

**THE CONSUMING POWER OF TERRITORIES: A GROUNDED
THEORY EXPLORATION OF SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE AND
TERRITORIALIZED CONSUMPTION IN A POST-CONFLICT CITY**

by

MAJA PULIĆ

A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Marketing
Birmingham Business School
College of Social Sciences
University of Birmingham
September 2023

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

ABSTRACT

In a world where territorial boundaries have long been a source of division and conflict, this research unveils a transformative understanding of the complexities of territoriality within the realm of consumer behaviour and marketing. With roots embedded deeply in the traumatic experiences of the Bosnian war and its post-conflict transition, this research explores how seemingly inconspicuous boundaries, such as the Inter-Entity Boundary Line (IEBL) going through the city of Sarajevo, profoundly influence consumption patterns.

Central to this thesis is an exploration of how major disruptive events, a war in this particular case, reshape the significance of places and, by extension, impact consumption patterns in ways that, this study argues, have been overlooked. Informed by critical marketing, this thesis explores the otherwise neglected domain of territorial consumption in marketing, using an interdisciplinary approach that links cultural geography with marketing. It looks into how we perceive, navigate, and are influenced by the boundaries around us, ultimately contributing to the way marketing discipline understands and engages with territory.

Using grounded theory method, this study uniquely integrates a "category-centred" grounded theory analysis, focusing on the relationships between emerging codes/categories, with the "case-centric" approach of narrative inquiry. By combining these aspects, it maintains the integrity of individual narratives on the one hand, while enriching the understanding of categories that arose within the grounded theory framework, on the other. The presented qualitative data encompasses oral life stories, participant observations, visual data, and archival (secondary) data from the 1992-1995 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Through the comparison of data and literature, "territorialized consumption" is conceived as the core category. Territorialized consumption, as conceptualized in this study, refers, at the outset, to the process by which territorial boundaries—both tangible and intangible—profoundly influence, mould, and delimit people's consumption behaviours and patterns. The process, however, does not stop here. This core category entails territoriality, which, this study argues, is an active subject which continuously conditions people's consumption behaviour, while, simultaneously, 'consuming' individuals. In this dynamic, individuals are not just consumers of

territories; they are also consumed by territoriality, that is by the power, violence, and authority acting in the territory, with visible and invisible boundaries as their multifaced agents.

The original contribution to knowledge lies in the unveiling of this two-way relation between people and territory challenging the conventional dichotomy between individuals as subject/consumers and territories as objects to be consumed.

Three key categories were identified within the formulated theoretical framework:

Legitimation: The data posits that territories must first be legitimized, accepted, and recognized. Legitimation serves as the foundation for examining territoriality within disrupted places as it demarcates boundaries employed as control strategies. Spatial memory, which is a constant recollection of past trauma during daily encounters with a place, serves to further legitimize territoriality. This interplay between the past and present transforms these places into transitional territories, reinforcing and re-experiencing the trauma within these newly legitimized spaces. This dynamic illustrates the original contribution to knowledge, which is the idea that territories consume individuals, reversing traditional views.

Maintenance: This category delves into the persistence of territoriality. It is illustrated through two processes: ownership and othering. Ownership refers to the establishment and acceptance of control over certain territories, essential for maintaining new boundaries. Othering involves distinguishing between 'us' and 'them,' often employed to sustain territorial boundaries by differentiating between insiders and outsiders. The strategic manipulation of symbolic markers plays a critical role in establishing and upholding territorial boundaries, distinguishing between the 'self' and the 'other.' The relationship between ownership and othering demonstrates how they work together to uphold and reinforce the territorialized consumption, with ownership providing the structure, and othering helping maintain the boundary by emphasizing distinctions.

Expression: Data reveals that territorial boundaries are often internalized, becoming a normalized, albeit unrecognized, form of daily violence. Yet, responses to territorialized consumption are not binary. Instead of strictly accepting or naturalizing territorial norms, individuals often challenge these boundaries, suggesting reactions to territorial demarcations are multifaceted and exist on a spectrum.

In conclusion, it is argued that this thesis successfully achieves the primary objective of grounded theory methodology: the development of a theory. Drawing from diverse and rich data sources, it

offers a theoretical framework that delves into the realm of territoriality and consumption within disrupted contexts. It is also proposed that the relevance of this research is enhanced by its shedding light on overlooked contexts often marginalized in mainstream marketing, particularly those from non-Western perspectives. As the global landscape continually struggles with major disruptions, such as the widespread of armed conflicts and the recent pandemic, the insights offered by this research become even more critical. By examining the dynamics at stage in territories marked by boundaries ('soft' ones in particular), this study, in line with critical marketing thinking, offers scholars a lens through which they can understand and navigate the complex interplay between territory and consumption. This thesis, therefore, contributes both to the academic discourse and to real-world applications, particularly in understanding and addressing the challenges posed by disruptions and mutations in the experience of territory.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to take this opportunity to express my profound gratitude to those who have played a crucial role in my academic journey, shaping not just this thesis, but also my intellectual and personal growth. Firstly, I owe a tremendous debt of gratitude to my supervisors, Professor Christina Goulding, and Dr Andrew Pressey.

Professor Goulding's unwavering support has been vital at every stage of this research process. Her insights and guidance have been instrumental in shaping my thoughts and refining my arguments. Her encouragement has often uplifted me, especially in moments when the academic endeavour seemed overwhelmingly complex. Moreover, her enthusiasm for the subject matter has been nothing short of contagious, continually inspiring me to push the boundaries of my research. Her extensive knowledge in the field has been an incredible resource that I've been fortunate enough to draw upon. I consider myself truly privileged to have been under her expert supervision.

I am deeply thankful to Dr Andrew Pressey, whose constructive feedback and insightful suggestions played a vital role in defining the original contributions of this thesis. Dr Pressey has a unique ability to ask critical questions that have invariably led me to reconsider assumptions and explore novel avenues of thought. His commitment to academic rigor and intellectual excellence has made a significant impact on the quality of my work.

In addition to my supervisors, there are several other academics whose faith in my research and insightful dialogue have been invaluable in shaping my work and professional development. I wish to extend my appreciation to Professor Finola Kerrigan, Dr Georgios Patsiaouras, Professor Rohit Varman, Dr Sheena Leek, Dr Mike Molesworth, and Professor Craig N. Smith. Your collective belief in the value and potential of my research has provided me with the confidence to venture into unexplored territories, ask difficult questions, and aspire to make a meaningful contribution to the field.

I would also like to acknowledge the enriching experience I had while attending the Consumer Culture Theory doctoral school at Middle East Technical University (METU) in Ankara. This school was a significant milestone in my academic journey. Presenting my work in such a stimulating environment allowed me to critically evaluate and further hone my research ideas. I am particularly grateful to Professor Eileen Fisher and Dr Olga Kravets for their support and

feedback. Beyond the academic sphere, this experience allowed me to connect with a community of brilliant researchers, many of whom have become not just colleagues but also lifelong friends.

Furthermore, I wish to express my eternal gratitude to the participants in this research study. Your willingness to invite me into your homes, to share your experiences, perspectives, and intimate details of your lives, has been the cornerstone of this research project. Allowing a researcher into your home requires a significant amount of trust, and I am deeply honoured that you chose to extend that trust to me. You have contributed to this study in immeasurable ways, not just in the data you provided, but also by enriching my understanding of the complexities of the human experience. Your stories have been not only educational but also inspirational, compelling me to approach this work with the respect and attention it deserves.

Finally, none of this would have been possible without the enduring commitment and love of my husband, Francesco. He has been my rock, my confidant, and my greatest supporter throughout this demanding process. His emotional and intellectual contributions have been invaluable, lifting me up when I was down and helping me to see the broader perspective when I was too mired in the details. To say that I am grateful for his support would be an understatement. His influence permeates this thesis, and I dedicate this accomplishment to him as much as to anyone else.

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	1
Rationale for the Thesis	2
The Research Context: Bosnia and Herzegovina, a case of transmuting borders	4
<i>The Siege of Sarajevo</i>	5
<i>The Post-War Sarajevo and the Establishment of the Inter-Entity Boundary</i>	7
The Research Question	9
Aims of the Thesis.....	12
Significance of the Thesis	13
Original Contribution to Knowledge	14
<i>Choosing the Methodology</i>	15
<i>Identifying the Literature Gap</i>	17
<i>Thesis Structure</i>	19
Summary	23
Navigating the Changing Landscape of Marketing: A Journey from Economic Utility to Critical Perspectives in Spatial Research.....	24
Introduction.....	24
Early Marketing Concepts: 1900s-1950s	27
Scientific Era of Marketing: Broadening the Debate.....	29
Motivation and Behavioural Research in Marketing	31
Challenges to Orthodox Approaches (1980s)	32
Postmodern Marketing.....	33
Postmodern Debates: Relativism vs Realism	35
Evolution of Place in Marketing	37
Marketing outside of the norm	40
Consumer Culture Theory.....	42
Critical Marketing	46
Critical Thinking: a defining aspect of critical marketing	47
Interdisciplinarity and Critical Marketing.....	49
How critical marketing informed this thesis	51
Spatiality in CCT and Critical Marketing Studies	52
<i>Spatiality as an extension to geography</i>	54
Four Spatial Pathways.....	55
<i>The role of Territory in Four Spatial Pathways</i>	62
The Intersection of Territory and Marketing: A New Frontier	63

<i>Territories protect market elements.....</i>	64
<i>Territories gain symbolic power.....</i>	65
<i>Territories constrain market elements</i>	67
<i>Conclusion</i>	69
A Culturally Geographic Approach to Spatiality	70
<i>Introduction.....</i>	70
<i>Brief History of Early Thinking of Place.....</i>	72
<i>Environmental determinism vs possibilism</i>	74
<i>Geographies of Cultural Landscape.....</i>	75
<i>Representational Cultural Geography.....</i>	76
<i>Culture and Place.....</i>	82
<i>Territory as Culturally and Spatially Bounded Place</i>	84
<i>The Concept of Territoriality</i>	89
<i>Boundaries as Tools of Territoriality</i>	99
<i>The Value of Theoretical Pluralism.....</i>	106
<i>Conclusion</i>	109
Methodological Framework	111
<i>Introduction.....</i>	111
<i>Research Paradigm as Human Construction</i>	113
<i>The Ontological Question</i>	116
<i>The Epistemological question</i>	119
<i>How Social Constructionism fits this study?</i>	121
<i>Methodology: The Origins of Grounded Theory</i>	124
<i>Symbolic Interactionism</i>	126
<i>Basic Principles of Classical Grounded Theory</i>	127
<i>Divergence and Development of Grounded Theory Method</i>	130
<i>Constructivist Grounded Theory</i>	131
<i>Objectivist and Constructivist Grounded Theory</i>	133
<i>Core category in Constructivist Grounded Theory</i>	135
<i>Combining the Methods of Constructivist Grounded Theory and Narrative Inquiry</i>	137
<i>Why was (Constructivist) Grounded Theory chosen for this study?.....</i>	139
<i>Bringing doubt in the Research Process and avoiding methodological individualism</i>	142
<i>Beginning of the Research Process: The Identification of an Area of Interest</i>	144
<i>Collecting Rich Data</i>	146
<i>Marriage of Constructivist Grounded Theory and Narrative Approach to Data Collection</i>	146
<i>The Iterative Process.....</i>	150

Sources of Data	154
Life Story Interviews	155
<i>Being an Insider: Interviewer's Reflexivity</i>	163
Sampling and Locations of Research.....	167
Participant Observations	171
Visual methods	174
Using Memos	176
Constant Comparison of Emerging Codes	178
Initial Coding	179
Example of the Process	181
Axial Coding.....	183
Theoretical Saturation.....	185
Core category	186
Conclusion	187
Level Two Theory Building.....	188
Introduction.....	188
The Core Category Definition.....	189
Concept Identification and Grouping.....	191
Overview of the Theoretical Framework Proposed.....	193
Legitimation of Territorialized Consumption.....	195
The Concept of Spatial Disruption	197
The Concept of Spatial Memory	210
Maintenance of Territorialized Consumption	225
The Concept of Ownership	227
The Concept of Othering.....	244
Expression of Territorialized Consumption.....	259
The Concept of Naturalisation.....	261
The Concept of Challenging	272
Discussion of Findings and Final Conclusions.....	282
Revisiting the Research Question and Theoretical Framework	283
Core Category: Territorialized Consumption.....	286
Category One: Legitimation of Territorialized Consumption.....	288
Category Two: Maintenance of Territorialized Consumption.....	294
Category Three: Expression of Territorialized Consumption	299
Revisiting the Aims of the Research	303
Aim 1: Exploration of Territorial Formation and Maintenance	303

<u>Aim 2: Understanding the Complexities of Territoriality</u>	<u>303</u>
<u>Aim 3: Application of Grounded Theory Methodology</u>	<u>304</u>
<u>Aim 4: Extend Understanding into Critical Marketing Scholarship</u>	<u>304</u>
<u>Contribution to knowledge made by this research</u>	<u>306</u>
<u>Theoretical Advancements</u>	<u>306</u>
<u>Reconceptualizing Territory</u>	<u>306</u>
<u>Post-Conflict Focus as Lens to Study Territory and Disruption</u>	<u>306</u>
<u>Methodological Advancements for Research with Vulnerable Populations</u>	<u>307</u>
<u>Interdisciplinary Contributions</u>	<u>308</u>
<u>Limitations of the Study</u>	<u>309</u>
<u>Managing Large Sets of Data</u>	<u>309</u>
<u>Smooth Data Collection</u>	<u>309</u>
<u>Balancing between Data and Theory</u>	<u>310</u>
<u>Wider implications and Future Areas of Research</u>	<u>311</u>
Bibliography	317
Appendices	350
<u>Appendix A.</u>	<u>350</u>
<u>Appendix B.</u>	<u>351</u>
<u>Appendix C.</u>	<u>358</u>
<u>Appendix D.</u>	<u>361</u>

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURE 4.1 A VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF GROUNDED THEORY METHOD IN THIS STUDY	141
FIGURE 5.1 CONCEPT IDENTIFICATION AND GROUPING	192
FIGURE 5.2 'LUCKY SIDE'	2155
FIGURE 5.3 DIFFICULT MEMORIES	2166
FIGURE 5.4 A SEEMINGLY ORDINARY STREET MARKED BY THE INTER-ENTITY BOUNDARY LINE (IEBL): A VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF INVISIBLE DIVISIONS	232
FIGURE 5.5 TRAFFIC SIGNS MARKING THE BORDER BETWEEN KANTON SARAJEVO AND EAST SARAJEVO: A TALE OF TWO TERRITORIES	233
FIGURE 5.6 FRACTURED STREET.....	23535
FIGURE 5.7 RESIDENTS OF DOBRINJA PARKED THEIR CARS ON THE ENTITY LINE IN ORDER TO PREVENT THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE BUILDING.....	23636
FIGURE 5.8 ROAD MAINTENANCE.....	239
FIGURE 5.9 BOUNDARY LINE ON VRACA: ENTERING REPUBLIKA SRPSKA FROM THE FEDERATION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, WITH RS FLAG AND WELCOME SIGN ON THE LEFT.....	250
FIGURE 5.10 A PLAYGROUND DIVIDED	256

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 4.1 OBJECTIVIST AND CONSTRUCTIVIST GROUNDED THEORY: COMPARISONS AND CONTRASTS	134
TABLE 4.2 PSEUDONYMIZED PARTICIPANTS.....	170

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

B&H	Bosnia and Herzegovina
RS	Republika Srpska (in English translates as Serb Republic)
FB&H	Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
YNA	Yugoslav National Army
IEBL	Inter-Entity Boundary Line
BSA	Bosnian Serb Army
UN	United Nations
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
CCT	Consumer Culture Theory
GIS	Geographical Information Systems
GTM	Grounded Theory Method
CGT	Constructivist Grounded Theory

CHAPTER I

Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the research, outlining its context and the motivations driving it. It synthesizes the rationale behind the thesis, along with the key research questions and aims. The chapter further highlights the contributions to knowledge and the significance of the topic, pointing out gaps in existing literature. It also discusses the skills acquired from the literature review and how this review informed the selection of the theoretical framework. Furthermore, it explains the reasons for choosing the methodology employed in this study. Finally, the structure of the thesis is laid out, chapter by chapter.

Rationale for the Thesis

As someone who grew up in the war, hiding from bullets in a cold and mouldy basement, the artificial post-war boundary created at the end of the war in Bosnia was more than a line on a map to me—it was a tangible representation of ethnic division. In the aftermath of the 1990s war, Bosnia was divided into two territorial entities, Republika Srpska and Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This division, sanctioned by the 1995 Dayton Peace Agreement as the Inter-Entity Boundary Line (IEBL), is not rooted in history; it is the product of territory grabbing through the use of force and the perpetration of war crimes. Crossing this boundary is an everyday activity for many, as there is no document checking or any other type of control; yet its symbolic value carries significant and often painful meanings. In the shadow of the artificial boundary created at the end of the war in Bosnia, my fascination with it was more than an academic curiosity—it was a part of my life.

Behind my home, a beautiful park sitting on both sides of the IEBL, became the stage for my daily encounters with this division. I would often walk along the boundary line, intrigued by the signs of division and their impact on those who crossed them. How did people navigate this symbolic and yet tangible boundary in their daily lives? Did it evoke memories of the terrible war? How did the presence of this boundary, a terrible reminder of a traumatic past, affect them as they commuted to work or went about their daily routines? Were they desensitized to its existence, or did it hold a deeper significance? Could the removal or transformation of these representations lead to reconciliation and a more hopeful future? These questions were not mere abstractions; they were grounded in the reality that surrounded me.

My interest in these matters was further driven by the rapidly changing global political landscape. The issue of migration had become a defining geopolitical question, with walls

erected and hard borders defining and redefining territories in Europe, the US, and beyond. The onset of the 2020 pandemic only intensified this reality, as borders that had once seemed fluid became barriers separating people across the globe. The Earth, devoid of natural borders, found itself divided by territorial boundaries that shaped our social, economic, political, and daily lives. Modern boundary patterns, far from disappearing in a postmodern, borderless world, made our lives increasingly complicated, necessitating ever-more complex spatial and mental navigation.

The Research Context: Bosnia and Herzegovina, a case of transmuting borders

The Bosnian war

This study is set within the context of the aftermath of the Bosnian War (1992-1995), focusing specifically on the consequences of the intense ethnic conflict and the long-lasting impacts of the brutal Siege of Sarajevo. It critically examines the resulting urban and social changes, particularly the post-war internal fragmentation of Bosnia and Herzegovina sanctioned by the Dayton Peace Agreement.

The Bosnian War (1992-1995) was the most devastating and complex conflict during the violent breakup of Yugoslavia. The 'War of Yugoslav Succession' includes the armed conflicts of 1991–1995 in Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H), following their declaration of independence from Yugoslavia. It represented the violent culmination of the political conflict within Yugoslavia of the late 1980s and early 1990s elicited by the rise of nationalism, particularly within Yugoslavia's Socialist Republic of Serbia (Hoare, 2010). The Bosnian war was by far the bloodiest and most extensive of those conflicts (Hoare, 2019, p. 106). While Slovenia and Croatia were comparatively heterogeneous countries, Bosnia and Herzegovina was home to three principal ethno-national groups: Bosnian Muslim (Bosniaks), Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats.

In response to the declaration of independence of Bosnia Herzegovina, Bosnian Serbs, led by Radovan Karadžić, took arms and, with the support of Yugoslav National Army (YNA) and paramilitary units coming from Serbia, carried out a plan of systematic ethnic cleansing of non-Serb population in order to create a contiguous mono-ethnic territory encompassing most of Bosnia Herzegovina (Walasek, 2015). The Bosnian Serbs proclaimed this carved out territory Republika Srpska, which in English translates as Serb Republic. The ethnic cleansing featured

forcible mass expulsion, mass killings, torture in concentration camps, mass rape and intentional destruction of cultural and religious heritage and symbols of the expelled populations. There were two explicit aims in the destruction: first, to eliminate any evidence of the expelled population's historical existence on the territory, and second, by the removal of these markers of community identity, to discourage those who survived ethnic cleansing from ever returning (2015, p. 6).

The Siege of Sarajevo

A crucial front of the Bosnian war was the siege of Sarajevo, the longest in modern history. During the course of three and a half years, more than 11.500 people were killed during the siege. The city faced relentless attacks targeting its urbanity, culture, and civilian populace, resulting in heavy destruction of public buildings and loss of life. The siege was aimed at coercing the Bosnian leadership to accept a division of Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina along ethnic lines (Donia, 2006).

The Serbs shelled civilian areas from the hills and battled government troops on the streets. From their positions surrounding the city, the Bosnian Serb Army (BSA) pursued a campaign of destruction of city's architecture, important buildings for the life of the city, religious objects, libraries, bridges, and schools. The destruction is theorised as "urbicide" in the academic literature on the subject. Such violence was understood as "the killing of urbanity" by targeting spatial symbols and practices of multiethnicity in an effort to inscribe an enclave imprint into the cityscape (Coward, 2009). Estimates by the Bosnian Herzegovinian government indicate that 23% of all public buildings were seriously damaged. This includes about 35.000 destroyed dwellings and numerous public buildings and places including cultural

and religious institutions, communication centres, infrastructure, and medical centres (Ristic, 2016, p.17). An extract from the Final report of the United Nations Commission of Experts (Annex VI - part 1) on the “Study of the battle and siege of Sarajevo” demonstrates planned and systematic shelling of civilians and places of public value:

“The following targets have been documented in the chronology as being among the most frequently targeted sites in the city: the Sarajevo radio and television stations; the Oslobođenje Newspaper building which is still in operation; the public transportation system; the Holiday Inn Hotel (which is the base of many foreign journalists); the Presidency and Parliament buildings; the main city brewery; the flour mill; the main bakery; the Olympic complex; the Post Telegraph and Telephone building; the industrial area of Alipasin Most near the railway station and main television tower; the Jewish cemetery; the Lion cemetery; the city airport; the tobacco factory; the Dobrinja apartment complex; the central district; Bascarsija (the old quarter of mosques); the Stari Grad section; New Sarajevo; the main thoroughfare on Marsal Tito Street; and the shopping district at Vase Miskina.

The chronology confirms that certain areas of the city have been systematically shelled throughout the course of the siege. For example, the city centre has consistently been the most often targeted area, with shelling attacks reported in that particular area of the city on 240 days. Also heavily shelled were the airport area and southwestern suburbs (shelling attacks reported on 158 days) and the Old Town area (shelling attacks reported on 113 days).

Systematic targeting can be inferred from the shelling of hospitals and in particular the Sarajevo University Clinical Centre Kosevo which has constantly been under shell and sniper fire. The Kosevo complex has reportedly been shelled at least 264 times since the siege began, killing staff and patients alike. An examination of the sheer number of shells and the high percentage of direct hits on the complex indicates an intent by the besieging forces to hit this civilian target”. (Bassiouni, 1994).

In 2003, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia declared that the main goal of this campaign of destruction was to spread terror among the civilian population of the city (ICTY, n.d.– Galić)

The Post-War Sarajevo and the Establishment of the Inter-Entity Boundary

On December 14, 1995, the Presidents of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegović, of the Republic of Croatia, Franjo Tuđman, and of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Slobodan Milošević, signed the Dayton Peace Agreement, thus ending the Bosnian war. The Dayton Agreement regulates numerous aspects of the peace process between the parties involved, such as the preservation of the international borders of B&H, as well as its internal constitutional division in two entities, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FB&H) and the Republika Srpska (RS), sanctioned by the recognition of the Inter-Entity Boundary Line (IEBL) (The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2023).¹

It is important to note that, at that point, the demographic distribution on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina had radically changed compared to the situation before the conflict. The data of the census carried out in 1991 show the three main national groups, Bosnian Muslim (Bosniaks), Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats, distributed variously over the entire Bosnian territory, with some concentrations of a particular group in a given area, but essentially without a precise identification of a part of the territory with one of the national groups.

However, the self-proclamation in 1992 of the Serbian Republic by the Bosnian Serbs and the consequent campaign of ‘ethnic cleansing’, triggered a process which resulted in the formation of ethnically homogeneous territories. The creation in 1994 of the Federation of Bosnia Herzegovina by Croats and Bosniaks (distributed in ten cantons of which five with a Bosniak majority, three with a Croatian majority and two ‘mixed’) outlines the demographic and

¹ Relevant for this study is the 2000 Constitutional Court ruling on the issue whether the Constitution of the Republika Srpska can use the word "border" instead of the "boundary" in its text. The ruling of the Constitutional Court in case of Bosnia and Herzegovina is attached in Appendix A.

territorial picture formalized by the Agreements of Dayton, characterized by the absolute prevalence of the Serb ethnic group in the Serbian Republic and of the Bosniak and Croat ethnic groups in the Federation.

These territorial divisions led to tangible transformations in the socio-physical landscape of Sarajevo. The city's urban centre, mainly inhabited by Bosniaks, became part of the Federation, while Serbian majority suburbs in the east were annexed to Republika Srpska (Aquilué and Roca, 2016).

This instance highlights the central role of territory in the manifestation of political order, ideologies, and social structures. It is not surprising that changes in political regimes are often paralleled by shifts in the public landscape (Light and Young, 2010, p. 1454). As Aquilué and Roca (2016, p. 154) indicate, the creation of new entities had a profound impact on the relatively small country of Bosnia and Herzegovina, despite its modest size of 51,129 km².

In the context of critical marketing, understanding territories becomes a crucial aspect, particularly considering the diverse sociocultural and political dynamics that can shape consumption of and within these territories. As this research context reveals, territories are more than just physical spaces; they are socio-cultural and political constructs with histories, narratives, and power dynamics that inevitably interact with and shape marketing strategies and consumer behaviour. Future marketing research would thus benefit from an exploration of territories, considering the spatial, social, and political dynamics at play.

Next, I will detail the research question and aims of this study.

The Research Question

Questions concerning the relationship between place and consumption have enjoyed growing attention from marketing scholars (e.g., Chatzidakis et al., 2018; Castilhos and Dolbec, 2017; Sherry, 2000; Visconti et al., 2010; Ustuner and Holt., 2007; Brown and Campelo, 2014; 286; Maclaran and Brown, 2005; Penaloza 2001; Marcoux 2017; Castilhos, 2019; Chatterjee, 2023; Bhatnagar, et al., 2023). This is not surprising given that place is replete with different meanings, articulations, interpretations, dimensions, and consumption activities. However, ‘place’ is rarely a static concept and it is much more than the physical and material environment (Belk, 1987). It can also be a repository of cultural memories, myths, traditions, values, and customs (Goulding and Domic 2009; Ustuner and Holt 2007; Penaloza 2001; Canniford et al., 2018). Moreover, its meaning(s) may fluctuate depending on, for example, shifts in political ideology (Goulding and Domic 2009), or traumatic events such as war or acts of terrorism (Marcoux, 2017), leading to its resignification. Visconti et al (2010, p. 512) draw a distinction between the notions of space and place proposing that "space traditionally refers to something anonymous, whereas place distinctively accounts for the meaningful experience of a given site"; or, as Lemke (2005) suggests, "real (or virtual) spaces are also places defined by what they contain and by the actions we perform in them" (2005, p. 186).

However, the way consumers interact with *territory* is a developing question for marketing scholars (Castilhos et al., 2017; 2018; Cheetham et al., 2018). The possible reason for this does not lie in neglect or unwillingness to enter such explorations, but in the fact that contexts or cases in which territoriality is at play are mostly marginalized. The reality is that territoriality, as the act of claiming and defending territories (Hall, 1959) is empirically located in contexts that have been historically and politically contested, silenced, and ostracized.

Given the lack of research concentrating on territory consumption in contemporary marketing and consumer research, this interdisciplinary subject area remains a relatively neglected topic.

Several factors may be contributing to this gap:

- ❖ *Complexity of Territory*: Territory isn't just about geography; it encompasses an elaborate web of socio-cultural, political, and historical complexities, as illustrated by the concept of *territoriality*. Decoding these complexities may seem daunting, making scholars gravitate towards more conventional and straightforward research areas.
- ❖ *Contested and Sensitive Contexts*: As highlighted, territory often finds its roots in historically and politically contested contexts, which are not just challenging to analyse but may also tread into sensitive terrains.
- ❖ *Interdisciplinary Challenges*: Studying territory demands an interdisciplinary approach, merging insights from geography, political science, history, sociology, and anthropology with marketing and consumer behaviour. Building bridges across these disciplines can be a difficult task.
- ❖ *Marginalized Contexts*: as mentioned, areas where territoriality is most prominent are often marginalized, making access to primary data challenging. These contexts might also lack established academic frameworks or tools for meaningful exploration and data collection, further deterring scholarly investigation.
- ❖ *Evolution of Marketing Paradigms*: Traditional marketing paradigms might not have equipped scholars to venture into the nuanced realms of territoriality. As marketing evolves to be more critical and context-aware, there is a pressing need to incorporate unconventional areas like territoriality into its scholarship.

Considering these challenges, while the significance of territory in shaping consumption remains undisputed, it's evident why there's a research deficit in this area. Consequently, this thesis sets out to investigate the following question:

In the context of significant disruptive events, such as wars, how are places resignified, and what impact does this have on consumption patterns?

In accordance with grounded theory methodology, my research began with this open question, with theory-building as a goal, while equipped with limited prior knowledge of the general topic. The aims of the thesis emerged from the research question.

Aims of the Thesis

Based on the research question set above, the following aims guided this thesis:

- ❖ To offer and explore a context in which it would be possible to understand the initial processes and factors that contribute to the formation of territorial boundaries in Bosnia and Herzegovina, their maintenance, and their impact on consumption patterns of people who inhabit that territory.
- ❖ To explore the complexities of territoriality within Bosnia and Herzegovina, understanding its broader socio-cultural context, and its place in critical marketing.
- ❖ To apply grounded theory methodology in the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina and generate a theoretical framework that would interpret the influence of significant disruptions (such as conflict or political changes) on consumption patterns.
- ❖ To extend the understanding of territorial boundaries from sociological and geographical perspectives into the critical marketing scholarship.

Significance of the Thesis

The significance of this thesis lies in its focus on understanding territorial boundaries—specifically within contexts that are often marginalized or neglected in mainstream research. By giving voice to these historically and politically contested terrains, this work contributes to a fuller understanding of territoriality and its role in individual and collective experiences. It is an attempt to bridge a gap in critical marketing literature, thereby extending our understanding of how territories influence consumption patterns and social interactions.

Contrary to earlier predictions about the diminishing relevance of territorial boundaries, recent global events—including the pandemic—have demonstrated that these *demarcations* are more pertinent than ever (Paasi et al., 2022). Unfortunately, it seems that boundaries are not fading away but are instead being solidified through the establishment of more borders and the creation of new territorial divisions in the world. Far from being abstract constructs, territories emerge as living entities that actively mould human behaviours. This shift in perspective is not merely academic; the recent pandemic has demonstrated the critical need for understanding territoriality, thereby making this research timely and relevant. My decision to tackle this subject stem from a recognition of its growing significance in our rapidly changing world. Consequently, I take pride in the research I have conducted, as it seeks to bring attention to these overlooked yet vitally important aspects of human experience.

Original Contribution to Knowledge

This thesis makes several original contributions to knowledge. Firstly, this research situates itself within a limited body of work that examines territorial boundaries within critical marketing. By doing so, it not only enriches the existing literature but also offers a unique lens through which the intricacies of territorial boundaries can be examined. Secondly, by employing grounded theory methodology, this research is firmly rooted in data collected from the particular setting of a post-conflict city. This choice of methodology is significant as it facilitates the inductive development of theory from data, offering a unique understanding of the subject. Finally, this study introduces a three-stage theoretical framework derived from grounded theory analysis. Each stage adds depth to our understanding of how consumption is territorialized in disrupted settings. Importantly, this framework introduces the idea that territories act as active agents in consuming individuals, rather than the traditionally understood vice versa. This shift in perspective offers an original avenue for future research and has profound implications for both theory and practice in the field of critical marketing.

Choosing the Methodology

While selecting the most suitable methodology for my research, I considered the innovative qualitative methods that recent marketing studies exploring territory have employed. These were qualitative in nature, which resonated with my belief that territory is far too intricate to be simplified into statistical data and far too contextual to be generalized; it has layers of meaning that can only be uncovered through qualitative methods. In addition, qualitative research is particularly useful when very little is known about the area of study and the research question, because the research can reveal processes that go far beyond surface appearances and provide fresh and new perspectives (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

What specifically drew me toward grounded theory was its dual nature; it is both a rigorous methodological approach and a philosophy, a ‘way of life,’ that invites deep, contextual understanding. While I was not extensively proficient in the existing literature on spatiality within the field of marketing, what I did have was a first-hand understanding of the complexities of living in a territorially charged environment.

I was raised in Bosnia, a country that has endured the ramifications of territorial conflict. The 1990s war wasn't a chapter in a history book for me; it was my formative environment. I witnessed the toll of territorial disputes, experienced the reconfiguration of neighbourhoods, and lived the narrative of post-conflict identity. These experiences gave me a distinctive grasp of the concept of territory that extended beyond academic theory.

Therefore, entering the field for my research, I was equipped not with a comprehensive literature review, but with a lifetime of experience. Since grounded theory method is emergent in nature, it was a perfect match. This allowed me to engage more deeply and openly with my

subject matter, thereby letting the data speak for itself. It's almost as if grounded theory chose me, rather than the other way around. The methodology was the perfect fit for allowing me to explore the complexities of territoriality in a post-conflict setting, offering me the tools to build a comprehensive understanding from the ground up.

Grounded theory was also instrumental in integrating my lived experience into a systematic framework. The method encourages researchers to be constantly involved in analysing data, to observe patterns, and to construct theories that are deeply rooted in the specific context from which they emerge. My understanding of Bosnia's territorial complexities was an 'insider perspective', it was an intimate knowledge, rich with details that might escape even the most careful researcher who did not share this background.

Lastly, grounded theory is adaptable and fluid. Given the multi-dimensionality of territories—spanning socio-cultural, political, and economic realms—I needed a methodological approach that was flexible enough to capture the evolving nature of territoriality. The iterative process of grounded theory, involving constant back-and-forth between data collection and analysis, allowed for the incorporation of new insights as the research unfolded.

In summary, grounded theory did more than simply provide a set of methodological steps to follow; it offered a coherent lens through which to view, interpret, and make sense of the social complexities of territory in a post-conflict city.

Identifying the Literature Gap

Although the academic discourse in critical marketing and Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) has explored the nuances of spatiality, the role of territories remains an under-researched area. Territories, as conceptualized through the frameworks of Empiricus, Conexus, Imago, and Locus (Giovanardi and Lucarelli, 2018), are often implicitly present but seldom explicitly explored. Notably, this lack of focus contrasts sharply with territories' increasing relevance in the modern world.

The seminal works in critical marketing and CCT (e.g., Goulding 2001, 2009; Goulding and Domic, 2009; Hirschman et al., 2012; Castilhos et al., 2017, 2018; Cheetham et al., 2018; Coffin and Chatzidakis, 2021), which are explored in detail in the literature review chapter, bring forth some much-needed attention to the intersection between marketing and territories. For example, the study of Castilhos et al., (2017) opened the doors to understanding territories as spaces that protect market elements, grant them symbolic power, and enforce constraints. Yet, it remains one of the few studies that explicitly focuses on the multifaceted role of territories in marketing. As insightful as these works are, they leave unanswered questions about how territories gain legitimacy, how their boundaries become normalized, and how their symbolic power is perpetuated over time.

Furthermore, the existing literature primarily focuses on general territories without considering the unique dynamics of specific contexts, such as post-conflict cities, where the concept of territory takes on additional layers of complexity. Nor does it leverage methodologies like grounded theory, which could offer more contextually rich insights. Therefore, this research aims to fill these gaps in the literature by focusing on territories as active agents within the field of critical marketing. It aims to explore these dimensions through grounded theory, specifically

in the unique context of a post-conflict city. As a result, this study introduces a tripartite theoretical framework to understand the complex interplay of territorialized consumption in disrupted settings. Through this approach, the study aspires to offer a more contextually grounded understanding of territories in critical marketing and CCT literature.

How Literature Shaped my Research

The literature was integral to my research because my methodological approach, grounded theory, requires the researcher to employ theoretical sensitivity, which means the ability to see relevant data with the help of theoretical terms. The literature helped me frame my data, offering an understanding of the different phases of territory, from its genesis to its daily manifestations and interactions.

The Influence of Literature on Theoretical Selection

Given that my thesis is interdisciplinary and my academic background (bachelor's degree) is in political theory, I already had a foundational understanding of territory from the classical political theory standpoint. The literature review expanded my perspective by introducing me to how territory is considered in marketing. It intrigued me to see how marketing tackled the concept of territory, especially since it often approached it more innovatively than in political theory. The literature review, therefore, served as a bridge, allowing me to incorporate different theoretical frameworks into a cohesive understanding of my research topic. This helped me to formulate a theory that captured the nuances of territoriality in the post-conflict context.

Thesis Structure

This chapter served multiple purposes: it outlined the motivations driving this research, set the contextual background for the study, introduced the research topic, and clearly articulated the research aims. Addressing an under-researched area in marketing, specifically the complexities surrounding territory and its associated consumption patterns, this study faced several challenges. These included the identification of a suitable theoretical framework that accommodated the interdisciplinary nature of the topic, positioning the study within appropriate existing literature, and successfully gaining access to research participants in a contextually sensitive environment.

