012. Many Dubrovnikans told me that the Mayor's promise to hold a referendum had been the reason they had voted for him in the 2009 election. Now they were left with a feeling of betrayal. Many were of the opinion that the Mayor's evasiveness and reluctance to hold a referendum proved that the local population "are always placed on the sideline" and that "ultimately it is big business and the lure of money which steers the local politicians". During my second fieldwork period in 2012 the promise to hold a referendum had still not been met. In an interview with Mayor Vlahušić in October 2012, I asked why a referendum still had not been realized, as his four year term as Mayor was drawing to a close. Vlahušić replied:

> *I didn't promise a referendum…no…it was not in my programme because a referendum is a stupid thing…Yes, I'm always for a referendum, but someone must organize it and know what the conclusions [involve]. The ownership [of the land] is completely private, you know…And they [the investors] work according to the Croatian rules. [So] if we put the question to the people: 'Are you for golf on Srđ?' and if people said; 'No we are not', then what are the conclusions? The private investors say 'ok, you are against that...no problem...We will not build [on Srđ], but we are owners of that land and we have lost €300 million... [so we will] send the bill to the citizens for €300 million, because we are working everything according to the rules of the city...to the rules of the government'.*

From my interview with Vlahušić and other politicians and municipal workers it became clear that the pressures exerted on Dubrovnik's municipality from the different interest groups, with seemingly irreconcilable interests and demands, were starting to take their toll. Nearly a decade had dragged on without any resolution to the golf project, and the threat that investors on Mount Srđ might sue Dubrovnik municipality for the large monetary losses they were incurring, as well as the time and effort wasted on an unrealized project, was increasingly coming to the forefront of municipal concerns. These concerns were at their height at the beginning of 2013, as the question of the referendum became impossible to avoid anymore. Impatient at the lack of progress, *Srđ je naš* organized a petition in February 2013 to collect signatures from local citizens in favour of referendum. According to a Croatian law passed by

HDZ in 1996[287] , one needs the signatures of 20% of the citizens in order to legally demand a referendum – which in Dubrovnik's case would mean around 9,000 signatures. Furthermore, for the referendum to count, 50% of the citizens would have to vote in it. Srđjan, the *Srđ je naš* activist, believed a referendum represented the best chance of stopping the golf construction. However, he wasn't too hopeful that a referendum would amount to anything as he thought it would be difficult to get the signatures of 20% of the population, and almost impossible to get 50% of the local citizens to cast their vote. Given these restrictions, the chances of stopping the golf construction were low, Srđjan thought, since everyone in favour of golf will purposefully avoid voting in order to nullify the referendum. Moreover, he believes that the general low turnout for regular elections, which rarely exceeds 50%, reflects the lack of faith that Croatians have in the political and legal system and scepticism that politicians will act in the best interests of the citizens. Srđjan elaborates:

> *People in Croatia are much weaker and less actively participate in decisions, so what we [Srđ je naš] are doing is much harder here than anywhere in the West...in any 'normal country'. Because of this law [the law on referendum], not a single referendum has been successfully passed in Croatia. The previous government promised to change the laws, but they didn't do so because they feared that this would [make it possible to] change their local mayors through referendums. So we have idiots and corrupted politicians for mayors in Split, Dubrovnik or Zagreb and they are still the Mayors. I think they want to create politicians who cannot be touched by the public*[288].

However, despite Srđjan's perception of widespread political apathy, he sees winning the population's trust and support as one of the keys to social change. *Srđ je naš* therefore spent a lot of effort in making their campaigns appeal to the general public and to bring humour into them.

A notable feature in many conversations and interviews with my informants was a deep-seated distrust of politicians at all levels – of their rapidly shifting allegiances, empty

287 *Zakon o referendumu i drugim oblicima osobnog sudjelovanja u obavljanju državne vlasti i lokalne i područne (regionalne) samouprave*.
288 In 2017, Srđjan told me that although the 2013 golf referendum in Dubrovnik had failed to stop the golf project he was optimistic that the local referendum had set a positive example nationally. Two other referenda were organised – one against a carbon plant in the city of Ploce and the other over the question of another plant in the northern part of Croatia.

promises and lack of initiative in tackling the nation's corruption problems. Despite certain reforms in the administrative and legal system in Croatia's EU accession period, few informants placed much hope in the legal system's ability to solve disputes, as they saw it as highly inefficient and slow-moving. These sentiments were found not only amongst those who were critical of the golf project, but were also expressed by Ivan Kusalić, the managing director of Golf Park Dubrovnik, whom I interviewed in May 2012. Ivan sees it as unfortunate that corruption flourishes at all levels of Croatian society, but is quick to emphasize that his company operates according to the legal framework:

> *Politicians are politicians. It means that they will go with whoever is perceived in their opinion to have bigger influence on their votes...The golf law is something which was a product of this corrupted society. Maybe the aim that it will enhance investments was good...but basically, the goal of the law was to take the land cheaper. We have never used any of the possibilities from this law because we didn't have to. Fortunately, before this law was passed, we had already finished our land purchase and bought our land from private owners. We paid in full to all [the owners], so I can really say with full responsibility that we have not profited out of this law.*

Unrelated to their position or personal interests, more or less all my informants admitted that corruption flourishes in Croatian society. However, nearly everyone, including those with monetary and political power, tended to conceive of themselves as victims and on the margins of a corrupt society. This sentiment was also apparent in Ivan's reflections:

> *We are also victims of such a system, as investors. I mean, we are the biggest victims…we have invested a great amount of capital, time and effort based on the documents produced by the local and national government. [These documents] showed us that the project was almost finished and it turned out not to be true. So I see us as the biggest victims of such a system.*

Ivan describes his experience in dealing with the local authorities as frustrating and filled with unclear and contradictory messages. According to him, the golf investment company was reassured by both local and national authorities that the golf project was entirely in accord with the urban planning regulations and the investors were shown documents which confirmed they were investing in an area which was designated for development. They were then told that the necessary exposition process was completed, so after buying the land and

applying for the construction permits, it should only take a year before they could start the development. Ivan reflects:

> *This one year has become seven or eight years and we still don't see the end of it. So, basically, the local and national authorities showed that they don't know what they're doing, and this whole system of urban planning is poor and very underdeveloped.*

The threat of a crippling law suit against Dubrovnik municipality from different investment firms has received a fair amount of attention in the local media. However, in response to Dubrovnik municipality's investigations as to whether the City of Dubrovnik could be held financially responsible, Ivan stated in an interview with a local newspaper[289] that the golf company is still not considering a law suit as they are instead focused on the realization of the project[290]. He thinks that a referendum would not pose an impediment to the realization of the golf project, as he is convinced that the opportunities which the development presents to the local population, such as new work opportunities and improved infrastructure, mean that the majority of the population would be in favour of the plans. Although Ivan thinks that the bureaucratic and legal system erects major obstacles towards the realization of the golf project, he argues that the controversy over the project reflects an ongoing political struggle in Dubrovnik. However, he doesn't think that the resistance stems from the majority of the population, but *"only the attitudes of a small minority with specific interests".* What exactly these 'specific interests' entail he does not make entirely clear, but throughout our conversation he portrayed a situation marked by many conflicting interests and world-views, some of which reveal underlying societal factors that could be said to characterize both post-independence Dubrovnik and Croatian society. Ivan's family comes from a small town south-west of Dubrovnik, but he has lived most of his life in Croatia's capital, Zagreb. He thinks that since this region was badly affected by the war, it has influenced the inhabitants. Consequently any developments on Mount Srđ are particularly sensitive due to the mountain plateau's symbolic place in Dubrovnik's defence and hard-fought independence. However, Ivan is also aware of a general reluctance towards new investments and constructions in

289 *Dubrovaćki vjesnik,* 27.02.2013.
290 In September 2017, with Golf Park Dubrovnik still unrealized, the investment companies, *Golf Razvoj* and *Elitech*, issued an arbitrage to the Washington based International Court for Settlement of Investment Disputes. The arbitrage is issued against the Republic of Croatia and asks for 500.00 mln. USD in compensation for the economic losses related to the golf investment. As of May 2018, the arbitrage is still pending (http://investmentpolicyhub.unctad.org/ISDS/Details/845.).

society at large, and sees some of this scepticism as a hang-over from the Yugoslavian era, when societal values were not *"based on the market criteria, work and results of the work"*. Ivan's reflections reveal a perception of Mount Srđ as barren and neglected place, harbouring unrealized potential for 'improvement'. He thinks that the local population should be appreciative of the golf company's attempts to 'realize its potential'. Ivan elaborates on how he thinks Croatia is in need of international capital investments in order to move out of economic crisis, but sees suspicion towards foreign investors as blocking necessary progress:

> *In Croatia the general trend is that investors are [seen as] thieves...foreign investors are [seen as] even bigger thieves than domestic investors, and that anybody who wants to make a profit is to be blamed," he says. "I think that in the 21st century it is really very narrow to talk in terms of not wanting foreign investors. Croatia doesn't have enough investment capacity...not for this project...or for any project. We have been struggling in economic crisis for twenty years.*

The *Srđ je naš* activist, Srđjan, thinks it is easy for the golf developers to blame the locals for being suspicious of and reluctant towards 'new developments'. He thinks there is plenty of grounds for suspicion about the projects' transparency, corruption allegations and conditions of nepotism, and describes the golf project as being stitched up and enmeshed in corruption and nepotism from top to bottom. The main investor, Aaron Frenkel, a businessman from Israel, is alleged to have former involvement in arms dealing and is embroiled in a corruption case in Israel stemming from his past career in Israel Aircraft Industries and Israel Aerospace Industries. He is married to the former Croatian Deputy Trade Minister, Maja Brinar, and they live in the 'tax-haven' of Monaco. She is also the current head of the golf project, and the Mayor (until 2017), Andro Vlahušić, has vested interests in the project as his brother's construction company is involved in it.

Srđjan thinks that investors and politicians tend to prey on the difficult economic situation in Croatia, by using the promise of new jobs as 'bait' in gaining mass support for large-scale constructions, which, in reality, will only benefit a small minority and the people already in power. He reflects:

> *If you wave food in front of hungry man, he will believe you…There's an incredible amount of manipulation of people who are in bad economic situations, and we are all dependent on tourism so they're trying to sell it to us as tourism, but it's actually just large-scale construction and a total waste of space.*

Srđjan argues that *Srđ je naš*' resistance towards the golf project does not stem from societal 'backwardness' and suspicion of new developments, but rather from widespread frustration with how politicians are in league with 'big business', and completely override pressing local needs, the quality of life in the local community and the citizens' connection to their heritage.