The research problem underpinning this study centred on understanding the complex dimensions of territoriality within the scholarship of critical marketing. Specifically, it sought to explore how territorial boundaries either shaped or were shaped by consumption patterns, especially in settings that had been disrupted by conflict. By situating this research at the intersection of critical marketing and cultural geography, this thesis aspired for a holistic theorization of the concept of territoriality.

Given that this was an under-explored domain in the existing academic literature, the thesis aimed to fill this gap. To achieve this, it employed a grounded theory methodology designed to offer a deep, contextual understanding of territoriality. Through this approach, the research not only contributed to the academic discourse but also provided valuable insights that could have broader societal implications, particularly for regions recovering from conflict and disruption.

The following is the summary of each chapter:

Chapter Two and Three constitute the literature review. Chapter Two, *Navigating the Changing Landscape of Marketing: A Journey from Economic Utility to Critical Perspectives in Spatial Research*, serves as a comprehensive overview of the evolving field of marketing, tracing its journey from a focus on economic utility to the incorporation of more critical, contextual, and cultural perspectives. Beginning with an exploration of how places—towns, cities, historical sites—were once marketed as mere commodities, the chapter explores the transformative shifts that have led to a more culturally rich understanding of marketing spaces. It charts the history of marketing thought from its early 20th-century roots through various eras, culminating in the rise of Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) and critical marketing perspectives, which are then further critically evaluated in relation to the research problem. The chapter concludes by identifying gaps in current research, thereby establishing the foundation and the position for this thesis' focus on the concept of territorialized consumption. Importantly, the chapter firmly situates the position of this thesis within the realm of critical marketing, offering a contextual lens through which territoriality and its associated consumption patterns can be examined.

Chapter Three, *A Culturally Geographic Approach to Spatiality*, explores the concept of 'place' from a culturally geographic perspective. Initially, it explores how the idea of place has transitioned from being merely a set of geographical coordinates to becoming a complex, culturally embedded entity. It situates this exploration within the academic scholarship of representational cultural geography, highlighting the role symbols and cultural forms play in shaping human interactions with specific places. The chapter also examines the concept of

‘territory’, focusing on how culture and context give rise to unique, meaningful places. These places are composed of both tangible and intangible ‘traces’, which capture lived experiences and contribute to the ongoing resignification of a place. Finally, the chapter lays the foundation for a theoretical framework that aims to deepen our understanding of the interplay between territoriality, culture, and consumption. This framework aligns with the overarching goal of this research, which is to make an original contribution to existing knowledge.

Chapter Four, *Methodological Framework*, focuses on outlining the research methodology, anchored in the three foundational pillars of research philosophy: ontology, epistemology, and methodology. Initially, the chapter establishes the constructivist paradigm as the guiding research framework, emphasizing its unique ontological and epistemological alignments. It aims to provide a robust rationale for employing a dual-method approach: constructionist grounded theory and narrative inquiry. While the former serves as the main methodological framework, the latter complements it in specific aspects like theoretical perspectives and data analysis. The chapter then outlines the data collection process, focusing on the importance of gathering context-rich, comprehensive data. It also discusses the role of reflexivity in enhancing the research process. Towards the end, the chapter elaborates on how the core category in the grounded theory method is formed and how theoretical saturation is achieved. Overall, the chapter aims to present a well-structured research methodology that aligns with the research questions and context of this study.

Chapter Five, *Level Two Theory Building*, serves as a critical point in the research, presenting extensive findings from the grounded theory study. This chapter's primary objective

is to theorize and elaborate on the core category of ‘territorialized consumption’ and its three integral sub-categories: legitimisation, maintenance, and expression. Using visual aids, illustrative quotes, and personal or visual stories, the chapter dissects these sub-categories and their associated concepts to offer a comprehensive understanding of territorialized consumption. The chapter follows a structured format, beginning with the definition and visualization of the core category, followed by in-depth explorations of the three key sub-categories and their respective concepts. The goal is to construct a theoretical framework around the notion of territorialized consumption.

Chapter Six, *Discussion of Findings and Final Conclusions*, presents a comprehensive summary and integration of the findings to develop a grounded theory of territorialized consumption in the context of a post-conflict city. The chapter opens by revisiting the initial research question and provides a summary of the theoretical framework that underpins the study. It then moves on to highlight the contributions of this research to the existing body of knowledge. While acknowledging the limitations faced during the research process, the chapter also elaborates on the broader implications of the study and identified potential avenues for future research.

Summary

The introduction chapter set the stage for the research by outlining its context, motivations, and key research questions. It provided an overview of the thesis, highlighted contributions to knowledge, and pointed out gaps in existing literature. Additionally, it explained the rationale behind the chosen methodology. Following the introduction, the next chapter explores the evolving perspectives in marketing thought, specifically focusing on the shift from traditional, economically driven viewpoints to more nuanced, culturally oriented frameworks. This sets the foundation for an exploration of territorialized consumption in later chapters.

CHAPTER II

Navigating the Changing Landscape of Marketing: A Journey from Economic Utility to Critical Perspectives in Spatial Research

Introduction

In the past, places like towns, cities, or historical sites were marketed similarly to regular products. They were either viewed as physical items with measurable features or as experiences to be packaged and sold (Kotler and Gertner, 2002; Anholt, 2005, 2008; Ashworth, 1993). Various communities and regions adopted marketing techniques to promote themselves internationally, aiming to enhance exports and attract businesses. This indicates that places have been managed much like typical products and brands (Gertner, 2011). However, for some time we are witnessing shifts in marketing perspectives (critical marketing, Saren et al., 2007) and the emphasis on the cultural side of consumer behaviour (CCT, Arnould and Thompson, 2005) have prompted a rethinking of how we understand places. This change in perspective, recognizing the cultural and social aspects of places, is often termed the ‘spatial turn’ in the fields of marketing and consumer research (Castilhos et al., 2016; Chatzidakis et al. 2018).

Between the shift from traditional to more culturally oriented marketing perspectives and the historical progression of marketing thought, lies a story of continual evolution. The marketing of places, from towns to cities, has seen a transformative journey from being managed as mere

tangible products to being understood through a rich tapestry of cultural and social lenses. This evolution mirrors the broader historical shifts in marketing thought.

The historical trajectory of marketing, as explored in this chapter, traces the discipline's progression, starting from its roots in economic utility at the beginning of the 20th century, which conceptualized marketing as product-centric, primarily aiming to satisfy the rational consumer's needs and wants. The chapter then moves to the scientific era of the 1950s, which broadened marketing's perspectives amidst debates over its nature as an art or a science. This era sparked an expansion of diverse perspectives within the field, leading to a rise in motivation and behavioural research that heavily influenced contemporary understanding of consumer behaviour. Navigating towards the 1980s and embracing philosophical pluralism, this chapter then explores the transformative postmodern era of the 1990s, marked by the revealing of sociocultural processes in consumption, and the broadening of perspectives, signalling a significant departure from orthodox marketing views.

The chapter then turns to present the emergence of Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) and critical marketing perspectives. These concepts are evaluated in combination with the rise of spatiality research in marketing. When combined, these perspectives provide invaluable insights into the complex dynamics of marketing, extending beyond established norms.

Further, the chapter elaborates on how CCT informs this thesis, despite criticisms surrounding its limited critical perspective studies (Askegaard and Scott, 2013). Many researchers within the interpretive consumer research community have expressed reservations about adopting the CCT label, arguing it lacks a comprehensive critical lens. This critique underlines the rationale for integrating a critical marketing perspective in this thesis, enabling a broader exploration of spatiality and territories beyond the constraints of CCT.

Finally, the chapter presents a review of influential research in marketing spatiality that contributes to the aims and research questions of this thesis. It also recognizes that spatiality in marketing is an extension of cultural or human geography. After presenting recent research on territories and their role in marketing, this chapter identifies gaps in literature. This sets the stage for the exploration of the concept of territorialized consumption.

Early Marketing Concepts: 1900s-1950s

During the early 1900s, experts like Ralph Starr Butler and Arch W. Shaw viewed marketing as a system for arranging how goods are delivered to people. They saw it as an active role, linking different aspects of a business, such as creating products, distributing them, and managing the overall operation (Bartes, 1976). Indeed, early marketing thought and practice were grounded in the economic concept of utility – the satisfaction or benefit derived from consuming a product or service. Marketing was very product-focused, emphasizing the tangible attributes of products and how these met the needs of consumers; therefore, marketing was completely associated to economics. Economic theory has traditionally been based on the premise that the consumer is a rational being seeking utility in consumption (Marshall, 2013). In a market economy consumers expressed their needs by exerting pressure on the suppliers through their choices in the marketplaces (Dholakia and Firat, 1998). Consumers were therefore trying to improve their conditions by purchasing goods and services they needed at that moment of time. All consumption patterns were performed as through the mediation of the market (Dholakia and Firat, 1998).

It can be argued that these perspectives, grounded in tangible product attributes and economic utility, emphasize the objective characteristics of goods and their value to the consumer in a somewhat deterministic manner. Indeed, economic utility theories largely lack any consideration of the *cultural context* (Pettigrew, 1999). In addition, marketing science was seen as valuable only when it contributed to practice and it was believed it should be taught primarily by consultants and practitioners (Coutant, 1937). Nevertheless, even with these criticisms, we should not forget the great contributions these scholars made to the early development of marketing (Shaw, 2009).

As the 1902s and 1930s unfolded, marketing academics were on a quest to assert the legitimacy of their discipline. They advocated for the incorporation of scientific methods into marketing research and practice, thus conducting experimental studies, survey research, consumer tests, and field-based research such as copy-testing of advertisements (Coutant, 1936b, p. 32 in Tadajewski, 2014, p. 308). This initiative was designed to establish marketing as a scientific discipline and elevate the professional stature of marketing practitioners in the industry. Evidence of this endeavour is seen in the works produced by the American Marketing Society and the Journal of Marketing. However, it's worth noting that this perspective, which attributes the development of marketing thought solely to economic influence, is contested. Specifically, the works of Jones and Tadajewski (2018) as well as Tadajewski (2022) argue that the German Historical School of Economics had a significant impact on early marketing scholars. According to these studies, this school promoted the study of original source materials and the understanding of historical and contextual background of organisations and their operations (Tadajewski, 2014). As Tadajewski points out (Ibid, p. 305), this school diverged from the classical economic theory, which insisted on the universality of its theoretical and conceptual presuppositions and fostered an excessively individualistic comprehension of human behaviour. They argue that the German Historical School displayed a profound interest in the societal impacts of business, fostering a greater contribution towards social welfare.

Scientific Era of Marketing: Broadening the Debate

Until the 1950s, marketing was fundamentally nested within the domain of economics, where the consumer was seen as a 'rational man'. This perspective, however, was eventually called into question by emerging consumer behaviour research (Holbrook, 1995a). A transition in the discourse of marketing can be traced back to the influential publication by Converse (1945), which ignited a debate about the very nature of marketing. Converse posed an intriguing question: Was marketing an art or a science? In the end, Converse concluded that marketing was a field in the throes of development, which Brown (1996) interpreted as a "nascent science", but one that couldn't be strictly categorized as either artistic or scientific. Converse's paper (1945) served as a catalyst for a debate that resonates to this day.

As explained by Brown (1996), early marketing scholars advocated for the discipline to embrace a more analytical and systematic approach, fostering the use of testable hypotheses. In contrast, Vaile (1949, in Brown, 1996) argued that marketing was "an art where innovation, creativity and extravaganza prevailed", and where the complexity of marketing concepts prevented attempts at generalization (Brown, 1996, p. 245).

Brown (1996) further elaborated that Buzzell (1963) was a pivotal scholar who firmly positioned marketing on the scientific continuum. Buzzell's adherence to scientific criteria provoked a counterargument from Shelby Hunt (1976), who argued that marketing was ill-equipped to follow such rigorous criteria until it accumulated a sufficient repertoire of concepts and theories. Eventually, as documented by Brown (1996, p. 246-247), a compromise was reached, where both sides agreed on the need to 'broaden the debate' within the field of marketing, accommodating diverse perspectives and methods.

Indeed, this ongoing debate between the scientific and artistic views of marketing, fuelled by key scholars over the decades, laid the groundwork for a shift in perspectives. As I transition into the next section, it becomes clear that such debates not only broadened the understanding of marketing but also paved the way for the acceptance of diverse perspectives and approaches within the field.

Motivation and Behavioural Research in Marketing

The evolution of marketing thought and practice, sparked by debates around the scientific versus artistic nature of the field, coupled with emerging complexity within marketing thought, set the stage for the introduction of new perspectives, specifically motivation and behavioural research. This approach, prevalent during the mid-20th century, sought to comprehend the reasons behind people's consumption of specific products and services (Tucker, 1957). Scholars employed interpretive methods like in-depth interviewing and thematic association tests, thereby researching beneath surface-level consumer behaviours (Tadajewski, 2014).

Ernest Dichter was a prominent figure within this realm of research, demonstrating a keen interest in interpreting what consumers genuinely desired. Instead of subscribing to the assumption that consumers rationally desired what marketers offered, Dichter embarked on a quest to interpret their underlying needs (Ibid, p. 310). As a result, marketers started to incorporate concepts from psychology and psychoanalysis to decode the emotional, subconscious motivations that underpin consumer behaviour. This marked a departure from a purely rational economic model of consumer behaviour to a more sophisticated, psychologically oriented perspective. Nevertheless, this doesn't imply that interpretive methods gained widespread acceptance. According to Tadajewski (2022), marketing departments during this period were not particularly encouraged to utilize interpretative research methods. Instead, the overarching approach leaned heavily towards managerial and profit-generating practices. Consequently, critical thinking within marketing remained minimal.

Challenges to Orthodox Approaches (1980s)

The shift towards behavioural research and the influence of psychology on marketing paradigms laid the foundation for further conceptual expansion. As we navigate from the mid-20th century towards the late 1970s and early 1980s, we witness scholars embracing philosophical pluralism and the emergence of critical marketing within the academic discourse (Tadajewski, 2014). According to Tadajewski (2010a), this era marked the first instances of critical marketing being discussed within scholarly circles. Scholars such as Hirschman (1986), Sherry (1987), Belk (1988), Levy (1981), and Holbrook (1985) started to question conventional marketing paradigms. They argued for a more interpretive, qualitative understanding of consumer behaviour that acknowledged its symbolic, experiential, and hedonic aspects.

One of the key figures in the field of interpretative marketing and consumer research was Sidney Levy (1981). The faculty members and students from the University of Chicago, including Levy, stood out due to their effective application of principles from anthropology, sociology, and psychology to business research needs. This era can indeed be recognized as a fundamental time when marketing significantly expanded its concepts and debates, broadening the perspectives that shape the field to this day (Tadajewski, 2014).

The same period also saw the advent of critical marketing. A notable example is Anderson (1983; 1986) who researched critical relativist perspective on research in consumer and buyer behaviour. Anderson (1986) argued that critical perspectives provide a more precise depiction of how marketing knowledge is produced and offer a more rigorous approach to evaluating theoretical frameworks compared to positivist approaches, thereby making a substantial contribution to marketing thought in the 1980s.

Postmodern Marketing

Linking back to previous discussion on the changing nature of marketing theory and practice, *postmodern marketing* represents a further development in this evolutionary path. Aiming to reconcile these changes with new frameworks for understanding, postmodern marketing diverged sharply from the mainstream, scientific approach to marketing when it emerged in the 1990s. Importantly, postmodern marketing was a reaction to modernity (Firat, 2012) and its grand narratives that emphasized unified truth about the social world (Firat and Venkatesh, 1993).

Indeed, postmodern marketing, deeply ingrained in contemporary marketing thought and practice, emerged as a radical departure from the conventional scientific marketing of its time (Brown, 1999). Maclaran (2009) identifies three primary characteristics of postmodern marketing:

- ❖ A comprehensive worldview encapsulating the evolving conditions of modern Western societies;
- ❖ An epistemological framework concerning these transformations; and
- ❖ A collection of marketing practices and strategies adapted to these changes.

At its core, postmodern marketing argues that our epoch is one of transition and transformation, in which the traditional foundations of society—economic, political, social, and cultural—are rapidly disintegrating and being replaced by novel paradigms. This transformation has given rise to a consumer culture and a fragmentation of traditional consumption patterns (Venkantesh, 1999; Firat and Venkantesh, 1995). As Cova et al., (2013) argue, “postmodernism played a major transformative role by revealing sociocultural processes at

work in consumption activities” (p. 216). Further, postmodern marketing argues that understanding the accelerating changes in society *demands* a departure from established patterns of marketing thought. Instead, it calls for an expansion of perspectives and a move away from generalized, absolute worldviews (Brown, 1995). Finally, postmodern marketing calls for the acknowledgement of emerging marketing conditions and the need for novel marketing thought and practice to address these changes.

One observable trend in postmodern marketing is dedifferentiation, or the blurring of previously distinct marketing boundaries (Brown, 1999). As such, postmodern marketing has opened avenues for exploring concepts previously considered marginal to marketing theory and practice, such as spatiality, for example. It also advocates for interdisciplinarity, a crucial aspect of marketing that challenges conventional norms.

The perspective provided by postmodernism allows us to better comprehend and conceptualize the dramatic shifts occurring within the marketing arena. Specifically, postmodernism opens the door for innovative thought and exploration of previously untouched concepts within the field of marketing. However, it's important to underline that postmodern marketing has also attracted criticism. As Brown (1999) argues, postmodernism is characterized more by stasis and debilitation than by progress, a stark contrast to the forward movement that characterized modernity. Brown, in quite a realist tone, suggests that everything in theory, politics, art, and society has already been explored, and that originality is a myth in a future that has already occurred, referencing Baudrillard (1988). Despite these critiques, Brown (1999) acknowledges that postmodernism brings a plethora of possibilities and even a sense of playfulness to the field of marketing. Crucially, postmodern marketing has facilitated a departure from a predominantly Western-centric theory and practice, allowing for an embrace of non-Western ideas and contexts (Brown, 1999, p. 45).

Postmodern Debates: Relativism vs Realism

Postmodernism has sparked an intense debate in the history of marketing thought, specifically centred around the opposing philosophies of realism and relativism. This debate was ignited in 1983 when Paul Anderson called into question the fundamental philosophical assumptions of marketing scholarship (Anderson, 1983). Traditionally and unsurprisingly, marketing was based on what is referred to as a 'positivist' view - that a singular, external world exists and can be objectively measured, predicted, and explained by independent observers. This perspective states that there are universal laws or generalizations that govern this world. In marketing, it was argued that only positivist methods bring about scientific status to marketing science (Hunt, 1976a in Anderson, 1983, p. 18).

Contrary to this, Anderson (1983) proposed a 'critical relativism' approach, arguing that while an external world may exist, it cannot be accessed independently of human experiences, perceptions, and interpretations. This suggests that 'reality' is not objective and external, but *socially constructed* and given meaning by human actors. What is considered 'knowledge' about this world is relative, varying across different times, contexts, and research communities. This departure from the orthodox view of marketing scholarship sparked a strong reaction, primarily from those loyally committed to the positivist paradigm, such as Shelby Hunt.

Hunt (1993; 1994; 2005), an enthusiastic defender of positivism, was particularly critical of relativism, claiming it led to nihilism, irrationalism, incoherence, and irrelevance. This instigated an intense philosophical debate within the field of marketing, with academics arguing about various concepts such as "demarcation", "truth" "science" among others (Kavanagh, 1993). While the debate seemed to reach its peak with Hunt declaring victory for the realists, the emergence of postmodernism added a new dimension to the discourse (Brown,

1999). Indeed, postmodernism, an intellectual movement that comes in various forms, fundamentally leans towards a relativist position (Brown, 1999). Now, marketing discipline and practice focused on customized/individual experiences where broad market generalizations and grand models are no-longer applied or implemented.

In summary, the postmodern turn in marketing scholarship not only expanded its philosophical foundations but also brought the realism versus relativism debate to the forefront. This philosophical debate continues to influence the course of marketing thought, further broadening its complexity and diversity. Drawing on the principles of postmodern marketing, I next navigate towards a deeper understanding of marketing's non-traditional facets, exploring the realms of Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) and critical marketing. Both of these perspectives, each robust in its methodology, challenge established norms, and facilitate a comprehensive understanding of marketing's role in society.

Evolution of Place in Marketing

In the field of marketing, the concept of 'place' has received attention from both scholars and professionals for many decades, indicating its significant role in the study and application of marketing strategies. This interest in 'place' has developed within the framework of the marketing-mix paradigm, where it is identified as one of the four pivotal components, commonly referred to as the 'Four Ps.' The marketing-mix concept provides a foundational structure for understanding how products are brought to the market and how they reach the consumer. Specifically, within this paradigm, marketing academics perceive 'place' as a crucial setting that facilitates utilitarian exchanges. According to Bagozzi (1975), these exchanges involve buyers and sellers engaging in transactions that include the exchange of money, goods, and services. Therefore, this traditional view of 'place' in marketing has been primarily associated with physical distribution channels and retail locations (Kotler and Levy, 1969; Baker, 1994).

However, the understanding and interpretation of 'place' have significantly evolved over time, reflecting broader changes in market practices and consumer interactions. This evolution has been marked by a shift from a narrow focus on physical distribution to a more comprehensive view that includes the influence of culture, national identity, and the complex relationships among various stakeholders involved in managing a place brand (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2008; Kalandided and Kavaratzis, 2011; Warnaby, 2011).

Transitioning from this broadened understanding of 'place' in the marketing mix, the scholarship on place marketing and place branding further extends these concepts, encompassing a wide variety of themes that highlight the strategic importance of place in marketing practices (e.g., Berglund and Olsson, 2010; Gertner, 2011b; Vuignier, 2017:

Niedomysl and Mikael, 2012). Skinner (2007) highlights this expanded perspective, illustrating how 'place' now encompasses a wide range of factors that contribute to its branding and management. This broader view of 'place' acknowledges the dynamic and multifaceted nature of marketing, recognizing the importance of cultural and social elements in shaping marketing strategies and consumer perceptions. In this sense, places are products to be crafted and positioned to foster a positive brand image (e.g., Govers, 2009; Dinnie, 2010; Jacobsen, 2009; Zavataro, 2014; Zenker, 2014; Gertner and Kotler, 2004; Demirbag, et al., 2010; Anholt, 2005; Lucarelli and Berg, 2011), to enhance place identity (e.g., Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2013), to influence visitor's perceptions (e.g., Zenker et al, 2017; Casais and Poço, 2023) and attract stakeholder participation (e.g., Kalandides et al., 2012).

Overall, marketing scholarship on 'place' has embraced an interdisciplinary approach drawing on insights from political science, sociology, and geography to enrich the understanding and strategic positioning of places in the market (e.g., Hankinson, 2010). However, the exploration of 'territory' within the domain of marketing remains a largely uncharted area, despite its potential to provide profound insights into how geopolitical and socio-cultural dynamics influence market practices and consumer perceptions. While the concept of 'place' has received considerable attention, particularly in the context of place branding and marketing, there are not many studies that conceptualize or theorize 'territory' in the context of marketing. This oversight becomes particularly evident when considering the body of research focused on branding and marketing strategies in post-conflict areas or regions emerging from prolonged crises.

Studies that delve into the challenges and strategies of branding post-conflict places or those recovering from prolonged crises offer interesting perspectives on the complexities of place branding in sensitive contexts. Researchers such as Gould and Skinner (2007), Beirman (2002),

Vitic and Ringer (2008), and Currie (2020) have contributed significant insights into this area, examining how places that have experienced conflict or crisis navigate the process of rebranding and repositioning themselves in the global marketplace. These studies, while insightful, predominantly frame their analysis within the context of 'places' rather than 'territories,' focusing on the localized aspects of branding and marketing without fully addressing the broader territorial dynamics that shape these efforts.

Next, I evaluate critical marketing and Consumer Culture Theory (CCT), which offer valuable perspectives for further exploring the concept of territory and its resignification following significant disruptions like wars.

Marketing outside of the norm

In the exploration of marketing theory and practice, the marriage of imagination and rigor has proven to be a powerful tool. Scholars such as Brown (1999) have stressed the importance of imaginative marketing, arguing that the intersection of a variety of disciplines can yield intriguing insights into consumer research. It is now recognized that marketing scholars can elaborate on how social processes, ideological viewpoints and institutional forces shape the development of marketing concepts (Patsiaouras, 2019). This multi-dimensional approach not only deepens our understanding of marketing practices but also serves to raise awareness of the myriad factors shaping them (Patsiaouras, et al., 2014). It's here that I turn to two particularly dynamic and provocative approaches that depart from traditional marketing norms: Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) and critical marketing.

These approaches, while unique in their perspectives, share a similar commitment to reveal the complexities of marketing beyond conventional frameworks. Critical marketing, for example, challenges the common representations often depicted in mainstream marketing narratives, where producers and consumers are seen to interact harmoniously, free from conflict (Saren et al., 2012). According to Tadajewski (2012), such representations hardly reflect the reality of the marketplace, which is riddled with various forms of conflict, power struggles, and complexities. Furthermore, the marketing landscape is no longer restricted to mere interactions between producers and consumers; it has evolved to incorporate a broader range of actors and factors.

On the other hand, CCT provides a lens through which the complexities of consumption can be examined more comprehensively. CCT emphasizes the importance of an interpretive

approach to understanding the dynamic relationships between consumer actions, marketplaces, and cultural meanings (Arnould and Thompson, 2005). It argues that consumer culture is a socio-cultural construct where consumption is shaped by and embedded within broader societal contexts.

In the discourse of marketing theory and practice, these perspectives invite us to revisit the nature of consumption and the role of marketing. Here, consumption is not merely a functional or symbolic act for an individual, but a deeply emotional and aesthetic process that shapes and is shaped by social relations (Cova and Svanfeldt, 1993; Cova, 1999). The act of consumption transcends the individual to encompass a broad range of social interactions, emotions, and aesthetics, thereby adding another layer of complexity to our understanding of consumer behaviour.

Moreover, these perspectives urge us to rethink marketing's traditional definition, which typically centres on product introduction to a market. Instead, marketing is posited as an act of ascribing meaning within a society (Cova and Svanfeldt, 1993; Cova, 1999). In this view, marketing moves beyond simply bringing a product or service to the consumer and instead, becomes a medium for creating and transmitting cultural meanings and societal narratives.

In the next section of the literature review, I will address the tenets of both CCT and critical marketing, investigating how they combined provide invaluable insights into the complex workings of marketing outside of established norms. Their perspectives will be leveraged to inform the existing literature on place and space, with specific attention to territories.

Consumer Culture Theory

Following the developments of postmodern consumption, Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) was introduced by Arnould and Thompson in 2005 to address the limitations of postmodernism for interpretive consumer research (Cova, et al., 2013). While postmodernist marketing highlighted the multiplicity of consumer identities and the transformative societal conditions, it lacked a robust theoretical framework to fully capture the dynamic relationships between consumer actions, the marketplace, and cultural meanings (Cova, et al., 2013).

CCT provided an answer to this issue, offering a *theoretical umbrella* for the study of these complex interactions. It perceives culture not as a homogeneous entity, but rather as a heterogeneous system imbued with multiple meanings (Arnould and Thompson, 2005). Underpinning CCT is the notion that consumer culture is a social arrangement that necessitates the recognition of the complex relationship between lived culture and social resources (Ibid, p. 868). It is a stream of research focusing on consumption patterns as a social and cultural practice (Askegaard, 2015). CCT adopts Geerts' (1983) perspective, viewing culture as the very fabric of experience, meaning, and action (Arnould and Thompson, 2005). It offers a more nuanced understanding of consumer behaviour, recognizing that consumers are not simply passive receivers of marketing messages, but active participants in the creation and dissemination of cultural meanings.

CCT is rooted in the interpretive turn in consumer research, a term introduced by Sherry (1991), who presented three major domains of postmodern consumer research:

1. Critical stream of research. This stream of research is mainly focused on historical and macrosocial dimensions of consumption and consumer research.
2. Culturological stream of research. This stream of research is interested in phenomenologies of consumer experiences.
3. Communicative stream of research. This stream of research is based in semiotic perspectives in the analysis of consumer meanings.

Out of those three domains, the critical stream of research will play a relatively weak role in the CCT movement (Askeegard and Scott, 2013).

How CCT informed this thesis

This thesis, while informed by CCT due to its in-depth exploration of territory, primarily adopts a *critical marketing perspective*. The tenets of critical marketing better align with the research question's investigative objectives, allowing for a thorough examination of power dynamics and broader societal implications often overlooked in mainstream marketing narratives. A key aspect in this research, the analysis of spatiality from a critical perspective deviate from the typical CCT approach, which is often rooted in assemblage theory (e.g., Coffin and Chatzidakis, 2021; Canniford et al., 2018; Hill, 2016). Furthermore, the majority of existing CCT scholarship has historically been framed within a micro-perspective. There is an emerging necessity to expand the socio-cultural dimensions explored in CCT, a shift exemplified by recent work such as that of Patsiaouras (2022).

CCT, despite its comprehensive exploration of cultural and social aspects of consumption, has faced criticism for its lack of critical perspective studies (Askegaard and Scott, 2013). Researchers who have been part of the interpretive consumer research community before the establishment of CCT have often expressed hesitation to adopt the CCT label, arguing that it falls short in providing a critical lens from a macro perspective (Askegaard and Scott, 2013). Scholars have argued that CCT, being rooted in neo liberal ideology, shares with mainstream marketing the “*belief in the importance of consumption as the foundation in personal, social, economic and cultural life, the centrality of consumer as an active subject (agent) and the notion that the market offers a legitimate (if not the most legitimate) context through which individuals should seek to explore, identify and experience the world around them*” (Fitchett et al., 2014, p. 3). This critique strengthens the rationale for adopting a critical marketing

perspective in this thesis, allowing for an expansive examination of spatiality and territories, moving beyond the limitations of CCT.

While this thesis diverges considerably from the CCT framework, it nonetheless contributes to CCT by demonstrating valuable insights that can be gained through a critical marketing perspective. This not only adds depth to the understanding of spatiality in CCT but also calls for a broader consideration of critical perspectives in the future development of CCT. This may encourage a re-evaluation of the CCT's stance on critical perspectives, potentially encouraging increased interest and research in this direction.

Moving forward, this chapter will explore the principles and objectives of critical marketing, providing a clear understanding of how it shapes this thesis's approach to exploring spatiality and territories.

Critical Marketing

Critical marketing studies represent an evolving field that redefines itself continuously as new scholarship and innovative perspectives come into play, both within marketing academia and outside of marketing discipline (Tadajewski and Brownlie, 2008b in Dholakia, 2012). Essentially, critical marketing is a subset of marketing research with a distinctive characteristic: it adopts an open, eclectic philosophical stance with the broader objectives of emancipation, resistance, and transformation (Dholakia, 2012, p. 222). At its core, critical marketing focuses on debunking misconceptions while simultaneously offering alternative perspectives (Ibid, p. 222).

Critical marketing involves a thorough and rigorous analysis of marketing theories and their corresponding applications. This process significantly contributes to expanding the scope of academic debates pertaining to marketing (Saren et al., 2007; Brownlie, 2006, 2007). As suggested by Tadajewski (2010), the essence of critical marketing is to broaden debates and use various analytical frameworks to engage with significant and relevant concepts within contemporary marketing.

Adopting a critical perspective means taking marketing and its impacts on the world very seriously. It requires situating our discussions and research using all the available materials that enable us to interrogate the assumptions, theories, concepts, and practices that form the focus of our attention (Tadajewski, 2023, p. 9). Further, a critical perspective highlights that social issues are the product of conflicting interests and disparities in power (Murray and Ozanne, 1991). Such conflicts and disparities subsequently lead to social structures and processes that are advantageous to some groups, while simultaneously being restrictive to others. Often, these structures are characterized by the dominance of one group over others (Varman and Belk,

2009). To truly engage with a critical perspective, researchers need to comprehend the historical processes that have shaped the situations they are studying (Murray and Ozanne, 1991). Ultimately, critical perspectives aim to facilitate social change.

Brownlie et al., (1999) also acknowledged the potential of new perspectives, particularly critical ones, to contribute to the development of marketing theory and practice. They argue that marketing, being a critical component of everyday social organisation, should not be left exclusively to mainstream, often Western-centric, managerial viewpoints with their one-directional perspectives. This understanding is the ultimate significance of critical marketing.

Critical Thinking: a defining aspect of critical marketing

In order to define critical marketing, we must first define critical thinking. The reason for this is that we must be cautious and not to mix critical marketing with critical theories. Indeed, to adopt critical marketing perspective does not mean we *must* adopt critical theory as our epistemological and methodological framework, which is something that is unusually commonly associated with (Tadajewski, 2010). Since interpretation is the first step in critical perspective research, researcher can adopt other methodologies to investigate the problem, but should be careful to tie their understanding with concrete, social, historical context (Murray and Ozanne, 1991).

The importance of critical thinking in marketing studies is well recognized and has been the object of numerous studies (Clabaugh, et al., 1995; Hill and McGinnis, 2007; Ronchetto and

Buckles, 1994). Scholars have attempted to define critical thinking in different manners. As a review of all these definitions would be well beyond the scope of this chapter, it may suffice to adopt a broad construction according to which critical thinking is understood in terms of the “ability and disposition to critically evaluate beliefs, their underlying assumptions, and the world views in which they are embedded” (Bailin and Siegel, 2002).

This definition is revealing because it points to the importance of considering critical thinking within a specific context and not as an abstract notion existing in a vacuum. As explained in Bailin and Siegel (2002) one of the main debates surrounding critical thinking is whether its techniques and tenets are universal and applicable across different social realities or are on the other hand context specific. I agree with the authors that a strict dichotomy between the generalist and specifist view is misleading and is not justifiable when unpacking the elements of critical thinking into its different components. In particular, the key component of “reason assessment” (meaning what constitutes a valid form of reasoning) is only partially universal since “many of the criteria in accordance with which reasons are appropriately assessed are indeed domain- or subject-specific” (Bailin and Siegel, 2002).

In summary, to take a critical perspective means asking why particular topics, concepts and subject matter became important at certain junctures and what power relations and dynamics continue to affect our knowledge of marketing and understanding of human behaviour (Hackley, 2009).

Critical Thinking as a Context-specific knowledge

In terms of alignment with the main school of thoughts on the nature of critical thinking, the view adopted in this thesis is consistent with a philosophical perspective on critical thinking as opposed to a psychological perspective. While the latter focuses on the practicing of cognitive skills which can be subsequently applied regardless of the context, the former “views critical thinking to be context-specific and requires an individual to have a firm grasp on context knowledge to evaluate specific beliefs, claims, or actions” (Dahl et al., 2018). Against this background, it is well understood that broad claims of universality in any field of knowledge usually reveal, at a closer examination, an implied bias in favour of the construction and principles of the dominant groups.

Interdisciplinarity and Critical Marketing

Critical marketing is fundamentally interdisciplinary in nature. Critical marketing studies generate insights not only from various interdisciplinary viewpoints, but also from the interaction and interplay of these diverse perspectives (Dholakia, 2012). According to Murray and Ozanne (1991), critical perspectives require interdisciplinarity among social sciences, as strict boundaries could result in an unnecessary fragmentation of knowledge, which may consequently obscure the crucial interconnections that are key to critical perspectives.

Yet, despite the fact that for some time we have seen a steady stream of literature that adopts a more critical stance toward the study of marketing, markets and consumption phenomenon (Saren et al., 2007), the field still remains dominated by the voices and theories of the developed western world (Kravets and Varman, 2022; Eckhardt et al., 2022; Sandikci, 2022).

However, even within these privileged 'worlds' there remain marginalized, quieter voices whose stories are absent from the hegemonic research agendas of marketing academy. The European perspective, for example, is not really representative of Europe as a whole. On the contrary, Eastern Europe is largely absent from the conversation, even in critical circles. In this sense marketing scholars might be accused of territorializing their positions and placing invisible boundaries around them.

In line with the interdisciplinary principle, this thesis incorporates perspectives from cultural geography, political realities, and historical inquiry to study territorial consumption from a critical marketing viewpoint. According to Dholakia (2012), we cannot anticipate the future without understanding our historical roots and the events that have transpired in the past. It can thus be argued that embracing open interdisciplinarity fosters new transformative insights and understandings.

Dholakia (2012) also conducted a global survey to explore the potential for further evolution of critical marketing studies. Countries such as the United Kingdom and Scandinavian nations are among those that have rendered greater emphasis to critical marketing studies. This observation indicates a need for broader engagement with and wider dissemination of these studies. Simultaneously, I argue that context-specific studies present a promising avenue towards the wider dissemination of critical marketing studies. If an increasing number of studies emerge from specific regional contexts, the Balkans in this case, this could inspire and encourage further scholarly interest and inquiry.

How critical marketing informed this thesis

This thesis heavily employs critical marketing to frame its overarching approach. Critical marketing's core objectives of emancipation, resistance, and transformation allow to challenge established marketing paradigms and offer *alternative perspectives*, a central premise of this study. Furthermore, critical marketing's focus on historical contexts and social issues caused by disparities in power directly informs the thesis' examination of social processes.

The essence of critical marketing in *broadening debates* and utilizing various analytical frameworks is fundamentally reflected in the thesis. This is particularly evident in the incorporation of *interdisciplinary perspectives* from cultural geography, political realities, and historical inquiry, confirming the interdisciplinary nature inherent to critical marketing. Further, the examination of *context-specific* perspective and territorial consumption from a critical marketing viewpoint also emphasizes the importance of studying consumption outside of strictly Western perspectives (Jafari et al., 2012; Jafari, 2022). Additionally, the focus on *critical thinking*, defined as the ability to critically evaluate beliefs, assumptions, and worldviews, mirrors critical marketing's determination on challenging mainstream, often Western-centric, managerial perspectives.