To Srđjan, resistance towards the golf constructions is intimately connected to the wish to foster democratisation processes. To him, encouragement of stronger civic engagement and communal participation in Dubrovnik's urban planning are essential to efforts to achieve a sustainable management of Dubrovnik's urban heritage and the wider landscape the city is situated in. To both domestic and international audiences, Dubrovnik's restoration of its World Heritage site is presented as a 'success story'. Having been subjected to the pervasive destruction of several earthquakes and the 1990s war, Dubrovnik has managed to rise like a phoenix from the ashes and restore its urban heritage, all the time adhering to the international heritage management practices of UNESCO[291]. Although Srđjan has a deep appreciation of the architectural restoration that has been carried out in the city's historic core, he questions the lack of focus on the people living in and near the World Heritage site. He highlights a disparity between the representations of Dubrovnik's 'success' and the lived realities of the local population. Many residents feel excluded from any say in deciding how Dubrovnik's urban heritage and landscape should best be managed to benefit the common interests of the local community rather than just certain groups with access to power, wealth and land ownership rights. Srđjan regards the heritage discourse as very narrow and sees a strong need to broaden the idea of what constitutes Dubrovnik's heritage beyond a preoccupation with the UNESCO protected centre and its historical architecture and monuments. But he discerns little willingness on the part of local politicians to recognize that Dubrovnik's World Heritage is part of a much wider, integrated and vulnerable eco-system. This fragile inheritance also includes the landscape which the World Heritage is situated in, such as Mount Srđ and the coastal areas, and the inhabitants of the city and its vicinity. Only by bringing all these elements together, he believes, will it be possible to achieve a sustainable management of Dubrovnik's broader cultural heritage. If Dubrovnik's cruise-ship tourism is poorly managed and the golf- and real estate constructions on Mount Srđ are allowed to go ahead, Srđjan fears that the consequences on the citizens' connections to their heritage will be dire. Throughout our many conversations, Srđjan reveals deep frustration over what he describes as highly

[291] http://whc.unesco.org/en/107/

undemocratic, un-transparent and corrupt conditions in Croatia. He is convinced that politicians and investors alike have manipulated different groups of the population for their own gain, and is critical of how the public has purposefully been left in the dark about the extent and ramifications of the golf project. When the Spatial Plan of Dubrovnik-Neretva County was revised in 2003, the initial area designated for golf developments comprised 100 square meters. According to Srđjan, this area was planned for golf courses only, and did not encompass the construction of apartments or hotels. However, without the local population's knowledge, the area designated to *Golf Park Dubrovnik* was in 2006 secretly increased to 310 square meters. He elaborates:

> *Quite soon they [the investors] started manipulating the plan. They told the public one story ... that there will only be golf on Srđ. They tried to persuade people who owned the land to sell it because there will never be a chance to build anything there ... Simultaneously they were in contact with the authorities and tried to persuade them to change the [spatial] regulations. They used the excuse that nobody will come and build golf courses on Srđ because it is expensive and inefficient unless you have villas or apartments right next to the golf courses...otherwise it will only make losses. So slowly and illegally they managed to enlarge the area reserved for golf, and by 2006 the area had grown from 100 to 310 m²!*

The illegalities which Srđjan refers to relate to the particular political circumstances found in Dubrovnik in 2006. Due to internal political disputes within HDZ, the local party in power, Želimir Bosnić, a representative from HDZ in Zagreb, was temporarily appointed a 'trustee' in order to lead the municipality until the next elections in 2006**.** Srđjan thinks that certain politicians and investors utilized 'the crisis in the municipality' in order to furnish extensive changes to the urban plan:

> *Bosnić's function was simply to keep things normal in the municipality ... just to run the office. He didn't have the authority to sign off any important decisions. This would have had to have been done by the assembly. But he was in a deal with the government ... and there was very strong pressure from Zagreb supporting the golf construction, so he brought about the changes in the urban documents through which he enlarged the area for golf ... and what is even worse ... he allowed huge scale building beside golf, so apartments, villas and hotels were allowed to be built, catering for a total of 2,800 overnight stays. Of course, the golf investors just waited for that ... they knew it would*

happen and had been persuading people from Dubrovnik to sell their land cheaply for the last three to four years.

In response to the changes in the UPU, the NGOs, *Domovina Baština, DUB, Eko-omblići*, which from 2010 became a part of *Srđ je naš,* sent a written appeal to the *Constitutional Court of Republic of Croatia (Ustavni sud Republike Hrvatske)* in 2006 where they argued that *"a government trustee doesn't have the right to make changes to urban plan according to Croatian law".* According to Srđjan, the appeal was filed, but purposefully not dealt with for six years, even though legally these claims have to be treated within three years. In 2012, they were sent a notification that, due to the reorganization of courts in Croatia, this case was not anymore under the responsibility of the Croatian Supreme Court, but had to be dealt with by the new *High Administrative Court in Zagreb (Visoki upravni sud u Zagrebu)*. The case was eventually solved in 2104. Srđjan argues that investors indirectly profit from the overburdened and dysfunctional Croatian legal system since the monetary value of the golf project continues to grow. Investigations made by *Srđ je naš* discovered that the golf project's value was estimated at around €90 million in 2003. Two years later it had increased to €600 million and in 2010 to €900 million. By 2012 it was worth €1.2 billion. In March 2017, the national newspaper, *Jutarnji list*, published a list of Croatia's top ten tourist developments. In it *Golf Park Dubrovnik* is ranked as having the highest investment value nationally, estimated at €1 billion[292]. Srđjan emphasizes that one must not think that corruption and illicit deals only occur amongst those in power. Corruption, he thinks, runs deeply through Croatian society at all levels. He sees the contentious issue of the golf project on Mount Srđ as a typical example of how people from different walks of life exploit loopholes in land ownership laws and the insufficient land cadastre and registration at the expense of the common good and the use of the local community. Srđjan told me about a court case which occurred in 2011, where six individuals each claimed ownership of large plots of land of Mount Srđ, in areas which were designated for golf development. Their claims to ownership were based on allegedly picking wild thyme and collecting wood in these plots of land for more than 20 years. The former known owners of the land areas died a long time ago, but this fact was concealed in the court case and they were presented as being absent and as having no known place of residence. According to the law of *adverse possession* (*Zakon o vlasništvu i drugim stvarnim pravima*), a person using a land area or a property continuously for more than 20 years

292 *Jutarnji list, 06.03.2017,* http://www.jutarnji.hr/life/putovanja/ovo-je-10-najznacajnijih-turistickih-projekata-od-dvije-milijarde-eura-koji-zaista-pokrecu-hrvatsku-pogledajte-dosad-nevideno-luksuzna-zdanja/5718739/.

becomes the rightful owner. Based on the testimonies of the six individuals, and backed up by witnesses purportedly with knowledge of their practices of picking wild thyme, the Municipal Court ruled in their favour and designated them the rightful owners of the plots of land. Just a few weeks later, all six sold the land to the golf construction company. According to media reports the new owners earned more than €1 million as a result.[293] This particular case of adverse possession and the subsequent court cases has been called locally *afera majčina dušica* (the wild thyme affair).

The controversy over the golf project is also bound up with the complex and unclear situation regarding land ownership in Croatia. In a nation which has undergone considerable and rapid political and administrative changes, the difficulty of tracing or proving ownership to pieces of land or property has led to numerous ongoing disputes and explains some of the background to the high number of registered and unsolved court cases nation-wide. The Croatian land registry system is based on the Austro-Hungarian system of land registry. The process of transference from Yugoslavia's collectivism and public ownership to private ownership has been complicated by a lack of updates in the pre-Yugoslavian land registry system and a lack of harmonization between old and new land registry systems. In Croatia's EU accession period, the EU specified three major challenges which Croatia would have to combat in order to ensure alignment with the EU acquis[294]. These challenges relate to judicial reform, public administration reform and measures to fight corruption and organized crime (Madir, 2011). In response to EU directives to reform the court administration system, the Ministry of Justice initiated the 'Organized Land programme' (*Uređena zemlja*) in 2013.The programme aims to map and harmonize the cadastre and real estate registration systems into one digital database. The aim of digitalizing the land registries is in part to reduce the administrative processing time involved in real estate registration, as well as providing a greater degree of legal security for real estate transactions (Madir, ibid). The Organized Land programme is intended to help to facilitate domestic and international investments by increasing the transparency of land ownership and making ownership easily traceable. Croatia is known internationally for having an extremely slow-moving bureaucracy and legal system and consequently conflicts over the ownership of land and real estate regularly drag out over

293 http://www.slobodnadalmacija.hr/dalmacija/dubrovnik/clanak/id/149001/uskok-na-sru-brali-majcinu-dusicu-upalo-im-milijun-eura.

294 The EU *acquis communautaire*, usually shortened to the *EU acquis* refers to the totality of European Union law. The term derives from French: *acquis*: 'that which has been agreed upon' and *communautaire*: 'of the community', (http://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/SN05944/SN05944.pdf).

many years. In 2012, two of the world's largest credit rating companies, *Standard & Poor (*S&P) and *Fitch Ratings*, downgraded Croatia's debt and investment rating from BB+, 'the highest non-investment level' to BB-, and from stable to poor. One of the reasons given by S&P for the downgrading is that *"the country's structural and fiscal overhaul is insufficient to promote growth and make government finances more sustainable"*[295]. Croatia was also named one of the most corrupt nations in Europe, just behind first-placed Slovenia, in May 2013[296].