In the next section of this chapter, I will explore spatiality within Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) and critical marketing. These fields synergize in their departure from traditional managerial thinking towards a more context-based, interpretive research approach. Together, CCT and critical marketing expand the understanding of 'spatiality' in marketing research, capturing the meanings consumers assign to spaces, the influence of social structures, and power dynamics.

Spatiality in CCT and Critical Marketing Studies

Traditionally, the marketing of 'place' (i.e., towns, cities, geographical locations, sites of historical interest etc,) has been treated like any other product in the marketplace. In other words, as either a tangible, physical product with all the dimensions and quantifiable attributes of any other; or as an experience to be packaged, sold, and consumed (Kotler and Gertner, 2002; Anholt 2005, 2008; Ashworth 1993). Communities, cities, states, regions and nations have progressively applied more marketing and branding strategies to boost exports, attract businesses and position themselves in the international arena. These marketing efforts suggest that geographic locations have been managed as products and brands (e.g., Gertner 2011). However, the emergence of a critical marketing school (Saren et al 2007), coupled with the shifting emphasis on consumer culture theory (CCT, Arnould and Thompson 2005) has led to calls for a reconceptualization of place and space to account for the cultural, social, symbolic and communal nuances surrounding the experience of place. This turn of events has been described as 'spatial turn' in marketing and consumer research (Castilhos et al., 2016; Chatzidakis et al. 2018).

The concepts of 'space' and 'place' have been differentiated in marketing literature, with 'space' usually representing anonymity and 'place' being associated with significant, meaningful experiences (Pettigrew, 2007). However, this differentiation, often seen in disciplines like sociology and cultural geography, can lead to divergent research pathways and potential ambiguity. This discrepancy can hinder the exploration of interesting and meaningful spatialities in marketing research. As a response, the concept of 'spatiality' is gaining traction. It offers a more dynamic perspective by acknowledging how spatial configurations actively shape social phenomena (Coffin and Chatzidakis, 2021). In essence, 'spatiality' helps to

reconcile the divide between 'space' and 'place', providing a more comprehensive framework for studying different forms of places in marketing research.

Spatiality as an extension to geography

Geography and marketing have shared an intimate relationship since the 1950s according to Giovanardi and Lucarelli (2018), who track down Applebaum (1965) and argue he is one of the founding fathers of marketing geography. Further, in their meta-analysis, they track down the areas of marketing theory and practice that are concerned with spatiality concepts, such as consumer research, international marketing, marketing theory, and others (p. 151).

Spatiality is seen now as an extension to the geographical sciences and geography has stressed the importance of spatial context for understanding any economic and sociocultural phenomena (Giovanardi and Lucarelli, 2018). Informed by CCT and critical marketing, scholars have agreed geography and its associated concepts are truly central if spatiality is investigated. However, it's important to clarify that the focus here lies on aspects of geography incorporating cultural or human perspectives, prominently termed as cultural geography or human geography. These domains serve as contemporary responses to deterministic geography.

In the further exploration of spatiality within contemporary marketing literature, it is useful to outline the four main spatial pathways identified by Giovanardi and Lucarelli (2018), that are visible in influential papers within the Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) and critical marketing literature.

Four Spatial Pathways

These pathways, as proposed by Giovanardi and Lucarelli (2018), provide a comprehensive framework for understanding the evolving concept of spatiality in marketing:

Empiricus

The first pathway is referred to as the "Empiricus." This term represents the understanding of spatiality in tangible, measurable terms, rooted in the physical characteristics of places. Studies following this pathway explore how consumers interact with and perceive commercial locations, often focusing on retail. Such studies break away from a solely product-oriented perspective, examining spatiality as a factor with measurable attributes that can influence consumer behaviour. Shostack (1977), Bitner (1992), and Bose et al. (2016) offer notable examples of this approach.

Furthermore, the Empiricus pathway includes studies that utilize Geographical Information Systems (GIS) to map and analyse spatial phenomena. Although GIS is frequently used in tourism marketing to enhance visitor experiences, its application extends far beyond this context. For example, GIS has been instrumental in revolutionizing the representation of urban data, offering new ways of understanding, planning, and designing cities. Works by Dover, Ristić, and Pafka (2017), and Dovey and Ristić (2017) demonstrate this by employing the framework of assemblage thinking (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987) to urban mapping. Their studies position urban mapping as a form of spatial knowledge production, constructing vital connections between the perception, conception, and lived experience of a city. Through this lens, cities become spaces of possibility, ready for transformation. One particularly intriguing

use of GIS is Ristić's (2018) analysis of the wartime destruction of public spaces in besieged Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Her study reveals the notion of "topography of fear" by examining spatial violence against civilians in public spaces. This compelling example highlights how the Empiricus pathway, by combining objective, measurable tools like GIS with insights from other disciplines such as architecture, can deepen our understanding of the complexities of spatiality.

Conexus

The second pathway identified by Giovanardi and Lucarelli (2018) is the "Conexus," which perceives spatiality in terms of connectivity between marketing processes and consumption activities. In this view, spatiality is not just about physical location; it's about the networks, flows, and relationships that link different actors, commodities, and processes across various scales, from global to national and regional.

This Conexus perspective can be further differentiated into macro-meso and micro-level approaches (Giovanardi and Lucarelli, 2018). Macro-meso studies typically explore large-scale phenomena such as transnationalism and spatiality (e.g., Cayla and Eckhardt, 2008), globalisation (e.g., Kimura and Belk, 2005; Varman and Belk, 2009), and regionalism (e.g., Gerosa, 2021). They explain the broader dynamics of spatiality as commodities and practices cross national and international boundaries, offering a comprehensive picture of how space, in terms of connections and flows, shapes and is shaped by marketing processes. Additionally, emerging areas like mobile and interactive marketing fall under the Conexus pathway as they highlight the critical role of digital connections and spatial flows in shaping consumer experiences (Giovanardi and Lucarelli, 2018).

At the micro-level, the focus of the Conexus pathway shifts to the functional and relational connections between different actors involved in spatiality. This perspective centres on the localized dynamics of spatiality, revealing how specific interactions, relationships, and practices constitute the meaning and experience of spatiality. The rise of relational ontologies in marketing theory and consumer research aligns with this perspective, further demonstrating the increasingly recognized importance of relationships and interactions in the conceptualization of spatiality (Cheetham et al., 2018; for critical assessment Malpas, 2012).

Thus, the Conexus pathway, with its dual focus on macro-meso and micro-level connections, provides a nuanced understanding of spatiality in contemporary marketing literature. It emphasizes the interconnected and relational nature of spatiality, demonstrating how spatial processes relate to broader marketing and consumption practices.

Imago

The third pathway, termed as "Imago," by Giovanardi and Lucarelli (2018), is a nod to the seminal work of Thrift (2003) and is characterized by a focus on visual representations. This approach emphasizes the influential role that images, such as logos, pictures, and photographs, play in marketing and consumer research. The power of images lies in their capacity to capture, transmit, and evoke a sense of place, thereby influencing consumers' perceptions, emotions, and behaviours.

Several areas within marketing literature reflect the Imago pathway's influence. Retail spatiality studies, for example, have emphasized the impact of store layout and visual merchandising on consumer behaviour and decision-making (e.g., O'Guinn et al., 2015). Similarly, studies on liminal spaces have delved into the significance of visual elements in creating and defining transitional spaces that sit 'in-between' more traditional spaces (e.g., Hirschman et al., 2012).

The realm of place branding too reflects the power of Imago, with compelling visual elements forming a cornerstone of place identity and reputation (e.g., Kavaratzis et al., 2013). Meanwhile, recent research on place atmospheres highlights how visual elements can shape spatiality, consequently influencing consumer experiences (e.g., Steadman et al., 2020).

Advancements in the field have further extended the Imago pathway to the concept of territoriality, exploring how visual symbols contribute to defining and understanding territories. For instance, following Brighenti's notion of territoriality (2010; 2014), Cheetham et al., (2018) offer a 'kaleidoscopic' perspective in marketing studies, linking spatial, temporal, and affective dimensions to illuminate the micro-practices of constructing consumption territories.

Locus

The fourth branch of spatiality research, as identified by Giovanardi and Lucarelli (2018), is termed "Locus". This term refers to the process by which marketers and consumers make sense and interpret place. The Locus strand of research further splits into technical-functional and socio-cultural research (Ibid, p. 154).

The technical-functional research category encompasses studies where place is recognized as a meaningful, experiential portion of space. It carries meanings that transcend its physical characteristics, and these meanings have implications on consumption activities. This sub-category includes studies in place marketing and destination branding, where a place is both a functional unit and a carrier of meanings that influence marketing strategies (e.g., Vitic and Ringer, 2008; Hankinson, 2009; Warnaby et al., 2002; Karavatzis, 2004; Kavartzis and Ashworth, 2006). The place is also linked to temporal dimension which can contribute to the creation of place identity (Warnaby, 2013). Furthermore, it can be argued that this research strand acknowledges the significant role citizens and residents play in branding the place and forging its identity, thereby extending beyond the marketers' scope (e.g., Papadopoulos and Cleveland, 2021).

The second subset of Locus, as identified by Giovanardi and Lucarelli (2018), is socio-cultural research. This type of research is prevalent in the interpretive research tradition. Here, studies investigate how consumers fulfil places with meaning. Given their interpretive nature, these studies often extend beyond the construct of place identity. Scholars have used narrative frameworks to explore the dynamic character of market spaces (e.g., Shankar, Elliot, and Goulding, 2001). They've also addressed the contested meanings of places, the commodification of history, and identity formation (e.g., Goulding and Domic, 2009;

Goulding, 2001, 2002). Diverse contexts have been used to examine the complex socio-cultural construction of spatiality and its influence on consumption behaviour (e.g., Belk, 1996; Tuan, 1995; Southerton, 2001; Pettigrew, 2007).

The role of Territory in Four Spatial Pathways

It can be somehow challenging to pinpoint the precise role of territories in a review of contemporary marketing and consumer research. However, it's important to realize that the concept of a territory, defined both as a geographic location and a spatial construct loaded with symbolic meanings, can be integrated within all four pathways presented by Giovanardi and Lucarelli (2018).

In contemporary marketing and consumer research literature, territories are not explicitly highlighted but often implicitly present as embedded within the four pathways—Empiricus, Conexus, Imago, and Locus—. As a geographic location rich with symbolic meanings, territory can undoubtedly feature across all these pathways, whether it be the empirical investigation of a territory's attributes, exploring its role within global connections, understanding its symbolic representation, or uncovering socio-cultural interpretations. However, it's important to acknowledge that the explicit research on territories within these contexts remains limited, indicating an under researched area set for exploration and a potential avenue for future studies.

Next, I locate the explicit notion of territory in marketing theory.

The Intersection of Territory and Marketing: A New Frontier

The study by Castilhos et al., (2017) provides a critical exploration of spatiality perspectives, foregrounding the intersection between geography and marketing. Using the theoretical framework on spatiality by Jessop et al., (2008), Castilhos and colleagues examine the four dominant dimensions of spatiality: place, territory, scale, and networks (PTSN). Their work offers valuable insights that serve as 'entry points' for understanding various marketing phenomena.

Particularly relevant for this thesis is the study's explicit examination of 'territory'—a concept rooted in geography yet saturated with distinct elements that differentiate it from other spatial concepts like place, scale, and network. Territory is inherently intertwined with dynamics of power, control, and borders, Castilhos et al., (2017) argue. What makes this paper so influential for this thesis is its focus on spatiality through the lens of geography, a structure that aligns well with the direction of this thesis' research. By defining territory as a spatially bounded field of forces, where access, purposes, and meanings are controlled (Sack, 1986), the paper offers a perspective on how territories can empower, constrain, or protect market actors. As one of the pioneering works to take a Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) and critical marketing lens to discuss territories, this study opens up a crucial discourse on this topic, albeit in conjunction with other spatial constructs.

Castilhos et al., (2017) argue that the concept of territory highlights notions of power relation, control, and borders. Within the context of marketing studies, territory serves three main functions: to protect market elements, grant them symbolic power, and enforce constraints. Therefore, even though the study doesn't exclusively focus on territories, it significantly

influences this thesis due to its recognition of the role and importance of territories in marketing studies.

Territories protect market elements

Castilhos et al. (2017) identify the protective nature of territories, arguing that territories safeguard groups of vulnerable market elements, various actors, practices, and products by setting clear spatial boundaries and limiting the space. These territorial boundaries, they argue, encourage other market actors with (territorial) interests in these delimited spaces to engage in forms of spatially bounded resistance. This perspective is mirrored in the work of Kozinets (2002), who explored this dynamic within the context of the Burning Man festival, wherein the festival's territory essentially served as a protected space for countercultural expressions and experiences.

A further example of the protective function of territories is found in Goulding et al.'s (2009) study on clubbing and illicit pleasure (Castilhos, et al., 2017). The study highlights how the defined territorial boundaries (both physical and legal) work to safeguard the actors within the clubbing scene, ensuring their activities and experiences are contained within these demarcated spaces. Through the lens of territory, researchers can gain insightful understanding into how the spatial and legal boundaries protect market actors while facilitating the creation of unique experiences. This perspective allows for an in-depth exploration of the complex interplay between the boundaries of legality, protection of market actors, and the inception of new experiences within a territory (Castilhos, et. al., 2017).

In essence, the concept of territory provides a useful heuristic for understanding how market actors navigate and negotiate spatial limitations, thus illuminating the complexities of spatial dynamics in marketing and consumer research. Despite these insightful studies, the existing literature has not sufficiently examined how territories come into existence, how they gain legitimacy and how their boundaries become normalized. These overlooked aspects pose significant gaps that call for exploration.

Territories gain symbolic power

The paper by Castilhos et al., (2017) further mentions the symbolic power granted by territories, which leads to the empowerment of the market actors operating within them. In their view, territories are instrumental in augmenting the territory-specific capital of market actors. This enhancement fosters the maintenance of current market structures or even facilitates the development of novel ones (Castilhos et al., 2017).

An illustrative example of this is found in the study by Üstuner and Thompson (2012), which demonstrates the power dynamics between territorial claims and social spaces in the context of Turkish hair salons (Castilhos et al., 2017). In a similar vein, the work of Gordon and Zainuddin (2020) offers a look at the impact of neoliberal ideologies in business education. The study observes how these ideologies can institute symbolic violence, an indication of the powerful influence of territory within the educational system.

Further, the interplay of power, symbolic meanings, and territory is critically examined in Visconti's (2008) exploration of queer cultural meanings. His research highlights that power has a pervasive influence in shaping meanings and products, as is evident in the unique

consumption patterns within the gay community. These patterns trigger the emergence of symbolic boundaries, challenging normative consumption behaviours. Importantly, the deconstruction of such symbolic boundaries demands investigations that go beyond the conventional market economy considerations, according to Visconti (2008).

Varman and Belk's (2009) research also offer insights on understanding the dynamics of boundaries, resistance, and consumption within the consumer research realm. Their study explores the concept of anti-consumption, emphasizing the resistance or rejection of consumption, within the historical context of an Indian movement against Coca-Cola. Their study unpacks the mobilization of the nationalist ideology of 'swadeshi', spatial politics, and the adaptation of existing ideologies in critical marketing perspectives. This perspective illustrates the relationship between anti-consumption, nationhood, and ethnic identity, revealing critical perspectives in the interplay of territory and symbolic power.

The territories' symbolic power can either help maintain existing market structures or pave the way for new ones, an element brought to light in the studies by Üstuner and Thompson (2012) and Castilhos et al., (2017). This power, however, is not static; it is a dynamic process influenced by a variety of socio-cultural and economic factors. Consequently, how this symbolic power is utilized and perpetuated within territories needs further investigation.

Territories constrain market elements

The third and final finding of Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu (2017) reveals that territories significantly impact the behaviours of market actors by enforcing norms and establishing governing structures of acceptable behaviour. These constructs of territories, in essence, create social pressures that lead to conformity within the defined geographical scope. Crockett and Wallendorf (2004, as cited in Castilhos et al., 2017, p. 17) lend further support to this notion, demonstrating how territories can be employed as mechanisms of control and normative influence.

To date, studies have particularly identified this constraining characteristic of territories in segregated, impoverished, or rural communities. The impact of territorial constraints in these contexts tends to manifest in shaping specific, territorially bound consumer behaviours. This dynamic is explored in Saatcioglu and Ozanne's (2013 as cited in Castilhos et al., 2017, p. 17) study of trailer parks. Their research points towards how the territorial characteristics of these communities can exert a significant influence on the consumer behaviour of their inhabitants. Recent research also suggests that not only physical, but also situational factors can operate as territories. The COVID-19 pandemic, for instance, acted as a form of territory in that it imposed significant constraints on consumer behaviour, transforming markets and consumption patterns globally (Wells et al., 2023).

In summary, territories in marketing studies play a crucial role by serving three core functions: protection, symbolic power, and constraint. Each of these functions intertwines with the others, shaping market structures and actor behaviours. Territories not only guard vulnerable market elements but also empower market actors symbolically. On the contrary, territories can also constrain market actors, enforcing social conformity and defining acceptable behaviours. However, despite highlighting these roles, much remains to be explored regarding how territories are defined, legitimized, how their symbolic power is perpetuated and what that means for people who inhabit that territory.

Conclusion

This literature review chapter presented a development of marketing thought from the early 20th century up to the present day. Starting from a product-centric approach with a focus on satisfying the rational consumer's needs and wants, marketing thought has continuously evolved through diverse eras, broadening its perspectives and incorporating different approaches. The emergence of Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) and critical marketing perspectives has allowed a deeper understanding of the complex dynamics of marketing and the sociocultural processes involved in consumption.

However, it is crucial to note that despite the rich insights provided by CCT, it often lacks a comprehensive critical lens. This limitation highlighted the need for a critical marketing perspective in this thesis, enabling a more in-depth exploration of spatiality and territories beyond the confines of CCT. Indeed, the literature review also revealed significant gaps in the understanding of the formation and legitimisation of territories, the mechanisms of exerting symbolic power and violence within territories, and the constraints imposed by territories on consumer behaviour.

Given these gaps, the following chapter will focus on a culturally geographic approach to spatiality. This approach is justified by the identified need to better understand the creation, legitimisation, and impact of territories in the realm of marketing. Furthermore, as demonstrated in this chapter, recognizing spatiality in marketing as an extension of cultural or human geography aids in understanding how spatial structures and processes shape consumption.

CHAPTER III

A Culturally Geographic Approach to Spatiality

Introduction

The previous chapter provided an overview of the historical development of marketing thought, shifting its focus from product-centric approaches towards more complex frameworks, such as Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) and critical marketing perspectives. It situated the present research within the scholarship of critical marketing, which is instrumental for the examination of consumption patterns within specific territorial boundaries. The core aim of this research is to provide a grounded theory study that theorizes context-sensitive insights into the territory of focus, particularly in the wake of significant disruptions such as conflicts.

The objective of this chapter, therefore, is to unpack the multi-faceted concept of 'place' within an interdisciplinary framework. It initially traces how the definition of place has evolved from merely geographical coordinates to symbolic entities deeply embedded in cultural practices, including language, imagery, and social interactions. The chapter aims to further explore research within the academic field of representational cultural geography. This field places particular emphasis on how symbols and cultural forms are instrumental in shaping human interaction with, and consumption of, specific places.

Moreover, this chapter engages with the idea of territory as a culturally and spatially defined entity, drawing upon works by scholars such as Sack (2004) and Anderson (2010). By examining how culture and context shape unique 'places,' it explores the complex relationship

between the tangible and intangible elements that constitute a territory. These elements, or 'traces,' capture lived experiences through various means such as symbols, emotions, and memories, evolving dynamically over time to contribute to the resignification of the place.

As the chapter proceeds, it introduces the notion of symbolic power and legitimacy in relation to territoriality. This lays the groundwork for a theoretical framework generated through this grounded theory study. The framework aims to enhance our understanding of the complex relationship between territoriality, culture, and consumption, thereby fulfilling the primary goal of this research—to make an original contribution to knowledge.

Brief History of Early Thinking of Place

Building on the previous chapter, this section delves into the evolution of spatiality within the realm of marketing studies. This transition has been brought to life through the emergence of critical perspectives and Consumer Culture Theory (CCT), which portray an alternate, non-managerial perspective of places. In this context, places have evolved beyond mere commodities; they now embody rich cultural and social narratives that yield valuable symbolic meanings (Pettigrew, 2007).

In the current scholarly discourse, spatiality is acknowledged as an extension of geographical sciences, reinforcing the vital role of spatial context in interpreting any economic and sociocultural phenomena (Giovanardi and Lucarelli, 2018). Guided by the principles of Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) and critical marketing, scholars have arrived at a consensus regarding the centrality of cultural or human geography to the investigation of spatiality.

This transformation didn't happen all at once but is rather the result of a lengthy process that is worth exploring in some detail. Looking at the history of early place-based ideas from a cultural geography perspective helps us to understand this shift in thinking. It reveals how a traditional geographic place has evolved into a more encompassing idea, involving cultural, social, and symbolic aspects that go well beyond its physical borders. By tracing this evolution, it is possible to address the geographical component of this research, emphasizing the significant role that 'territory' plays in marketing studies. Indeed, cultural geographers allowed other disciplines to help them “*investigate meanings, symbolic values, and cultural ideas inscribed into entities and processes by different cultural groups, and the spatial ramifications these had*” (Anderson, 2010, p. 28).

In the eighteen and nineteen centuries, place, or to be more precise, geography, was all about exploration. According to Godlewska and Smith (1994), three phases of geographic explorations can be identified:

1. “Geography Fabulous” – which occurred in the sixteenth and seventeenth century and was a combination of early science and mythology and magic about the new world of discoveries.
2. “Geography Militant” – which involved systematic field explorations resulting in political conquests.
3. “Geography Triumphant” – this phase marks the evolution from its predecessors, adapting to burgeoning industrial powers. This stage bridged the gap between physical and human geography, leading to the development of maps we use today.

During the Age of Exploration in the 15th and 16th centuries, geographical studies were dominated by exploration, with European pioneers venturing out to discover new lands and territories. The focus of geographical studies was primarily to describe the physical features of these unknown lands and documenting the cultures of their inhabitants. Over time, however, geographers began transitioning from this exploratory approach to a more deterministic methodology, influenced by the Enlightenment and the scientific revolution, both of which highlighted the importance of observation, measurement, and experimentation in the study of the natural world. The subsequent section provides an overview of this transition towards environmental determinism and the subsequent shift towards possibilism.

Environmental determinism vs possibilism

In early geographical works, linear time emerged as the most crucial characteristic of geography and social systems. Early geographical thought was marked by environmental determinism, the doctrine affirming that physical, not social, factors dictate culture. Environmental determinists based their assessments on the relative importance of environmental factors in determining cultural differences between people. These thinkers often labelled unfamiliar cultures as barbaric and uncivilized, and their ideas were commonly employed to justify colonial exploitations (Peet, 1985). German sociologist Friedrich Ratzel argued that some states are culturally stronger than others so it would be legitimate for them to conquer more territory. Gaining political momentum, his ideas were closely related to nationalist ideologies of Nazi Germany (Anderson, 2009; 2021).

On the other hand, environmental possibilists argued that environmental factors alone did not shape cultures. Instead, they posited that the environment was one among many factors that influenced cultural formation (Anderson, 2009). They viewed people not as passive recipients responding to the natural world, but as active agents in creating their cultures and environments. Environmental possibilists stressed the significance of returning to empiricism; in this regard, Anderson (2009) argues that they represented in essence descriptive cultural geographers committed to cataloguing cultural differences and similarities across the globe.

Geographies of Cultural Landscape

Following environmental possibilism, Carl Sauer led a group of American geographers away from determinism, advocating fieldwork study as the most crucial factor in compiling facts. Inspired by anthropology, Sauer justified moving forward and beyond positivism (Anderson, 2009). This research group argued that geographers could study landscapes and interpret the cultures that inhabited them (Sauer, 1925). They were among the first to investigate the cultural aspects of the physical environment, including how people use, modify, and interact with natural and built environments. They explored how human activities and practices shape landscapes and how these landscapes, in turn, influence cultural practices (Sauer, 1925). Accordingly, the material *traces* left by people on landscapes became markers that could be used in interpreting complex cultures (Anderson, 2021). This way of viewing places through a cultural landscape lens essentially paved the way towards the concept of representational geographies, which focus on how people depict and comprehend the world around them through maps, images, and other visual and cultural forms. Representational geography, which plays a pivotal role in shaping cultural landscapes by influencing how people interact with and comprehend the physical environment, is discussed next.

Representational Cultural Geography

Late twentieth century brought social and economic changes that prompted new generations of cultural geographers who wanted to move towards the ‘representational’ (Anderson, 2009). For the first time, interdisciplinarity was welcomed in studying emerging issues in cultural geography such as race, gender, art, consumption, and many other social science ideas. Thus, moving away from pure anthropology, cultural geographers turned towards humanism (Lowenthal, 1985; Pocock, 1981; Ley, 1981; Tuan, 1976; Buttimer and Seamon, 1980), social and cultural theory, such as Foucault (1973) and Lefebvre (1991; 1996; 2004), semiotics and discourse analysis (Barthes, 1973; de Saussure, 1967) feminism (Moss and Al-Hindi, 2008), as well as postmodernism (Dear, 1994).

For representational cultural geographers, culture was no longer ‘the agent’ creating landscapes (Sauer, 1963, p. 343); rather, agency was accredited to humans themselves. Drawing from social and cultural theory, geographers came to appreciate the importance of the meanings ascribed to cultural elements. They began to see place not just as a physical entity, but as a complex blend of material aspects and the mental or emotional meanings that people associate with those locations (Lefebvre, 1991; Hall, 1997; Geertz, 1973).

Indeed, places were not seen as merely physical locations but also symbolic ones, constructed using language, images, and other cultural forms (Hall, 1997; Lefebvre, 1991; Cosgrove, 1994; Buttimer and Seamon, 1980). A representational place, therefore, is a product of cultural practices and representations, shaping the meanings and experiences associated with a particular place. A prominent thinker who established the relationship between representations and place is Lefebvre. A presentation of the main features of ‘representational space and place,’ as defined by Lefebvre, follows.

Representational place: Lefebvre

One of the most influential scholars on the relationship between place and representations is Henry Lefebvre, a French philosopher, and sociologists (1901-1991). Lefebvre's theory on social space opened new ways of understanding the importance of place in people's practices of everyday life. It can be argued that his theory is now widely used in relevant marketing theory studies on place and its associated consumption practices (e.g., Castilhos and Dolbec, 2018; Chatzidakis et al., 2018; Cheetham et al., 2018; Castilhos et al., 2016; Maciel and Wallendorf, 2021; Roux and Belk, 2019; Visconti et al., 2010; Varman and Belk, 2009).

Lefebvre (1991) argues that being emerges *in the trialectics of the historical, the social, and the spatial*. These are connected and entwined different cultural practices, representations, and imaginations. To Lefebvre, representations are the direct lived experiences of the people who inhabit a place. Places are lived through images, associations, and symbols, and thus their inhabitants – insiders, or users – make sense of them. Although people are active agents in the creation of their culture, they are still dominated by it. Lefebvre contended that those who produced a place always acted in line with a representation. In this sense, inhabitants, or 'users' as he labels them, passively experience representations imposed upon them (Lefebvre, 1991). The production of representations is seen as legitimate as long as it has been justified, either by ideology, social practice, or overall acceptance of those representations and their meanings (Lefebvre, 1991).

According to Lefebvre (1991), representational place is closely linked to power relations and social hierarchies. The way a place is represented can reflect and reinforce power relations among groups and individuals, as certain groups have more power and influence over how a

place is represented than others. In cultural geography representations are seen as meanings that individuals and collectives assign to places. For example, cultural geography studies the spatial representations and images that influence people who in turn may change their behaviour or transform their interpretation of the social phenomenon and the world (Anderson and Gale, 1992). Further, the representational branch of cultural geography deals with traces (markers, representations) of places to interpret them. In this sense, it can be argued that representations are historically contingent.

In their definition, Cosgrove and Jackson (1987) illustrate this:

“If we were to define this ‘new’ cultural geography it would be contemporary as well as historical (but always contextual and theoretically informed); social as well as spatial (but not confined exclusively to narrowly defined landscape issues); urban as well as rural; and interested in the contingent nature of culture, in dominant ideologies and in forms of resistance to them. It would, moreover, assert the centrality of culture in human affairs. Culture is not a residual category, the surface variation left unaccounted for by more powerful economic analyses; it is the very medium through which social change is experienced, contested and constituted.” (Cosgrove and Jackson, 1987, p. 95)

It can be argued therefore, that representations are essentially part of our past and our present. In some cultures, representations carry a heavy past which might influence all part of our present life. For Lefebvre, the representation of places plays a very important role in social and political life. Representations are “redolent with imaginary and symbolic elements, they have their source in history – in the history of a people as well as in the history of each individual belonging to that people” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 44.)

According to Lefebvre (1991), representations mark history of places, but representations also have their own past which needs to be explored. If we would look at representations as mere images of content without their historical power and meaning, then they would barely achieve symbolic force (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 50). What we need to be concerned about, according to

Lefebvre (1991, p. 116), is the social reality of places we are investigating; their history, culture, and their representations and relationships between them. Lefebvre (1991) also emphasized the importance of everyday practices in shaping representational place. In this sense, people use and experience public spaces the way they are represented to them. In turn, this can contribute to their understanding of a particular representation of that place.

In conclusion, the conception of place has evolved significantly throughout history, moving from a purely physical understanding to deeper, more nuanced perspectives incorporating social, cultural, and political elements. The study of place, therefore, provides a unique lens through which to explore human behaviour and societal dynamics. While Lefebvre (1974, 1991, 1996) focuses on the role of everyday practices and representations in shaping the experience and understanding of physical places, Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1989, 1990, 2000) delves into the abstract concept of ‘social space,’ highlighting how various forms of capital contribute to the relative positions of individuals and groups within a multi-dimensional social landscape.

Representational Place: Pierre Bourdieu

The work of renowned French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu offers an understanding of how social dynamics shape and are shaped by spatial relations. Bourdieu's concepts of 'social space' and 'field' serve as critical frameworks for analysing the complex relationships between individuals, groups, and their environments (Bourdieu, 1989; 1985). Bourdieu's notion of 'social space' refers to the abstract arena in which social actors and institutions interact. This space is not physical but is represented by an arrangement of relative positions within society. According to Bourdieu (1989; 1993), social space is multi-dimensional and shaped by various forms of capital—economic, cultural, social, and symbolic. The distribution of these different forms of capital determines an individual's or group's position in social space. Thus, each point in this space can be understood as a set of current or potential resources available to an individual or group (Hardy, 2012).

While the term 'social space' provides a broader conceptual landscape, the concept of 'field' offers a more specialized focus (Martin, 2003). A field is a specific social arena where individuals and institutions operate, such as the field of education, politics, or art. (Thomson, 2012). Each field has its own rules, norms, and forms of capital that are valued. Individuals and institutions compete for these specific forms of capital within each field. In doing so, they engage in what Bourdieu calls 'the logic of practice' — the strategies and tactics individuals employ to navigate the social world and improve their positions within a given field (Bourdieu, 1977; 1990).

Social space constructs are often mirrored in physical space. In other words, the way we inhabit, modify, and interpret physical spaces is influenced by our position in social space. Furthermore, Bourdieu emphasizes that places are not just physical locales but are loaded with social and

cultural meanings. A place becomes a ‘representational place’ when it is imbued with specific social significances and cultural values that are tied to the groups or individuals that inhabit or claim it.

Bourdieu's notion of ‘social space’ and various forms of capital—economic, cultural, social, and symbolic—inform not just how we relate to one another but also how we interact with, perceive, and define places. In the same vein, the notion of 'entanglements of traces' in cultural geography speaks to how these varied forms of capital manifest as lived experiences, symbols, and memories that define a place's unique cultural identity. Thus, Bourdieu's framework helps us understand the foundations of these 'traces,' as it highlights the social and cultural forces that contribute to the meanings and identities places assume. This is particularly relevant in settings with complex social histories, such as Sarajevo, where multiple forms of capital intersect to create a highly nuanced cultural landscape.

Culture and Place

Culture, in essence, reflects all human activities and interactions within a specific societal context. It has significant influence on economics, politics, and other societal aspects, thereby forming a mutually influencing relationship with the society (Geertz, 1973). In the cultural geography perspective, the interplay of culture and context results in unique places characterized by '*entanglements of traces*' (Anderson, 2009). These traces, being the tangible or intangible representations of the place, embody all lived experiences through symbols, emotions, memories, and the like (Anderson, 2009; Lefebvre, 1991). As they continually evolve over time, traces form an integral part of the place identity, thereby binding cultures and places together into dynamic, yet contextually unique entities.

Further, places are not just the backdrop but also the medium of cultural life (Barnes, 2005). They carry context-specific meanings and narratives that can sometimes be challenging to decipher. For instance, in the post-conflict city of Sarajevo, *traces* embody complex messages about cultural life deeply rooted in a turbulent history and an uncertain future. Indeed, it is argued that place's turbulent past carries contested meanings over the present and the future (Buttimer, 1998; Duncan, 1994; Shields, 1991; Hodgkin and Radstone, 2003; Macdonald, 2013). The historical, institutional, and everyday materializations and interpretations of these traces shape people's experiences, leading to conscious and unconscious regulations of behaviour (Cutright, 2012). This intricate interplay of traces and behaviours also manifests within geographical borders.

Transitioning to territory as a culturally and spatially bounded place, Sack (2004) points out that places take form when they are intentionally bounded. These geographical borders greatly influence the cultural activities within that place. Anderson's (2009; 2021) observation that

geographic bordering and cultural ordering of traces are intrinsically linked highlights this point. Thus, it can be argued that institutional bordering *gives rise* to a territory, while cultural ordering *cultivates* territoriality. Therefore, in the light of Bourdieusian perspective, places and territories are both products and producers of culture, reflecting its influence on societal dynamics and individual experiences.

Territory as Culturally and Spatially Bounded Place

According to Sack (2004), territories come into existence when they are *intentionally* demarcated with boundaries. These geographic borders, in turn, shape the cultural activities of everyone residing within that particular area. According to Anderson (2009), geographic bordering goes hand in hand with *cultural ordering of traces or representations of that place*. Further, each place has its own dimensions, and it needs to be defined. It can be argued that institutional bordering creates a territory, and cultural ordering creates territoriality.

According to Sack (1986) territory is defined as “spatially bounded field of forces in which access, purposes, and meanings are shaped and controlled by individuals, groups or institutions”. “Territory is social because people inhabit it collectively, and it is political because groups struggle to establish, maintain and at times enlarge or change their space. Territory is also cultural because it enfolds collective memories, and it is cognitive since it has a capacity to subjectify political, cultural, and social borders and place itself at the core of both public and private identity projects” (Berezin, 2003, p. 7).

According to Kärrholm (2007; 2017) territory is alive and is the product of human and non-human actors and actions, making it a dynamic concept. Brighenti (2010; 2014) adds that territory doesn't stand alone, rather it is defined by its connections and relationships with other elements. Elden (2010) emphasizes that we should look at territory within its historical context to understand its true meaning. Elden (2013) further refers to Gottman's book on “The Significance of Territory” arguing that it contains the best overview of territories. For Gottman (1973) territory is linked to its population, to their emotive attachments or rejections, and it can be understood as a physical space, land, or terrain, with its legal jurisdiction. The territory is therefore bounded and marked with surrounding boundaries.

In reviewing various definitions of territory, this research primarily adopts the views of Sack, Elden, and Gottman for their comprehensive coverage of territories' socio-political, cultural, and spatial aspects. Sack (1986) defines territory as a 'spatially bounded field of forces' where control and meanings are shaped, providing a base for understanding territorial boundaries. Elden (2010; 2013) highlights the importance of historical context in territories, suggesting they evolve over time and are influenced by historical events. Gottman (1973, 1975) views territory as a material, spatial notion that establishes critical links between politics, people, and the geographical place. Further, Gottman's (1973; 1975) reflection on the scarcity of comprehensive literature on territory at that time, despite its significant impact on human history, illustrates the necessity of revisiting foundational understandings of territory. He observes: "amazingly little has been published about the concept of territory, although much speech, ink, and blood have been spilled over territorial disputes" (University of Virginia, 1971 in Elden, 2013, p. 65). This statement not only highlights the paradoxical scarcity of theoretical exploration against the surroundings of territorial conflicts but also sets the stage for a deeper investigation into the roots of territoriality.

The concept of territory and the boundaries that define it are not just theoretical but have real-world implications. Researchers argue that geographic places eventually gain distinct borders because spaces are living, dynamic entities filled with people, activities, and resources. Lefebvre (1991) uses the example of a shepherd to illustrate this point. The shepherd's territory includes specific areas like where his sheep graze, where they drink water, and where they're not allowed to go, such as a neighbour's land (p. 193). These demarcated areas make the shepherd's territory concrete and functional. Boundaries are not just theoretical limits; they play a practical role in shaping how the space is used and experienced.

Territory: Foundations

Territory is a concept derived from political theory and it is strongly connected with other political concepts such as sovereignty (Hobbes, 1651; Rousseau, 1726), power (Foucault, 1975), property (Cohen, 1927), identity (Knight, 1982) and jurisdiction (Reisman, 1999). Territory as such is strongly related to the land on which it stands and to the related control over borders of which it has a jurisdiction on. 'Territory' has its roots in the Latin word 'territorium', meaning the land that surrounds a town. As a political and legal concept, territory emerged after the Spanish-Dutch Treaty of Westphalia of 1648. The Treaty established boundaries for the territorial possessions of England, Dutch-land, France, the German princedoms, Poland, Muscovy, Turkey, Sweden, and Spain. The Treaty, alongside boundary-marking, marked the beginning of the era of nation-state (Farr, 2005). In fact, it specified the principles of inviolability of borders and non-interference in the domestic affairs of sovereign states (see Kissinger 1995, for classic history of international relations). This system became known in the literature as Westphalian sovereignty. With the formation of modern nation states it was possible to talk about territories and changing territorialities, but also about the establishment of imagined lines that arose as signals of domination.

Therefore, territory has been primarily linked to state-centric issues. This explains why territory is so frequently a source of conflict (Murphy, 1990; 2012). According to Murphy (1990, p. 531) *"territory provides a tangible basis for the exercise of state power by delimiting the human and physical resources over which the state has some control"*.

After the First World War and in the subsequent decades, geographers and statesmen were preoccupied with describing the changing political situation in Europe and in the world. In the period of 1920-1960s one of the better-known typology of borders and boundaries would be

elaborated by American geographer Richard Hartshorne. He described the process of border demarcation and developed four typologies of borders. These were: ‘antecedent’, ‘subsequent’, ‘superimposed’ and ‘natural’ borders (Newman, 2006). These typologies, although seemingly dissimilar, should not exclude each other:

1. *Antecedent* borders refer to boundaries that were in place before the area in question was settled, in lands that were previously considered unsettled.
2. *Subsequent* boundaries were those which were demarcated according to the existing settlement patterns and difference, supposedly reflecting the ethno-territorial patterns of the region.
3. *Superimposed* borders were those which were imposed by an outside (normally colonial) power on a region under their control. Usually this was done without regards to the existing tribal and ethnic settlement patterns which resulted in increased fragmentation of those settlements in different states, or the inclusion of various ethnic groups in a single territory. On the map these borders can be easily identified looking at the straight geometric lines running through African, Asian and parts of Latin American continents.
4. *Natural* borders describe the existence of physical features of the landscape, such as rivers, mountain ridges, oceans, deserts, and other recognizable features (Newman, 2006, p. 174).

These four categories encapsulate conventional perspectives on borders and boundaries, primarily intended for cartographic representation. Nevertheless, already during 1980s it was possible to notice traces of borders being referred to as ‘social constructions’ in the literature.

This allowed for the rise of the concept of ‘territoriality’ and the recognition of boundaries as meaningful construction that go beyond the physical and mapped separation of land (Sack, 1986). From this perspective, territory acquired a very strong symbolic importance (Murphy, 1990). Just like traditional marketing and geographic approaches to studying places, looking at borders and boundaries as mere lines and fixtures, as something static that does not depend on any political, economic, or social processes and consequently cannot be changed, was soon to be set aside.

The Concept of Territoriality

The concept of territoriality is a neglected concept because it has a long and somewhat problematic history (Kärrholm, 2007). As explained above, it started as a political concept by focusing solely on the jurisdiction of a state within its physical borders. Over time, the concept of territoriality would arise in parallel discussions on human territoriality (Hall, 1959; Altman, 1975; Edney, 1976), and politico-geographical territoriality (Gottman, 1973; Paasi, 1996; Sack, 1986; Soja, 1971). According to Raffestin and Butler (2012), the ideas of ‘territory’ and ‘territoriality’ started being used in social sciences, largely because people were looking for new ways to understand complex social issues. Soja (1971) emphasized that territories are not just static pieces of land on a map; they are living, dynamic spaces shaped by human activity. This was a ground-breaking idea that continues to be relevant today. Soja (1971) also pointed out that the way spaces are organized can actually affect how people act socially, an idea that was influential but hasn't yet become mainstream in discussions.

Therefore, the concept of territoriality has evolved significantly over time, moving from a narrow focus on political jurisdiction to broader understandings that touch upon human behaviour and social organisation. Territoriality is now seen as an important element of how cultures, collectives, societies, and institutions organize themselves in relation to social and material world (Delaney, 2005). According to Sack (1983), territoriality is an attempt to control, influence and affect objects, people, and relationships by bordering and asserting (individual or group) control over that geographical area. However, territoriality is not just circumstantial. Instead, an *intent to produce a territory* must be present. Further, there are different degrees of territoriality, ranging from complete restriction and control to open and less restrictive perspectives. According to him, territoriality is always a relationship (and never

an object) which occurs at all scales and different times, and can be changed and transformed (Sack, 1983, p. 56-57).

Another approach to investigating territoriality can be found in Raffestin's work. The construction of territory is the consequence of territoriality according to Raffestin (2012). This scholar endorses a Marxist-derived relational approach to territories by taking labour as the main process and agent of territorialisation. Proposing a descriptive model, Raffestin (Ibid, p. 121) investigates questions of production of territory and production of territoriality, that subsequently results in 'images of landscapes.'

We find important definitions of territoriality accurately listed in Kärholm's work (2007, p. 439) as follows:

- ❖ The act of laying claim to and defending a territory is termed territoriality. (Hall, 1959, p. 187)
- ❖ Territorial behaviour is a self-other boundary regulation mechanism that involves personalization of or marking of a place or object and communication that it is 'owned' by a person or a group. (Altman, 1975, p. 107)
- ❖ Territory is a meaningful aspect of social life, whereby individuals define the scope of their obligations and the identity of themselves and others. (Shils, 1975, p. 26)
- ❖ Human territoriality can be viewed as a set of behaviour and cognitions a person or group exhibits, based on perceived ownership of physical space. (Bell et al., 1996, p. 304)
- ❖ Territory is a portion of geographical space that coincides with the spatial extent of a government's jurisdiction. (Gottman, 1975, p. 29)

- ❖ Territoriality will be defined as the attempt by an individual or group to affect, influence, or control people, phenomena, and relationships, by delimiting and asserting control over a geographic area. This area will be called territory. (Sack, 1986, p. 19)

For Edward Soja (1971) territoriality is closely related to human behaviour and locality. Territoriality is “a behavioural phenomenon associated with the organisation of space into spheres of influence or clearly demarcated territories which are made distinctive and considered at least partially exclusive by their occupants or definers”. One of the first examples of territoriality, he notices, is the notion of private property. Personal space encircled with boundaries, demarcates private parcels, often marked with fences, walls, hedges or signs claiming the ownership (Soja, 1971, p. 19). On a larger scale, territoriality is related to social interaction. Just like Lefebvre’s shepherd place, there is always some interaction between those who confront territory. For Soja (1971) territoriality in this sense regulates and controls group membership and belonging which results in what we can generally conceptualize as “political organisation of space”.

Similarly, Gottman (1973) analyses the “significance of territory”. He argues that human territoriality goes beyond the simple demarcation of physical space and is also closely tied to social and psychological factors, such as identity, power, and belonging. Territorially as such is seen as a fundamental aspect of human nature as it plays a critical role in shaping social organisations and political space. Territory and its associated territorial practices and characteristics bring together material and symbolic (Paasi, et al. 2022). Therefore, territoriality is about identity, history, power, and memory; its complexities prove that territory is not only about its associated borders. The power of territory lies in its acceptance and loyalty by its

inhabitants as Storey (2020) argues. However, acceptance of territoriality also lies in its accepted power.

In examining real-world examples of territoriality and power, the situation in Northern Ireland provides a powerful case (Hopkins, 2014; Brown and MacGinty, 2003; Dingley, 2002; Gormley-Heenan and Aughey, 2017). Here, historical, and ongoing tensions are deeply rooted in territorial claims, marked by a division between those identifying as British and those as Irish. This division has led to conflicts over land, governance, and cultural identity, manifesting in the physical and symbolic form of the Belfast Peace Walls. These walls, paradoxically named, embody an oxymoron: they are symbols of peace in their role to separate and protect communities, yet their very existence highlights the persistent traces of division and conflict (O’Leary, 2022; Gormley-Heenan and Byrne, 2012). They stand as a testament to the complex relationship between territoriality and power, where efforts to maintain peace simultaneously highlight the challenges of overcoming deep-seated territorial divisions.

Another real-world example of the complex relationship between power and territoriality can be found in recent debates around the removal of statues which celebrate figures associated with colonialism and consequently highlight a conflict over symbolic power (Gregory, 2021; Knudsen and Andersen, 2019). These statues, for some, represent historical achievements and heritage. However, for others, especially those whose ancestors suffered under colonialism, these statues symbolize a form of violence and oppression, perpetuating the legacy of colonial dominance and racial injustice. The push for their removal is an attempt to reclaim space and assert a narrative that acknowledges the pain and suffering colonialism caused, challenging the traditional symbols of power that have long dominated public spaces. Similarly, the opposition to the construction of mosques in some Western countries reflects a territorial conflict rooted in perceptions of identity and power. Those opposing the mosques often view Islam through a

lens of fear or threat, influenced by broader geopolitical tensions and stereotypes. This resistance is not just about the physical construction of a religious space but is also a contestation over cultural visibility, integration, and the right to occupy public or communal territories (Yates and Mahmood, 2022). Both examples illustrate how territoriality and power are negotiated in contemporary society, revealing deep-seated divisions and the ongoing struggle for recognition and equality.

As the discussion moves from the historical roots of territoriality to its broader sociocultural implications, it becomes evident that power dynamics are rooted into the concept. This invites a closer examination of the role of power in territoriality, extending the focus beyond political jurisdiction to encompass a multi-dimensional view of social life.

The Role of Power in Territoriality

Power is central to the concept of territoriality. Traditional perspectives, especially in international relations and cultural geography, have often linked power directly with state sovereignty and territorial borders (Low, 2005; Agnew, 1999). However, this state-centric notion has been increasingly recognized as too narrow. While international relations often depict power as a historical constant tied to territorial sovereignty, Agnew (1999) challenges this by emphasizing the need to explore territoriality as a "dynamic spatiality of power." In Agnew's framework, power is multifaceted: it's political, instrumental, and tied to the control of collective resources.

This fluidity and complexity of power resonates with the views of Michel Foucault, who also dealt with territoriality and power, but through the lens of societal structures and institutions

(Agnew, 1999). Foucault's extensive work, covering topics like prison surveillance, sexuality, and madness, reveals how power is integral to every facet of society (Elden, 2001). Unlike traditional theories that confine power to the state, Foucault (1986) broadens the scope by positing that power is diffused and present in all social relations. According to him, place can either amplify or mitigate this power, which is enacted not just by the state but by a myriad of "intermediaries" (Agnew, 1999). However, it's worth mentioning that not everyone agrees with the ubiquity of power as presented by Foucault. Bourdieu (1991) for instance, warns against diluting the concept by claiming that power is everywhere. He suggests that the focus should be on identifying power where it's most prominent yet often overlooked or misrecognized.

Bourdieu's (1986, p. 242) framework revolves around the concept of 'capital,' which manifests in four forms: economic, cultural, social, and symbolic. These forms of capital operate within 'fields,' social arenas where actors compete for dominant positions. For Bourdieu, power struggles occur within these fields, specifically over the distribution and valuation of different types of capital (Swartz, 2013).

Bourdieu also introduces the concept of 'symbolic violence,' a subtle form of power exerted through ingrained societal norms and ideologies (1991, 1993, 2002). Symbolic violence often goes unnoticed but has a profound impact on shaping social hierarchies. For instance, in a place such as courtroom, visible elements like architecture and symbols serve to enact invisible forms of symbolic power, like respect and distance (Bourdieu, 2018, p. 108).

The concepts of symbolic power and symbolic violence were introduced by Bourdieu to explain the legitimation of the power function of culture (Swartz, 2013). The theory of symbolic violence is explored in detail in his seminal work titled "Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture" which was published in 1970. The main footing of this theory is found in

French educational system, but the theory is “intended to apply to any social formation, understood as a system of power relations and sense relations between groups or classes” (Bourdieu, 1970 in Jenkins, 1992, p. 104). According to Bourdieu, symbolic violence is “the imposition of systems of symbolism and meaning (i.e., culture) upon groups or classes in such a way that they are experienced as legitimate” (Ibid, p. 104).

Symbolic power and symbolic violence are both about symbolic meanings and representations of those meanings. Symbolic *power* is a capacity to *impose symbolic meanings as legitimate*, symbolic *violence* is about *consumption* (or as Swartz (2013, p. 83) calls it – internalization) *of that power*. Symbolic violence is “intended to capture the effect of symbolic power” (Ibid, p. 83). It is gentle, often invisible but it requires legitimate agent or actor to impose symbolic power in order to be an expression of that power.

To wield power effectively, especially in territorial contexts, one often needs more than just the raw capacity to control or dominate; one needs legitimacy or authority. Whether power is exercised by the state, by institutions, or by individuals, its durability and impact are often tied to the level of authority recognized by those who are governed. In other words, power without legitimacy is often unstable and subject to challenge. The following section addresses the relationship between authority and territoriality, exploring how legitimacy serves as the underpinning that sustains and stabilizes systems of power.

The Role of Authority in Territoriality

Every social and political system needs to be legitimate to last. As one of the oldest concepts in political philosophy, legitimacy is the main prerequisite for stability of any social and political system. Voluntary acceptance of political decisions that are legitimate can be possible only when the society conforms with norms, customs, and beliefs. According to Rousseau (1726), once people believe a political system to be legitimate, then they are able to live up to its rules as a matter of moral obligation. In a legitimate political system decisions and social realities are accepted and justified, usually by majority of people when we talk about democratic regimes.

The origins of the legitimisation are found in the works of Max Weber, a German sociologist who is arguably the most influential theorist of the previous century. Weber (1946) famously argued that *an entity, in order to be considered a state, should successfully claim the monopoly of the use of force*. This framework suggests that all political organisations are, in essence, mechanisms of violence, but the degree of violence they exhibit varies based on a range of factors. According to Guzzini (2017), these factors include social, behavioural, economic, and structural dimensions of violence. In other words, while all political entities have the capacity to use violence, various elements, such as social norms or economic conditions, can influence the extent to which that violence is manifested. Within this complex landscape, groups struggle for power. The level of domination a group achieves can have real-world implications, such as territorial expansion. Essentially, the more control a group gains within the state structure, the more likely it is to seek greater influence, potentially through the expansion of its territory.

There are many strategies of legitimisation because legitimacy is essentially subjective (Guzzini, 2017). According to Max Weber, legitimisation is a process by which actors strive

to create legitimacy for a rule or ruler. Therefore, legitimisation is a social and political process where actors and institutions constantly work to legitimize their power. According to Weber power is defined as *“any chance within a social relation to impose one’s will also against the resistance of others, independently of what gives rise to this chance”* (Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundriss der verstehenden Soziologie*, p. 28; in Guzzini, p. 100).

For Weber, the concept of power and its sub concept of domination/rule (*Herrschaft*) is crucial in the assessment of modern state and social order (Guzzini, 2017). Power is inherently connected to the vision of politics where “the social order is ultimately connected to the threat or use of physical violence and the competition to take control of it” (Ibid, p. 102). But Weber is more interested in the concept of domination where domination is defined as *an act by dominating actors to increase obedience of those who are dominated* while at the same time thinking that domination is for their own sake (Ibid, p. 102). Domination (or rule, or authority – Guzzini notes that the original word is extremely difficult to translate) is part of a wider social context. It is a social exchange among the dominated and those who are dominating (ruled and those who are ruled) which fundamentally needs legitimisation.

According to Sack (1986), territoriality involves an individual or group's efforts to influence or control objects, people, and relationships within a specific geographic area. This view contrasts with Foucault (1986), who sees the relationship between power and territory as multi-directional. Sack, however, argues that power primarily flows from the top down, and only then in other directions. Drawing on Max Weber's (1946) seminal essay "Politics as Vocation," legitimacy is understood as the state's ability to enforce its authority over its citizens. As already mentioned, Weber emphasized that, in contrast to earlier societies where violence was more commonplace, a unique characteristic of the state is its claim on monopoly of the legitimate use of force within its territory (Ibid, p. 1). This implies that any exercise of authority or

violence by the state must be considered legitimate—justified and obeyed—in order to *effectively maintain and assert its authority*.

In modern societies, the most effective strategy for legitimizing territoriality is through its institutionalization. According to Weber, it's insufficient to simply accept that someone wields power; the power itself must take various forms and be officially acknowledged. Crucially, there must also be a collective belief in the legitimacy of this power, a concept Weber refers to as "organized domination."

The complex relationship between power and territoriality naturally transitions into the concept of boundaries, which serve as essential tools for implementing territoriality. Raffestin and Butler (2012) delineate between human and political territoriality: while human territoriality focuses on the everyday interactions' societies have with the physical and material world, political territoriality necessitates the evolution of borders and boundaries. As Sack (1983) notes, the mere existence of a boundary is often sufficient for territoriality to be communicated and understood. Through territoriality, individuals, or groups—whether political or social—lay claim to and control territory. Once borders are established, control becomes more concrete.

Yet, the establishment of boundaries is more than mere demarcation; it involves the social, psychological, and political processes that reinforce control. Löw and Weidenhaus (2017, p. 559) argue that as "boundary constructions become more significant and territorial space emerges, differentiation, separation, and division become tools by which boundary elements are set in the ground." These boundaries can even evolve into markers of group identity, contributing to a sense of belonging among individuals within those territories.

Boundaries as Tools of Territoriality

The concept of boundaries as tools for territorial demarcation has started to gain traction in marketing studies, drawing upon the rich interdisciplinary literature from fields such as political science and cultural geography. In this literature, the terms 'border' and 'boundary' may be used interchangeably but come with nuanced differences. Casey (2011) expounds this in his discussion of *La Frontera*, the US-Mexico border. He argues that while borders are defined by conventional agreements like treaties or laws, *boundaries* have a more porous character (Ibid, p. 385). They may be culturally or historically determined and allow for more permeability—such as the movement of goods, cultures, or people—whereas *borders* are designed to be more impervious.

Political science further refines this discourse by categorizing borders into 'hard' and 'soft', classifications that have implications not just for states but for various kinds of social and cultural groupings (Mostov, 2008). The traditional concept of state borders delineates the scope of political and legal authority and is typically set up through mutual agreements (Andreas, 2003). However, these can also be unilaterally imposed, inherited, or even exist in a form that lacks formal recognition, serving as de facto military lines.

While state borders have gained increasing relevance in everyday life, particularly with the proliferation of territorial states, they represent just one layer in a multi-dimensional framework of social and cultural boundaries. As Popescu (2011) points out, there are also boundaries associated with religion, class, and gender that often transcend the simplistic inside/outside dichotomy established by state borders. These *socially constructed* boundaries can predate state borders and do not always align with the territorial confines of modern states.

The academic field of border studies has evolved to recognize this layered complexity. It has moved from a narrow focus on static, geographical demarcations to embrace the dynamic processes of 'bordering'—the methods and mechanisms by which territories and communities are included or excluded within various systems. This shift is summarized under the concept of 'territorialization,' which recognizes that borders and boundaries are deeply contextual, shaped by the historical and cultural backdrop of a given territory.

Despite their significance, the study of borders and boundaries has often been marginalized, as highlighted by Paasi (2003). She emphasizes that these demarcations are not static but rather in a constant state of flux, perpetually subject to change, challenge, and negotiation. Paasi's (2003) work further highlights the indispensability of an interdisciplinary approach to the study of borders and boundaries. She contends that their complexity transcends the scope of any single critical theory; as such, they are best understood as phenomena that intersect multiple fields of study, effectively belonging to all of them.

Continuing with the theme of interdisciplinary insights into borders and boundaries, Lamont's and Molnar's work in 2002 offers a complementary perspective. They identify two broad forms of boundaries: symbolic and social. Symbolic boundaries serve as cognitive frameworks employed by individuals and groups to interpret and categorize objects, people, and social events. These cognitive distinctions serve as precursors to social boundaries, which manifest more visibly in patterns of behaviour and association. They argue that social boundaries are almost a prerequisite for institutionalized divisions among groups of people, thereby solidifying separations in both material and symbolic ways (Lamont and Molnar, 2002, p. 168). In essence, symbolic, and social boundaries are two sides of the same coin, mutually reinforcing and equally real.

John Agnew further deepens this discussion by adding an ethical dimension to the study of borders in his 2008 work. He argues that borders are inherently problematic entities as they restrict not just movement but also the exercise of human dignity, intellect, imagination, and political will (Agnew, 2008, p. 176). This perspective opens border studies to encompass more than just territorial or national questions; it invites a critical look at the very real and often limiting impact that borders have on human lives.

Brighenti (2010) treats borders as attributes and dimensions through which territories can be examined. According to him, territories inherently exist as bounded entities, making boundaries and territories essentially two sides of the same coin. This leads him to explore the intricate act of 'boundary-making,' which goes beyond mere demarcation to encompass the naturalization of these boundaries. Importantly, he raises several significant questions for conceptualizing this act:

- ❖ *Who is drawing the boundary?* This involves the relationship among the agents orchestrating the territorial demarcations.
- ❖ *How is the drawing made?* Here, technology plays a role.
- ❖ *What type of boundary is being created?* Boundaries often serve specific functions; thus we can qualify the territory as economic, political, psychological, etc.
- ❖ *Why is the boundary being established?* This taps into the multi-layered nature of territories and their associated projects.

Brighenti's (2010) comprehensive approach to understanding boundaries pushes us to consider not just the 'what' but also the 'who,' 'how,' and 'why' of boundary creation. As he posits, territories are inherently bounded entities; therefore, boundaries become an essential lens through which to view territoriality. His framework encourages us to unpack the various layers that contribute to boundary-making, including the agents involved, the technologies used, and

the specific functions that these boundaries serve—whether economic, political, psychological, or otherwise.

This notion unites well with Popescu's (2011) observation that boundary-making is inherently a strategy of power, rooted in the dynamics of exclusion. Popescu's (2011) argues that boundaries serve more than mere demarcation; they are mechanisms for inscribing difference within a space and, consequently, orchestrating control. They delineate not just territories but also societal hierarchies—pointing to who is considered an insider versus an outsider, thus shaping the very fabric of membership within a community. The exclusionary nature of boundaries then, is less a by-product and more a feature, specifically designed to exert control over a defined space.

Paasi (1996) extends this thought by adding that borders serve not only as instruments of delimitation or classification but also as instruments of representation and identity. The signs and symbols commonly used to mark borders are meant to reinforce their purpose, embodying the very politics that gave rise to them. In this way, borders and boundaries are not just lines on a map but are imbued with social, cultural, and political meanings that reflect the system in which they exist.

Given these complexities, the study of boundaries in territorial contexts raises compelling questions about their role, especially in areas with troubled pasts and lingering traumas. Despite the raising interest in the study of boundaries, their significance in spaces marked by historical wounds remains a notably neglected area in marketing research. But what happens when boundaries serve not just as physical or metaphorical lines but as markers of deep-rooted social divisions or historical inequities? The next section explores the intersection of boundary studies and consumer behaviour.

Despite the increasing interest in the study of boundaries within marketing and consumer research (e.g., Sharifonnasabi, et al., 2023; Mele et al., 2019; Chatzidakis et al., 2018; Ellis et al., 2010; Chelekis and Figueiredo, 2015; Cheetham et al., 2018; Cody and Lawlor, 2011; Husain et al., 2019; Castilhos et al., 2016), the focus on territorial boundaries in real-world contexts has been relatively marginal. Even more overlooked is the study of boundaries in settings with troubled pasts, such as regions with histories of conflict, displacement, or other forms of social trauma.

The relational approach to studying boundaries has increased in marketing theory, emphasizing the dynamic nature of boundaries and their shaping by social relationships and interactions (e.g., Weinberger, 2015; Elg and Johansson, 1996; Winkel, et al., 2019; Blois and Ryan, 2012; Bradshaw and Chatzidakis, 2016). Löw and Weidenhaus (2017) argue that understanding spatial phenomena in everyday life calls for a conceptual framework that accounts for the relational aspects of borders and boundaries. They emphasize that a boundary inherently establishes a relationship between at least two different spaces. This perspective reveals the complex, multi-layered nature of boundaries, showing the intricacies between bordering processes, space, and spatiality.

Contributions to this discourse also come from the work of Finch and Geiger (2010) and Hill et al., (2014), who apply an actor-network relational framework to explore market boundaries, and Chelekis and Figueiredo (2015), who bring in poststructuralist and critical historical perspectives to theorize place and history within regional consumer cultures. Building on Brighenti's (2010, 2014) theory of territorology, the work of Cheetham, McEachern, and

Warnaby (2018) illuminates the everyday territorial aspects of consumption practices within settings such as public parks and playgrounds.

Symbolic boundaries also play a vital role in contemporary marketing thought. As Arsel and Thompson (2011) highlight, the ways individuals construct symbolic boundaries through consumption and production can offer unique insights into the mechanics of consumer culture. However, the realm of consumer research is not confined to the symbolic or relational; it also extends to the more interpretive. Researchers like Sharinfonnasabi (2023), Bardhi, Osteberg, and Bengtsson (2010) and Peñaloza (1994) have examined how consumers navigate multiple territories by crossing borders to engage in consumption practices across nations.

The diasporic dimension of consumption adds further complexity to this discussion. Fernandez, Veer, and Lastovicka (2011) investigate the collective identity of diasporic consumers who navigate complex sociocultural boundaries, often across their places of origin and settlement. This focus enriches the discourse on boundary-crossing within the realm of consumption. Furthermore, the concept of control in consumption has also been examined. Cutright's (2012) research argues that the establishment of some form of boundaries can offer consumers a sense of control, which becomes particularly beneficial in structuring their consumption practices.

In summary, the field of boundary research in consumption and marketing has indeed become more complex and distinctive, drawing on a range of perspectives that include critical, territorial, symbolic, and psychological approaches. However, a significant gap remains, particularly in exploring the role of boundaries in contexts burdened by a history of social and territorial traumas. The importance of this kind of research has become very clear because of recent worldwide events, especially the COVID-19 pandemic. As countries around the world closed their borders to curb the spread of the virus, territorial boundaries took on new (or long-

forgotten) meanings. These boundaries were no longer just lines on a map but lifelines that determined the flow of essential goods, the accessibility of healthcare, and even the viability of entire economies. The situation highlighted how territorial boundaries could suddenly become potent instruments of power, control, and survival. Particularly in places marked by historical traumas or social divisions, understanding the multi-layered implications of boundaries—whether they are erected by states, social groups, or even individuals—has never been more crucial. Given these compelling dynamics, this chapter's exploration of geographical and territorial insights offered a timely contribution to the evolving discourse on boundaries in consumer behaviour and marketing research

The Value of Theoretical Pluralism

This literature review highlighted the essential need for using a variety of theoretical approaches to understand the complex issues explored in this thesis. *Critical marketing* was chosen for its engagement with power dynamics and societal implications often sidelined in mainstream marketing narratives. This perspective challenged the traditional marketing of places as mere products or experiences, advocating instead for a reconceptualization that acknowledges the cultural, social, and symbolic forms inherent to the experience of place. Such a critical stance was instrumental in dissecting the layers of spatiality, pushing the boundaries of *Consumer Culture Theory* (CCT) by incorporating a broader analysis that explores the wider socio-cultural aspects of consumption. This broader approach was essential because CCT scholarship has been criticized for its reluctance to employ a critical perspective.

Incorporating *cultural geography* into further investigation in this thesis provided a crucial foundation for rethinking how we understand places. It moved beyond viewing (geographical) locations merely as points on a map to seeing them as complex entities composed of both material and symbolic elements. This approach emphasized the role of *representations*—images, symbols, and narratives—in creating the meanings and experiences tied to specific places. By focusing on these representations, we can better appreciate the layered and nuanced nature of place, recognizing its significance not only in physical terms but also in how it is perceived and valued by individuals and communities.

Building on this understanding, the thesis introduced the concept of *territoriality* to explore the complex web of representations within territories, especially in the context of post-conflict cities. Territoriality served as a multifaceted framework that helps us understand the nuances

of territory, including aspects of identity, ownership, and control. It provided a theoretical background for examining how territories are defined, claimed, and contested, particularly in situations where boundaries are redrawn or disputed following conflict. It was argued that the concept of territoriality is crucial for analysing the post-conflict context where new boundaries emerge and existing ones are challenged. In these contexts, territory—and by extension, territoriality—offered a valuable lens for studying the persistent, though often subtle, state of conflict and the processes through which spatial and social orders are renegotiated.

The introduction of Bourdieu's concepts of *symbolic power* and *symbolic violence* into this research emerged as a central moment during the constant comparison of codes, a core technique in grounded theory methodology. While the concept of territoriality was already integrated into the analysis, Bourdieu's ideas presented a developing perspective that became apparent later in the research phase. This realization highlighted the significance of symbolic power and violence as key concepts arising from the data and allowed for interpretation of data and subsequent development of theory.

The incorporation of above-mentioned concepts highlights the necessity of theoretical pluralism for exploring the complex subject matter at hand. As the grounded theory research advanced, so too did the integration and evolution of the theoretical framework. The research process resembled building blocks, where data collection and analysis were continuously informed and enriched by integrating concepts from diverse disciplines. Starting from the specific research context, the study was anchored in critical marketing scholarship. From there, it expanded to incorporate insights from other fields, providing a broader and more nuanced explanation of the phenomena under investigation.

In summary, the development of the theoretical framework through an interdisciplinary lens was crucial for this research. It facilitated a comprehensive exploration that moved beyond the confines of a single disciplinary perspective, integrating critical marketing, cultural geography, and Bourdieu's concepts of symbolic power and symbolic violence to disentangle the complex web of meanings, practices, and power dynamics within the studied context. This interdisciplinary approach proved essential in capturing the multifaceted nature of the research topic, demonstrating the importance of theoretical flexibility and adaptability in grounded theory analysis.

Conclusion

The exploration of boundaries, territories, and spatiality in this chapter has established an essential bridge between geography and marketing, especially in a world that continues to grow increasingly complex due to factors like the proliferation of armed conflict around the world, globalization, technological advancements, and most recently, the COVID-19 pandemic. Drawing on diverse theoretical foundations, this chapter has contributed substantially to an enriched understanding of how places are far more than mere geographic locations. Instead, they are complex amalgamations of social, cultural, symbolic, and emotional dimensions that play pivotal roles in consumer behaviour and marketing.

Key ideas from cultural geography and theories of representation supplemented the discussion by emphasizing the role of history, culture, and everyday practices in shaping how places are perceived and experienced. This was then linked to marketing concepts through the incorporation of Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence and Sack's notion of territoriality, showing how places and territories are both products and producers of culture, which influences societal dynamics and individual experiences. By synthesizing these multidisciplinary insights, the chapter has shown that geography is not merely a backdrop but an active agent in recent marketing research on territories.

The following chapter addresses the research methodology, anchored to the three main pillars of research philosophy: ontology, epistemology, and methodology. As the chapter progresses, it details the data collection process, the sampling methods employed, and discusses the importance of reflexivity and the specific research context. It concludes by explaining how the core category within the grounded theory method was formed and how theoretical saturation

was achieved, thus offering a comprehensive overview of the study's methodological foundation.

CHAPTER IV

Methodological Framework

Introduction

Although traditionally associated with sociology (Glaser, 1978, 1992, 1998; Glaser and Strauss, 1967) and health studies (Morse, 1994, Charmaz, 2006), grounded theory method progressively entered marketing and consumer research (Goulding, 1998, 1999a, 2000a; Pettigrew, 2000, Hirschman and Thomson, 1997; Houston and Venkatesh, 1996). It can be argued that there is an acknowledgment among marketing and consumer researchers that grounded theory method is a useful approach in the field. Indeed, its rigorous principles differ from other qualitative strategies of data collection and analysis, forcing the researcher to look beyond the superficial and into every possible interpretation before developing final concepts, and to demonstrate these concepts through clarification and data supported evidence (Goulding, 2005). At the same time, narrative inquiry, or some aspects of it, are also gaining momentum in marketing and consumer research (e.g., Shankar et al., 2001). The two methods have interest points of convergence and, when suitably combined, can be effectively applied in research design and data analysis.

The following chapter addresses the Research Methodology by reference to three main pillars of research philosophy: ontology, epistemology, and methodology. To set the stage, the first issue addressed in this chapter is the research paradigm which is defined as constructivism paradigm. Guided by constructionism, this research follows a constructionist paradigm that promotes a unique ontological and epistemological alignment. Throughout the chapter, a

particular attention is placed to the epistemological and theoretical aspects of the research design. The goal is to demonstrate a thorough knowledge of research traditions and in that way to provide a sound rationale for the combination of the afore-mentioned two methods of inquiry: constructionist grounded theory and narrative inquiry. Aligned with epistemology and ontology, constructionist grounded theory fits the research questions and the research context of this study. Constructionist grounded theory is the main methodological framework and the method of this study. Narrative inquiry is secondary to the main method and is combined only in two aspects: theoretical perspectives, and data analysis.

As the chapter progresses, it illustrates the data collection process, placing particular emphasis on the attainment of comprehensive, context-rich data. The critical components of reflexivity in the research process are thoroughly discussed. To conclude the chapter, the process of forming the core category within the grounded theory method, along with the process of achieving theoretical saturation, is explained in detail.

Research Paradigm as Human Construction

There are different ways to approach researching social reality in qualitative research but the first step in any inquiry is understanding the underlying philosophy or paradigm of research. Paradigm is a way of viewing the world, an analytical lens, or a framework through which we can understand the human experience (Kuhn, 1962). A paradigm is viewed as a “set of basic beliefs (or metaphysics) and a worldview that defines the nature of the ‘world’, the individual’s place in it, and the range of possible relationships to that world and its parts” (Guba and Lincoln 1998, p. 21). There are two basic sets of presumptions underlying social research: the positivist and interpretivist paradigms (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). The positivist paradigm views world as a single tangible reality that can be objectively measured. The ontology of positivism is realism, which sees reality as driven by “immutable natural laws and mechanisms” (Ibid, p. 25). Epistemology of positivist paradigm is objectivist which means that the researcher and the research object are seen as independent from each other and the researcher can fully explore the object without influencing it or being influenced by it (Ibid, p. 25). Methodological approach follows the objective realism in way that it is often experimental and manipulative. To test a priori assumptions that are frequently expressed quantitatively (but not always), positivism uses the hypothetico-deductive approach, in which it is possible to draw functional correlations between the results and the causal and explanatory elements.

On the other side of the spectrum, interpretative (or constructivist) research paradigm recognized that there are multiple realities and that they are subjective, complex, and socially produced. This research is guided by *constructivism paradigm*, which sees all human knowledge as a social construct. For instance, constructivism's ontology—which holds that reality is made up of "multiple, tangible mental constructions, socially and experientially based,

local and specific in nature... and dependent for their form and context on the individual persons or groups holding the constructions"—is frequently referred to as relativism (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 111). On the other hand, we need to consider the epistemology of constructivism and how a constructivist would learn about those various realities. Most constructivists would agree with a subjective epistemology that holds that knowledge is symbolically created and not objective in this regard (Hatch, 1985). This unique alignment will be explained and followed throughout this chapter.

Human construction simply means that knowledge is constructed. Therefore, the aim of the researcher following this paradigm is to understand, unwrap, and reconstruct the constructions that people (including the researcher) initially hold, “aiming towards consensus but still open to new interpretations as information and sophistication improve” (Guba and Lincoln, 2004, p. 30). In this sense, researcher and the research object may influence each other, and it is argued that the researcher can only comprehend another person's reality by their own experience of it, which in turn is conditioned by historical and social context.

Qualitative research belongs to constructivist inquiry that encompasses “both micro and macro analyses drawing on historical, comparative, structural, observational, and interactional ways of knowing” (Guba and Lincoln, 2004, p. 1). Qualitative research has multiple theoretical frameworks and research methods, and this is what distinguishes it from quantitative research. Indeed, qualitative researchers can ask different kinds of questions than its quantitative counterparts (Biber and Leavy, 2004).

Positivist and interpretivist researchers are usually on opposite sides of the philosophical spectrum of research. On the one side, positivism can be seen as pseudo-scientific, inflexible, outdated, and limited to the realm of testing existing theories at the expense of new theory

development (Goulding, 2002). Positivists may also neglect the complexities of the social world by focusing on big data and generalizations, thus failing to recognize distinctiveness of cultural contexts in individuals and groups. On the other side, positivists usually see qualitative research to be unscientific, exploratory, and subjective. In this sense, interpretivists are criticized for lacking the hard data that are necessary to reach scientific conclusions.

According to Guba and Lincoln (1994), constructivism is a paradigm that promotes unique ontological and epistemological alignment. For instance, constructivism's ontology—which holds that reality is made up of "*multiple, tangible mental constructions, socially and experientially based, local and specific in nature... and dependent for their form and context on the individual persons or groups holding the constructions*"—is frequently referred to as relativism (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 110-111). On the other hand, we need to consider the epistemology of constructivism and how a constructivist would learn about those various realities. Most constructivists would agree with a subjective epistemology that holds that knowledge is symbolically created and not objective in this regard (Hatch, 1985).

The Ontological Question

Ontology, a subfield of metaphysics, provides a framework for understanding the different types of objects that exist within various domains of knowledge. It grapples with fundamental questions such as, "What is the form and nature of reality, and what can we learn about it?" (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p. 110). In the realm of social research, ontology explores the nature of being (Blaikie, 2010) and debates whether social objects should be considered objective or subjective in nature (Crotty, 1998). It aids researchers in categorizing objects in their studies and elucidating the relationships between them.