John, a property investor, works for a London-based company, which in 2005 acquired 30.000. Square meters of land on Mount Srđ planned for the *Fenestra village* project (see above). Although his company were told by the local authorities that the acquired land was designated for property development and it would take approximately a year for the necessary administrative processes to be completed, they are still waiting for the go ahead twelve years later. As a representative of his investment company, John travels every month to Dubrovnik to check up on the case and he has attended numerous meetings with local and national authorities. The investment company he works for has one other project in Croatia, and has been involved in property developments in Montenegro and Kosovo. While many of the other Balkan nations have managed to implement considerable reforms which have enabled international investments to be realized, John argues, Croatia has an extremely inefficient administrative and legal system, and reforms have not been successful. He tells me that there was a fair amount of optimism internationally regarding the opportunities for making investments in Croatia around 2007. But today hardly any international investors in Croatia have managed to realize their projects. There is a total loss of faith in the ability to invest in Croatia, he says.

Although most Croatians recognize that corruption problems pre-date the establishment of the Croatian nation-state, there is a widespread opinion that commercial interests are the primary driving forces behind most political decisions. The desire for economic profits has completely overridden local needs and allowed for corruption to prosper, ethical standards to be lowered

295 www.bloomsberg.com/news/2012-12-14/croatia, 14th December 2012.

and the residents' needs and opinions to be ignored. Furthermore, many informants expressed concern over how the difficult economic situation in post-war Croatia, exacerbated by the current global economic crisis, has encouraged the sale of land and property to foreign investors at 'bargain' prices, thus contributing little to the local economy. This opinion was interestingly expressed by both Dubrovnikans who were in favour of the golf project and those who were opposed to it.

Hostility towards the outsourcing of land and property to foreign investors, distrust of whether politicians will act in the best interests of citizens, suspicion towards foreign investment and large partnerships, a feeling of being taken advantage of and 'selling out' one's culture and resources – these pervasive sentiments are all linked to the experience of the war and post-war periods when property, industry and tourism infrastructure was sold off for little money to foreign investors. This background also supplies some of the explanation for why large numbers of the population, especially in the tourist-reliant area of southern Dalmatia, are Eurosceptic. In addition, the golf project highlights the challenges of an arguably dysfunctional bureaucracy and a climate of lack of trust in foreign investments in Croatia.

Interestingly, conversations with my informants regarding the proposed developments on Mount Srđ revealed that these sentiments – regarding corruption, lack of transparency and a dysfunctional bureaucratic system – are not only found amongst those opposed to the project, but were also conspicuous among several domestic and international investors.

In order to successfully implement new construction- and tourism development schemes it is of paramount importance to create transparency about the scope and intentions of the projects at an early stage. Equally, developing a community based, and values based approach to heritage- and landscape management, potential areas of conflict can be identified at an early stage. The conflict regarding the planned large-scale golf- and real estate project on Mount Srđ stands as an example of how the general population was 'kept in the dark' about the construction plans for several years. Before civil society made aware of the construction plans, large land areas had already been sold or leased to the golf investment company and location permits were already awarded to Golf Park Dubrovnik. The ability to influence the mountain plateau's future development or preservation was therefore limited.

The controversy over *Golf Park Dubrovnik* exemplifies how conflicting perceptions of conservation and construction may become major sources of contestation, not only in the specific context of post-war Dubrovnik. The case-study is relevant to other UNESCO World

Heritage enlisted sites and other places with a particular monetary appeal to tourism development. The discourses framing the contestation over the Golf Park Dubrovnik are specific to Dubrovnik's cultural history, regional conditions and dynamics, as well as the national circumstances of Croatia's independence and economic transition. But they are echoed in many cases of local activism worldwide, where critiques of the often overriding consequences of neo-liberal capitalism and the lack of locally integrated, culturally and environmentally sensitive dimensions to economic development, are challenged. The golf case is thus interesting in a global perspective as well as in its own right.

As Outstanding as Before? Golf Park Dubrovnik and the Belated Intervention of UNESCO

The controversy over the construction plans on Mount Srđ demonstrates how heritage and places are intimately embedded in specific local and national issues and frictions, which have particular temporal and regionally embedded dimensions. However, the golf case also has wide relevance and applicability in gaining a better understanding of what may happen to World Heritage Sites under the conditions of rampant market liberalism. It may be argued that if the driving forces behind using the World Heritage status of a place are more about advancing its commercial allure for economic gain than to enhance cultural diversity, accessibility of heritage and public places for all or to foster the connections between heritage and local identity, then World Heritage protection is in danger of losing its important safeguarding role. However, the precise point at which the commercialization of a World Heritage site and its vicinity has 'gone too far', and when, or if, the consequences of its management, are deemed irreversible, is difficult, if not impossible, to assess. Nevertheless, several academics (Wang 2012, Reeves and Long 2011, Liao and Qin 2013, Zhu 2016, Breglia 2016, Vianello 2016b, Opillard 2017) have observed similar patterns in many World Heritage sites today – of how privatization and increased scarcity of recreational spaces, gentrification, high property prices, the exclusion of the public from decision-making processes, the depopulation of historical city cores and the economic exploitation of World Heritage in tourism development, pose major dilemmas to the environment and the local populations inhabiting World Heritage sites. These processes, which frequently affect World Heritage sites as they evolve into major tourist attractions, potentially threaten 'living heritage' and inhabitants' identification to heritage and locality as well.

In the last decade or so UNESCO has increasingly emphasized the necessity for the State Parties and local authorities to commit to issuing more thorough management plans, which address the potential threats and challenges to the World Heritage properties and offer concrete progress reports on how pressing local issues of heritage and tourism management are being dealt with. As outlined in the interview I conducted with Engelbert Rouss, former director of UNESCO Venice (see Chapter 4), due to UNESCO lacking the funds to adequately monitor World Heritage Sites, the responsibility to report honestly and regularly on potential threats to their *Outstanding Universal Value* unfortunately rests with the State Parties and local authorities in each place. Arguably, the greatest risks to the sites' *Outstanding Universal Value* stem from the pressure to reap economic benefits by allowing construction schemes to go ahead without first conferring with UNESCO. However, Dubrovnik's political authorities do not seem keen to learn from the experiences of other cities. Despite repeated warnings from UNESCO about the risk the construction of the *Waldschlösschen Bridge* in Germany's *Dresden Elbe Valley* would pose to the site's Outstanding Universal Value, the local authorities still chose to go ahead with the construction plans[297]. The result was that, in 2009, the World Heritage Committee's chose to remove the Valley from the World Heritage List. According to Francesco Bandarin, UNESCO's Assistant Director-General for Culture[298], one of the reasons for the site's removal from the World Heritage List was a lack of co-operation from the local authorities and a refusal to heed WHC's advice and recommendations over the previous four years[299]. As with the Mount Srđ plans, the construction of the *Waldschlösschenbrücke* caused a great deal of controversy locally. A referendum regarding the construction of the bridge was held in 2005 and nearly 68% (based on a turn-out of over 50% of the eligible voters) voted in favour. However, many citizens argued they had been misled as they has not sufficiently been warned about Elbe Valley's World Heritage status being at stake (Johansson 2015, Gaillard 2014).

Many informants expressed concern that Dubrovnik's authorities similarly will allow *Golf Park Dubrovnik* to go ahead, despite strong local resistance, the findings of several visual- and environmental impact studies, and regardless of what conclusions the World Heritage

[297] The WHC's decision on the impact on the Outstanding Universal Value of the Dresden Elbe Valley was based on a Visual Impact Study carried out by the Institute of Urban Design and Regional Planning at RWTH Aachen University.
[298] At the time of Dresden Elbe Valley's removal from the World Heritage List, Francesco Bandarin was the director of UNESCO's World Heritage Centre (2000-2010).
[299] http://en.people.cn/90001/90782/90873/6686701.html.

Committee might draw. This pervasive lack of trust that politicians will act in the best interest of the local population and of Dubrovnik's World Heritage, exists as a strong undercurrent in discourses around *Golf Park Dubrovnik.*

In a public meeting to accompany the presentation of a visual impact study of *Golf Park Dubrovnik*, Snješka, a middle aged woman, used the removal of the Dresden Elbe Valley from the World Heritage List as a 'worst-case scenario' of what might happen to Dubrovnik if the city's heritage and landscapes continue to be treated as mere extractable, infinite resources for monetary exploitation:

> *Dresden, as the old town which rose from the ashes like a phoenix, is today a target of massive tourism. Dresden lives on tourism today. It is an extremely important branch. Having been removed from the World Heritage list, they suffered enormously. Today they speak about it with much regret, and this is a lesson. In both cases, especially this local one, we can say that the heritage, the landscape and the existing values were exclusively treated as mere resources. Mere resources! And just like you, when you talk about your positional rental, when you talk about your city on Srđ, you're exploiting what history had made in this city.*

Snješka's lengthy comparison between Dubrovnik and Dresden was made in response to a comment made by a Zagreb architect, whom she challenged on whether he had any understanding of Dubrovnik's long-standing history of "integrated development" (related to the 'heritage of harmony and scale').

In country like Croatia, where corruption and lack of political and economic transparency is entrenched, there are also risks that the government and local authorities will not honestly report potential dangers to the heritage site's Outstanding Universal Value.

The over-reliance on the State Parties and local municipalities to alert UNESCO to issues which may affect the World Heritage Sites reveals the fallibility of the system. This is evident in the case of *Golf Park Dubrovnik*, as shown by the difficulties experienced by civil initiative, *Srđ je naš*, in being 'heard' and also by the inadequate response of UNESCO to their appeals. But UNESCO's oversight into the complex and often contradictory processes which occur at 'ground level' could be enhanced by an additional system of reporting from *other* sources and institutions.

In 2013, *Srđ je naš* wrote a letter to UNESCO's assistant director-general for culture, Francesco Bandarin, expressing their great concern about several mounting threats to Dubrovnik's *Outstanding Universal Value*. The same year, the civil initiative also wrote a letter to the President of ICOMOS stating that *"it is of utmost importance to have international organizations such as ICOMOS and UNESCO to urgently intervene for the protection of Dubrovnik's heritage".* The letter urged *international* organizations, like ICOMOS and UNESCO, to evaluate the potential threat of, amongst other factors, *Golf Park Dubrovnik*, the *Fenestra villa* (Bosanka II) development, Dubrovnik's management of cruise-ship tourism and the municipality's proposal to build a new mooring point for cruise-ships next to the UNESCO protected century *Lazareti* and the walled city's harbour.