Ontology had a very important role in this research. It guided me in understanding how this individual project connects to broader domains of knowledge and disciplines. Essentially, ontology helps researchers to determine the originality of their research. Ontology provides us with criteria to distinguish between concrete and abstract objects, and it allows us to think about possible relationships, links, and hierarchies between and within those objects (Kuhn, 1962; Hugly and Sayward, 1987; Phillips, 1987).

While positivists strive to uncover "the truth," social constructionists argue that "truth" is relative, varying by person, location, and time. This perspective holds that reality is formed through social interactions and the interpretations derived from them. The social constructivist approach is defined by its focus on how social context and interactions shape our understanding of reality.

Guided by the framework of *constructivist relativism*, this research posits that there are "*multiple, apprehendable, and sometimes conflicting social realities that are products of human intellects but may change as their constructors become more informed and sophisticated*" (Guba and Lincoln, 2004). Drawing from the work of Berger and Luckmann

(1966), social constructionism asserts that all knowledge is socially constructed. In this tradition, knowledge is not created but rather constructed through human interactions and relationships (Lisa, 2008). Therefore, in the social constructionist view, knowledge and reality are context-dependent and subject to interpretation; there is no single, objective reality or truth.

Additionally, it's crucial to clarify that this research aligns with the concept of contextual constructionism, a form that sits between the three main types of social constructionism outlined by scholars like Kham (2013)—namely, strict, debunking, and contextual (Best, 1989). As such, the focus of this study is not solely on the content of the conditions under investigation, but also on their existence within specific social contexts (Crotty, 1998). This approach allows social and cultural contexts to permeate individual experiences with meaning (Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994). Consequently, the claims made by individuals must be analysed and evaluated within the framework of their specific social and cultural conditions (Best, 1998).

Following Charmaz (2008) this thesis takes these assumptions in its inquiry:

- ❖ In a post-conflict setting, where the research was conducted, reality is multiple, processual, and constructed under atypical conditions. Participants in this study have directly experienced severe hardships, including war, dispossession, and post-conflict social transitions. Given the premise that reality is constructed, this research seeks to provide analytical insight into these specific experiences and behaviours.
- ❖ The research approach is interactive, involving not just data collection but a dynamic engagement between the researcher and the research subjects—in this case, the place and its residents, who are conceptualized as consumers of that place. Immersion in the setting is crucial, as qualitative research often requires deep contextual understanding.

Understanding a place, for example, isn't merely about describing its physical features and culture; it's about grasping the underlying ideologies, values, history, and cognitive frameworks that shape it.

- ❖ It's essential to be reflexive about the researcher's positionality, as well as that of the participants, throughout the research process. Questioning one's assumptions and those of the participants is critical, particularly when the researcher is deeply immersed in the context being studied (Arsel, 2017). Interpretivist approach view data collection as part of an iterative cycle that continually oscillates between conceptualization, data collection, data analysis, and theory building (Arsel, 2017).
- ❖ Both the researcher and participants contribute to the construction of the data; it's not merely about observing predefined objects. The researcher's own positions, privileges, and perspectives inevitably influence the research setting (Charmaz, 2008, p. 402). Acknowledging the role of social processes in shaping our understanding, qualitative methods facilitate the drawing of nuanced conclusions. As noted by Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2004), qualitative research spans both micro and macro levels, employing a range of methodological approaches including historical, comparative, structural, observational, and interactional methods. This study, therefore, adopts a method of analysis that is iterative and discovery-based, enabling close engagement with the data to generate an evidence-backed understanding of the issues at hand.

The Epistemological question

Epistemology is the theory of knowledge. An epistemological question is the philosophical analysis of the nature of knowledge and the conditions required for a belief to constitute knowledge. Originated in the Socratic method in ancient Greece, epistemology deals with the most complex and difficult questions about the reality of the world. The epistemological question asks: “What is the nature of the relationship between the knower and what can be known?” (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2004). In simple words, epistemological questions ask why do we believe what we believe, and why do we doubt? The starting point of modern epistemology is found in the method of doubt of Descartes’s “Meditations on First Philosophy” (1641) in which he comes to realize that many of his beliefs were mistaken and advocates for a more rigorous questioning of the world around us, *knowing for certain that nothing is certain* (Feldman, 1948; Fumerton, 1949, Audi, 1941). Epistemological answers map out the reason why we call something the truth and how we justify that position.

Following the paradigm of social constructionism and relativist ontology implies that “the conventional distinction between epistemology and ontology disappears” (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2004, p. 27). In this sense, epistemology is transactional and subjectivist. The researcher and the research exploration are assumed to be interactively linked and the findings are created in parallel as the investigation proceeds (Ibid, p. 27). Knowledge is created in interaction within the researcher and the researched. Constructionists view knowledge and truth as created and the reality as socially constructed. In line with views of Berger and Luckmann (1991), constructionists are interested in subjective experiences of every-day life. In this sense, individuals and groups make sense of this reality.

Berger and Luckmann (1991) propose a dual perception of society, conceiving it as both objective and subjective reality. Humans are perceived as “interacting knowledge-carriers” (Barnes, 2016). At birth, humans lack knowledge, acquiring it as they integrate into their social environment, each characterized by a unique temporal and spatial context, and multiple realities (Berger and Luckmann, 1991). In this sense, knowledge is understood to be collectively formed and maintained through social interaction.

In this research, participants come from a society deeply marked by traumatic experiences, which inevitably shapes their understanding of the world. Their location is not just a physical space but a temporal and emotional context that resonates continuously with a painful history and an uncertain future. Andrews (2012) offers a nuanced interpretation of the social interaction concept as presented by Berger and Luckmann. According to Andrews, knowledge is not merely acquired but is formulated through continuous interactions with the social environment. Importantly, this process is reciprocal: as individuals are influenced by society, they in turn influence societal knowledge. This cycle ultimately culminates in a body of knowledge that gains institutional legitimacy (Andrews, 2012).

Through repeated exposure to specific societal representations, particularly in everyday lives, these representations gain legitimacy and become part of the community's shared understanding. This communal perception forms what can be termed as a 'collective reality.' In the context of my research, I discovered numerous instances where objects that may appear mundane to outsiders were imbued with deep symbolic significance for the community under study. This brings us to the next section where I explain why social constructions is suitable for this research and I begin with the insider-outsider approach to studying reality.

How Social Constructionism fits this study?

Having established the significance of social interactions and their influence on individual and collective knowledge, what follows are the arguments that explain why the social constructionism paradigm is ideal for this research study. This paradigm, with its unique ontological and epistemological alignment (Guba and Lincoln, 1994), offers rich insights for my research objectives. Here are the reasons explaining the paradigm selection:

- ❖ The purpose of this research aligns with how social constructionist paradigm views the world. The world is *understood* by people, and their whole identity originates from the social realm (Burr, 1995).
- ❖ Social constructionism places great emphasis on daily interactions between people and how their life stories and experiences construct their reality. This is very similar to the focus of grounded theory (Andrews, 2012), which is the elected methodology for this study. Further, taking social constructionism as an approach leads to the process of encompassing the political, social, and historical context of the world studied. As a result, the analysis and the emerging theory would be rooted in the historical and contextual specific geography of social relations in a given time.
- ❖ Social constructionism contends that data do not speak for themselves (Bryant and Charmaz, 2007). Instead, they emerge from the interaction between the researcher, the research object, and the collected data. Therefore, it is important to recognize my own role as an insider in this research environment. The social constructionist paradigm provided valuable insights into managing my own constructions during and after the research process.

- ❖ I argue that social constructionism prioritizes individual interpretations of meanings and power: it gives voice to the people. In the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina, this study aimed to capture the perspectives of those living through the division, both mentally and physically, rather than being restricted to the constructs of political elites. Essentially, my personal aim was to shed light on the subjective experiences and interpretations of those individuals who inhabit the boundary line. Instead of imposing external representations or interpretations, the focus was to understand their reality from their perspective. This approach resonates with the tenets of social constructionism, valuing lived experiences and personal narratives as the basis of constructing reality.
- ❖ Finally, I investigated social-spatial *processes*, avoiding focusing only on single feature of current or historical landscape. In studying territories, social constructionism enables broader understanding of underlying human constructs, without reducing the study to fixed definition of borders or taking borders for granted.

Acknowledging the interactive approach employed in this thesis, it is important to consider the potential biases introduced through the dynamic engagement between the researcher and the participants. The immersive and interpretive nature of the study, grounded in the complexities of a post-conflict setting, inherently carries the risk of subjective interpretation and the projection of the researcher's preconceptions onto the data. This interaction, while enriching the research with depth and context, necessitates a critical examination of how personal biases, assumptions, and the relational dynamics between researcher and subjects could shape the research outcomes. Recognizing these elements is crucial for ensuring the integrity and reliability of the study's conclusions.

To mitigate the possibility of bias arising from the interactive approach utilized in this study, a rigorous reflexive process was employed, as emphasized in the subsequent discussion of reflexivity. By continuously questioning both my own assumptions and those of the participants, especially given my deep immersion within the studied context, I aimed to critically examine how my positions, privileges, and perspectives might influence the research outcomes. Regular discussions with my supervisor, who served as a second eye on the data, provided an outsider's perspective. This collaboration enhanced the analysis by introducing alternative viewpoints and critical insights, reducing the influence of personal biases. Our dialogues ensured a comprehensive understanding of the data, enhancing the study's credibility and depth by incorporating a broader range of interpretations and reflections.

In the context of this research, recognizing the subjective reality of those living on the boundary line leads me to the elected methodological approach: grounded theory.

Methodology: The Origins of Grounded Theory

Grounded theory is a qualitative methodology which aims to generate theory from research which is *grounded* in data. This method emerged as a response to the perceived lack of new theories being generated in sociology (Goulding, 1998). It was first used during 1960s by two sociologists Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss who pivoted the method in their first publications *Awareness of Dying* (1965a), and very soon after that one with *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (1967). Originally conceived as an inductive and comparative methodology, grounded theory provides systematic guidelines for collecting, synthesizing, analysing, and conceptualizing qualitative data for the purpose of building theory (Charmaz, 2001). Over time, it has evolved and diversified to such an extent that it now encompasses multiple, distinct theoretical frameworks.

The classical GTM, developed by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss in the 1960s, was a response to the prevalent research methods of the time, which they saw as overly reliant on existing theories or overly empirical without a theoretical framework (Bryant, 2017). They proposed a new method that would allow researchers to generate theories that are grounded in data. The classical GTM emphasized the importance of "sensitizing concepts", which provide a general sense of reference and guidance in approaching empirical instances, rather than definitive concepts that are precisely defined at the outset. The goal was to allow the theory to emerge organically from the data, rather than forcing the data to fit into pre-existing theoretical frameworks (Bryant, 2017).

According to Timmermans and Tavory (2007, p. 493) grounded theory “*presents analytical choreography with a deep immersion in data and then a transcendence of this data to reach higher levels of abstractions.*” The resulting theory should emerge from various data sources

including lived experiences, actions, observations, and interviews, as well as personal observations. To reach this, researchers need to be simultaneously engaged in dense concepts and theoretically abstract writing.

Following the development of grounded theory, a methodology emphasizing data-driven theory creation, it's important to note its roots in symbolic interactionism, a sociological perspective examining how individuals interact and interpret environmental cues.

Symbolic Interactionism

The roots of grounded theory are derived from the insights of symbolic interactionism, focusing on the process of interaction between people exploring human behaviour and social roles (Goulding, 2002; Strübing, 2019). Symbolic interactionism explains how individuals attempt to fit their lines of action to those of others (Blumer, 1971), take account of each other's acts, interpret them, and re-organize their own behaviour.

Symbolic interactionism focuses on three main aspects: meaning, interaction, and self-concept. It suggests that people act toward things, including each other, based on the meanings they have for them. These meanings are derived from social interaction and modified through interpretation. As explained by Goulding (2002, p. 39), *“these meanings evolve from social interaction which is itself symbolic because of the interpretations attached to the various forms of communication such as gestures, and the significance of objects.”* Within sociology however, most symbolic interactionists approaches were criticized since little attention was devoted to the analytical process used to derive the theoretical explanations in the final product (Robrecht, 1995 in Goulding, 2002, p. 40). Interactionism was a methodological source of strength topics in racism, marginality, and diversity, and it paved the way towards the renaissance of qualitative research methods, including the revolutionary constructionist turn (Clarke, 2019).

Up next, the chapter will delve into the basic principles of Classical Grounded Theory, a methodology developed by Glaser and Strauss that provides clear steps and guidelines for researchers to build and test theories rooted in the complex nature of social environments.

Basic Principles of Classical Grounded Theory

Grounded Theory, as originally put forth, is a research method that uses data from social situations to build social theories (Robrecht, 1995). One of its key strengths is its ability to handle the complex nature of social environments. An important idea in Grounded Theory is that researchers should get to know well the social setting they are studying (Huberman and Miles, 1994). Glaser and Strauss (1967) developed the Grounded Theory methodology to guide qualitative researchers in building and testing theories. They laid out clear steps and guidelines to help organize the theory-building process. These steps are discussed in the following section:

Analytic Principles

❖ Theoretical sensitivity

Grounded theory is a method characterized by both inductive and abductive method (Bryant and Charmaz, 2007). Induction, as defined by Charmaz (2006, p.188), involves a reasoning process that starts with the examination of a range of individual cases and extrapolates from them to form a conceptual category. It essentially entails a progression from descriptive to conceptual levels.

To be able to reach theoretical saturation, the researcher must adopt theoretical sensitivity. According to Glaser and Strauss (1965a;1967) theoretical sensitivity refers to researchers' capability to use abduction in entertaining a range of theoretical possibilities to account for findings coming from data. Abduction can be defined as *“a type of reasoning that begins by examining data and after scrutiny of these data, entertains all possible explanations for observed data, and then forms hypotheses to confirm or disconfirm until the researcher arrives*

at the most plausible interpretation of the observed data” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 186) It refers to an ability to give meaning to data and understand a range of theories.

The interplay of induction and abduction is brought to life through systematic theoretical comparisons. These comparisons are integral to the advancement of theory development at each stage of data collection and analysis.

❖ Theoretical sampling

With grounded theory sampling is directed by theory and according to Goulding (2002, p. 66) “it is an ongoing part of the process of data collection and analysis which in turn directs the researcher to further samples”. Unlike other types of sampling, theoretical sampling is continuous throughout the research study. Sampling must be aimed toward theory construction, not for population representativeness (Charmaz, 2006).

❖ Coding and categorizing

Coding and categorizing are carried out throughout the whole research study. From the start of the study, researcher codes the data, analyses it, and seeks for further explanations. General objective must be led by constructing analytic codes and categories from data, not from preconceived logically deduced hypotheses (Charmaz 2006). Coding in grounded theory is the process by which concepts and themes are identified and labelled during the analysis. Data are then transformed and through abstraction raised into categories and theoretical concepts. Through the emergence of theoretical concepts, theory can be evolved and integrated.

❖ Memos

In grounded theory method, researchers continually write memos. Memos are ideas noted by the researcher in any source of data (Goulding, 2002). Memo-writing is an essential part of

grounded theory method and it serves to elaborate categories, specify their properties, define relationships between categories, and identify gaps (Charmaz, 2006).

❖ Constant comparison

Constant comparison involves comparing differences and similarities across data (Goulding, 2002). The process of constant comparison provides additional information for further data collection.

❖ Literature as data

Theoretical literature is a source of data. when categories emerged, researchers then go back to the literature to find theoretical confirmation or rejection of those categories.

❖ Theoretical saturation

Theoretical saturation is reached once all data sources have been developed and the researchers deems that any further theoretical development would slant the research.

In summary, the principles of Grounded Theory Method (GTM) enable researchers to construct theories from social data. The distinct method of GTM pushes the boundaries of research beyond mere observation or collection of data to an immersive process of theory generation. This said, it is essential to note that Grounded Theory has gone through evolution and differentiation since its inception.

Divergence and Development of Grounded Theory Method

Over time, Glaser and Strauss (1967) began to diverge in their views on GTM. Strauss, influenced by his background in the Chicago School of Sociology, saw the need to move beyond detailed ethnographic studies to the generation of new theories (Bryant, 2017). He began to emphasize the importance of the researcher's role in interpreting the data and constructing the theory, which led to a more interpretive approach to GTM. Glaser, on the other hand, continued to emphasize the importance of staying close to the data and allowing theories to emerge organically. He maintained a more neutral approach, arguing that the researcher should remain as objective as possible to avoid influencing the emergence of the theory (Bryant, 2017).

The divergence in the interpretations of Grounded Theory Method (GTM) by its original proponents, Glaser and Strauss (1967), created room for the evolution of Constructivist Grounded Theory (CGT).

Constructivist Grounded Theory

The constructivist version of grounded theory was developed by Kathy Charmaz, a student of Strauss (Bryant, 2017). This approach emphasizes the subjective interplay between researcher and participant in the construction of meaning and knowledge. It acknowledges that the researcher's background, perceptions, and interactions with the research subjects play a significant role in the interpretation of data and the development of theory. It originated from the 1966 Berger and Luckmann's book "The Social Construction of Reality: A treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge". Constructivists study how – and sometimes why – participants construct meanings and actions in specific situations (Charmaz, 2006).

A key distinction between this constructivist version (CGT) and the original theory lies in the more pronounced role of the researcher. The premise behind constructivism is that everyone, including researchers, "*construct or interpret the realities in which they participate through their own situated perspectives*" (Clarke, 2019). As such, the researcher's task is to gather, comprehend, and interpret participant stories by gaining inside knowledge of their perspectives while maintain the integrity of their narratives. The end result of this interpretive process is the formation of a theory.

Moreover, CGT encourages a broader examination of the external world within which these meanings are created. According to Charmaz (2009), this approach involves "*learning how, when, and to what extent the studied experience is embedded in larger and, often, hidden positions, networks, situations, and relationships*" (p. 130). Consequently, CGT helps to reveal power and communications structures that influence the researched world (Ibid, p.130). CGT approach allows the researcher to be aware of those power and communication structures – how they arise and how they are maintained (Ibid, p. 131).

At the outset of my research, I realized that the stories told by participants were intricately linked with broader structures. The spaces they occupied were consistently framed within a context that went far beyond their individual experiences. Factors such as historical context and cultural nuances would inevitably shape my exploration and subsequent theorization (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998).

However, if the scope of a CGT study is too narrow, it risks failing to connect with broader contexts. This contradiction presents both a challenge and an advantage. While an insider connection with the research context facilitates rich data interpretation and theorization, the complexity and extensive nature of CGT studies can complicate the presentation of results in a structured and cohesive manner. Despite this, the CGT method recognizes the potential power of analysing complex and large-scale studies.

Objectivist and Constructivist Grounded Theory

According to Hildenbrand (2007), both the data and the analysis are socially constructed, reflecting the conditions under which they were produced. This means that data analysis in Constructivist Grounded Theory (CGT) considers possible impacts of time, space, culture, and the respective positions of the researcher and the research subject (Ibid, p. 556).

Contrary to the objectivist strand of grounded theory, as originally posited by Glaser, the constructivist adaptation posits that the reality being studied and the researcher are not discrete entities but rather interconnected. The key differentiation between the objectivist and constructivist versions of Grounded Theory lies in their allegiance to their respective philosophical traditions (Charmaz, 2014). The main features distinguishing these two traditions are explored in the subsequent section. According to Hildenbrand (2007), both data and analysis are social constructions reflecting their process of production. In other words, data analysis in CGT encompasses time, space, culture, and the situation of the researcher as well as the research object (Ibid, p. 556).

Unlike the objectivist version of the grounded theory method – the one coming from Glaser – the constructionist ‘update’ recognizes that reality and the researcher are interlinked entities, not separate like the objectivists might claim. Charmaz (2014) compares the main features of both traditions, which are detailed in the following section (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Objectivist and Constructivist Grounded Theory: Comparisons and Contrasts

<u>Objectivist grounded theory</u>	<u>Constructivist grounded theory</u>
<p>Foundational Assumptions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Assumes an external reality ❖ Assumes discovery of data ❖ Assumes conceptualizations emerge from data analysis ❖ Views representation of data as unproblematic 	<p>Foundational Assumptions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Assumes multiple realities ❖ Assumed mutual construction of data through interaction ❖ Assumed researcher constructs categories ❖ Views representation of data as problematic, relativistic, situational, and partial
<p>Objectives</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Aims to achieve context-free generalizations ❖ Aims for parsimonious, abstract conceptualizations that transcend historical and situational locations ❖ Aims to create theory that fits, works, has relevance, and is modifiable (Glaser) 	<p>Objectives</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Views generalizations as partial, conditional, and situated in time, space, positions, action, and interactions ❖ Aims for interpretive understanding of historically situated data ❖ Specifies range of variation ❖ Aims to create theory that has credibility, originality, resonance, and usefulness
<p>Implications for Data Analysis</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Views data analysis as an objective process ❖ Sees emergent categories as forming the analysis ❖ Sees reflexivity as one possible data source ❖ Gives priority to researcher's analytic categories and voice 	<p>Implications for Data Analysis</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Acknowledges subjectivities throughout data analysis ❖ Views co-constructed data as beginning the analytic direction ❖ Engages in reflexivity throughout the research process ❖ Seeks and (re)presents participants' views and voices as integral

Source: Charmaz, K. (2014) *Constructing Grounded Theory*, Sonoma State University, p. 236.

From the table above it can be seen that there are some significant differences between objectivist and constructivist approaches to grounded theory method. Yet, in practice the researcher may draw from both (Charmaz, 2014).

The objectivist approach assumes external reality, while the constructivist approach acknowledges multiple realities and contexts as integral parts of the data. The constructivist approach calls for the interpretation of historically situated data, recognizing factors such as history, geography, political, and social situations as superseding the research objectives. As such, constructivist conceptualizations should be abstract and considerate.

Equally, the primary distinction in theory development is that the constructivist grounded theory (CGT) typically relies on smaller samples and complex narratives, focusing on rich stories. In contrast, objectivist grounded theory (OGT) emphasizes outlining the interpretation process more than the interpretation itself.

Core category in Constructivist Grounded Theory

When it comes to the core category, Charmaz (2006) proposes that CGT does not need to strictly adhere to the discovery of a basic process or core category. I agree with this viewpoint only in part. I argue that while the importance of the basic process may have decreased, especially with the increasing frequency of grounded theory studies compared to fifty years ago, the emergence of core category should not be entirely disregarded. Essentially, the role of the core category still holds relevance. It often emerges naturally and independently during the research process, a phenomenon which researchers should embrace and integrate into their ongoing research without being confined to a specific core idea.

Indeed, imposing limitations on the natural discovery of the core category might prove counterproductive. I argue it might even damage the qualitative discovery process. Consequently, it is essential for researchers to allow their investigations to unfold organically.

Building upon the discussion on CGT, I now explore the fusion of two influential qualitative research methods: CGT and Narrative Inquiry.

Combining the Methods of Constructivist Grounded Theory and Narrative Inquiry

Qualitative researchers are increasingly combining different methods, principles, and procedures during research study. Researchers who combine methods do so at some or all stages of research (Lal et al, 2012). In their article, Lal, Suto, and Ungar (2012) offer thorough understanding of potential commensurability between grounded theory and narrative inquiry. Their comparative analysis, which considers the historical, theoretical, and philosophical aspects of these two traditions, significantly informed my decision-making process concerning how and when to incorporate narrative inquiry into my constructivist grounded theory study.

In this study, while the primary methodology employed was grounded theory, elements of narrative inquiry were integrated to enrich the research process and findings. Grounded theory is utilized for its systematic guidelines in understanding social processes, aiming at the development of a theoretical framework through the identification and analysis of emergent categories. This methodological stance is influenced by American pragmatism and, particularly in its constructivist variant, emphasizes the co-construction of data between researcher and participants, advocating for a reflexive and transparent data presentation.

Narrative inquiry, with its focus on understanding human experiences through stories and considering stories as a form of social action, offers a complementary perspective. It shares a theoretical underpinning with constructivist grounded theory, particularly in the acknowledgment that reality is constructed through narratives and the importance of the researcher-participant relationship. Narrative inquiry's approach to maintaining the integrity of individual stories—viewing them as intact entities—provides a rich layer to the analysis.

Importantly, this study integrates the ‘category-centred’ analysis of grounded theory, which seeks relationships between emerging codes or categories, with the ‘case-centric’ principle of narrative inquiry, which emphasizes keeping stories intact, this study offers a nuanced understanding of the researched phenomena. This study combined these two methodologies in only this specific instance.

This combination is suggested to enhance the understanding of categories that emerged in the grounded theory framework. Combining these two methodologies not only presents the opportunity to leverage the strength of each approach, but it also mitigates their individual weaknesses, thereby enhancing the robustness of the research findings (Lal et al., 2012, p. 14). How data was collected is going to be further explained in next sections.

Following Shankar et. al., (2010) I argue that stories are an important ingredient in understanding how consumption experiences are rendered meaningfully. Stories, descriptions, accounts, help researchers to develop a richer understanding of complex aspects of consumption (Ibid, p. 434). They allow researchers to deeply interact with their participants by co-creating “narratives of consumption” in the process of talking with them (Ibid, p. 442). Here, the researchers’ interpretation must consider self-reflection and deep sensitivity to concepts that arise from the data analysis. Because of that, stories can also help researchers reach sophisticated and interdisciplinary theorization, which is the main goal of grounded theory methodology.

Why was (Constructivist) Grounded Theory chosen for this study?

During the initial data collection, grounded theory was chosen after evaluating several methodological approaches for this study. The main reasons for choosing grounded theory for this research are rooted in its' (a) theory building, (b) interpretivist nature, (c) explanatory power.

Theory building

Theory building is a central aim of grounded theory method. Given the lack of integrative theory in literature regarding territory consumption in the post-conflict context, an inductive approach, enabling theory to emerge from the life stories of people living on the border line between divided territories, seemed the most appropriate.

Grounded theory is an effective method for new discoveries related to real world-setting. Given the lack of integrative theory emerging from primary data collected at the boundary line in an ethnically and territorially divided city, this method seemed the most relevant with a view to produce findings that represent real-world setting. In addition to theory building as the primary goal and outcome of this research, grounded method of data collection and interpretation also has implications for place-based marketing practice and policy in post-conflict cities and states.

Interpretivist nature

Grounded theory is an interpretivist mode of enquiry (Goulding, 2002). Interpretive theories aim to understand meanings and actions and how people construct them. Interpretative mode of enquiry aligns with a social constructionism theory that assumes multiple realities. From the

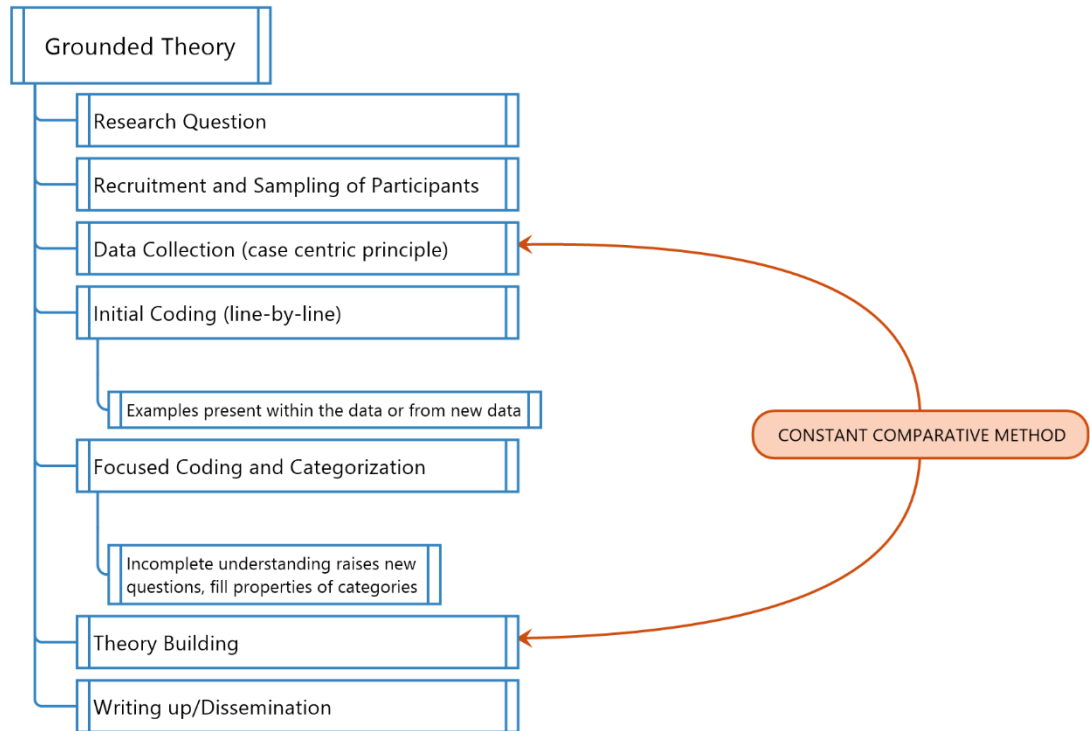
above, it can be concluded that this research follows an appropriate and logical methodological structure of thinking where knowledge is built from the bottom up.

Explanatory power

Finally, grounded theory allows for the “eclectic analysis through the application of theoretical sensitivity” (Goulding, 2002, p. 107). Therefore, according to Goulding (2002) interdisciplinary theories adopted in this research could have explanatory power (p. 107). In addition, Jessop et al., (2008) argue that contemporary and interdisciplinary by nature, discourse in relation to spatiality has been characterized as “*an unreflexive ‘churning’ of spatial turns, leading to short intellectual product cycle for key sociospatial concepts, limiting opportunities for learning through theoretical debate, empirical analysis, and critical evaluation of such concepts*” (Jessop et al., 2008, p. 389-401). They challenge and question one-dimensionality in methodological underpinnings of any socio-spatial analysis. They argue that one-sided approaches to studying socio-spatial processes lead to ‘theoretical amnesia and the use of chaotic concepts rather than rational abstractions...’ (Jessop et al., 2008, p. 389). Their argument fits the life philosophy of grounded theory methodology since thick descriptions and conceptual narratives are simply not enough to build a theory.

In order to provide a comprehensive understanding of the research methodology employed in this study, what follows is a visual representation (Figure 4.1.) of the grounded theory approach adopted. This flowchart may serve as a roadmap, delineating each stage of the research process, from the initial conceptualization to the final analysis.

Figure 4.1 A Visual Representation of Grounded Theory Method in this study



Source: By author, based on Charmaz 2014, p. 18.

Bringing doubt in the Research Process and avoiding methodological individualism

In the previous section I argued that constructivist grounded theory is key with a view to (1) avoid methodological individualism and (2) systematically bring doubt before and during the research process (Charmaz, 2017). Since its inception in the 1960s, grounded theory has evolved to incorporate changes in epistemological foundations and to embrace methodological innovations in qualitative research (Ibid, p. 34). In light of my own epistemological position, it is important to emphasize that this study aims to extend the conversation beyond the mainstream discussions of place marketing found in Anglo-North academic journals.

Even though there has been a steady stream of literature that adopts a more diverse stance toward the study of marketing, markets, and consumption phenomenon (Saren et al., 2007), the field still remains dominated by the voices and theories of the developed western world. However, even within these privileged 'worlds' there remain marginalized, quieter voices whose stories are absent from the hegemonic research agendas of marketing academe. The European perspective, for example, is not really representative of Europe as a whole. On the contrary, Eastern Europe is largely absent from the conversation, even in critical circles. In this sense marketing scholars might be accused of territorializing their methodological positions and placing invisible boundaries around them.

Going forward, two things are important to note and adopt in future research studies:

- 1) allowing for varieties of contexts and case studies coming from all parts of the world and;
- 2) encouraging methodological variety representing the best academic research work.

Social constructivist grounded theory method represents a systematic method that allows for more critical epistemological stance, as well as richness and innovation in data collection and data analysis. Unlike other (objectivist) versions of the classic GTM inquiry, the constructivist version of the GTM research process and interpretation places particular importance on historical, social, and contextual conditions in which the study and the researcher is located (Charmaz, 2017). Charmaz (2017, p. 34-35) argues that the constructivist version of the GTM inquiry avoids “taken for granted methodological individualism”, which is often found in Anglo-North American academic worldviews.

The second distinguishing factor in constructivist GTM is that it fosters constant reflexivity in researchers’ path to discovery. According to Charmaz (2017), it asks for critical and open mind – before and during the research process. Consistent with the basic GTM principles, constructivist version is systematic in bringing questions about the analytic process (Ibid, p. 35). It encourages the researcher to ask critical questions about the research process and consequently to design and fit methodological strategies to explore that he/she discovered during the way (Ibid, p. 35).

Next, I will detail the research process, beginning with the personal identification of a topic of interest.

Beginning of the Research Process: The Identification of an Area of Interest

The research process started from an explicit personal interest in space and place that I as a researcher wanted to explore further. It was important to enter the field very early and discover the topic on my own. The first ideas came from thinking about public places of significance to people. Precisely, I was interested how the post-conflict city of Sarajevo was navigated by people given the fact that such traumatic (and arguably violent) heritage exists in the urban landscape in forms of small memorials, monuments, and symbols. I entered the field with unsophisticated knowledge about the concepts, mostly coloured by own disciplinary background in political science and branding. As Goulding (2002) notes, most researchers will have their own disciplinary background and while the goal of grounded theory is to build our own theory from the ground, it would be wrong to assume that the researcher starts their knowledge journey with a blank sheet. Instead, disciplinary background provides a basis for sensitizing concepts and refining the interpretation of data (Goulding, 2002, p. 55).

Another point that Goulding (2002) notes is that it is difficult for grounded theory to arise if the topic of interest has a long, credible, and empirically based literature (Ibid, p. 55). The topic of place consumption was a topic that received interest from marketers and consumer researchers, as identified in literature review chapter. Yet, how *territories* were linked to consumption was not an area that received much attention in marketing and consumer research.

As a concept of interest, *territory* emerged from the initial data collection. First interviews I collected coupled with participant observation of the place, resulted in crucial insight: the post-conflict place consumption was not (only) about heritage – rather, it was about boundaries. Each place that was marked as significant to my initial participant was marked by boundaries (physical, mental, emotional). Observing the monuments inside the city and how people

navigated them, led me to understand that they carry heavier meanings than those of memory. Indeed, observations led me to understand that divisions in the city are consumed on an everyday basis, not just when purposively visiting a memorial place. It is a territory, surrounded by boundaries which people cross every day, and they serve as important markers of a difficult past in today.

Collecting Rich Data

In this thesis I used a narrative approach to data collection. Following Shankar et al., (2001) I assume that stories shared with me have ontological status. This means that the process of telling life stories is not merely an act of remembering something meaningful rather it is a construction (Shankar, et al. (2001)). The following part explains how a narrative approach to data collection fits constructivist grounded theory method.

Marriage of Constructivist Grounded Theory and Narrative Approach to Data Collection

As explained in the previous section, narrative data collection is a qualitative research method used in consumer culture theory to study consumer behaviour and experiences. This method involves gathering and analysing narratives, or stories, that consumers express about their experiences with products, brands, and consumer culture. The goal of narrative data collection is to gain an in-depth understanding of consumer perspectives and beliefs, and to uncover the underlying meanings, values, and motivations that drive consumer behaviour. According to Rice and Ezzy (1999, p. 126), theoretical foundation of narrative inquiry is the belief that “telling a story about choice and action, which have integrally moral and ethical dimensions”.

In consumer culture theory and critical marketing perspectives, narratives are seen as a powerful tool for understanding consumer experiences because they provide a rich and nuanced picture of the cultural, social, and psychological factors that influence consumer behaviour. When engaging with narrative inquiry, we become co-participants to co-construct the

knowledge alongside the participants across places and time (Gavidia and Adu, 2022). Narrative inquiry calls for ways to engage in sociality, temporality, and place.

Following Gubrium (2005), I approached narratives as conditioned by the social and historical context. This is confirmed by data collected as all my participants tell their stories from their own perspective and conditioned by many contextual factors such as living in besieged city during the war, living in certain zones of the city after the war. Therefore, during interviewing participants, they construct and tell me their life stories.

I argue that a narrative approach to data collection fits constructivist grounded theory method of data collection and analysis in these ways:

1. Using a narrative approach to data collection requires high degree of reflexivity (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995)
2. This form of research represents an ultimate shift from individual experiences to collective meanings and narratives and their influence on people's lives. It follows the social constructivist ontology and epistemology in a sense that it recognizes there is no one truth. Rather, narrative approach to data collection calls for co-construction of data between the research and the participant, which is one of the main principles of social constructivist philosophy in social research (Hunter, 2010).

Why Narrative Inquiry was used to collect data

In the following section, I explain why narrative inquiry was used to collect data.

- ❖ *Rich and Detailed Data:* Narrative inquiry allows for the collection of rich, detailed, and nuanced data. Stories are a natural way that people make sense of their experiences, and they often contain a wealth of information about people's perceptions, feelings, thoughts, and actions, as well as the contexts in which they live and work. This richness and depth of data can provide a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomena being studied (Gavidia and Adu, 2022).
- ❖ *Co-construction of Knowledge:* The role of the researcher in narrative inquiry is not just to collect stories, but to engage in a process of co-constructing knowledge with the participants (Yagamata-Lynch, 2017). This involves interpreting the stories, identifying themes and patterns, and constructing a narrative that makes sense of the data. This process acknowledges the active role of the researcher in shaping the research findings, and it also respects the participants' perspectives and experiences.
- ❖ *Understanding of Meaning:* Narrative inquiry is particularly useful for understanding the meanings that people attach to their experiences. Stories are not just a recounting of events, but a way of interpreting and making sense of those events (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). By analysing the stories that people tell, researchers can gain insights into how people understand and make sense of their world.
- ❖ *Natural Affinity for Stories:* Humans are naturally drawn to stories. They are a fundamental way in which we communicate, understand, and make sense of the world. As Yamagata-Lynch et al. (2017) point out, stories help make ideas easier to understand. In research, this natural affinity for stories can help to engage participants,

facilitate the collection of rich data, and make the research findings more accessible and relatable.

In summary, narrative inquiry was used primarily in the data collection phase of the research process because of its ability to elicit rich, detailed, and meaningful data from participants. It acknowledges the active role of the researcher in interpreting and making sense of the data, and it respects the participants' perspectives and experiences. It also leverages our natural affinity for stories to engage participants and make the research findings more accessible and understandable.

The Iterative Process

The CGT method comprises a systematic, inductive, and comparative approach for conducting inquiry for the purpose of constructing theory (Charmaz, 2006; Charmaz & Henwood, 2007; Bryant and Charmaz). The method is designed to encourage researchers' persistent interaction with their data, while being constantly involved with their emerging analysis (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). Therefore, grounded theory was intended as a methodology for developing theory that is *grounded in data* which are systematically collected and analysed (Goulding, 2002). In practice this means that the data collection and analysis proceed simultaneously. Bryant and Charmaz (2007, p. 1) explain that grounded theory method is an iterative process of moving back and forth between data and emerging data analysis. The iterative process is what makes the collected data progressively more focused and the analysis more theoretical.

The theory consequently evolves during the research process and is a product of constant interplay between data analysis and data collection (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Charmaz, 1983; Charmaz, 2006). In this sense, it requires constant interplay between research and what is being researched in that context. According to Goulding (2002), CGT requires a recognition that inquiry is always *context bound* which means that knowledge is actively constructed with meanings of existence relevant to an experiential world.

Qualitative methods in general allow researchers to add new pieces of the puzzle or even conjure entirely new puzzles, while collecting data (Charmaz, 2006). The CGT method allows researchers increased flexibility when it comes to gathering data while in the field. Perhaps paradoxically - at least from the positivist side of view, increased flexibility in the field simultaneously brings more focus to the topic. Unlike other qualitative methods, grounded

theory method (both traditional and constructivist) favours multiple sources of data collection (Goulding, 2002, p. 56).

Entering the Field

I entered the field very early during my research process, without sufficient theoretical knowledge about the topic of study. Gathering data at the beginning of the process was like testing the field. I approached the initial data collection with the following premise: I will let the research problem shape the methods I will choose. During the initial phase of the research, I collected five open-ended interviews with people living and working in the post-conflict city of Sarajevo. I was focused on gathering data from people who lived in the city during the war, meaning that participants were 30 + years old. As the research problem got clearer, so did the methods of data collection. Methods chosen as most appropriate primary data for this thesis were:

1. Life story interviews
2. Participant observations
3. Visual data (photographs + mapping)
4. Historical archive of the siege of Sarajevo (secondary data)

Yet, it is not only the quality and quantity of the data that makes the CGT study rich in data, but also what the researcher makes of that data. The result of the CGT study must be a theory, and this is a complex and long process. During my own process of discovery of the grounded theory method, what stroke me as a researcher is the personal commitment of every grounded theory researcher. As Bryant and Charmaz note in their introductory chapter to Grounded

Theory (2007, p. 26), Glaser is fond of saying that grounded theory is more than methodology, *it is a way of life*. At the very beginning of my own path of discovery in this research thesis, I have decided that this is how it is going to be for me as well.

According to Strauss and Corbin (1998, p. 7), a researcher is expected to develop a set of skills in order to become a grounded theorist. Of course, it is not necessary to develop all of them during the first research project, but it is important to have them in mind and to keep on working to develop them:

Characteristics of a grounded theorist

- ❖ The ability to step back and critically analyse situations.
- ❖ The ability to recognize the tendency toward bias.
- ❖ The ability to think abstractly.
- ❖ The ability to be flexible and open to helpful criticism.
- ❖ Sensitivity to the words and actions of respondents.
- ❖ A sense of absorption and devotion to the work process.

After finishing my study project, I studied this list and realised how each item evolved over time as I went through my own process of discovery. Immersing myself into such a complex setting, talking with people who experienced terrible loss, trauma, and reflecting on my own insider role in the whole work process, I kept an objective stance but developed warm empathy with my respondents. This allowed me to always keep in check my own tendency to bias. Goulding (2002) also notes that the danger lies in entering the field with a prior disposition, conscious or unconscious. This is exactly why the researcher should enter the field as early as possible, so that the data is not coloured by their own attitudes and beliefs. Here, the help of an

experienced supervisor is of vast importance, as they can serve as the second set of eyes and help critically examine the data.

Sources of Data

Multiple data (stories, visuals, maps, observations) can be collected in grounded theory study. This is one the greatest advantage of qualitative research because it allows researchers to add new pieces of the ‘research puzzle’ while they gather data (Charmaz, 2006, p. 14). However, these are just tools for the ultimate result, which is gathering rich data. The research question should point to adequate methods of gathering data. Indeed, we are not only passive recipients of people’s stories, but we actively and reflexively try to make sense of the world we are investigating (Goulding, 2002). Following her advice on letting the research problem shape the methods which will be chosen, I first went to the field and tried to find out the atmosphere and new insights on the broader issue I was investigating. After the initial data collection in form of semi-structured interviews and observations collected in own life experience, I realized that the research problem of consumption of boundaries would require me entering those specific places and fully investigating them. Interviews in this regard were not enough. Walking observations, conversational research, photos, mapping, and historical research were essential to get rich data.

Life Story Interviews

A life story interview is an interview that invites participants to tell the story of their life. Life story interviews therefore offer the narrative essence of what has happened to a person (Atkinson, 2002). We all have a natural tendency to tell the tale of our lives, even though we may not realise the importance of the connections between our past and present. As an interdisciplinary qualitative method, life story interviews look at life as a whole, and as an interview technique they are a unique, in-depth conversation that serves for gathering information on the “subjective essence of one person’s entire life” (Atkinson, 2002). As a research tool, life story interviews are best suitable for constructionist and interdisciplinary research (Atkinson, 2002). Life story interviews are also considered one of the most important sources of data in (constructionist) grounded theory method. According to Charmaz (2014), CGT method is all about intensive interviewing where an interview is more than performance, it is “the site of exploration, emergent understandings, legitimisation of identity, and validation of experience” (p. 91).

In this study, life stories were used to understand and define individual relationship with the post-conflict place by narrating their past and looking at how this relationship evolved and changed in the aftermath of the war. Life stories were also used to understand and define how people construct meanings about current boundaries. Using the lens of consumption, life stories were used to develop a theoretical framework that will offer new relationship between consumption and territory.

Twenty-two (22) semi-structured, in-depth conversational interviews were conducted. Interviews were ethnographic in nature, meaning that the researcher in all but two instances visited participants’ homes and had conversations with them in their natural setting. All

participants received a consent form at the beginning of the conversation. The consent form was originally in English, however I decided to have it translated to BHS language. I wanted my participants to know everything about the research process in their own language. The consent form was formally translated by an official Court Interpreter for English language in Sarajevo.

During the interviews I've always preferred having informal conversations without too many interview notes taken while the conversation took place. The main rationale behind this practice is the fact that conversations were commonly around sensitive topics both for me and my participants. I found it generally uncomfortable to be taking extensive notes while someone telling me their story of survival during and after the war. My rationale aligns with what Charmaz (2006) argues: "at worst the line of questioning can slip into interrogation during the interview, so it is crucial to prevent this" (Charmaz 2006, p.30). It can be argued this is especially important when working with vulnerable people because the research needs to connect with them on an authentic level and build trust.

Participants sometimes told me painful memories and stories in their lives, sometimes even surprising themselves that they remembered them in that moment. Following constructivist grounded theory interview technique, I was keen on eliciting the participant's definitions of terms, situations, and events and tried to tap into their assumptions, implicit meanings, and tacit rules (Charmaz 2006, p. 32).

Life stories were audio taped. They were then transcribed word by word, including silences, and louder emotions such as laughing or crying. All transcripts were then translated to English, word by word, by the researcher. To avoid forgetting anything from the interview, this was

typically done right afterwards. Life story interviews resulted in approximately 700 pages of data. During life story interviews, memos and notes were taken.

How I prepared for life story interviews

Following social constructionist epistemological and ontological positions, and constructionist grounded theory methodology (CGT), I started the interviewing process while being fully aware of epistemological differences between various interview traditions (Arsel, 2017). Essentially, this meant that I saw an interview as an in-depth, cultural conversation that invites both me as a researcher and my participant to contribute to knowledge production.

In qualitative research, interviews are often regarded as crucial data sources (Goulding, 2002). However, in Constructivist Grounded Theory (CGT), the nature and approach of the interview diverge from those in other qualitative methods. According to Charmaz (2014, p. 91), researchers employing CGT are concurrently attuned to three key factors: (a) the situation and construction of the interview, (b) the construction of the research participant's story and silences, and (c) the interviewer-participant relationship.

Situation and construction of the interview

When it comes to the **(a) situation and construction of the interview**, life story interviews can be labelled as representative ethnographic forms of interview. It is an in-depth conversation that invites the participant to openly tell the researcher the most significant and meaningful points in his or her life. While life story interviews offer some flexibility in terms

of duration of an interview and consequently, on the amount of data shared, the researcher needs to be able to find data that will be useful for the research goals.

To achieve this objective, I have found that it is imperative to arrive at an interview equipped with a carefully prepared **interview protocol**. This document provides a structured guide for the interview, detailing key areas for exploration along with the method for securing informed consent and an invitation for participation (Arsel, 2017). As argued by Arsel (2017, p. 941), throughout the interview, the researcher is obliged to simultaneously listen to narratives while contemplating their subsequent line of inquiry, all while analytically deconstructing the meanings inherent in the responses, ensuring no opportunity for further questioning is missed. Over time, interview protocols have evolved, and as the theories under study have become more informed, so too has the structure of interviews. Nonetheless, it is important to emphasize that my participants were consistently given freedom to express themselves. According to Arsel (2017), this facilitates the researcher in demolishing preconceptions and refining theorizations.

The development of a humble empathy, or humility on behalf of the researcher, represents another critical element I have identified for enhancing situational awareness and the construction of an effective interview. During the life story interviews, I found myself engrossed in narratives burdened with trauma. These interactions were often emotionally charged, evoking deep feelings from both sides. I came to understand that conducting a life story interview successfully required more than mere active listening and undivided attention. It also entailed putting my own emotions forward, demonstrating vulnerability, and at times, sharing my personal experiences with trauma.

While trauma emerged as a significant theme during the research, particularly through the abundant data on *war* experiences, I made a conscious decision to focus on the *post-war*

context. This choice was driven by the observation that *post-conflict* periods were particularly rich in instances of boundary redefinition and spatial resignification, which aligned more closely with the thesis's core interests.

Adequate research experience is a prerequisite when tackling such a demanding task, but I believed that if I merely offered expertise and research experience, my authenticity might be called into question. They needed more. My discovery was that a genuine symbiosis between myself and my participants was the true requirement for effective interviewing. Consequently, authenticity and sincerity to one's own emotions and experiences is principal in the context of a constructionist grounded theory interview, particularly when the research is conducted within a natural environment. Indeed, I would often visit participants at their homes, spending a considerable part of the day with them. We would share coffee or tea and occasionally pause for a lunch break. They would guide me through their homes, showing me their rooms and gardens, spaces filled with childhood memories.

Regarding **(b) the construction of the research participant's narrative and associated silences**, it is essential for the researcher to acknowledge that intensive interviewing often leads to complex and extensive narrative constructions. For instance, one of my participants, pseudonymously referred to as Edith, provided a deeply comprehensive account of her life in an unbroken discourse lasting over five hours. During this time, I was wholly absorbed in her narrative, consciously disregarding the passage of time and the pace of her monologue. This singular interview yielded over 120 pages of transcribed narrative. Such expansive dialogues allowed me to recognize recurring patterns that had previously gone unnoticed; as Charmaz (2014) indicates, this process helps the researcher to recognize the emergent theoretical trajectory of the study.

Long periods of silence proved to be as crucial as prolonged dialogue. I observed that when participants fell silent, it typically signalled an emotional processing period. On occasions, silence was marked with tears, and at other times, participants would spontaneously cry while recalling distressing incidents from their past. For me personally, deep conversations with individuals who have endured significant trauma and who face an uncertain future, were simultaneously enriching and exhausting. On one hand, I listened to narratives that will leave an enduring imprint on me, while on the other, I formed profound connections with some of my participants. This creation of a strong rapport during constructionist life story interviews is documented by Charmaz (2014). She suggests that the constructionist grounded theory interviewing approach is perceived as "an emergent interaction in which social bonds may develop," thereby contributing to what Charmaz (2014) terms as "mutuality." Consequently,

the interview transforms into a platform for mutual exploration and exchange, potentially culminating in an authentic interviewer-participant relationship.

Lastly, due to the interdisciplinary utility of life stories as research tools and the varied approaches to their presentation, the final forms of life stories exhibit considerable variation, as per Atkinson (2002). On one hand, a life story can predominantly consist of the researcher's description of the interview proceedings and the participant's discourse (Ibid, p. 123). Conversely, it can consist solely of the participant's narrative, without any interpretation or explanation from the researcher. This study utilized the latter approach, meaning the participant's narratives were transcribed verbatim without any researcher intervention. Nonetheless, the grounded theory method allows for memos for the researcher's initial interpretations and thoughts, which were incorporated in this study.

Being an Insider: Interviewer's Reflexivity

Reflexivity is defined as the researcher's scrutiny of his or her research process, experience, decisions, and interpretations (Charmaz, 2006). It is about constant questioning of oneself and thinking about own assumption, values, attitudes, and positions within the setting studied. Arguing that a lot of focus in qualitative inquiry is put on individualism, Charmaz (2016) claims that researchers import their preconceptions about individualism into their methodologies. 'They focus on individuals and emphasize the individual level of analysis without excavating the structural contexts, power arrangements, and collective ideologies on which the specific analysis rests' (Charmaz 2016, p. 36). In order to deal with these preconceptions, Charmaz (2017) suggests developing methodological self-consciousness to turn a deeply reflexive gaze back to ourselves and into the research process and empirical world.

What does it mean to have, or to develop a methodological self-consciousness?

According to Charmaz (2017) it:

- ❖ Calls for deep reflexivity which researcher may not routinely undertake.
- ❖ Calls for examining ourselves in the research process, the meanings we make and the actions we take each step along the way.
- ❖ Means becoming aware of our position and privileges.
- ❖ Means dissecting and detecting our worldviews, language, and meanings and revealing how they enter our research in ways we had previously not realized. (p.36)

In constructivist grounded theory method, the purpose of inquiry is the understanding and reconstruction of the constructions that people (including the researcher) initially hold. In this connection, the role of the researcher is to engage with data (Bryant and Charmaz, 2008). Grounded theory researchers do not have an easy job and I would not recommend grounded theory method to researchers without any qualitative experience.

Taking a reflexive stance at the outset of the research process was very important to me. But reflexivity is not just a separate research condition to be brought inside the research process. It is a conscious and purposive methodological characteristic and I argue that the researcher must be able to trace reflexivity to knowledge building, i.e., research philosophy. In this sense, constructivist grounded theory rules stated that the researcher should assess his/her reflexive stance throughout the research process and sometimes together with research participants. Then, the reflexive stance should be represented in written reports (Charmaz, 2006).

In this study, memos allowed me to bring forward my own reflexive stance. Each life story was supplemented with a brief memo reflecting that stance. For instance, at times, I was highly conscious of my preconceptions and how they might steer the line of questioning during fieldwork. Every researcher possesses preconceptions that inevitably influence, but should not dictate, the framework of our dialogues. Given that my research process was situated in a complex setting, involving individuals who were asked sensitive questions and frequently discussed their traumas and fears, I exercised considerable care regarding my reflexive stance. A notable revelation for me was the realization that adopting a reflexive stance grants numerous benefits and simplifies the research process significantly. Being conscious of one's power dynamics and preconditions, along with allowing participants to express their own, truly enhances the authenticity and depth of the research.

Awareness of culture and the use of language

Another important issue is the importance of language in the formation of meaning in a particular context. This has been recognised as being significant in qualitative research (Goulding, 2002). There is some debate as to whether the researcher should conduct the research if he or she does not share the same language as those being researched (Goulding, 2002, p. 51). According to Barnes (1996, p. 433 in Goulding, 2002, p. 51) grounded theory researchers pay special attention to construction of meanings, intentions, emotions, and reactions of the researched – and not knowing the language essentially “disarms” a researchers’ ability to conduct and theorize successfully. Goulding’s extract explains the essence of why knowing the context is crucial for grounded theorist:

“Culture conditions the use and meaning of language. Language describes the boundaries and perspectives of a cultural system and reflects how social life is represented within that culture. Different cultures use words, narratives, and explanations differently according to the understandings shared by members of a particular group.” (Goulding, 2002, p. 52)

Therefore, it may be argued that thorough awareness of the culture within the study setting is key for rich theorization in grounded theory. As a result, this study offers a benefit due to the researcher's *insider* status. The term ‘insider research’ is used to describe projects where the researcher has a direct involvement or connection with the research setting (Robson, 2002). Such research contrasts with traditional notions of scientifically sound research in which the researcher is an ‘objective outsider’ studying subjects external to his/herself (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000).

In this case, the researcher is the member of the community that is studied. While insider role can be considered problematic, there are important advantages of this form of researcher role – knowledge about the issue that the outsider might not obtain as well as richness of data due

to comfortable approach with participants (Tedlock, 2000). I realised that being a part of the community allowed me access and helped me develop true relationships.

Sampling and Locations of Research

With grounded theory method, sampling is led by theory (Goulding, 2002). This study adopted theoretical sampling which is “the purposeful selection of a sample according to the development of categories and emerging theory” (Coyle, 1997 in Goulding, 2002, p. 66).

The process of sampling is not static. Instead, it is a continuous process, whereby parallel data analysis guides the study toward additional sampling (Ibid, p. 66). In grounded theory method, the researcher cannot know in advance what kind of sampling will be adopted. In sampling, groups are chosen “when they are needed rather than before the research”. As Goulding (2002) explains, the researcher will initially sample the most obvious groups or individuals. However, as the concepts start to emerge and theory starts to develop, further individuals, groups, locations, situations, may need to be included in the research to refine and strengthen the final theory (Ibid, p. 67).

Glaser and Strauss (1967) emphasize the importance of redefining or rediscovering new ways of collecting data. They argued that researchers entering the field would typically soon realize that they need additional information on a particular subject; thus, they would have to change the decisions they made before entering the field. Researchers must recognise and comprehend the gaps that may appear as data are initially coded and categorised; this is especially crucial during the initial phase of data collection.

Secondly, during the simultaneous collection, codification, and analysis of data, unexpected concepts may emerge which may considerably change the direction of the study, thereby redirecting the research, and necessitating further data-collection that could not have been anticipated in advance.

Eventually, when the underlying hypothesis starts to emerge, the researcher will notice holes in the evolving theory and will then determine the precise requirement for additional data in a particular area. Hence, rather than being predefined at the start of the investigation, the researcher's progressive research sample will be influenced by these emerging identifications. This work-in-progress method was defined as theoretical sampling by Glaser and Strauss in 1967.

Semi-structured interviews with the snowball sample made up my initial data set. I was especially interested in a representative sample by including all three of Bosnia's major ethnic groups, based on my prior knowledge and the literature. Based on the last census (2014) in Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H), it can be fairly concluded that ethnic division is, with some exceptions, entrenched in the administrative units of the country. This is the product of the Dayton peace agreement that, on one hand, ended the conflict, but, on the other, crystalized the process of territorial separation among the different ethnic groups. While Bosniacs and Croats mainly reside in the Federation of B&H (FB&H), Serbs are mainly living in the Republika Srpska (RS). It must be underlined, however, that the criteria for selection of the two group of participants is based on their inhabiting different locales and not on their ethnic identity. Also, while spatial and administrative divisions between the two territories exist, people can safely move, work, and reside in one or the other place.

As my research progressed, I found that some of my initial concepts didn't align with the complexities of the field I was exploring. This led to an evolution in my sampling strategy to better facilitate emerging theoretical insights. As previously noted, my initial area of interest centred around the notions of space and place. I entered the field with limited theoretical understanding of these concepts, choosing instead to sample individuals who could share stories about 'places that held significance for them.' As my understanding deepened and new

concepts began to crystallize, my sampling approach likewise adapted and became more nuanced. As shown in the table below, the sample of participants included 12 females and 10 males, for a total of 22 life story interview participants.

During my research, I focused on two specific neighbourhoods—Vraca and Dobrinja—situated within the city of Sarajevo (Appendix C). These neighbourhoods were strategically chosen because they lie on the demarcation line separating Republika Srpska from the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The significance of these locations goes beyond their geographical positioning; both Vraca and Dobrinja were deeply impacted by the war, thereby adding layers of historical and social complexity to my study. Of the 22 participants, 13 were from Vraca and 9 were from Dobrinja (Table 4.2).

An essential element of this research was the maintenance of participant confidentiality and anonymity. Given the sensitive nature of the subjects discussed, and the small size of these communities where residents are likely to know one another, protecting the identities of my participants was of utmost importance. For this reason, all interviewees were assigned pseudonyms. This measure was crucial not only for ethical considerations but also for ensuring that the data collected was as candid and comprehensive as possible. Within such tightly knit communities, the risk of story recognition is high, making anonymity a vital component in the collection of authentic narratives.

Table 4.2 Pseudonymized participants

PSEUDONYM	GENDER	AGE	LOCATION
Brian	Male	39	Vraca
Mike	Male	33	Vraca
John	Male	29	Vraca
Roger	Male	42	Dobrinja
Sophie	Female	40	Dobrinja
Jane	Female	28	Vraca
Sarah	Female	62	Dobrinja
Victoria	Female	53	Vraca
Darla	Female	37	Vraca
Jimmy	Male	47	Dobrinja
Nick	Male	63	Dobrinja
Fin	Male	64	Vraca
Lana	Female	58	Vraca
Smithy	Male	54	Vraca
Ann	Female	29	Vraca
Helen	Female	32	Vraca
Ashley	Female	36	Vraca
Dorothy	Female	48	Dobrinja
Edith	Female	54	Dobrinja
Laura	Female	59	Vraca
James	Male	44	Dobrinja
Mitchell	Male	64	Dobrinja

Participant Observations

Participant observation is a qualitative research methodology in which the researcher studies a group by participating in its activities as well as observing it. The researcher immerses him/herself in the daily activities of the participants to record the behaviour in as many scenarios as possible using this (often called quintessential) qualitative observation methodology. Participant observation can be defined as a method in which a researcher learns about explicit and tacit aspects of culture (Musante and DeWalt, 2010). Explicit aspects of culture refer to visible behaviours and communication, while tacit aspects of culture are invisible and largely outside of our conscious understanding and awareness (Spradley, 1980, p. 7 in Musante and DeWalt, 2010, p. 12). Just like in conducting interviews, my theoretical framework was one of the key influences with which I entered the field. In this sense, social constructionism led me to be completely open to settings and situations I studied as they evolved though grounded theory method.

It's worth noting that participant observation is often complemented by other research methods. According to Musante and DeWalt (2010), this methodology enriches the context for additional data collection and improves the overall quality of data analysis. In my own research, I found participant observation to be integral to every facet of the study—from data gathering and analysis to theory formulation. The method offered me fresh perspectives that proved invaluable in shaping the interviews and, by extension, the resulting theory. Were it to be employed as a standalone method, the resulting theory might not have fully captured the complexity and nuance of what was observed in the field.

Recording and Analysing Participant Observations

It is crucial to understand that participant observation does not exist in isolation among research methods, and that it necessitates proper documentation. Field notes are an essential tool for recording participant observation, and they embody a construct developed by the researcher (Musante and DeWalt, 2010, p. 140). In this study, I employed memos to document events in the border areas under examination and to record my personal thoughts and insights that surfaced as a result of my observations, drawing from the constructivist grounded theory methodology.

Within the context of this research, I observed the everyday lives and activities of individuals by immersing myself within two specific areas divided by the IEBL: the neighbourhoods of Vraca and Dobrinja. By embedding myself in these localities, I was equipped to observe how individuals negotiate boundaries in their routine activities.

As concepts began to emerge, observations became more nuanced, mirroring the evolution observed in the interviewing process. For instance, at the beginning of the study, I would stroll through the areas, photographing the boundary line between the two territorial entities. Initially, the primary objective was to pinpoint the location of the invisible demarcation and identify any visible markers that indicated this boundary line. However, as the concepts and theoretical categories began to surface, my focus shifted towards symbols that visibly depicted the division between the two territorial entities, and how the inhabitants within these settings navigated these partitions.

Ethical Issues in Participant Observations

Participant observations proved to be a valuable data source in this study, reinforcing the data analysis and the theory development. They were also instrumental in uncovering the perceptions of individuals residing in specific physical locations regarding certain consumption practices. However, adherence to all the ethical procedures outlined at the beginning of this research occasionally presented challenges. Specifically, individuals keen to engage in conversation with me often struggled to comprehend the necessity of the consent form. Typically, I found that people are conversational with me and enjoy sharing intimate details, feelings, thoughts, and attitudes. Occasionally, individuals would initiate a dialogue about our surroundings in a very informal, chatty way, like someone would do with a stranger. In such instances, I would have to interject to clarify my role as a researcher. In most cases, this disclosure did not hinder the flow of the conversation. However, in some cases it did, stopping the conversation completely.

Addressing these ethical complexities involved taking a mindful and sensitive approach. To moderate the initial confusion regarding consent forms, I prioritized the explanation of their purpose, emphasizing the importance of informed consent in ethical research practices. I reassured participants that their personal information would remain confidential and that they were at liberty to discontinue their participation at any point. Through this process, I wanted to create an environment of trust and transparency that respected the participants' rights and autonomy. Additionally, I maintained a reflexive stance to ensure that my presence and interactions did not improperly influence the participants or the research environment. By consistently adhering to these ethical practices, I aimed to preserve the integrity and credibility of the research while ensuring the welfare of the participants.

Visual methods

In this research I adopted a visual ethnography approach as defined by Pink (2013), entailing the collection and analysis of visual data in the form of photographs. Visual ethnography offers an interdisciplinary and reflexive perspective, empowering the researcher to elucidate both explicit and implicit meanings within the investigated phenomenon. This method allowed a deepened understanding of the dynamics and complexities present in the spatial dimensions of post-conflict cities.

Photographs played a crucial role in this research. They functioned not only as tangible data for theorizing but also as a means of interpretation and representation. By utilizing the power of visual elements, the researcher was able to project certain meanings and stimulate specific effects. However, it is important to note, as posited by Crang (2009) that the interpretations composed from photographs are intrinsically tied to the context in which they are encountered. Crang (2009) further suggests that photographs are purposefully created within a context, encapsulating a singular moment within a frame, and creating events in the process. This perspective is particularly relevant in the context of post-conflict cities, which require multifaceted methods of analysis to grasp their layered complexity.

The photographs generated and made meaningful during fieldwork are granted new significance once introduced into academic discourse. As argued by Morphy and Banks (1997), these images are transported from the realm of action where they initially held meaning, into a world where they are dissected and interpreted from a variety of different perspectives. Therefore, the process of analysis for the visual ethnographer is not solely confined to the interpretation of visual content or the categorization of the actions of the photographed individuals.

In the specific context of this research, the Inter-Entity Boundary Line (IEBL) in Sarajevo was photographed to capture its visibility and the way it is represented and perceived in the daily lives of the city's residents. The photographs produced served as an auxiliary explanatory method, aiding in exploring the concept of territorialized consumption which is discussed extensively throughout the thesis.

Using Memos

Memos are records of the researcher's developing ideas about codes and their interconnections (Glaser, 1998). Memos are a documentation of the researcher's thinking processes rather than a description of a social context. By theorizing from the data, memos transform field-note descriptions into theoretical accounts.

Sorting memos is an analytical phase of grounded theory method (Goulding, 2002; Charmaz, 2006; Bryant and Charmaz 2007). Sorting memos serves for emerging theory. The logic of the emergent theory in this research became apparent during constant analysis and comparison of categories and memos, as well as going back to the literature and reading and re-reading theories on territories.

According to Charmaz (2006), it is important to begin writing memos as soon as you have some interesting ideas and categories you think are worthy to explore further. Memo writing allows the researchers to explore ideas about those categories initially placed. During this research, memos were written from the beginning without any worries how they structurally and linguistically look like. Indeed, according to Charmaz (2006, p. 84), memos serve to write your ideas down as quickly and clearly as you can and they can remain private and unshared. Researchers write memos for themselves, and not for the audience.

During the initial stages of my research, I utilized memos to pinpoint codes and identify gaps in the existing field of study. Initially, my broad research question centred on the post-conflict reconstruction of places and how post-war issues influence place marketing and heritage. However, as I began to generate and analyse memos, it became apparent that other, more immediate questions were emerging from my participants' perspectives. When participants spoke about heritage, they invariably brought up the topic of boundaries—both physical and

metaphorical—that segregated their lived spaces. It seemed as though a comprehensive understanding of their experiences could not be achieved without acknowledging the territorial divisions that shaped them. Our discussions alternated between their wartime experiences in a besieged city and their present lives in a community still marked by post-conflict divisions.

Thus, territorial demarcation emerged as a recurring theme and appeared to be both a cause and an outcome affecting how places were experienced and consumed. This realization led me to refocus my research around these newly emerging codes, with the help of memos that served as evolving records to guide my inquiry.

After a few months, I began reading books to sharpen my understanding of the theories underlying these emergent initial codes. Memos aided in my pattern-spotting and analysis by allowing me to "invoke respondent's stories to demonstrate points" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 82). At this point in the research process, I realised that rather of being dissected, their stories should be preserved in their entirety. In this sense, stories are analysed as part of the whole, rather than fragmented.

Constant Comparison of Emerging Codes

Constant comparison is the fundamental method of analysis of grounded theory method. It implies looking for emerging patterns and themes by constantly comparing codes. According to Macdonald and Schreiber (2001), there are three progressive levels of coding in grounded theory. The first-level coding involves the use of participants' words resulting from line-by-line analysis; the second-level coding moves to categorizing the first-level codes; then, in the third-level coding, the selection of theoretical labels is used to represent the links between categories (Montgomery and Bailey, 2007). Consequently, by constantly comparing data with data, code with code, event with event, the researcher should be able to conceive abstract concepts and theories (Bryant and Charmaz, 2008, p. 607). Comparison is done throughout each analytic stage of research.

In grounded theory method, it is crucial to reach emergent theory – not merely a description. The constant comparison method is the basic operation that makes that possible: coding and constant comparison of data provide the basis for category building and emerging theoretical development. Finally, the constant comparison method is used to work out similarities and differences and in so doing refine concepts.

Initial Coding

Coding is the link between data collection and the development of an emergent theory to explain those data (Charmaz, 2014). The grounded theory method consists of (a) an initial coding of each segment of data and (b) a more focused and selective phase of data analysis that ‘uses the most significant or frequent initial codes to sort, synthesise, integrate and organize large amounts of data’ (Ibid, p. 46). During the initial phase the aim is to remain open to all possible theoretical options and directions, while later on, in focused coding, the aim is to develop the “most salient categories” in data (Charmaz 2006, p. 46). According to Charmaz (2014, p. 117) initial codes are provisional, comparative, and grounded in data and they should allow openness for other analytic possibilities. They are the “bones” of our analysis, and the research should allow initial codes to “spark” his or her mind and allow for new ideas to emerge. Fundamentally, the researcher can begin the analysis using the initial coding as a starting point. Initial coding permits a researcher to better understand the ideas and come up with fresh inquiries for the investigation's focused coding phase. Constructivist grounded theory starts very early with coding, memoing and theoretical sampling. As Charmaz (2017) says, a constructivist version of grounded theory “fosters asking probing questions about the data and scrutinizing the researcher and the research process.”

In addition, Charmaz (2014) argues that it is beneficial for researchers to refrain from projecting their own motivations, anxieties, and biases onto respondents. Line-by-line coding helps researchers to separate data into categories and think more analytically (Ibid, p. 128). Through coding each line, researchers should gain insights into what kind of data to collect next, but also what kind of sources of data would be beneficial for further data analysis. Charmaz (2014, p. 127).

Constructivist Grounded Theory Initial Coding

When it comes to data analysis, it is important to note there are no significant differences between traditional grounded theory and constructivist grounded theory method. According to Charmaz (2006) basic guidelines of coding, memo-writing, and constant comparison remain neutral. Coding shapes an analytic frame from which the analyst builds his analysis (Charmaz, 2006). *“By careful attending to coding, you begin weaving two major threads in the fabric of grounded theory: generalizable theoretical statements that transcend specific times and places and contextual analyses of actions and events”* (p. 46).

Example of the Process

Initial (also referred as ‘open’) coding starts with a full transcription of interviews, after which the “text is analysed line by line in an attempt to identify key words or phrases which connect the informant’s account to the experience under investigation” (Goulding, 2002, p. 76). This process is related with early concept development which identifies portions of texts, words or paragraphs as belonging to, representing, or acting as an example of a phenomenon studying (Spiggle, 1994, p. 493 in Goulding, 2002, p. 76). During the early stage of line-by-line coding I identified 211 unrelated codes, which were analysed simultaneously with the process of data collection. In the forthcoming months, my data collection became more focused and detailed. I turned my attention to the collection of my participants’ life stories, backed up by methods of (insider) daily observations and visual data. Starting from very general interviews which were mainly focused on places and their meanings, I came to an understanding that my participants were particularly keen to talk about the societal and physical divisions they encounter in their daily life. The post-conflict context was constantly emerging, as well as the current political and social situation of a divided city. Initial data collection and analysis led me to discover literature on these topics and find gap in the literature. Line-by-line coding in this sense served as a “heuristic device to bring the researcher into the data, interact with data and study each fragment of data” (Charmaz, 2014, p. 121). Data paved the way towards discovery.

An example of the line-by-line coding, as well as memo notes are attached in the Appendices (Appendix B).

The first phase of data analysis, known as initial coding, is instrumental for researchers in identifying relevant and fitting themes, potentially offering new perspectives on familiar

statements. Following this, incident coding enables researchers to discern trends and differences within the gathered data.

Axial Coding

Initial coding resulted in 211 unrelated codes. As a result of constant comparison of open codes, these codes have been reduced and grouped into meaningful categories. This secondary level of coding, called axial coding, delves deeper into the relationships among the initial codes. It serves to cluster them into meaningful categories and further delineates their dimensions, as outlined by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Bryant and Charmaz (2007).

According to Glaser and Strauss, codes are conceptual elements of a theory (1967, p. 36). They are the building block of theory (Goulding, 2002). They emerge from close engagement with data at first but can achieve a higher level of abstraction through a process of “constant comparison”, allowing for theoretical elaboration and integration. Method of theory should count for relationships defined in empirical data as each concept rests on empirical indications so that “the concept is grounded in data” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 187). In her grounded theory guide, Charmaz explains what the role of categories is:

“Categories play a dual role in grounded theory which transcends the classical definition of concepts in terms of indicators. They can be both ‘analytic’ and ‘sensitizing’. They allow us to conceptualize the key analytic features of phenomena, but also to communicate a meaningful picture of those phenomena in everyday terms” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 169).

Nevertheless, the updated, constructivist, version of grounded theory calls for the researcher’s own judgement and experience to inform categories.

Since the goal of grounded theory is not to test predisposed hypotheses, nor to reach generalizable conclusions, coding must be done without a predefined coding scheme.

“Categories should emerge from the data if the analyst starts by coding each incident in his data into as many categories as possible” (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p. 105). Open coding is the process of breaking down the data into distinct units of meaning and as a rule it starts with

a full transcription of interviews (Goulding, 2002). During this initial phase the researcher should be very open to find out key words or phrases that carry certain meanings or experiences of the participant. Therefore, it is rather common that the researcher has dozens or even hundreds of initial categories/codes.

Glaser and Strauss (1967, p. 105) further explain the process of emerging: this emergence of categories should be supported by “constant comparative method”. While coding, the researcher should constantly compare the already coded text segments with each other and with incidents that have not been yet coded. This is vital in the process since the goal of the research must be to lift the analysis to a more abstract level, away from description, towards theory development (Goulding, 2002).

Axial coding involves moving to a higher level of abstraction and it “is achieved by specifying relationships and delineating a core category or construct around which the other concepts revolve.” (Goulding, 2002, p. 78). As she puts it: “axial coding is the appreciation of concepts in terms of their dynamic interrelationships” (Ibid, p.78). During this phase, the researcher should pay attention to categories they developed by specifying conditions that gave rise to it. Furthermore, they should analyse the context in which the category is embedded, as well as the action/interactional strategies by which it is handled (Ibid, p.78). Codes, however, do not exhaust the analytic process. In fact, many scholars believe that certain elements are more important than codes; specifically, they value process, theoretical sensitivity, and the importance of a storyline. Axial coding is presented in the Appendices, (Appendix D).

Theoretical Saturation

Theoretical saturation is reached by staying in the field until no new concepts emerge that could inform the theoretical development of the research (Goulding, 2002). As Goulding (2002) notes, achieving theoretical saturation involves employing a process of constant comparison and theoretical sampling. The constant comparison not only allows for the identification of recurring themes, but also helps uncover emerging concepts that could enrich the theoretical development.