The letter outlined a history of the proposed construction plans on Mount Srđ and detailed several legal irregularities. These related to the municipality's proposed modifications to the *Urban Development Plan* (UPU) as well as changes to the *General Urban Plan* (GPU) – the 'Master Plan' of the entire City of Dubrovnik – which permitted construction on the currently protected areas of Mount Srđ. A running theme in the letter was the civil initiative's strong sense of a lack of respect among local and national institutions towards the symbolic value of Mount Srđ. It also disclosed deep disquiet about inadequate tourism management regarding Dubrovnik's cultural heritage. The letter stated:

> *The Dubrovnik City Administration has repeatedly treated Dubrovnik's valuable cultural heritage and public interest in an irresponsible manner.*

It also described how a 2013 Environmental Impact Assessment Study, which green lighted construction on Mount Srđ:

> *Utterly disregard[s] the Project's effect on Dubrovnik's historical centre which is under UNESCO protection... [and] indicates an alarmingly low level of awareness of the significance of a protected cultural heritage.*

The letter went on to express great concern about how the local Department for Conservation, after three years of disapproval, *"eventual[ly] succumb[ed] to political and other pressures"* and gave their approval to changes in the Urban Development Plan (UPU), *"thus demonstrating the inability to serve their main purpose, namely, protection of cultural heritage".*

In e-mail correspondence with Srđjan, it emerged that he initially had relatively high hopes of the capacity of the international institutions to monitor and evaluate the local situation. However, as time passed and after *Srđ je naš* had made repeated appeals for international aid in monitoring the local situation, his hopes that the international institutions would safeguard Dubrovnik's heritage markedly waned. After two failed attempts to call on the assistance of UNESCO and ICOMOS, UNESCO eventually responded to the third letter of *Srđ je naš*'s appeals and scheduled a *reactive monitoring mission* for 2015. In a 2014 letter[300], calling for the monitoring of Dubrovnik's *Outstanding Universal Value*, UNESCO noted its regret that the State Party had failed to provide details of the project to UNESCO *"before commitments had been made"* as it should have done under the 'Operational Guidelines'. The UNESCO letter revealed that the potentially irreversible effects of the construction plans on Dubrovnik's *Outstanding Universal Value* should have been reported by the State Party and it was clear UNESCO saw this as a failure to adhere to the Operational Guidelines which each State Party commits to upon World Heritage inscription:

Analysis and Conclusions of the World Heritage centre, ICOMOS and ICCROM

The State Party did not provide information, in conformity with Paragraph 172 of the *Operational Guidelines*, of its intention to undertake or to authorize new constructions which may affect the OUV of the property.

The documents provided upon the request by the World Heritage Centre demonstrate that the large size of the development could have an irreversible impact on the property's OUV. The development would eradicate the clear distinction that has historically existed between the urban complex of Dubrovnik, as a unique creation of medieval architecture and town planning, its landscape and rural environment setting.

As far as I can tell, the evidence that UNESCO was purposefully 'kept in the dark' for as long as possible regarding the construction plans on Mount Srđ, is strong.

In October 2015, a team of three UNESCO and ICOMOS officials (two from UNESCO and one from ICOMOS) undertook a monitoring mission which evaluated Dubrovnik's *Outstanding Universal Value* status in the light of the factors listed in *Srđ je naš*' letters of appeal. The findings and conclusions of the monitoring mission later became a subject under evaluation at the World Heritage Commission's 40th session in Istanbul, in July 2016. The conclusions of the World Heritage Commission's report were as follows[301]:

300 WHC-14/38.COM/7B. 16th may 2014. Add http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2014/whc14-38com-7B-Add-en.pdf.
301 Decision: 40 COM 7B.50. 27th May 2016. http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2016/whc16-40com-7B-en.pdf.

Taking note of the current status of the Sports and Recreation Centre with a Golf Course and the Bosanka North and Bosanka South Tourist Resorts project planned for the plateau of Mount Srđ and Bosanka in the vicinity of the property, considers that the Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) demonstrates that, subject to design refinement, the proposed Sports and Recreation Centre with a Golf Course and the Bosanka North and Bosanka South Tourist Resorts would have an acceptable effect on the OUV of the property, and further requests the State Party to:

1. *Facilitate revisions to the plans and drawings for the project to ensure that no construction is to take place within a minimum distance of 50m from the edges of the plateau,*
2. *Continue the dialogue with the Advisory Bodies as the Resorts project progresses,*
3. *Submit amended plans for the project to the World Heritage Centre in accordance with Paragraph 172 of the Operational Guidelines, for review by the Advisory Bodies before construction works begin,*
4. *Submit relevant documentation, including HIAs, to the World Heritage Centre, in line with Paragraph 172 of the Operational Guidelines, before any final decisions are made or any works start, for major developments projects within the property, its buffer zone and setting.*

The reasons why UNESCO ruled, with certain modifications, that the large-scale "*proposed Sports and Recreation Centre with a Golf Course and the Bosanka North and Bosanka South Tourist Resorts"* would "*have an acceptable effect on the OUV of the property"*, while simultaneously advising that the far smaller *Fenestra villa* (Bosanka II) development should be discontinued, is not entirely clear from the text and is open to speculation. Part of the answer may lie in the issues of *visibility* and the clear separation between the UNESCO protected architectural city centre and the undeveloped 'frame' of Mount Srđ. These are questions that repeatedly cropped up in conversations with heritage managers, members of the architects' association and also with members of *Srđ je naš*. Perhaps the distinction between man-made heritage and the environment, which many Dubrovnikans understand as the *heritage of proportion,* is deemed more important than limiting the scale of the construction – as long as the buildings are positioned, according to UNESCO's prescription, 50 meters back from the edge of the cliff, so as to make them invisible from the city centre. Another factor to consider is that UNESCO was alerted very late in the day and, as they stated in the 2014

report which called for the monitoring mission, they regretted that they had not been informed *"before commitments had been made"*. Knowing the great financial dilemma and potential law suits that may have awaited Dubrovnik Municipality if the contracts with *Golf Razvoj* and Fenestra village were rescinded, UNESCO may have been forced to make prioritizations – and the visibility issue was deemed to be of high importance both to locals and in sustaining the World Heritage property's *Outstanding Universal Value*, thus adhering to the same criteria which the city was inscribed with in 1979. The nature of the decision may, of course, also have been determined by the *limited access* to information on local issues on the part of the monitoring mission, *who* the UNESCO officials undertaking the monitoring mission spoke to (or quite possibly were *allowed to* speak to) and the allocation of time awarded to hearing the opinions of different people and institutions locally. I am not in a position to adequately assess whether UNESCO were able to gather a balanced and diverse set of data on local conditions in order to draw their conclusions. However it is apparent that, in the relatively short monitoring visit to Dubrovnik, not all sides of the argument and a genuine diversity of opinions could have been heard. In email correspondence with Srđjan after the monitoring mission I asked him how he had experienced the dialogue with the UNESCO and ICOMOS officials. He described the monitoring mission as frustrating – it was very hard to actually speak to the UNESCO and ICOMOS officials separately. He and the other *Šrd je naš* activists requested a private meeting with the UNESCO and ICOMOS officials, but this was not granted:

> *We told them that HIA [Heritage Impact Assessment] was not been made under ICOMIS/UNESCO guidelines, and that it was done on purpose. [But] we were not satisfied with the monitoring mission – they [the UNESCO officials] were constantly in company of the Mayor [and] any chance for a separate meeting with us was not there. We had to fight and complain to be able to get one and a half minutes with them, [and this was done] with all other city and ministry delegates and the mayor present.*

Srđjan says the reactive monitoring mission was carefully managed and controlled by the Mayor. According to him, the Mayor made sure he was present at all times, he changed the schedule of the visits for the monitoring mission, he did not allow the Croatian ICOMOS representatives to hold a meeting, and made a presentation to the monitoring officials himself, where he actively sought to weaken the arguments of *Šrd je naš* by "disapproving and diminishing everything [our] NGO said and also slandering us". Furthermore, the *Šrd je naš* activists were asked to leave his presentation *"so his words were the last [on the issue], and*

without our presence or chance to point out that he was lying", Srđjan says. Srđjan's frustration with how local politicians and national delegates did not let *Srđ je naš* activists speak freely and see the UNESCO officials alone, echoes how large numbers of my informants experience the access to knowledge and power that define how urban and rural developments are controlled by the few. Despite the fact that it was Dubrovnik's *civil society* which alerted UNESCO and ICOMOS to concerns about the golf project and tourism management in Dubrovnik, they were awarded very little time, and never in private company, to put forward their case. This is evidence of a clear flaw in UNESCO's monitoring missions and reveals a failing of the 'international community' to recognize the important role which civil society can play in furthering Croatia's democratization processes.

Steensnæs, former member of the Executive Board of UNESCO, Paris (2005-2009) is concerned that the political contexts of many World Heritage sites are influenced by corruption and very 'closed' political decision-making processes. In many situations, he reflects, there are a spectre of political elites who decide on management issues without consulting with civil society and other groups affected by the decisions. Steensnæs argues that in a large number of situations – also in Europe – political and financial elites ignore feedback and the opinions of civil society. This, he thinks, tends to lead to *"a strong contempt or lack of respect for politicians and a strong sense of frustration."* According to Steensnæs, UNESCO lacks proper routines for including civil society in the monitoring of World Heritage sites:

> *As an organization fostering freedom of speech, UNESCO needs to lead the way being the responsible organ who lets all groups have a say in decisions regarding the monitoring of World Heritage sites. The quality of decision-making will be strengthened by including the opinions of a large number of groups, including that of civil society. Everyone feel a kind of ownership to their heritage. They are proud to belong to a tradition, a set of values and they feel that they connect these to their identities. And when they feel that this identity is threatened, I can fully understand that they wish to have a say. UNESCO should not ignore this need.*

Steensnæs thinks it is of great importance that UNESCO develops proper routines for including the say of civil society. This, he argues, could be implemented in the legal framework of World Heritage sites monitoring, by requiring that the central authorities give

room to different civil society organizations and other groups to include their opinions in the reports presented to UNESCO.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the cultural symbolism, conflicting perceptions, representations and socio-political struggles regarding future tourism developments on Mount Srđ. As I have previously argued, heritage production and tourism management takes place in an overheated context. The conflict supplies insights into how citizens relate to Dubrovnik's complex and turbulent history, experience the present, and envisage future developments. Moreover, the conflict highlights the complex spatial and temporal relations in Dubrovnik's post-war society, by demonstrating how different population groups experience and engage with political-cultural processes at different scales.