The process of reaching theoretical saturation is complex and delicate. It involves ensuring that the developed theory is substantial, credible, and well-grounded in the collected data. A key method of enhancing the depth and richness of the theory is engaging with relevant literature. Goulding (2002) emphasizes that reading for ideas and conceptually connecting them to the developing theory supplements theoretical sensitivity. It is important to remember that the theories developed are interpretations viewed from specific perspectives, and grounded theory development remains a fluid, dynamic process. As Strübing (2007, 2019) notes, embracing the multiplicity of interpretations and exploring their interrelationships is vital for this process.

Grounded theory principles guided me to gather a diverse range of data, enabling me to capture a comprehensive picture of the research topic within the scope of the research question (Charmaz, 2006, p. 18). Specifically, the utilization of life story interviews (ranging from 2 to 5 hours), participant observations, mapping, visual methods, and secondary data provided a multi-layered view of the subject matter. These methods allowed me to gather in-depth background data about my participants and their contexts, capture personal narratives within their natural environments, and observe longitudinal trends over a five-year data collection period.

Core category

The final step in GT theory development is the construction of a core category: “Through the process of coding and abstraction the data are finally subsumed into a higher order or core category which the researcher has to justify as the basis for the emergent theory” (Goulding, 2002, p. 88). A core category pulls together all the strands and it is always possible to trace it back to data and initial coding. It is central to the data analysis and is based on constant recurrence of the data. The criteria for establishing a core category (variable) is that it relates to as many other categories and their properties (Holton, 2007). It can be a process, a continuum, dimension, range, condition, and other (Glaser, 2002b). The core category reappears continually through the research analysis and interpretation and fits the theoretical development throughout.

The development of the core category required demonstrating the relationships between these concepts to each other to provide a theoretical framework informed by theoretically saturated data and by literature. The core category is a part of the so-called ‘identifying moment’ in grounded theory. The core category identified in this research is:

TERRITORIALIZED CONSUMPTION

Conclusion

This chapter explored the research methodology, laying a strong foundation for the study. Rooted in the constructivism paradigm, the integration of constructionist grounded theory and narrative inquiry has been carefully explained, demonstrating a synergy between these methodologies. A comprehensive discussion of data collection was undertaken, emphasizing the attainment of context-rich data, and detailing the sampling methods. The importance of reflexivity was highlighted, with particular attention to methodological doubt, thereby contributing to the intellectual rigor of the study. Ethical considerations and the approach to using memos were also systematically outlined. The investigation of grounded theory within the specific research context of Bosnia, along with the establishment of post-war boundaries, was explained. This was further enriched by the design of life story interviews, with specific emphasis on reflexivity.

The construction of the core category of ‘territorialized consumption’ was a significant step in this chapter, paving the way for its detailed examination and theorization in the subsequent chapter. In conclusion, this chapter has made substantial contributions to the research by thoroughly outlining the methodological framework, articulating the research context in Bosnia, and establishing the core category that underpins the study. By doing so, it has set a clear and precise path for the next phase of the research, laying the groundwork for a rigorous and insightful examination of territorialized consumption in the subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER V

Level Two Theory Building

Introduction

This chapter presents findings from an extensive grounded theory study. These findings align with the second level of theory building, which serves as the primary objective of grounded theory methodology. The focus is on delineating the core category of 'territorialized consumption', and subsequently elaborating on its three integral categories: legitimisation, maintenance, and expression. These categories, inherently tied to the core category, are further dissected, and analysed to clarify their crucial role in shaping the theoretical construct of territorialized consumption.

This chapter is organized as follows: first, the core category is defined, supported by a visual representation (diagram). Then, three key categories are introduced, each consisting of two concepts illustrating them. Every key category is presented, followed by the introduction of the two associated concepts. This introduction includes a few quotes embodying each concept. Subsequently, two personal or visual stories are provided for each concept, and with the assistance of memos and quotes, they are interpreted. Each concept is then related to its key category and theorized.

The Core Category Definition

Territorialized consumption, as conceptualized in this study, refers to the process by which territorial boundaries—both tangible and intangible—profoundly influence, mould, and delimit people's consumption behaviours and patterns. At the same time, it recognizes the existence of a two-way relationship between individuals and territory, where the latter, once entrenched in territoriality, cannot be just considered as the mere backdrop to consumption activities.

This perspective effectively challenges the conventional understanding of consumption, which is traditionally perceived as people consuming places. Here, 'consumption' extends beyond the mere act of purchasing or utilizing goods and services. It is interpreted as a complex socio-cultural process that is deeply intertwined with and influenced by territorial boundaries. As implied from the research findings, the concept of consumption in this context acknowledges the dynamic role of territories in shaping and directing consumption behaviours and patterns. In this vein, consumption is regarded as a dynamic interaction between people and their territorial contexts.

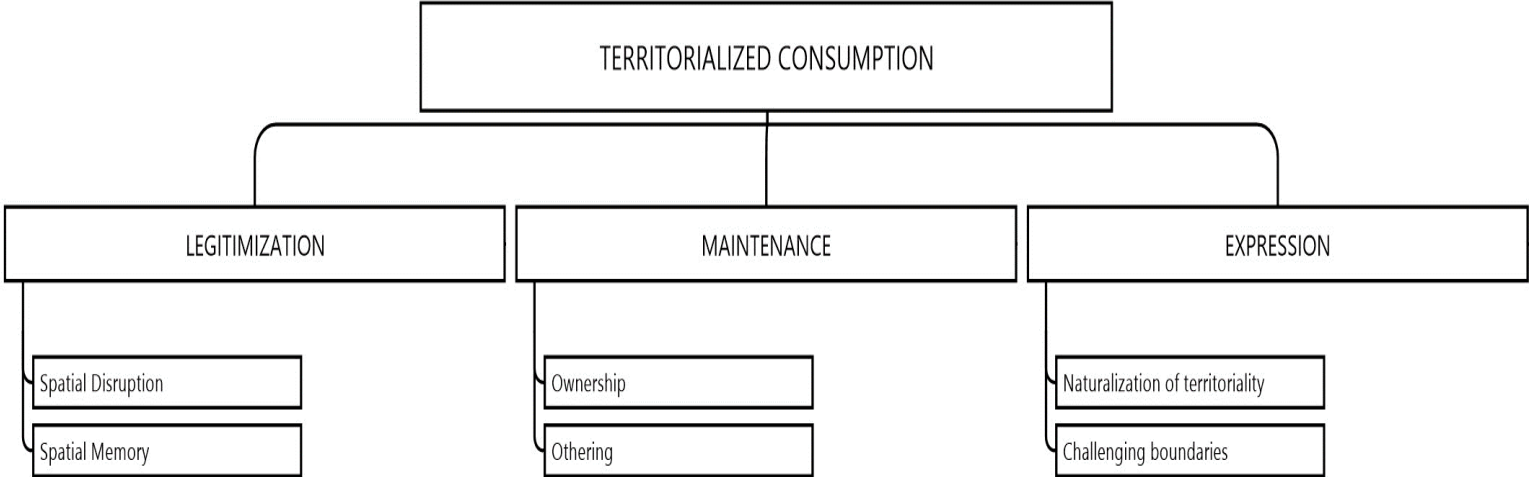
This study argues that, while territory is the object of human consumption, territoriality is an active subject which continuously conditions people's consumption behaviour, while, simultaneously, 'consuming' individuals. In this dynamic, individuals are not just consumers of territories; they are also consumed by territoriality, that is by the power, violence and authority acting in the territory, with visible and invisible boundaries as their multifaced agents. Territoriality consumes people in order to reduce their individuality through identification with one side of the boundary and opposition to the other, thus preserving its existence and strength.

This reduction process consumes individuals in different ways. The stories I present here show a variety of reactions, with some participants acknowledging the presence and influence of boundaries, some trying to ignore it, some other challenging it. While different, all these reactions take their toll on their emotional life.

Concept Identification and Grouping

Following the delineation of the core category, the subsequent phase of the research required identifying recurring themes and clustering them in a manner that would be indicative of their interrelationships, as suggested by Goulding (2002). This involved a process of constant comparison between codes and concepts, accompanied by explorations into potential theoretical explanations for each identified concept. As a result, three key categories were discerned, visualized in figure 5.1 below. These concepts emerged from a careful review of codes, their underlying properties, and causes, and were abstracted in a manner that illustrates their interrelationships.

Figure 5.1 Concept Identification and Grouping



Source: by author.

Overview of the Theoretical Framework Proposed

Figure 5.1 illustrates the theoretical framework of territorialized consumption. Territorialized consumption encompasses three key categories: legitimisation, maintenance, and expression, each encapsulated by specific concepts.

Legitimation is explained through the concepts of spatial disruption and spatial memory. Spatial disruption concerns how physical spaces are affected by war or conflict, creating a need for the legitimisation of new territories. Spatial memory explores how memories of past events are tied to physical locations, playing a key role in legitimizing new territorial arrangements. The relationship between these concepts shows that spatial disruption creates scars and changes in physical locations, and spatial memory helps to legitimize these changes by embedding emotions, history, and identity within the spaces. The context of territoriality is introduced through the legitimisation category.

Maintenance is articulated through ownership and othering. Ownership refers to the establishment and acceptance of control over certain territories, essential for maintaining new boundaries. Othering calls for a differentiation between 'us' and 'them,' which is crucial to reinforce territorial boundaries by creating insiders and outsiders. The relationship between ownership and othering demonstrates how they work together to uphold and reinforce the territorialized consumption, with ownership providing the structure, while othering helping to maintain the boundary by emphasizing distinctions.

Expression involves both the naturalization and the challenging of boundaries. Naturalization of boundaries describes how boundaries can become accepted and perceived as natural or given over time, leading to the stabilization of territorial arrangements. Challenging boundaries deals with questioning or resisting the established territorial boundaries, highlighting the dynamic

nature of spatial arrangements. The contrastive relationship between these concepts sees the naturalization of boundaries supporting the stabilization of territories, while, at the same time, the challenging of boundaries keeps them adaptable and responsive.

The net of relationships between legitimisation, maintenance, and expression creates a cohesive framework for understanding territorialized consumption. Legitimation sets the stage by defining and accepting the new spatial arrangements. Maintenance builds on this by ensuring that these arrangements are sustained. Expression deals with how these arrangements are lived, accepted, or questioned in daily life. Together, these categories and their related concepts provide a comprehensive understanding of the complex dynamics of territorialized consumption in the context of post-conflict or disrupted environments.

Legitimation of Territorialized Consumption

The category of legitimisation of territorialized consumption represents a critical component of this study. Broadly, this concept encapsulates the process through which territoriality, or control over a specific geographic area and its associated elements, is manifested and justified in a post-conflict context. Drawing upon Sack's classic theory of territoriality (1986), and subsequent insights from contemporary researchers like Paasi (1998, 1999, 2003, 2009, 2018), Newman (1998, 2003, 2006) and Brighenti (2010, 2014), the study seeks to expound on territorial processes. Sack (1986) positions territoriality as a strategy by which an entity—individual, group, or institution—controls or attempts to influence people, phenomena, and relationships within its geographic confines. It involves not only defining territories but also erecting barriers, real or perceived, to restrict access and maintain exclusivity.

Further refinement and depth have been achieved by integrating insights from critical marketing and Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) scholarship, bringing the role of spatial memory and behavioural adaptations to spatial disruptions into focus (Hirschman et al., 2012; Belk, 1990; Cheetham et al., 2018; Castilhos et al., 2017; Goulding, 2001; Warnaby and Medway, 2013). These elements, profoundly shaping consumption patterns, add a fresh perspective to the existing conceptualizations of territoriality and consumption.

In exploring and illustrating the legitimisation of territorialized consumption, two concepts emerged: *spatial disruption* and *spatial memory*. These concepts categorize different forms of territoriality and provide a contextualized starting point for examining territorialized consumption.

Spatial disruption, typically resulting from significant spatial alterations often occasioned by events such as warfare, environmental disasters, and even recent global pandemic, triggers a profound reconfiguration of the environment. This reimagining, in turn, incites shifts in consumption behaviours, as individuals navigate the evolving spatial contexts.

Spatial memory captures the persistent collective and individual recollections of conflict-ridden boundaries, informing the contemporary cityscape and shaping consumption patterns. These enduring memories of war-torn infrastructures and lives lived amidst conflict continue to influence behaviours, perpetuating territorialized consumption in present-day contexts.

What follows is an exploration of these two concepts that will illustrate how they contribute to the legitimisation of territorialized consumption.

The Concept of Spatial Disruption

Overview

Spatial disruption, within the context of war, refers to the significant changes and disturbances in the geographic, social, and cultural landscapes of a place, as a result of armed conflict. It involves significant damage to infrastructure, reshaping territories and influencing everyday life and consumption. The dimension of war in spatial disruption legitimizes territory through forced changes in the physical and social landscape. It seeds the roots of territoriality, shaping subsequent behavioural and societal processes in the redefined, post-conflict territory.

In essence, spatial disruption is an entry point to understanding the origins of territorialized consumption and how territoriality asserts itself. As Sack (1983) suggests, territoriality is an extension of action, where there's an intention to influence, affect, or control situations – this is exactly what was attempted in Bosnia and Sarajevo through the assertion of control over territories during war times. Alternatively, as suggested by Paasi (2022), territories become institutionalised as part of wider geohistorical processes and practices in which these spatial entities realize their borders, institutions, symbols as well as their, usually contested, identity narratives.

The inclusion of spatial disruption in the study of territorialized consumption offers a deeper understanding of how consumption activities and behaviours are moulded by the changes in geographical, societal, and cultural landscapes instigated by conflict. In addition, it offers an explanation as to how territoriality is classified in the context of this study (Sack, 1986). Thus, this research positions spatial disruption as a crucial lens through which the impact of post-war territorialization on everyday life, particularly in terms of consumption patterns, can be understood and articulated.

Examples of spatial disruption

The following interview excerpts illustrate how city's infrastructure and social fabric were severely damaged due to the war.

“There was no electricity and we had to cook, so we had to use either gas or wood”,
Roger.

"There was no water. I was not going for water, my neighbour was. I was watching our children, four of them. She would go at 4 or 5 AM. She would come back around noon, bring the water and then you spend this water immediately to wash the children. First you wash the children. When the electricity would come, well that was a miracle. We instead had a stove in the hallway, we made a chimney. It was terrible, terrible, I would not wish it to anyone. I don't like thinking about it, I don't like watching anything about the war on TV. Since I lived those situations, I was hungry and thirsty, it was a real torture, it was really a torture when you don't have anything to eat", *Lana.*

"It was terrible, it was dirty, it was destroyed. It was in pieces. Grass was overgrown, trees were overgrown. There were no normal parks, people took them [trees] down to use it for heating. Basically, nothing existed. There were no schools", *Lana.*

"It was the worst time. I was constantly afraid to go out. I didn't go out for years"
Lana.

"War changed everything. My apartment was bombarded. My sister almost got killed by a grenade", *Smithy.*

These accounts draw on Sack's (1983) notion that all territorial relationships exist within a social framework. The first tendency of territoriality, according to Sack, involves a form of categorization, which must be delineated within the context of the study. Here, the context is the war, which caused severe spatial disruption. Borders do not arise from a vacuum, but rather they are shaped by political factors. Therefore, it can be argued that legitimisation of boundaries, but also their mere existence, cannot be theorized without placing them in the right context.

From the interview excerpts above, it's evident that the war drastically affected the availability and accessibility of resources, as indicated by the participants' statements about the lack of electricity and their reliance on wood or gas for cooking. They underline how the concept of territory was dramatically transformed by the war, both in physical and psychological terms. Movements and interactions with people were significantly restricted, with one participant expressing that she refrained from going outside for years due to the fear for her life. Sack (1986, 2004) argues that the definition of territoriality not only tells us what territoriality is and how it is classified, but also what it can do. In war, traumatic conditions drastically shaped and will continue to shape consumption patterns and the subsequent concepts will reveal.

The next excerpt illustrates a dynamic interplay of space and power underlined by the concept of territoriality as described by Sack (1983, 1986). According to Sack, territoriality is a spatial strategy to affect, influence, or control resources and people, by controlling an area. It is a geographic expression of power (Sack, 1986, p. 5). Further, territoriality must contain a form of communication, which may involve a sign or a marker, as those which can be normally found in connection with a boundary; alternatively, he argues, a person may create a boundary through a gesture or direction that shows a statement about possession or exclusion (Ibid, p. 21). The excerpt below exhibits a drastic example of such communication where a sniper, domineering the territory from above, serves as a tool of territoriality.

“Where was the sniper? On top of the building?

On top of the building yes.

How do you know there is a sniper above? Was there some kind of a warning?

No, it was very invisible in my neighbourhood at the beginning. Later, a couple of month later, neighbours put the sign “Look out – sniper” or maybe it said “Sniper Zone – Look Above” I cannot remember right now. But the sign was helpful to remind us children that this is the dangerous zone” *Helen*

In the given narrative, the sniper is using the strategic advantage of elevation - a spatial element - to assert control over a specific territory. This tactic creates an invisible boundary of fear and danger, restricting movement and influencing behaviours of those within the territory. The "dangerous zone" is marked out by the presence of the sniper, making the building a symbol of terror and a point of territorial assertion. Later on, the neighbours erect a sign to warn about the sniper zone, a physical manifestation of the invisible boundary created by the sniper's presence. This sign serves to counteract the sniper's territoriality by informing and reminding the community members of the invisible boundary, thus enabling them to navigate the spatial disruption caused by the conflict. In this sense, geographic placement of the sniper, not only asserts control over a newly created territory, but also fundamentally disrupts the reality of the place, transforming everyday routes into "dangerous zones" and making the trauma induced by conflict a lingering part of the lived experience of the place.

All excerpts showed above clearly set the territoriality in the context of severe disruption – war. Importantly, they show there was an intent, or a strategy, to territorialise. As Sack (1983, 1986) explains, by making it an intent or a strategy, it places territoriality entirely within the context of human motivations and goals.

The following section will present two stories from Sophie and Charlie that further illustrate the concept of spatial disruption during the war. Their stories offer a more personal and intimate perspective to the concepts of territoriality and spatial disruption. These narratives represent the lived experiences of people navigating through contested spaces under extreme circumstances. They provide crucial insights into how people adapt to the strategy and intent to territorialise and redefine their spatial boundaries, resources, and consumption patterns amidst the volatility and disruptions of war.

Dandelion Pie

In the story below, Sophie remembers vividly how she was eating pies made of dandelions found behind the building. The absence of people in the streets allowed nature to reclaim the space, resulting in wild and green environment that was normally urbanized. She tells me preparing pie made of grass was a normal practice during the war. Behind the buildings everything was wild and green during the spring and summer, but trees were cut down for the purpose of heating her home. During the night Sophie would go out and pick up little flowers so they can make a pie.

“All the activity during the war was happening behind the building and not in front of the building because it was too dangerous. So, it was very green I remember summer and spring, there were no people so everything was wild and a lot of grass, and only during the night I would go out and hm... pick up the dandelion leaves because it is edible so we could make spinach. We could make a pie with dandelion leaves and stuff like that, but people would do that only during the night, so nobody could see them, it was pitch black. So that's one thing I remember. All the kids played in the back, very close to those little windows so that when the shelling started we would go down to the basement through those little windows.”

Sophie shares with me the story about scarcity of food, which led to a reimagining of the surroundings, as symbolized by the use of dandelions: "only during the night I would go out and hm... pick up the dandelion leaves because it is edible so we could make spinach. We could make a pie with dandelion leaves and stuff like that, but people would do that only during the night, so nobody could see them, it was pitch black." The consumption of a common weed as a source of food demonstrates how the grim circumstances transformed the participants' relationship with the natural environment and how they viewed available resources within their disrupted territory.

The story she shares about collecting dandelion leaves in the cover of nightfall to create meals reveals a shift in the relationship between the people and their space. This is particularly representative of Sack's (1983) theory of territoriality, which suggests that it can be the most efficient strategy for exerting control, especially if the resources to be controlled are distributed between ubiquity and unpredictability. Sack (1986) further elaborates: "Each instance of territoriality must involve and attempt at enforcing control over access to the area and to the things within it, or to things outside of it by restraining those within" (p. 22).

Finally, the dandelion story outlines a profound shift in children's play spaces, as the participant recounts: "All the kids played in the back, very close to those little windows so that when the shelling started, we would go down to the basement through those little windows." The territory where children could freely play and explore was substantially reduced and damaged by the constant threat of violence, symbolizing how the innocence of childhood was constricted by the conditions of the conflict. These shifts in territory, as a consequence of the conflict, profoundly illustrate how war can dramatically alter the spatial dynamics of everyday life, shaping everything from resource access to social interactions. The constant threat of danger, coupled with spatial disruption, will become inscribed in their memory, and influence their behaviour in the future.

Three bullets

The interview with Charlie brings forward complexities of spatial disruption during the war. Here, it is interesting to observe the strategic choices made by the military and how it affected residential infrastructure.

Charlie's account starts with the unexpected preservation of his apartment amidst the war unrest. Although it was situated on the frontline, it remained largely undamaged.

"My apartment was untouched. Only three bullets entered but they got lost somewhere. There was no major devastation...my side of the building was pretty much intact because it was a frontline building so all the snipers were shooting more towards the central part [of the building]."

Charlie presents an intriguing perspective on why his building, despite being on the frontline, was neglected by the snipers.

"Yeah. Because they [military-snipers] thought people were not living there. So, it was not interesting as much [to them]. They thought everyone left because no one was using that part of the building. [Instead] everybody was [still] there, we just didn't use the front part of the building. People didn't use their rooms, kitchens. They lived in one room, that part of the building was completely dark."

Charlie's account highlights a sort of invisible territoriality that emerges during conflict. His apartment was spared primarily because it was strategically ignored by snipers who assumed it was uninhabited. This speaks to a complex form of territorial delineation based on perceived value and utility. In this case, the military established a de facto territory within the building, even as residents like Charlie and his neighbours continued to inhabit the same physical space. Here, the concept of a "frontline" evolves from a physical to a perceptual boundary, influenced by the assumptions and actions of both residents and military actors.

Furthermore, Charlie's experience shows how inhabitants adapted their territorial practices in response to this changing landscape. The residents made a strategic choice to occupy only certain parts of the building, thereby altering the power of their territory. They transformed the building into a dark, seemingly uninhabited space to make it less appealing to snipers, thereby reasserting some level of control over their living conditions. The following memo on Charlie further strengthens the interpretation.

Memo on Charlie

Charlie's narrative sheds light on the dynamics of spatial disruption during conflict, influencing consumption behaviours. The military's strategy of overlooking frontline buildings based on the assumption that they were uninhabited speaks volumes about the psychology of conflict. The residents, on the other hand, had to adapt their living arrangements and consumption patterns according to the changing landscape of the war, primarily in response to the strategic attacks and for their survival. Everything is disrupted. This notion of spatial disruption is the root of subsequent boundary-making. Boundaries do not come of out nothing. Yes, they will be institutionalized after the war, but they are rooted here, in "only" three bullets that enter his house.

Spatial disruption and legitimisation share a complex relationship in the context of post-conflict territorial consumption. The establishment and legitimisation of boundaries are often a result of destructive events and violent actions - a manifestation of spatial disruption. The physical remnants, whether left in ruin or reconstructed, become symbols of a traumatic past. These markers act as constant reminders of the violence, thereby shaping the ways in which people consume and represent the subsequent territorial boundaries. On a theoretical level, this acceptance of the boundary is closely linked to the political system, power, and authority which set the boundary as a legitimate instrument of territoriality – an institutionalized strategy of division of the society (Löw and Weidenhaus, 2017; Brighenti, 2014; Paasi, 1998).

It was Gottman (1973) who reminded us that boundaries cannot be looked at without considering political and economic interests combined in a complex trilogy of territory, population, and government organisation. *The state* continues to be the crucial point of departure for analysis of boundaries in territories. Indeed, participants often attributed the division to political actors:

“Politicians are those who divided us”, *Darla*.

“Our country is divided because the elites wanted it”, *Fin*.

“It is all politics. Air and sky cannot be divided” *James*.

“I had an opportunity to go to Mostar where people are afraid to go from West side to the East. I think people should be braver. Politicians are the ones that created fear in ourselves”, *Helen*.

“I am not comfortable driving in that entity at night. I am afraid what to do if my car breaks down in the middle of nowhere, what if there is someone crazy and nationalistic? I plan my journey well ahead to be honest”. *Dorothy*.

The establishment of boundaries following the war represents a form of spatial disruption that has facilitated the legitimisation of new territories, control mechanisms, and consumption patterns. This confirms Bourdieu's (1991) argument that to institute something, giving it a social definition, simultaneously establishes sociocultural boundaries. The *institutionalization* of territories can thus be understood as a strategic legitimisation of territorial control (Newman and Paasi, 1998).

Defining territoriality fosters creating new territories (Castilhos et al., 2017). Boundaries in a post-war territory may be determined and defined by military gains and political decisions, but their *significance* for their inhabitants derives from sorrows and other feelings associated with that territory (Smith, 1996). The meanings and history attached to these territories, conveyed through symbols and boundaries, forge distinctions between groups, serving as instruments of social control (Paasi, 1998). Hence, the legitimisation of spatial disruption perpetuates divisions, power structures, and social control mechanisms. Consequently, nationalist narratives and the contested past continue to permeate everyday life, and the unacknowledged past crimes intensify the divisions. The following quote illustrates this.

“In Republika Srpska, how they call it, so in that part of Bosnia that ought to represent Serb people, doesn't represent Serb people. Children in that part of Bosnia, these are not children anymore, they are now 25+ years old...but when I also think about my own generation, we don't have strength anymore. Also, it is not easy to admit you killed 100 people in a street” *Laura*.

Laura's quote highlights how the legitimisation of new territorial boundaries—created out of violence and political decisions—have long-lasting impacts on the people living within them. Laura implies that the established boundaries and divisions don't accurately represent the diversity and complexity of the population, essentially reducing them to a monolithic entity

("Serb people"). This becomes even more poignant when considering the generational trauma and exhaustion mentioned ("we don't have strength anymore"). The statement "it is not easy to admit you killed 100 people in a street" refers to the difficulty in facing the atrocities that have shaped the current territorial divisions and social dynamics, suggesting that these unacknowledged past actions and crimes perpetuate existing tensions and divisions. The quote encapsulates the heavy emotional toll and the complexity of legitimizing boundaries that were born out of conflict and violence.

In expanding upon the previous discussion of territoriality, the next quote from Laura adds another layer of complexity by emphasizing the psychological and emotional dimensions that accompany this administrative boundary. Laura perceives the boundary between Republika Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina as not just a line on the map but a manifestation of deeper, unresolved issues stemming from the conflict and unacknowledged war crimes. She describes the new, post-conflict, territory as "deformed," laden with symbolic displays that serve to assert power and territorial claims. This deformation is not just physical but also emotional and psychological; it is a deformation of truth, history, and collective memory:

“If you look at Sarajevo as a whole, geographically then there is obvious division. Division is very deep. It is very difficult to heal because Serbs don't want to acknowledge crimes their people did. Republika Srpska, that part of Bosnia that ought to represent Serb people, it doesn't represent them. Serb people are under occupation by their government leaders, their emotions and minds are under occupation because they are hiding the truth of crimes [committed]. I don't go there because it makes me sad. Banja Luka [biggest cultural and administrative city in RS] is deformed. It is visually deformed, full of symbols that emphasize their territory, there is nothing beautiful there”, *Laura*.

Her statement that "Serb people are under occupation by their government leaders; their emotions and minds are under occupation because they are hiding the truth of crimes" resonates strongly with the previously discussed theme of territoriality being a mechanism of social control (Paasi, 1998). Here, the concept of 'occupation' is extended to the minds and emotions

of the people, reflecting a form of internal territorialization that constrains how individuals perceive, remember, and interact with their past and their environment. This adds another dimension to the concept of territorialization as not merely a spatial but also a psychological process, reinforcing divisions and power structures.

Summary

Spatial disruption is a significant concept in understanding the effects of war and conflict on territoriality and legitimisation of new territories. It refers to the transformation and disruption of daily life, spatial experiences, and territories caused by conflict. War not only alters the physical landscape but also reshapes the interactions, behaviours, and relationships within that space.

In the context of war, spatial disruption is both a strategy and an outcome of the intent to territorialize. It influences consumption behaviours, survival strategies, and the perception of territories, as demonstrated by Sophia's and Charlie's narratives. Spatial disruption becomes inscribed in memory and shapes future behaviour, as it is often associated with trauma and volatile circumstances. Post-war, spatial disruption continues through the legitimisation of new territories, boundary establishment, and territorial consumption patterns. It contributes to the institutionalization of boundaries and territorial control, often drawn from violent actions and political decisions.

Spatial disruption is thus central to understanding the divisions, power structures, and social control mechanisms of a post-conflict scenario. It is a tool of social control, reinforcing divisions and manifesting itself in the form of war crimes denial and nationalistic narrative

The Concept of Spatial Memory

Overview

Spatial memory, as a concept, refers to the ability to remember specific details about locations and spatial relations, often involving the recollection of everyday environments. In the context of post-war territory, spatial memory becomes intrinsically linked to past traumas, becoming a significant component in understanding the legitimisation of territorialized consumption.

This concept of spatial memory is shaped by the impacts of spatial disruption caused by war. Memories laden with emotions, experiences, places and objects, create profound traces that are often inseparable from the spaces where they occurred (Goulding, 2001). These memories not only evoke past experiences but also shape future interactions with and perceptions of those spaces (Steadman et al., 2020). In areas with a history of conflict, everyday buildings, apartments, and even commonplace items bear the scars of war, serving as material and tangible reminders of past struggles. War, thus, creates 'wounded cities' (Till, 2012) that carry the burden of conflict within their very fabric, influencing the behaviour of those who navigate these spaces.

The intersection between spatial memory and marketing research is especially evident in areas that have undergone severe disruption. The visual narrative of these spaces often frames their meanings and interpretations (Warnaby and Medway, 2013), influencing consumer behaviour. As Canniford et al., (2017) pointed out, even the smell of a space can denote specific demarcations and boundaries, triggering memories and affecting how people interact with those spaces. The post-war period often brings with it new, officially legitimized boundaries, which may closely resemble former siege lines around a city. In the case of Sarajevo, these boundaries serve as expressive reminders of the city's past and its wartime disruption. This

resemblance, in turn, stirs memories of past trauma, thus influencing the daily lives of those residing within these boundaries.

These spaces, marked by conflict, can transform into transitional territories (Hirschman et al., 2012), where the past and present collide. As individuals navigate these territories, they often grapple with the tension between moving forward and acknowledging the past, the spatial memories acting as catalysts for this struggle.

Memory, thus, plays a critical role in legitimizing territoriality. Post-conflict, the enforced administrative and political boundaries serve not only as geographical markers but as significant components of collective memory, continually influencing social relations (Lefebvre, 1974; Sack, 1986) and shaping the behaviours of those living within these demarcated spaces. The spatial memory, therefore, contributes significantly to the understanding and legitimisation of territorialized consumption.

Examples of spatial memory

The following examples illustrate the concept of spatial memory:

“I still can’t walk around Sniper Alley without feeling anxious. It’s been years, but the memories are still too strong”, *Victoria*.

“My father always talks about how the old town used to be before the war. He spends a lot of time there, says it makes him feel closer to the past”, *Ashley*.

“Just one street above me there is an entity line to Republic of Srpska. Its where they were shooting at us”, *Fin*.

The three quotes above illustrate the tangible presence of spatial memory and its influence in a post-conflict environment. For instance, the first quote, where the participant experiences anxiety walking around "Sniper Alley", reveals the potency of spatial memory in eliciting strong emotional responses. This traumatic recall of past events, despite the passage of time, highlights the ongoing impact of territoriality. In the second quote, the father's constant reminiscence about the old town's pre-war state and his frequent visits there demonstrate an attempt to reclaim a lost past through spatial memories. This longing for a pre-conflict past and efforts to connect with it represent a form of resistance against the traumatic changes brought by the war. Lastly, the third quote highlights the enduring influence of spatial memory in everyday life. The participant's awareness of the close proximity to the boundary of Republika Srpska, a tangible reminder of past danger and conflict, infuses their present reality with past experiences, reflecting the resilience of territorial divisions. Hence, these narratives illustrate the profound role of spatial memory in shaping perceptions and experiences in territories marked by past conflicts.

What follows are two stories that unfold unique stories of a city scarred by conflict. The first one is a visual representation of the city, where remnants of brutality are intertwined with the current urban fabric. The interpretation of the related photographs is aided by the use of memos. The second story illustrates spontaneous, yet profound, encounters with the intensity of past atrocities. The concept of 'contact' as posited by Waterton and Watson (2015) is crucial to understand these narratives.

In post-conflict spaces, points of contact between the past and the present are not only inevitable but form an integral part of the lived experience. Such contact not only blurs the temporal boundaries but also continually reinforces the territoriality that was legitimized after the conflict. This everyday encounter with the past, whether through visual reminders or emotive experiences, acts as a living testament to the war, further legitimizing the territorial demarcations. It is through these points of contact that past traumas come into the present, reflecting the enduring potency of spatial memory in shaping our understanding of the territorialized landscape.

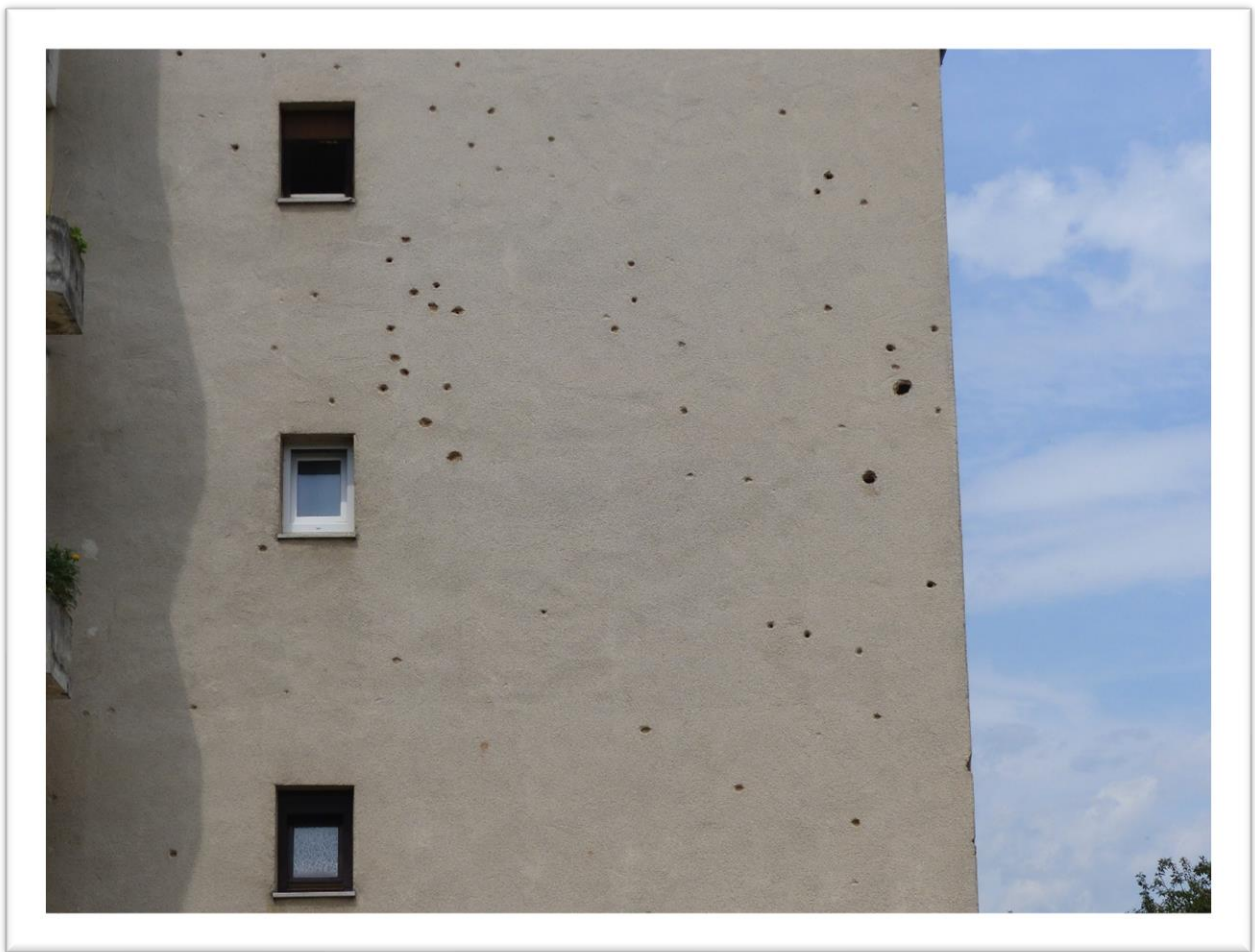
Wounded city

Despite the passage of time, the physical manifestations of conflict remain vividly apparent in ordinary buildings and locales, turning them into sites of trauma - tangible reminders of the violence and horror that unfolded there. Till (2012) described such places as 'wounded cities.' These cities bear the scars of physical destruction, displacement, and individual and collective trauma from state-perpetrated violence. These events, Till (2012) argues, are not isolated incidents. Instead, the effects of violence persist for years, sometimes decades, leaving enduring marks on the urban landscape. The following visual story is aided by memos written while taking the photographs.