While Mount Srđ's symbolic imagery of defence, long-lasting autonomy and the city's borderland status have been integral to local cultural symbolism and discourse for centuries, the mountain plateau has recently gained a more prominent role in the city's self-perception. To many Dubrovnikans, Mount Srđ has come to exemplify a 'heritage under threat' from the pervasive forces of the market economy, corruption and elitist conceptions of urban development. Thus, it can be said that Mount Srđ has acquired the status of a *mountain in the hearts* of the local population. As a multi-layered place – a physical, social, cultural and symbolic locale – Mount Srđ ties Dubrovnik's cultural heritage into the contemporary reality of its inhabitants' lives. Despite UNESCO's broadening heritage discourse, and a focus on local empowerment and the role of civil society in safeguarding heritage, the Mount Srđ controversy stands as a reminder of the difficulties of recasting embedded power relationships. However, the strong mobilization of forces challenging the market-led development of an area so central to cultural symbolism and local identity, has equally elevated some hopes and solidified a vision of the importance of fostering communal participation in deciding Dubrovnik's future development. The conflicts over Mount Srđ also demonstrate how the citizens perceive their World Heritage in much broader terms than the demarcated World Heritage site. The definition of protected heritage in new World Heritage nominations, and the criteria for the continued management of existing sites, has strong implications for inter-communal relations and potential future conflicts. The World Heritage program will be better equipped to fulfil its ideal intentions of fostering inter-cultural dialogue

and lasting peace if the multiple 'values' of World heritage sites' are identified. This will increase the potential of retaining World Heritage as a 'living heritage'.

The controversy surrounding the proposed golf project on Srđ reveals the extent to which mobilization through civil society groups is increasingly becoming decisive in steering social and political reform in contemporary Croatia. A lack of transparency and an unwillingness to cooperate and negotiate between the different interest groups shapes the disputes around the proposed golf constructions. Consequently, the golf project has dragged on for well over a decade, and there is little evidence that any resolution. The negotiations, contradictions and ambivalence which *Golf Park Dubrovnik*, have provoked, illuminate the diverging perceptions of temporality and place in post-war Dubrovnik. Over the course of my fieldwork periods, it has become increasingly evident that the magnitude and longevity of the still unresolved case of Mount Srđ's future has become a crucible in which identities, belonging, world-views and alterity are constructed and negotiated.

10. Conclusion – From a Material-based to a Value-based Heritage

Introduction

This thesis has been an attempt to analyse how Dubrovnik's cultural heritage is produced and interpreted within the particular context of a post-war society. I have explored how heritage production intersects with the reconstruction of post-war identities and is used as a resource in tourism- and urban development. With its focus on how the interpretations and uses of Dubrovnik's cultural heritage are processual and relational, this thesis constitutes an ethnographic contribution to critical heritage studies.

Certain premises underlie my choice of analytical approach. Firstly, and in line with Smith, Waterton (Smith 2006b, Waterton and Smith 2009, 2010) and other critical heritage scholars, I argue that values and meanings are not innately found in the structures, forms and expressions of heritage. Instead, values and meaning are shaped by, and tied to, present-day purposes, ideologies, cultural symbolism, power relationships, and hopes and desires for the near future. The particular meanings of heritage at any given time relate closely to – and are jointly shaped by – local, regional and global conditions of scale and temporality. Heritage production is thus linked to social change and changing development paradigms.

Secondly, regardless of its forms and expressions, all heritage is 'living heritage' (Smith 2006, Smith and Akagawa 2008, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004). When studying heritage production in their particular ethnographic contexts, UNESCO's separate inscription categories of 'tangible' and 'intangible' heritage make little sense. To Dubrovnikans, the 'intangible' and 'tangible' expressions of materiality, cultural forms and practices, mutually shape what has come to be understood as the city's heritage. In their concrete, ethnographic contexts, these aspects cannot be perceived as separate from one another. In this thesis, I suggest that the values ascribed to Dubrovnik's heritage have become enduring features of cultural identity through their embeddedness in materiality and place. Furthermore, the relationship between values, materiality and place is strengthened and they become enduring elements of culture through cultural practices, rituals and routines. Likewise, in agreement with, I stress that in the materiality of cultural heritage, both material structures and place become meaningful as heritage in relation to the values society ascribes to them.

The separate inscriptions of Dubrovnik's World Heritage site and the Feast of St. Blaise exemplify this mutual relationship. The first was added to the World Heritage List in 1979 and the second to the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2009. In my discussion of the Feast of St. Blaise (Chapter 8), I emphasize that that the 'intangible' cultural practices associated with the festival, and their importance to Dubrovnikan identity, depend on the materiality of the walled centre for sustenance. On 3rd February, the main day of the festival, people travel from all over Dubrovnik-Neretva County to the walled centre to participate. Although celebrations of Dubrovnik's patron saint also occur elsewhere in the county, and as well as amongst expatriates, the experienced-based memory of the walled centre's materiality is central to the sustained importance of the St. Blaise festival amongst the festival's participants. Throughout Dubrovnik's history, St. Blaise has been commemorated and depicted in numerous sculptures, poems and cultural imagery. This is still the case in contemporary cultural life. In the lives of Dubrovnikans, the history of Dubrovnik's walled centre gives meaning to the veneration of St. Blaise. Likewise, the walled centre would not have the same meanings for its citizens without its connections to the patron saint and the Dubrovnik Republic.

Broadening the World Heritage Discourse

My concern has not only been with heritage production in Dubrovnik's demarcated World Heritage site, nor with the interpretations of the city's World Heritage status. Rather, I have tried to highlight how Dubrovnik's World Heritage status, and the meanings attached to the spatially distinct World Heritage site, need to be studied within the framework of the broader cultural heritage within they are situated. Studying both of these ethnographically can reveal the lived realities of their cultural and physical environments. However, cultural heritage production in World Heritage sites also needs to be approached in relation to embedded social structures and temporal relations, which inform how the past is drawn on in present-day identity constructions. The ever-changing present perpetually shapes perceptions of the past and determines which of its aspects are highlighted in the formation of historical narratives. This thesis shows how particular historical processes and events influence how selective pasts are drawn on in the present for differing ideological, political and cultural reasons. Simultaneously, as desired pasts are brought to the fore, less desired features are consigned to the shadows of contemporary identity discourse. Certain temporal premises thus underlie how World Heritage status is used and perceived in each site.

Concurrently, spatial relations and processes in the contemporary globalized world also determine how cultural heritage is produced, interpreted and used in World Heritage sites globally. For instance, the acceleration and growth of the global tourism industry, increased outsourcing and monopolization of different tourism assets and forms, have strongly marked urban developments and the use of heritage in Dubrovnik. The values and uses of World Heritage thus need to be studied both synchronically and diachronically, in their specific, ethnographic contexts.

World Heritage sites' spatially defined borders constitute cultural constructions, which reflect the viewpoints dominant at the particular moment of inscription. However, the parameters of World Heritage sites are sometimes redefined over time. In Dubrovnik, the borders of the World Heritage site were extended in the aftermath of the Croatian war of independence. This decision stemmed from concerns about the widespread material destruction of Dubrovnik's urban fabric. Assessments of potential threats to the sites' Outstanding Universal Value are made in relation to processes of change in each historical present. However, the tendency to perceive potential threats to the values of the sites' World Heritage in spatially narrow terms is often telling. In Dubrovnik, the wider cultural and spatial environments around the World Heritage site are often marginalized. UNESCO and ICOMOS' joint reactive monitoring mission to Dubrovnik in 2015 to assess potential threats to the city's Outstanding Universal Value, I would argue, exemplifies this (see Chapter 9). The more evident threats to Dubrovnik's World Heritage site, due to tourist over-crowding and the failure to adhere to the World Heritage site's 'carrying capacity', were awarded high value as urgent managerial issues. However, the potential detrimental effects of the planned construction of tourism- and real estate on Mount Srđ on the Outstanding Universal Value of Dubrovnik's World Heritage site were largely seen in relation to area itself and its materiality. Issues such as the long-term impoverishment of cultural memory and vanishing recreational opportunities for the citizens were not addressed sufficiently in the UNESCO-ICOMOS monitoring mission and report.

From Dissonant Heritage to Outright Conflict

The walled centre of Dubrovnik, with its well-preserved historic architecture dating back to the maritime and mercantile city-state, the Dubrovnik Republic (1358-1808), was awarded the status of a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1979. The ascription of Dubrovnik as a World Heritage site occurred under very different cultural, political and economic circumstances to today's, namely that of Yugoslavian Titoist communism. In the thesis, I have argued that

several recent historical processes and events have influenced how Dubrovnik's World Heritage status and the spatially demarcated World Heritage site are perceived and used by its inhabitants in the present. The destruction and trauma of the Croatian war of independence, in particular, has refocused the meanings attached to the city's World Heritage status, the demarcated site and its vicinity. However, contemporary global processes, stemming in particular from the global market economy and changes in global tourism, have equally asserted strong effects on heritage production in Dubrovnik.

In Chapter 9, *Contested Places*, I presented an ethnographic case-study of *Golf Park Dubrovnik*, a proposed golf tourism and real estate project on Mount Srđ, directly overlooking the city's World Heritage site. The outright conflict emerging in the wake of the proposed construction project, demonstrates that, in the experiences of Dubrovnikans, the city's cultural heritage transcends the spatially demarcated World Heritage site. The cultural and political symbolism of the mountain plateau and its strategic position of defence during the 1990s war, are integral to understanding how opposition to the construction plans has turned into outright conflict. The meanings and values attached to Mount Srđ are co-produced by a range of actors at different scales. The mountain plateau's place in cultural and political symbolism, and in public memory, is multi-faceted and explains the scale and complexity of the ongoing conflict.

As a city with a long history of tourism, the bonds between cultural heritage, tourism and economic development have been closely intertwined for a long time. The use of the city's cultural heritage in tourism and economic development has had many positive consequences on post-war economic recovery, infrastructural and architectural restoration. In recent years, however, under changing conditions of global capitalism, the rampant marketing of the city's cultural heritage for commercial ends has begun to affect the well-being of its citizens. The benefits of the successful return of tourism to Dubrovnik in the post-war period – aspects closely linked to its World Heritage status – are starting to be outweighed by the many indirect costs. The citizens' welfare, the diversity of cultural forms and ways of life, and the role of cultural heritage in forming urban identity, are often side-lined in Dubrovnik's urban- and heritage management. Instead, the lure of short-term benefits, motivated by a variety of economic, ideological and political incentives, dominates how the city is run.

Smith and Akagawa (2008) argue that heritage should not merely be about forming identities, but is also vital in helping communities create and sustain "a sense of place":

This sense of place is not only about a physical or geographical sense of belonging, but is also concerned with placing ourselves within social space. That is, heritage is a process through which individuals and collectives negotiate their social position and 'place' within particular societies. (Smith and Akagawa 2008:293).

The conflicts over Mount Srđ's future reveal exactly this dimension of heritage. The active role of civil society in working to prevent the realization of the golf- and real estate project needs to be seen as an attempt by the citizens of Dubrovnik to re-negotiate 'social space'. This re-negotiation – and the way it connects with heritage production – hinges on the widespread feeling that, despite Croatia's ostensible democratization, civil society has been excluded from local decision-making power.

The conflicts over Mount Srđ demonstrate how different understandings and experiences of the recent past influence contemporary lines of conflict. The particularities of Croatia's post-war period, circumstances of economic transition, lack of transparency and embedded corruption, have exacerbated social and economic inequalities. This has also affected power dynamics and limited democratic participation. Due to the structural conditions accompanying Croatia's economic transition, many informants think the potential of civil society to affect power dynamics is limited.

'Living Heritage' or a Museum City

As I have discussed in the thesis, access to using and representing heritage is unevenly distributed. A certain degree of contestation is thus inherently a part of heritage production, although this friction does not have to lead to any real conflict. Within the inhabitants' daily lives and routines in Dubrovnik, and in their interactions with tourists, conflict is much less discernible. However, the economic dependence on tourism and the use of their cultural heritage as a selling point to rebuild the tourist industry in the aftermath of war has created a strong sense of ambivalence among the citizens. Largely, Dubrovnikans tend to be appreciative of the contribution of tourism and the city's World Heritage status to post-war restoration of the urban fabric. The return of tourism has also played an important role in attempts to entrench stability and restore civic identity. Yet, as discussed in Chapter 8, the successful return of tourism to Dubrovnik, and the use of the city's cultural heritage to stimulate it, has its drawbacks. Tourism has a strong impact on the lives, routines and well-being of Dubrovnik's residents, but importantly also on its citizens' attachments to the walled centre. Dubrovnikans' interactions with the demarcated World Heritage site and their

perceptions of the city's World Heritage status can be characterized by a 'monumental ambivalence' (Breglia 2006). In Chapter 8, I discussed how many informants perceive that Dubrovnik's walled centre has been turned from a place of 'living heritage', integral to the inhabitants' cultural identity, into an 'outdoor museum'. I explored how nostalgia, a sense of loss and a feeling of identity deprivation have become widespread features of communal life. At the same time, I discussed how the inhabitants adapted and found new practices and spaces to nourish the bonds between the materiality of the walled centre and individual and collective identities associated with it.

The reliance of tourism development in the post-war era has meant the development of a near mono-economy. Metaphorically speaking, this has induced a feeling of being 'trapped' within the city wall, as work and lifestyle opportunities have diminished. At the same time, many citizens also feel excluded 'outside' the wall. This is partly the product of a lack of participatory democracy and the exclusion of civil society from local decision-making. In the eyes of many residents of Dubrovnik, as can be seen in Chapter 8, local urban- and heritage management – as well as the tourism industry – have failed to fully safeguard the community's well-being and the cultural values attached to heritage. The *ambiance* of Dubrovnik's walled centre is a much-overlooked issue in local managerial practices. The ambience, or character, of Dubrovnik's World Heritage site cannot only be seen as deriving from the materiality of the urban structures, but is also dependent on people who live there and who make it into a 'living heritage'. As articulated by Orbasli:

> *A historic town's greatest asset is its character; it should not be sacrificed to short-term planning…Community, the vital 'life' and character element of historic towns continues to be ignored in the decision-making and planning processes other than through token gesture ... It is paramount that the investment of the local community and the development of facilities should be ensured, with benefits reinvested in the community interest, while the local economy is sufficiently diversified not to be tourism led (Orbasli 2002:150-151).*

In itself, tourism does not pose a problem to the management of Dubrovnik's cultural heritage and World Heritage site. In fact, during the former Yugoslavia, the local population generally welcomed tourism as something positive both to the economy and to local cultural life. Tourism existed as an influential industry, but the diversification of livelihoods was greater, and cultural production was, to a larger extent, locally or nationally grounded. In post-war

context, however, a growth of tourism into a (near) mono-industry has occurred. Tourism has profoundly affected conditions of social and economic life in the post-war period, and, as a result, new power dynamics and lines of social differentiation have been created.

Croatia's economic transition, and the use of heritage in tourism, has heavily influenced how the inhabitants of post-war Dubrovnik relate to their city and perceive its World Heritage status. In Chapter 6, I explored how post-war tourism management and recent changes in global tourism (especially cruise-ship tourism) have profoundly affected social practices and the conditions of life within the walled city centre. These changes have stimulated conditions of 'overheating' (Eriksen 2016).

The scarcity of space due to mass-tourism, the privatization of former common land and the commodification of cultural products and heritage into sellable, often dislodged units of consumption, have had considerable effects on the population's experiences of local life, communal interactions and their relationships with heritage and place. Moreover, set within the context of economic changeover to global capitalism, the connections between heritage and cultural commodification have increased and many citizens feel removed from their cultural heritage. After the war, the walled centre has undergone a steady depopulation, a process that has escalated in recent years. The popularity of Dubrovnik as an international tourist destination has substantially increased living costs and uneven access to earning an income from tourism has intensified social and economic inequalities. As I have demonstrated in the thesis, many Dubrovnikans are dissatisfied with the conditions of life under the sway of mass tourism and global capitalism. Dubrovnik's World Heritage and the broader cultural heritage it is situated within constitute a source of personal and communal identification and unification for its citizens. However, with the exploitation of the city's World Heritage as a resource for ideological and commercial ends, Dubrovnik's World Heritage status is increasingly becoming a double-edged sword to its population.

Vulnerable Heritage

Many Dubrovnikans are becoming aware of potential areas of vulnerability accompanying the last decades' tourism-heavy societal and economic development. The marketing of the city's World Heritage status within the logic of consumer capitalism – where commoditized 'heritage units' become competitive selling points in a flighty global tourist market – has sparked concerns about whether Dubrovnik's tourism potential is close to saturation point and may even undergo a future decline. Over-crowding and congestion in Dubrovnik's walled

centre with its medieval urban layout, poses problems not only to locals, but is also increasingly experienced as unappealing to tourists.

Throughout Dubrovnik's history of international tourism in the former Yugoslavia, the city was frequently represented as an "undiscovered pearl", which, unlike many other destinations in the Mediterranean, had managed to preserve its authenticity. This type of representation was picked up again in the period following the war. In the last few years, however, Dubrovnik is increasingly portrayed as a beautiful 'gem' in the international press – well worth a quick visit, but a place to generally shun due to the huge crowds and steep prices. A feature in the travel section of the Norwegian national newspaper, *Aftenposten*, is evident of this change in the representation of Dubrovnik:

> *'Everyone' has been to Croatia. Been there, done that. Especially in 2016, 'everybody' travelled to Croatia, to visit well acknowledged pearls like Hvar, Split and Dubrovnik. But if you rent a car and drive merely one hour south of the tourist magnet, Dubrovnik, you will roll into a new and unknown terrain for Ola Northman: Montenegro302.*

Aftenposten's representation of tourist sites as plentiful and interchangeable resources, merely existing to sate tourists' curiosity and need for new 'adventures', echoes the likely course of tourism development in a tourist site outlined in Butler's much cited (1980) Tourism Area Life Cycle303. The diagram proposes that, in the context of global tourism, tourism development in particular sites is likely to go through six different developmental stages. The starting-point is the explorative stage – after some while they reach a state of stagnation, which then may be followed by either a decline in appeal due to the emergence and development of alternative tourist sites, or a rejuvenation of their tourist appeal. For rejuvenation to occur, Butler (ibid) argues, hinges on *"a complete change in the attractions on which tourism is based" (1980:9).* In the last couple of years I have increasingly encountered Norwegians and other Northern-Europeans who speak of Dubrovnik in terms of a 'been there, done that' approach. Whether such attitudes will impact over time on the actual number of tourists visiting Dubrovnik is uncertain. However, even if the numbers of visitors to the city remain high, but the duration of each visit shrinks, the long-term effects may

[302] (Aftenposten, 10th February 2017). Ola Nordmann (Ola Northman) is the Norwegian equivalent of the English, John Smith. The excerpt is my translation from the *Aftenposten* article.
[303] See Chapter 6 for description and discussion of Butler's tourism development cycle diagram.

damage how locals actually benefit economically from tourism. An increase in cruise-ship tourism, with its short duration of visits, and a subsequent decrease in land-based tourism (which tends to have longer visits), may curtail the economic potential which tourism offers. In the duration of my doctorate research in Dubrovnik, I have noticed these kinds of concerns becoming far more prominent amongst the local population – many of whom criticize the local municipality for only thinking of short-term economic gains rather than planning for a long-term, diverse and sustainable development of Dubrovnik's local economy.

In the last couple of years, the effects of mass tourism on the well-being of host communities have been awarded increased attention in the international press and academic literature (Colomb and Novy 2016, Opillard 2017, Vianello 2016). In a number of popular European 'tourist destinations', including many World Heritage sites, local residents have increasingly protested against worsening conditions of life. In Venice, Barcelona and Mallorca[304], citizens have organized a number of demonstrations against the negative effects of tourism on the residents' well-being. In Venice, residents in the civil initiative, *No Grande Navi* ('No Large Ships') (Vianello 2016), have on several occasions blocked cruise-ships from entering the main canal leading to the centre of the city. In Dubrovnik, dissatisfaction over the contemporary conditions of life in a city struggling to cope with mass tourism is also evident. However, there is little hostility towards tourists themselves. Discontent, instead, relates more specifically to the conditions of political life and how embedded conditions of the past continue to affect contemporary life, social stratification and power dynamics.

The Walls and Bridges of Heritage

As I discussed in Chapter 5, a shortcoming of constructionist approaches to heritage is that they can underestimate the depth to which certain identities or cultural tendencies are embedded. I have argued that particular historic events and processes of recent change continue to influence how the past is evoked in the present and constitute a resource for identity- and heritage production. Dubrovnik's condition as a post-war society strongly influences how the citizens relate to heritage, but also, importantly, to tourism. Although there are many similarities between Dubrovnik and other urban World Heritage sites struggling to

[304] For news report on such demonstrations, see for example; Barcelona: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-40826257, Mallorca: https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/837524/anti-tourism-activists-target-tourists-in-Spain-Mallorca-tourist-British-Barcelona and Venice: https://www.theguardian.com/travel/2017/aug/10/anti-tourism-marches-spread-across-europe-venice-barcelona.

cope with mass tourism, the particular cultural expressions and political dynamics of Dubrovnik are closely related to its post-war condition.

As I have discussed in the thesis, an inevitable consequence of the processes of selection and representation which heritage production entails, is the exclusion of alternative heritages. Throughout history, Dubrovnik has been constructed both as borderland and a crossroads. As a region with a predominantly Roman Catholic population, bordering on populations of Eastern-Orthodox Christianity and Islamic faiths, Dubrovnik has for centuries been perceived itself as a religious borderland by the Roman Catholic Church's seat of power in Rome[305]. With its history as an autonomous and influential Republic, the citizens have furthermore perceived Dubrovnik as a political and civilizational borderland to Western European territory, against invaders from interior Balkans and Central Asia. At the same time, perceptions of Dubrovnik as a cultural, demographic and mercantile crossroads, and a part of the Balkan region, have equally been prominent in cultural discourse at various points in history. The widespread and longstanding image of Dubrovnik as a crossroads part of the Balkans implies a region where different peoples and cultures for centuries have co-inhabited, merged, moved through, mutually influenced each other, but importantly also have come into conflict with one another and repeatedly have waged war. Perceptions of Dubrovnik and the Croatian territory as comprising a borderland and a crossroads are so old and have become so instituted that they are not mere ideas, but shape all political and cultural discourse. They are almost impossible to dislodge. However, the particular cultural symbolism embedded in notions of being a crossroads and borderland, and the ways in which they are integrated in heritage perceptions, relate closely to contemporary ethnographic conditions and meaning-making. In contemporary Dubrovnik, its borderland status is far more prominent in identity constructions than that of constituting a crossroads. This can be seen as part of the desire to uproot its belonging to the Balkan region and the population's endeavour to construct resilient 'walls' of Croatianness.

[305] Città del Vaticano (the Vatican city) since 1929. (Ireland 1933)

As I discussed in Chapter 5, diverse historical contacts in Croatia's different regions have combined with separating topography produced distinct local and regional identities. A distinct regional identity is still noticeable in contemporary Dubrovnik and Dalmatia, making the young nation-state into a cultural patchwork, in many ways loosely stitched together. The establishment of the new national borders following the dissolution of Yugoslavia has, in many ways, heightened Dubrovnik's sense of being on the periphery. Many inhabitants of the city believe they have become politically neglected and culturally marginalized within post-independence Croatia. These convictions anchor Dubrovnikans' use of cultural heritage, and particularly its World Heritage, in identity constructions. The historical centrality of the Dubrovnik Republic is given new meanings in local post-war identity discourse. At the same time, as I argue in Chapter 5, many aspects of Croatia's recent cultural and political history are shared across the nation. Large-scale political and social change throughout the 20th Century, (through the shared, embodied experiences of being part of two Yugoslavia's [1918-1944 and 1946-1991], experiencing two World Wars and the Croatian War of Independence) has had transformative effects in forging Croatian nationhood.

Every society is engaged in creating imagined 'walls', which serve to shape its boundaries and include and exclude different population groups. The thesis' deployment of the metaphor – *the wall in our minds* – is based on a perception that heritage is constructed and closely related to processes of change. Yet, like the solid and durable structure of Dubrovnik's city wall, the values and meanings attached to Dubrovnik's cultural heritage also possess certain long-lasting features. Certain embedded regional ethnographic and spatial relationships and features have repeatedly been evoked and reproduced throughout Dubrovnik's history. Post-war cultural discourse on Dubrovnik as a European *antemurale christianitatis*, its borderland condition, its marginal and peripheral position in regional and European contexts, are themes which, in various forms, have been echoed throughout history. These features and their embeddedness in heritage production have become so durable that they cannot be seen as merely social constructions. Theoretical perspectives of critical heritage studies have aided in identifying how shifting political ideologies and power relationships influence heritage production and its role in identity constructions and development paradigms. However, by studying the relationships between social structures and agency (through focusing on practice) and their influences on each other, one is better equipped to identify the citizens' potential and the limitations of subverting the dominant 'authorized heritage discourse' (Smith 2006b).

In the thesis, I have emphasized that although the perceptual walls in our minds may appear solid and impermeable, they can be torn down and re-constructed. Croatia's post-war period has been marked by exactly such a period of 'reconstructing the walls'. The new and fragile construction of *Croatianness* in the aftermath of war has relied on forging solid 'walls' and establishing the historical continuity of 'the Croatian'. Selective historical references, such as Dubrovnik Republic's *libertas* discourse and the Latin foundation myth (see Chapter 5), have been integral in legitimizing and strengthening the construction of Dubrovnikans' and Croatians' as distinct and separate from the other ethnic groups inhabiting the Balkans. My research simultaneously shows that the particular points of reference in the construction of imagined walls, or borders, are nonetheless relational and undergo a certain degree of change.

In Chapter 5, I explored how Dubrovnik's heritage, specifically that of Dubrovnik Republic, has been used both as a means to reconstruct local cultural identity and to re-align the new national borders of the Croatian state within the perceived cultural borders of Western-Europe. The cultural and political heritage of the Dubrovnik Republic has been selectively utilized to fit with the ideological and symbolic purposes of each historical present and the meanings of the historic Republic are re-adapted in different spatial contexts. The political symbolism of the historic Republic was actively evoked in Josip Broz Tito's rhetoric as Yugoslavia's 'window towards the West'. It provided a means to demonstrate Yugoslavia's distance from the Soviet Union and the Eastern-European communist bloc. After Croatia's independence, the discourse of the Dubrovnik Republic's heritage has been re-focused to construct nationhood in opposition to the formerly Yugoslavian nations. Additionally, its political symbolism of freedom (libertas), diplomacy and its historic cultural production have been central in Croatia's outward attempts to demonstrate its 'natural' place in Western-European civilization and to convince European institutions, such as the EU, of its political stability, orderliness and readiness for obtaining EU membership. The symbolism of stability and the Western civilizational character of Croatia, mediated through the promotion of Dubrovnik as a global cultural tourism destination, have also been integral to re-attracting international tourists, donors and investors to a region otherwise perceived as unstable. As, such, Dubrovnik continues to represent a 'window towards the west' in Croatia's Europeanization attempts. However, my ethnography also illustrates that the historically embedded conditions of being a borderland continue to shape identity constructions in the region. The historic connections between nationalism, state consolidation and heritage are still prominent features in contemporary identity discourse, leading to strongly politicized

identities and politicized heritage. Such uses of heritage – where heritage is used in mechanisms of exclusion – strongly deviate from UNESCO's ideal intentions with World Heritage to foster inter-cultural dialogue and lasting peace.

Dynamics between centres and peripheries shift throughout history. This is particularly true in Dubrovnik where its citizens have experienced increased cultural and political peripherality after the establishment of the post-Yugoslavian national borders. In domestic politics Dubrovnikans feel strongly under-prioritized in both an economic and political sense. They consequently experience becoming more peripheral and cut-off from mainland Croatia. This fear was exacerbated by the establishment of the Bosnian border at Neum following Croatian independence which physically separated the citizens of Dubrovnik-Neretva County from the rest of Croatia. This context has strongly informed the symbolic uses of heritage in Dubrovnik's tourism promotion. The return of tourism after the war, and the strong promotion of cultural and heritage tourism in the post-war period, has not only been crucial in stimulating infrastructural and economic recovery and growth, but are also importantly connected with Dubrovnikans' attempts to re-ascribe centrality, cosmopolitanism and grandeur both within the nation-state and internationally.

As I discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, the inward-oriented and autochthonous uses of heritage in regional cultural and political history in the 1990s, have undergone certain transformations towards more outward reaching and encompassing uses of heritage in the 21st Century. These transformations have particularly been driven by UNESCO, which promotes World Heritage as being equally 'shared and owned by all of humanity' (Di Giovine 2008). The exclusionary and encompassing uses of heritage are both, to varying degrees, present in contemporary identity discourse in Dubrovnik.

From 'Living Heritage' to a Commodity Brand

Created in the midst of the Cold War, the 1972 World Heritage Convention was intended to provide a legally binding instrument aimed at fostering inter-cultural dialogue, mutual respect for the global diversity and unity of the world's cultural and natural heritage, and lasting peace (Di Giovine, 2008). However, as I discussed in Chapter 4, several heritage scholars and spokespeople within UNESCO have started to raise concerns that the ideal intentions of the Convention, and the ensuing World Heritage List, have become eclipsed by national interests, political ideologies and economic incentives (Meskell 2012). Responding to such concerns, my ethnographic study offers insights into the disparities and overlaps between the ideal

intentions of World Heritage enlistment and how World Heritage in Dubrovnik is used for particular cultural, political, ideological and economic reasons within the city's particular post-war context.

The post-war restoration of Dubrovnik is widely recognized internationally as successful and a praiseworthy example of international public-private collaboration and efforts to ensure the technical expertise and funding for recovering 'the pearl of the Adriatic'. As one of four examples globally, the restoration of the Old City of Dubrovnik is included as an example of UNESCO's 'successful restorations', under the headline 'Success stories'[306]. My ethnographic study, however, illustrates that amongst the citizens of Dubrovnik there is a prominent perception that the city is in the process of becoming reduced to a mere commercial 'brand', where its heritage is exploited in the pursuit of economic growth through continually increased tourism.

As I discussed in Chapter 4, the pressing need for restoration following consecutive crises – the damage caused by the 1979 earthquake and then the destruction inflicted by the Croatian war of Independence – has led to a very practical, technocratic type of heritage management. According to many informants, heritage management practices and urban politics are not well integrated. Frequently, the integration of the buildings' uses, once restored, are overlooked. Local heritage discourse is largely concerned with principles for restoration based on achieving measurable technical and architectonic results, based aesthetic and 'authentic' facades and structures. Consequently, the perception of Dubrovnik's cultural heritage as being inherently innate to the urban fabric of the walled centre, its 'tangible' monuments and structures dating back to particular epochs, continues to dominate local heritage perceptions. Increasingly, many citizens have started to question who is Dubrovnik's cultural heritage for? And what is the purpose of restoring the walled centre if the centre and its restored buildings will not be used by its residents? The uses and functions and multiple meanings and values of the city's 'tangible' heritage in the inhabitants' life-worlds, the memories and the citizens' creative visions of their potential future uses, are often ignored. As such, Dubrovnik's cultural heritage is at risk of becoming 'fossilised'.

Ethnographic insights into how Dubrovnikans understand and use the city's World Heritage status within the contemporary conditions of life, and through the horizon of recent historical processes, offer insights into how the meanings and values ascribed to the status can both

[306] https://whc.unesco.org/en/107/.

provide a source of unification and dissonance. This is of paramount concern in fostering a sustainable, community based management of World Heritage. In the last couple of decades, the sustainable development approach has gained prominence in heritage management discourse. However, this has to a much lesser extent:

> *Translated into clear changes in the behaviour of nation-states or other parties as they address such issues as the impact of climate change or the physical integrity of heritage resources, or the consequences for both tangible and intangible cultural heritage of the physical and social stress from mass tourism (Labadi and Gould 2015:204-5).*

The 'value' of heritage should not be reduced to economic terms, nor should it be seen as something which can be measured. My thesis' focus on how Dubrovnik's heritage is produced 'on the ground' and intersects with post-war identity constructions, political, ideological and economic uses, provides insights into how World Heritage status can become a double-edged sword to the populations living in or near the site. The ways in which selected pasts are mediated in the present, through heritage, represents a source of both unity and contestation. This dynamic is of paramount importance in order to anticipate future socio-cultural and political developments, regional stability and lasting peace. In line with Meskell's argument that the World Heritage programme is in the process of being eclipsed by market interests, the thesis' ethnography indicates that the economic, political and ideological uses of Dubrovnik's World Heritage are dominant. Requirements to stimulate an inclusive, community-based and sustainable management of World Heritage sites need to be explicitly integrated into the nomination processes and continued monitoring of existing World Heritage sites.

In the aftermath of the 1990s' wars in the Western Balkans the wounds are still omnipresent in the region. Steering towards an inclusive and responsible tourism- and heritage management can help to heal some of these wounds. Heritage has the potential to offer a means of reconciliation to the segregated populations by providing ways of working together in order to safeguard regional stability and sustainable development.

Towards a Value Based Heritage Management

In this thesis, I have argued that World Heritage sites need to be understood and managed in connection with the wider spatial and cultural environments in which they are embedded. If a sustainable management of World Heritage sites is to be aspired to, one also needs to

accommodate for the values, cultural memories, ways of life and multiple cultural expressions of the populations living in or near the sites. By awarding protection to certain spatially defined areas of a culture, others areas, which may also be central to cultural heritage and identities, may be overlooked. Furthermore, in the wake of obtaining World Heritage nomination, pressures to construct tourism facilities in the vicinity of the sites, often emerge. As such, these areas close to World Heritage sites are particularly vulnerable to exploitation from market interests. The ongoing conflict regarding future developments on Mount Srđ exemplifies this (see Chapter 9). The strong dominance of the 'authorized heritage discourse' (Smith 2006b) in international heritage management is also a feature of Dubrovnik's heritage management. The reification and prioritization of 'tangible' and monumental heritage is deep-seated. However, in the lived experiences of Dubrovnikans, the landscapes adjacent to the city constitute central elements in their identification. This is because a maritime and mercantile culture is an essential part of the much cherished *libertas* discourse (see Chapter 6). Since the coastal and mountainous areas in Dubrovnik's vicinity are exterior to the spatially demarcated World Heritage site, it is of extra significance that these areas become integrated in Dubrovnik's long-term sustainable management of the wider urban milieu.

I see a strong need for UNESCO to shift its deep-seated focus on material-based heritage towards a value-based heritage approach. By making the multiplicity of cultural values into a starting-point for heritage management, one is better equipped to safeguard people's diverse, experienced and evolving attachments to the protected sites, as well as their wider cultural and physical environments. Identifying the welter of values attached to heritage at an early stage can also help unearth potential areas of dissonance and conflict. The identification of the multiple values ascribed not only to the UNESCO protected site, but also to the wider heritage area, should specifically be incorporated into the nomination processes of new World Heritage sites and in the continued monitoring of existing sites. Otherwise, World Heritage is at risk of becoming 'fossilized' and removed from the inhabitants and the wider environment it is situated within. If World Heritage becomes devoid of meaning and value to the populations living in or near the sites, it ceases to be 'living heritage'.

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12. Appendices

Appendix 1

Croatian and Croatian Transboundary Inscriptions on the UNESCO World Heritage List:

i) Historical Complex of Split with the Palace of Diocletian

ii) Old City of Dubrovnik

iii) Plitvice Lakes National Park

iv) Episcopal Complex of the Euphrasian Basilica in the Historic Centre of Poreč

v) Historic City of Trogir

vi) The Cathedral of St James in Šibenik

vii) Stari Grad Plain

viii) Stećci Medieval Tombstones Graveyards (*transboundary property*)

ix) Ancient and Primeval Beech Forests of the Carpathians and Other Regions of Europe (*transboundary property*)

x) Venetian Works of Defence between the 16th and 17th Centuries: *Stato da Terra* – Western *Stato da Mar* (*transboundary property*)

Source: http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/.

Appendix 2

Croatian Inscriptions on the UNESCO List of Intangible Cultural Heritage (2009-2016):

As of 2018, Croatia has 14 single-country nominations on UNESCO's List of Intangible Cultural Heritage, and one mixed-country nomination.

i) Community project of safeguarding the living culture of Rovinj/Rovigno: the Batana Ecomuseum
ii) Mediterranean diet (mixed-country nomination)
iii) Klapa multipart singing of Dalmatia, southern Croatia
iv) Bećarac singing and playing from Eastern Croatia
v) Nijemo Kolo, silent circle dance of the Dalmatian hinterland
vi) Ojkanje singing
vii) Gingerbread craft from Northern Croatia
viii) Sinjska Alka, a knights' tournament in Sinj
ix) Annual carnival bell ringers' pageant from the Kastav area
x) Festivity of Saint Blaise, the patron of Dubrovnik
xi) Lacemaking in Croatia
xii) Procession Za Krizen ('following the cross') on the island of Hvar
xiii) Spring procession of Ljelje/Kraljice (queens) from Gorjani
xiv) Traditional manufacturing of children's wooden toys in Hrvatsko Zagorje
xv) Two-part singing and playing in the Istrian scale

Reference: https://ich.unesco.org/en/lists.

Appendix 3

World Heritage Committee's 40th Session, Istanbul, July 2016 - Decision on the State of Dubrovnik World Heritage Site's Outstanding Universal Value

Old City of Dubrovnik (Croatia) (C 95bis)

The World Heritage Committee,

Having examined Document WHC/16/40.COM/7B,

*Recalling Decisions **22 COM VII.17** and **38 COM 7B.25**, adopted at its 22nd (Kyoto, 1998) and 38th (Doha 2014) sessions respectively,*

Expresses its concern regarding inappropriate conservation works of all parts of the City Walls and requests the State Party to implement all relevant measures, including repairs of damage and development of guidelines on best conservation practices, to prevent any threat to the structural stability of the City Walls, and to ensure strict and regular monitoring;

Endorses the recommendations of the 2015 joint UNESCO/ICOMOS Reactive Monitoring mission to the property and also requests the State Party to give the highest priority to the implementation of its recommendations, notably to:

1. Develop and submit to the World Heritage Centre for review by the Advisory Bodies the Management Plan of the property, including a tourism strategy, legal regulations for cruise ship tourism, identification of the sustainable carrying capacity of the city, a risk-preparedness action plan and an interpretation strategy,

2. Not to proceed with the Bosanka 2 project, nor to construct the Lazeretto; Quay/Landing Stage with connection to the Old Port,

*3. Submit to the World Heritage Centre, by **1 February 2017**, a minor boundary modification proposal with a view to expanding the buffer zone as recommended by the mission,*

*4. Finalize and submit the retrospective Statement of Outstanding Universal Value (SOUV) for the property to the World Heritage Centre, by **1 February 2017**, for examination by the World Heritage Committee at its 41st session in 2017;*

Taking note of the current status of the Sports and Recreation Centre with a Golf Course and the Bosanka North and Bosanka South Tourist Resorts project planned for the plateau of Mount Srđ and Bosanka in the vicinity of the property, considers that the Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) demonstrates that, subject to design refinement, the proposed Sports and Recreation Centre with a Golf Course and the Bosanka North and Bosanka South Tourist Resorts would have an acceptable effect on the OUV of the property, and further requests the State Party to:

1. *Facilitate revisions to the plans and drawings for the project to ensure that no construction is to take place within a minimum distance of 50m from the edges of the plateau,*
2. *Continue the dialogue with the Advisory Bodies as the Resorts project progresses,*
3. *Submit amended plans for the project to the World Heritage Centre in accordance with Paragraph 172 of the Operational Guidelines, for review by the Advisory Bodies before construction works begin,*

Submit relevant documentation, including HIAs, to the World Heritage Centre, in line with Paragraph 172 of the Operational Guidelines, before any final decisions are made or any works start, for major developments projects within the property, its buffer zone and setting;

Finally requests the State Party to submit to the World Heritage Centre, by ***1 December 2017****, an updated report on the state of conservation of the property and the implementation of the above, for examination by the World Heritage Committee at its 42nd session in 2018.*