Memo: Lucky side

The first photograph (Figure 5.2) presents an ordinary apartment building that, upon closer inspection, reveals its share of war scars. The relatively sparse bullet holes hint at a side of the building less exposed to the conflict - a 'lucky' side, if one may call it so. The small windows, presumably less vulnerable to the gunfire, tell a silent story of the building's wartime history. Such ubiquitous structures, forever marked by conflict, serve as enduring reminders of a painful past and the territorial dynamics that continue to shape the present. Their everyday presence highlights the enduring impact of spatial trauma, as the city continues to live with, and within, its wounded spaces.

Figure 5.2 'Lucky side'

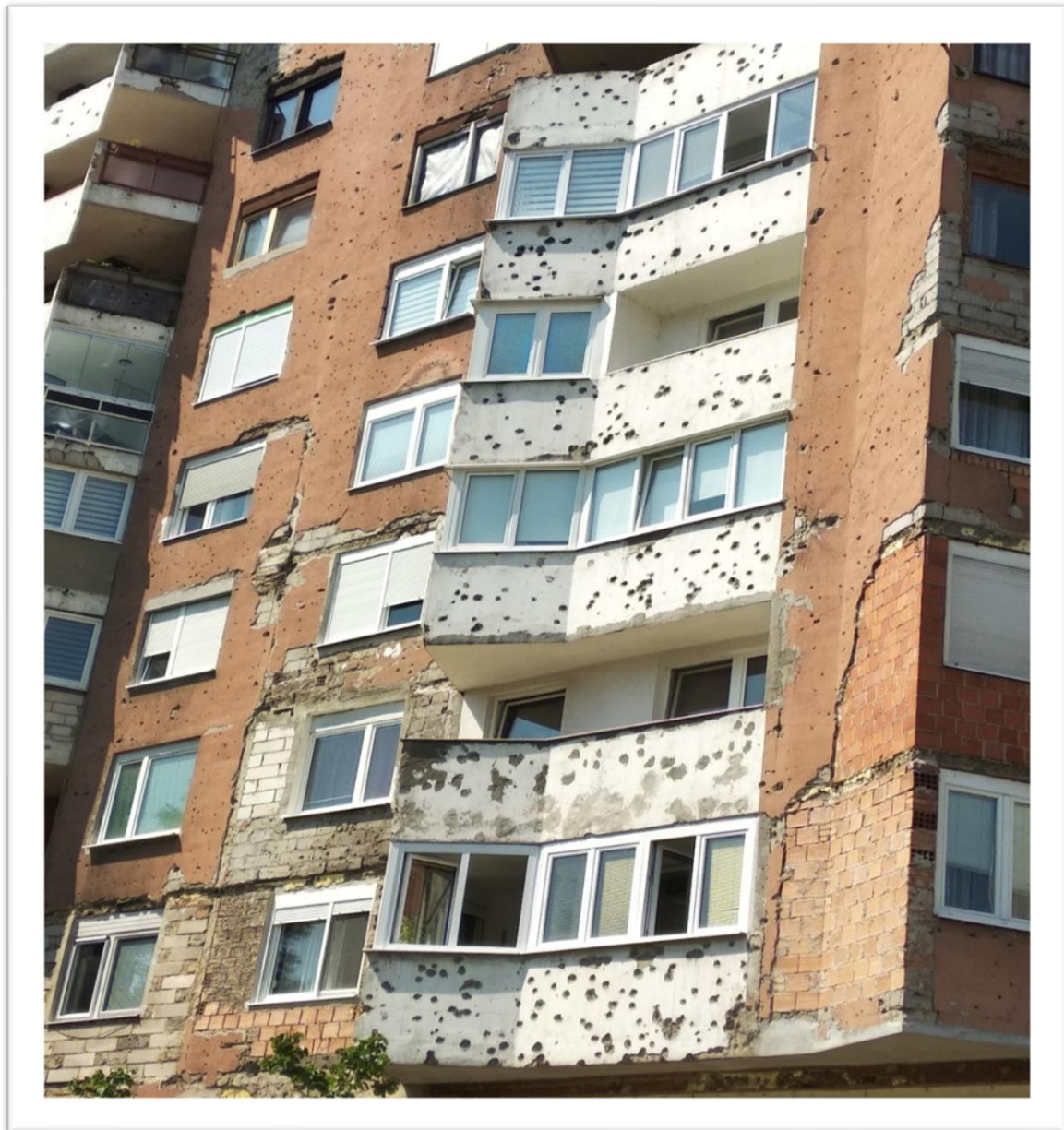


Source: Photograph taken by author in spring 2019

Memo: Difficult memories

This building (Figure 5.3), scarred by numerous bullet holes penetrating through its flats and the memories of fires, serves as a powerful symbol of the war's destructive impact. The sight of it may stir a profound sense of disquiet, bringing viewers back to the images of the most intense bombings in Sarajevo. This building's existence, standing still in the wake of such immense destruction, is a testament to the city's resilience and the enduring memories of conflict embedded within its very fabric. This building truly evokes strong emotions.

Figure 5.3 Difficult memories



Source: Photograph taken by author in spring 2019

The visual stories of Sarajevo presented above illustrate the profound depth and impact of spatial memory in the post-conflict, disrupted place. The bullet-ridden buildings, serving as living testimonies of past violence and horror, are more than just architectural structures. They are potent symbols of conflict, memory, and resilience. Their very presence disrupts the urban landscape, acting as poignant reminders of a troubled history that continues to live in the cityscape. These ordinary buildings, marked by the war, carry narratives of spatial disruption and traumatic memories within their walls, influencing the behaviour of residents and visitors alike. Each visible scar is echoing the city's past and shaping its present and future.

What follows is the personal story told by Jane.

"I think I was about 11 and it was a pretty quiet day and my dad went to find a piece of metal thing so we can make this metal stove. There was no electricity and we had to cook, so we had to use either gas or wood. And he had to cross one of those bridges and we could see those bridges from my room. We were watching him cross it and when he crossed it ok, it was fine. And when he was crossing back the shelling started and the snipers started shooting. And we saw him running with this huge white piece of tin and he was such an easy target with that huge white thing in his hand. And he was trying to cross but he couldn't. The minute he would show up, a little bit, they would start shooting. So it was terrifying to watch that. And then, my mother wouldn't let me or my sister watch it. He finally crossed but the shelling was so strong that after they finished I looked through the window and I saw men dead just in back of my building. So that is a memory of me seeing for the first and for the last time in my life a dead person. It was terrible.

Today when I walk through Dobrinja I remember those barricades very vividly. There was a river walk, it was very nice. There were bridges, because that river is very small, it is like a stream. So, there were bridges between parts of the riverside, and some protection was put on each bridge so people could pass. So, sacks full of sand stacked one on top of each other, so to protect the people. And there were old cars put on top of each other so they couldn't see anybody crossing the bridge even from that height. Those protections on the bridges were high but you would still need to run across the bridge, just in case. It's all there, still in my mind" *Jane*.

Jane's story captures the concept of spatial memory vividly, illustrating the profound impacts of traumatic experiences associated with particular locations. The very memory of her father, at risk of sniper fire while carrying a conspicuous white piece of tin, has become inseparably

linked with the bridge he was crossing. This bridge, for Jane, has transitioned from being an ordinary structure to a symbol of traumatic experiences. It's a spatial transformation resonating with Till's idea of 'wounded cities' (2012), where ordinary spaces transform into sites of trauma and fear due to violent historical events. When navigating the space, Jane adjusts her movement to a particular pathway, which provides her a sense of security from the trauma she experienced (Till, 2012; Belk, 1990). Indeed, her actions and choices, from the paths she takes to her emotional responses to certain locations, are significantly shaped by her experiences and memories tied to specific territories. Jane is not merely a passive actor but engages in a dynamic relationship with her territorial context. Her avoidance of certain pathways and her strategy to run "just in case" across the bridge capture how the boundaries or territories are not just influencing her but are "consuming" her emotionally and psychologically. This illustrates an example of territorialized consumption, where the act of consuming isn't just about goods or services but includes emotional and spatial experiences deeply tied to the complexities of territory.

The next excerpt too shows how one can be consumed by the boundaries associated with spatial memory of trauma. Her reaction to the monthly emergency sirens and the "invisible line" in her neighbourhood exemplifies the idea of memory as a key legitimizing force in territoriality, as put forward by Sack (1986). The sirens, a sensory trigger, provoke memories of the war and induce a strong emotional response. This notion confirms Cheetham et al., (2018) argument that affective intensities of spaces are important to consider when investigating territoriality processes. Similarly, passing by the building from which people were killed prompts thoughts of the war's atrocities. This again highlights how boundaries associated with spatial memories

of trauma can consume individuals, influencing their behaviour, emotional states, and consumption patterns.

“Now every 1st day of the month they turn on the sirens to see if they work. You know, the emergency sirens. Ohh I hate them, every 1st of the month I get this terrible feeling when I hear them. I always go and look through my window, remembering the war”

"Do you know now where is that place, that invisible line?

Yes, of course.

How do you feel when you pass by it?

It's weird. I always, but I always, every single time when I pass that building I look to the fourth floor and I see people living there. And I wonder whether those people know how many people were killed [by snipers] from their apartment. Every single time", *Jane*.

What follows is a memo of mine aiding the interpretation of the spatial memory concept, especially in terms of Hirschman et al., (2012) notion of transitional territories. In this moment of silence, Jane straddles the past and present, confronting her traumatic memories while engaging with the city's present reality.

Participant Observation Memo: Jane and me in the car

After our interview ended, Jane abruptly got up from the coffee house where the interview was held, and said to me, let's go drive around the city, I parked close. Ok, I said, and I was thinking I love driving around. This woman, I met yesterday, just decided to spend more time with me, great feeling for a researcher. Once we sat in the car, she went up the hill of Bistrik, towards the old railway station house, just couple of hundred of meters from our coffee place. We then started driving on the road above Sarajevo and then suddenly stopped on the right. Jane said, this is where they were shooting at us. Leaning on the car she told me "I stopped smoking but when I come to this place, I smoke a cigarette". She offered one and we had a cigarette together watching the sunset. This was truly a moment I felt all those memories coming to her, but she was not able or in the mood to talk anymore, we talked a lot that day, I did not want to push. But that ritual of smoking a cigarette was truly a powerful moment to me. It seems to me today, with Jane, that memories are more powerful when held in silence.

The notion of transitional territories, as described by Hirschman et al. (2012), pertains to spaces that exist at the intersection of past and present, memory and reality, and trauma and healing. These territories are not merely geographical locations but emotional and psychological spaces, where past experiences resonate within the current moment. Jane's act of driving to the hill and stopping at the specific spot above Sarajevo serves as a navigation through her own transitional territory—a space saturated with painful memories of wartime violence. The memo captures an intimate moment where Jane's spatial memory collides with the current environment. The "hill of Bistrik" and the road above Sarajevo are more than geographical coordinates; they're landscapes of memory and meaning. Jane's ritual of smoking a cigarette at that exact location is symbolic; it serves as a transitional act that allows her to engage with her traumatic past while being grounded in the present.

The relationship between spatial memory and legitimisation

The relationship between legitimisation and spatial memory is a complex one, intertwined with elements of territoriality, consumption, identity, and history. Territoriality, as defined by Sack (1986), is a manifestation of power dynamics in a demarcated geographic area, where control is exercised over people, phenomena, and relationships. The legitimisation of territoriality, particularly in a post-conflict context, reflects the intertwining of physical space with historical events, memories, and emotions, which in turn significantly influences consumption patterns.

Spatial memory is a crucial aspect of this legitimisation process. It refers to the ingrained memories associated with physical spaces and the traumatic events that occurred within them. These memories are not static but rather, are constantly reinterpreted and revisited through daily practices and routines (Lowenthal, 1979). As Phillips and Reyes (2011, p. 14) explain: ‘complex and vibrant place upon which memories emerge, are contested, transform, encounter other memories, mutate, and multiply’.

Legitimisation through spatial memory highlights the notion of consumption as a socio-spatial practice. According to this view, consumption is not an isolated activity but is deeply embedded in the spatial and social contexts in which it takes place (Miller, 1998). Thus, spatial memory informs consumption behaviours by providing a historical and emotional context for them, thereby playing a critical role in their legitimisation.

The intertwining of spatial memory with identity is evident. Spaces become a repository of collective memories that define a community's identity (Cohen & Kliot, 1992). As demonstrated in the story from Jane, spatial memory doesn't just preserve the past; it also shapes the present identity and triggers collective reactions, such as fear. Further, spatial

memory is not only a cognitive construct but also a functional one, driving behaviours and consumption patterns within territorial boundaries. The recollection of traumatic events, even those from a generation ago, can govern present-day consumption practices (Zukin, 1995).

Finally, the legitimisation of territorialized consumption isn't isolated from larger socio-political contexts. As Kliot and Mansfield (1997), Campbell (1999), and Newman (2002) argue, conflicts over territorial control led to new spatial arrangements, which reflect and reinforce national identities. From a critical marketing and CCT perspective, this confirms Castilhos et al. (2017) argument that new spatial arrangements can be created, which is evident also in this short narrative:

‘When I came to Sarajevo 10 years ago, there were political tensions but then they calmed down. A lot of stories that Republic of Srpska would seek for independence on the news at the time. I remember, I was maybe second year of college when people rapidly started buying flour, batteries, a lot of commotion in that time. People were afraid another war would start again.’

When further examining the relationship between spatial memory and the legitimisation of territorialized consumption, one can argue that spatial memory serves as a crucial underpinning for legitimisation. At the heart of legitimisation processes is the acceptance of a specific state of affairs - in this case, new territorial boundaries and the subsequent consumption patterns within those territories. The extent to which these new arrangements are accepted is likely to be strongly influenced by individuals' memories and experiences of the conflict that led to the changes in the first place. In other words, spatial memory provides the context within which legitimisation occurs.

In summary, spatial memory contributes to the legitimisation of territorialized consumption by transforming physical spaces into potent symbols of past conflicts. These memories become

infused within the landscapes, influencing perceptions, behaviours, and consumption patterns. These insights offer valuable contributions to understanding how spatial memory and legitimisation processes interact within post-conflict societies, revealing the complex ways in which historical events continue to shape contemporary experiences and identities.

Summary

In the context of post-conflict societies, spatial memory is an essential concept that transcends mere recollection of locations. It becomes a dynamic force that shapes identity, territoriality, consumption, and history. By preserving the scars of conflict within the very fabric of cities and landscapes, spatial memory transforms spaces into living repositories of collective memories. These memories, constantly revisited and reinterpreted, become central to legitimizing territorialized consumption patterns. They serve as tangible reminders that inform consumption as a socio-spatial practice, deeply embedded in historical and emotional contexts. Spatial memory thereby influences behaviours within demarcated territories, driving consumption patterns and reinforcing national identities. This complex interplay reveals the ways in which historical events continue to shape contemporary experiences and identities, contributing to the understanding and legitimisation of territorial boundaries.

With these foundational insights into how spatial memory functions as a key aspect of legitimisation, this thesis now turns to the next critical category: maintenance. Understanding how spatial memory contributes to the ongoing sustenance of these boundaries, relationships, and consumption patterns will further illuminate the complex dynamics at play in post-conflict territories.

Maintenance of Territorialized Consumption

In the exploration of territorialized consumption, the understanding of ‘legitimation’ has been critical. It illustrated the formation of boundaries within spatial disruptions and how past trauma embedded in newly legitimised territories continues to be reinforced and experienced. Interestingly, these dynamics suggest that territories may consume people, inverting the traditional understanding in literature on place consumption.

The category of ‘maintenance,’ a subsequent key category, offers insights into the *persistence* of territoriality. Here, the concept dives into representations, or ‘traces’ as Anderson calls them, or ‘imago’ as per critical marketing and consumer culture theory (CCT) literature (Giovanardi and Lucarelli, 2018).

The idea of maintenance finds its roots in Sack's (1986) seminal theory of territoriality, further enhanced by Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence and the work of contemporary critical marketing scholars. These scholars extended the concept of boundary-making using representations (e.g., Cheetham et al., 2018). More specifically, recent critical marketing studies show that maintenance of these structures aims to strengthen the ideological underpinnings of these institutions (Patsiaouras and Fitchett, 2023).

According to Sack (1986), territories, unlike common spaces, necessitate constant effort to establish and maintain. They symbolize the strategic endeavours to affect, control, and shape people, phenomena, and relationships (Ibid, p. 19). Therefore, the essence of maintaining territoriality lies in recognizing the persistent nature of boundaries, which, according to Sack, play a vital role in shaping behaviour. This, in turn, sustains ‘territorialized consumption,’ a form of behaviour that becomes evident in relation to territories.

Data from this study demonstrates that legitimisation led to the emergence of territoriality in this context. Yet, it also revealed a sense of stagnation or a status quo among people. Therefore, it can be argued that maintaining this status quo is vital, as the persistent representations of divisions continue to carry the war's traumatic memories.

The concept of maintenance, therefore, examines how this process occurs in a post-conflict space and its implications.

It manifests through two key processes: ownership and othering. These concepts are expressions of power and dominance (Bourdieu, 2000), acting as symbolic violence that facilitates the legitimisation of divisions. By exploring the dynamics of maintenance, it can be argued that we can gain deeper insights into the persistent nature of boundaries and its impacts on the individuals living within these territories.

The Concept of Ownership

Overview

The concept of territorial ownership involves both tangible and intangible components (Cheetham et al., 2018). Such ownership can be demonstrated through physical markers such as flags, signs, or walls, or through intangible manifestations in the cultural, social, and ideological realms.

First, it should be noted that territoriality in Bosnia is grounded in the history of war gains, embedding itself in the scars of cities and new boundaries that echo former conflict lines, as explained in the earlier chapter. These lines, in many instances, seem arbitrary, cutting across natural landscapes and dividing them rather than following existing geographic or historical reference points (Ristic, 2015, 2018). The seemingly arbitrary nature of these boundaries contributes to their transformation into labyrinth-like border zones, which residents must navigate.

Despite the arbitrary nature of these boundaries, their influence on the everyday lives of residents is profound and tangibly felt (Brighenti, 2010). In fact, they are routinely reinforced through visual markers that assert territorial ownership (Cheetham et al., 2018) and ideological power (Ger and Yenicioglu, 2004). Various cues such as changes in the landscape, the presence of signs explicitly welcoming visitors to the territory, and the use of distinct alphabets and colours, serve as constant reminders of the divisions and contested past. The effectiveness of these markers is observed not only among the residents but also among outsiders who tend to pay attention to these signs more often than the locals.

However, not all boundaries are equally visible or tangible. There is a fluidity between visibility and invisibility, a fuzziness that is inherent in the social world (Bourdieu, 1985). Even though a boundary may be invisible, its presence is often felt, its existence influencing the lived

experience of individuals. The power of these boundaries extends into personal spaces, homes, and daily lives, particularly of those who live in close proximity to the lines of division. The invisible power of these boundaries can conceal or exclude narratives, creating a sense of distance and division among people.

Therefore, this exploration of territorial ownership reveals how layered tangible and intangible representations can shape territorialized consumption.

Examples of boundaries as representations of ownership

Brighenti (2010) argues that boundaries are a constitutive prerequisite of territory (p. 60). They are filled with symbolic meanings and classifications and are constituent forces in organising power relations and domination (Bourdieu, 1989; 1991). Excerpts below illustrate this:

"I see those signs that explicitly welcome you to the entity, I see the landscape changing, the residential signs are in different colour and language, I mean alphabet", *Sarah*.

"I can see symbols when I go to the Republic of Srpska because there is a sign 'Welcome to Republic of Srpska', on Cyrillic letters, and then from time to time you will see flags on random houses", *Mitchell*.

"The second thing is the board, when you go over Vraca and on the one side is Kanton Sarajevo and 100m away is written Republika Srpska. So you think about it in the sense of the board and you know it is there", *Ashley*.

"I see the signs, different language, different colour even – without them I maybe wouldn't know anything", *Darla*.

These excerpts highlight the power of physical symbols and signs in asserting territorial ownership, reflecting on Cheetham et al., (2018) perspective of tangible elements of territory ownership such as physical markers, signs, or flags. The distinct change in language, alphabet, colour, and the explicit welcome signs indicate a clear demarcation of territory, which not only

shows the sense of ownership. Further, the references to seeing flags on random houses and the existence of a sign that declares the beginning of the territory of Republika Srpska are evident manifestations of territorial markings. They are examples of how physical markers contribute to the territoriality construct, reflecting Bourdieu's (2000) and Jenkins' (1992) arguments about the significance of visual cues serving as tools of symbolic power. These markers work subtly (Swartz, 2013), yet effectively, in establishing and reinforcing control over a region, furthering divisions within the contested space.

Further, in line with Castilhos et al. (2017), territories enhance the position of the controlling actors by increasing their specific territorial capital, which includes both tangible and intangible resources associated with a place. These visual markers can be seen as an element of that territorial capital, contributing to the empowerment of the entities asserting their control.

The next quote illustrates how the presence of these visual cues might result in a increased awareness about territorial division. This point underlines the role of such markers in shaping public understanding and perception about territorial divisions, demonstrating their power in informing, orienting, and in a way, guiding people's behaviours within a territory. This gives further weight to the idea of boundaries and territorial markings as instruments of symbolic power that subtly yet profoundly influence lived experiences within a territory (Swartz, 2013).

The following example further illustrates these arguments:

“And you know what else is interesting to me: when some people, visitors, who come here...I don't know, from USA, visitors.... They notice signs much more than we do—it really comes to their attention that there are signs of border crossing.... Sarajevo crossed and then Welcome to Republika Srpska", *Victoria*.

The quote above reveals that the visible markers of territorial ownership, such as signs welcoming visitors to different entity and the use of distinct alphabets and colours, serve again as constant reminders of the divisions and contested past. These markers contribute to the residents' acceptance of the divisions as legitimate and natural, which is an essential aspect of maintaining the symbolic power and symbolic violence (Webb, et al., 2002). The description above about outsiders shows that they tend to notice these signs more readily than the insiders, which indicates the effectiveness of these markers to assert ownership on the one hand and maintain divisions on the other. For residents, these signs may have become so ingrained in the landscape that they are often overlooked, but their presence serves to normalize and legitimize the territorial divisions, thereby exerting both symbolic power and symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 2000). Some studies show the viewpoint of insiders can be influenced by the sense of belonging (Pretto, 2021; Discetti and Anderson, 2022;) and attachment (Castilhos, 2019; Debenedetti et al., 2014). This observation lends support to the idea that territories hold unique meanings and characteristics for inhabitants.

In the following sections, the thesis will explore the subtleties of ownership through the lens of the 'Fuzziness of Boundaries' and 'Fractured Streets' metaphors. These stories, grounded in the experiences of locals, will illustrate the intricate dynamics of territoriality and ownership within divided spaces.

Fuzziness of boundaries

The fluidity between visibility and invisibility of boundaries should not be surprising. According to Bourdieu (1985, p. 201) the object of the social world (especially if it is a historical object), always includes ‘a degree of indeterminacy and fuzziness’ and is a ‘subject of variations in time so that its meaning, insofar it depends on the future, is itself in suspense, in waiting, dangling, and therefore relatively indeterminate’.

For example, the invisibility is not simply described as something that is not there. It is experienced, felt, and sometimes it is evoked by a feeling. This invisibility can also be described as absence felt through a medium (Goulding, et al., 2018). Invisible power in this case can also have an agency and can be political because it conceals or excludes narratives to those who are consuming it (Goulding, et al., 2018).

For example, the following two quotes demonstrate the power of boundaries, particularly those experienced as invisible. People might not see the boundaries, but their presence is felt. The invisible power can conceal or exclude narratives for those living within the boundaries, causing more distance between people (Bourdieu, 1989). This quote highlights a complex relationship between proximity of the divided place and personal experiences because the feeling of invisible power extends to the personal space, namely their home, due to the proximity to the boundary line:

“The line is invisible, but I feel it.”

“The boundary is not particularly there, [it is not] visible. But I feel it.
Where do you feel it?

Not everywhere to be honest. I feel it once I am closer to it. But since I live very close to the boundary that means I feel it all the time. Basically, I feel it in my home. I don’t think everyone in Sarajevo would feel like I do”, *Smithy*.

This dichotomy between the visible and the invisible aspect of territoriality is properly depicted in the Figure 5.4 which depicts a photograph of an ordinary street below. On the surface, the street seems unremarkable, but the official boundary (IEBL) that runs through its centre permeates it with deeper meaning.

Figure 5.4 A Seemingly Ordinary Street Marked by the Inter-Entity Boundary Line (IEBL): A Visual Representation of Invisible Divisions



Source: Photograph taken by author in autumn 2019

In contrast, visible power, as reflected through tangible symbols and markers, serves as an embodiment of ownership. The photograph in question captures the transition point from ‘Kanton Sarajevo’ (Federation of B&H) to ‘East Sarajevo’ (Republika Srpska), territories with distinctive characteristics and historical narratives (Figure 5.5). Traffic signs are effectively used to reinforce other indicators of territorial boundaries through the use of linguistic differentiation. The use of Cyrillic letters, for instance, symbolizes the Serb side, while the Latin alphabet represents the Federation. These linguistic marks, working in tandem with a more explicit object – a sign, are profound indicators of territorial changes and thus further exhibit the concept of ownership.

Figure 5.5 Traffic Signs Marking the Border between Kanton Sarajevo and East Sarajevo: A Tale of Two Territories



Source: Photograph taken by author in autumn 2021.

The visual data presented above, together with the following quotes, illustrates that territoriality is maintained and kept in status quo through signs that are aimed at ‘adorning’ territorial division.

“You see a huge sign Welcome to RS and then you enter into fields of grass”,
Ashley.

“The boundary is visible, but someone who doesn’t know, they wouldn’t know it is there”, *Nick.*

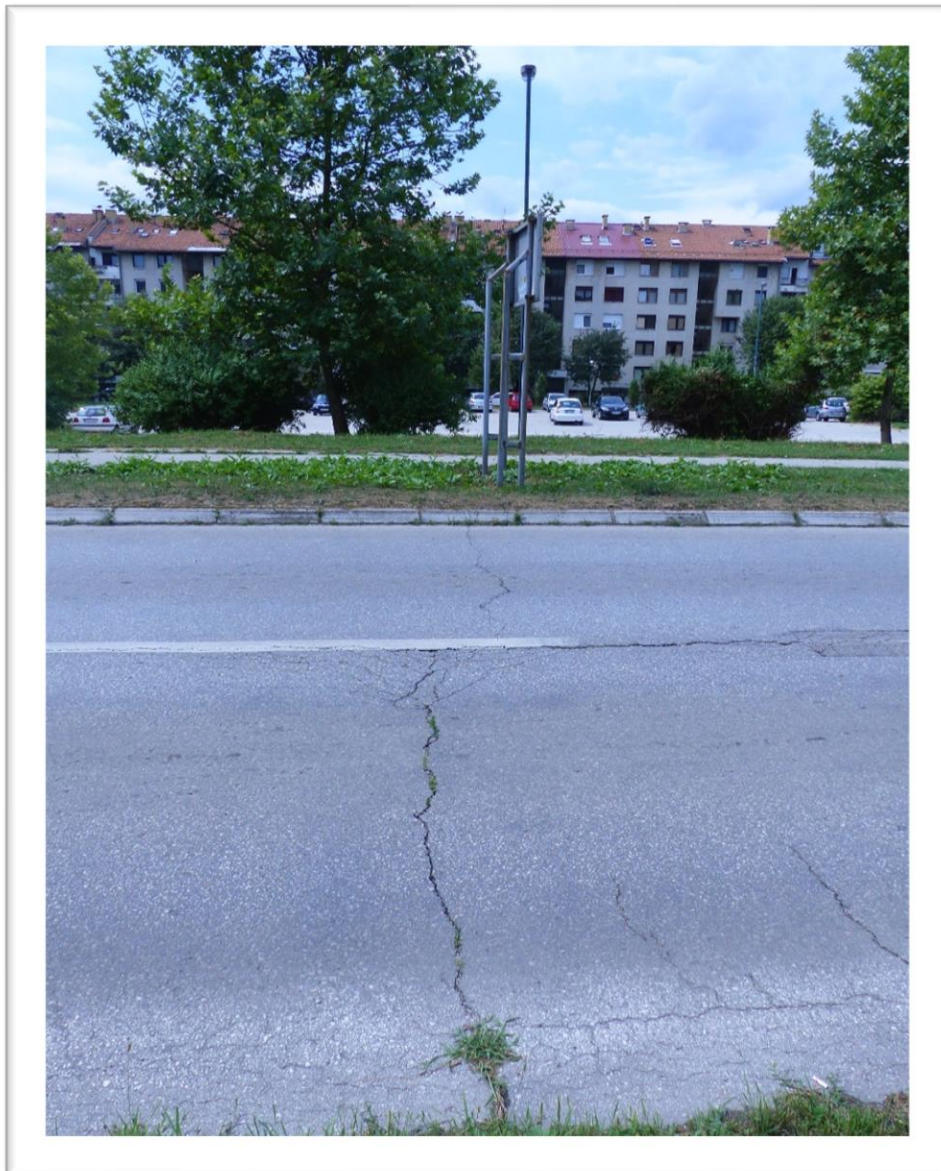
“I notice the boundary when I see the signs, like flags and other letters, letters we don’t use”, *John.*

The signs, flags, and the usage of different alphabets symbolize more than mere physical boundaries; they encode the ownership and control exerted by different entities within a shared geographical space. They are forms of symbolic violence, maintaining a status quo and reinforcing divisions that are not inherently evident in the natural landscape. Symbolic power operates at the level of perception and recognition - a reality becomes ‘real’ when it is perceived and recognized as such (Bourdieu, 1991).

Fractured street

I took this photo (Figure 5.6) in summer of 2019 when I was walking on the boundary line between RS and the FB&H and I was trying to precisely follow the boundary line established after the war. The photo below shows one of the points where the boundary line runs. I wanted to capture the fact that the accidentally cracked asphalt closely mirrors the boundary line.

Figure 5.6 Fractured street



Source: Photograph taken by author in summer 2019.

The narrative behind the following image unravelled months later when I visited this location again and discovered a fence erected by local residents in protest of a new development (Figure 5.7). Some background is necessary to understand the reasons for that. Two decades before, an arbitration process had addressed legal and administrative questions for residents living along the entity line. This process brought resolution to problems that affected their daily lives, including divided properties and communal spaces, like the parking lot visible in my photograph.

Figure 5.7 Residents of Dobrinja parked their cars on the entity line in order to prevent the construction of the building



Source: E.Sk. (2020) 'Sarajevo: Stanovnici Dobrinje parkirali auta na entitetskoj liniji kako bi spriječili gradnju zgrade', *Klix*, 7 June. Available at: [URL](#) (Accessed: 7 June 2020)

However, once split between the two entities, the parking lot on Gandhi Street in Dobrinja raised problems in terms of compliance with regulatory planning. A 2001 court decision transferred ownership to the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, temporarily solving the problem. However, in May 2020, complications arose when a private company planned to construct a residential building on the parking lot. To secure a license from RS, the company imposed a fence along the boundary line, highlighting the IEHL's importance in determining the construction planning. This action was met with outrage by the residents, who organized protests, but in vain (Klix, 2020).

The imposition of the fence becomes an act of symbolic violence - an attempt to exert control and establish dominance by marking territory. According to Bourdieu (2000), symbolic violence is a non-physical form of power that operates through social and cultural practices to subtly manipulate the perception of reality. In this scenario, the fence functions as a symbol of the divisions engrained in the socio-political landscape and reinforced by the entity asserting its territorial rights over the parking lot. This instance reveals an aspect of what Bourdieu describes as the struggle for the imposition of legitimate principles of construction of social reality (2000, p. 187). The private company utilizes the boundary line to its advantage to transform the space for consumption purposes. The erection of the fence not only asserts a claim of ownership but also determines the conditions of consumption and the allocation of resources.

Hence, the story of the parking lot provides an intriguing illustration of Bourdieu's concept of the social world being a stake in the struggle for knowledge and recognition. In this case, the imposition of the fence serves to control the interpretation of territorial boundaries, perpetuating the symbolic power of the entity, and facilitating the transformation and consumption of the space according to their interests.

Further, the circumstances behind this image bring to light the concept of *territorialized consumption*, where the territory consumes its inhabitants meaning that their activities, emotions, and daily lives, are greatly conditioned and ‘worn-out’ by territorial divisions. The residents, for instance, did not choose to physically separate the parking lot. The decision was imposed by higher authority based on a demarcated boundary. Thus, through this lens, territory becomes an active consumer, imposing its own rules, divisions, and structures upon the people who inhabit it.

Similar to the fractured parking lot, another manifestation of territorialized consumption and of the power dynamics it entails can be found in the seemingly mundane act of road maintenance in the two photos (Figure 5.8) of the same road below.

Figure 5.8 Road maintenance



Photograph taken by author in autumn 2019.

Each territory exercises its political power by paving and maintaining only its side of the road, resulting in a sharp contrast between new, fresh concrete and older, worn surfaces. This visible distinction serves as a palpable embodiment of boundary-making practices that legitimize territorial divisions, confirming Cheetam et al.'s (2018) observations of shifting temporal, spatial, and affective dimensions within territories.

The clear contrast between the two sides of the road serves as a visual symbol of unequal power dynamics and separation between the areas. The demarcation in road quality represents a compelling manifestation of Brighenti's (2010, p. 66) 'bridge-mechanism' between possession and ownership. As such, territoriality here operates as a mechanism to render the power dynamics visible.

In this context, the act of laying new asphalt up to the boundary line serves as both an assertion of territorial ownership and an acknowledgment of its limits. Much like the fence in the parking lot scenario, road maintenance becomes a physical symbol of ownership, publicly asserting the power and control each territory holds. In keeping with Bourdieu's (1992) and Swartz's (2013) work, the interlinking roles of symbolic power and symbolic violence can be identified here. The act of maintaining only their side of the road exemplifies the entities' symbolic power, while simultaneously exercising symbolic violence through subtly reinforcing the division and asserting their exclusive rights. This practice underlines the notion of territorialized consumption as it symbolizes the boundary lines that dictate the transformation of space and, in turn, consume and taint the residents' perception of their environment. This is further explained in the following section.

The relationship between ownership and maintenance

From Bourdieu's (2000) perspective, maintenance and ownership can be understood as key instruments of symbolic power and violence. Maintenance, as an overt, observable act, communicates territorial ownership in a subtle yet profound manner. It demonstrates how an entity exerts its authority, not merely through grand displays of force or legislation, but through ordinary, everyday practices. This tacit assertion of territorial control holds considerable symbolic power as it influences the way people perceive and interpret their social reality (Bourdieu, 1989).

However, this seemingly benign act of maintenance (as seen in the example of road maintenance) can also be a form of symbolic violence. As Bourdieu noted, symbolic violence is not physical or openly coercive, but rather a gentle, invisible form of dominance that operates within the parameters of socially accepted norms and practices (Swartz, 2013). By selectively maintaining their territories, territories in this context subtly enforce the boundaries that divide them, reinforcing the social and territorial divisions that underpin their control.

Maintenance can also be viewed through the lens of spatial politics, where it serves as a form of territorial inscription. Following Delaney's (2005) conceptualization, territorial inscription is a way of demarcating space, of defining and asserting territorial control. Through the act of maintenance, territories inscribe their ownership onto the landscape, marking their jurisdiction in an observable, material way. This inscription, however, is not merely a passive marking; it is an active, dynamic process that shapes people's perceptions of space and territory (Paasi, 1998). Through this lens, maintenance becomes a key tool for territorial ownership, carving out boundaries in the physical and symbolic landscape.

Moreover, maintenance can also be understood as a form of territorialized consumption, confirming Elden's (2013) conceptualization of territory. In this view, territory is not simply a passive, inert space, but an active, consuming entity that shapes the lives of its inhabitants. The act of maintenance regulates how space is used and experienced, defining what is possible within a given territory (Goulding, et al., 2009). This territorialized consumption extends the notion of ownership beyond mere possession, turning it into an active process of shaping and transforming the social and spatial landscape.

Summary

This concept highlighted the significance of territorial ownership, where the ability to control, maintain, and transform a geographical space demonstrates the authority and power of a particular entity. Territorial ownership extends beyond the marking of physical boundaries and emerges as a driving force influencing the way spaces are transformed, maintained, and consumed.

Furthermore, this section explored the intricate relationship between ownership and maintenance. Maintaining territory is about an explicit declaration of one's ownership, a visual marker highlighting the boundary of control. Maintenance practices, like road paving, can emphasise the presence of invisible territorial boundaries, simultaneously reinforcing and displaying the authority of the entity in control. The practice of maintaining only one's portion of a shared space effectively communicates the extent of territorial ownership and, at the same time, the limits of that ownership.

Advancing the core category of territorialized consumption, the concept of ownership implies an active, symbolic, and manipulative process of asserting power, influence, and control within a given territory.

What follows is the exploration of the concept of 'othering' and its relationship with the maintenance of territorialized consumption.

The Concept of Othering

Overview

In the context of this research, ‘othering’ arises as an underlying dynamic at the intersection of territoriality, boundary maintenance, and consumption. This concept is evident in the ways in which territories are not only marked but also experienced and lived, fostering a sense of identity distinct from those deemed as ‘other’. It contributes to the shaping and embodying of territory, infusing it with meaning and power.

Grounding this discussion in Bourdieu's (1989) theoretical framework, symbolic power emerges as a key player in the process of ‘othering’. By controlling the definitions of what is considered normal or legitimate within a territory, those with symbolic power are able to establish the norms, values, and symbols that serve as the ‘common sense’ or ‘natural order’ of that society (Bourdieu, 1989; Swartz, 2013; Mostov, 2010; Paasi, 2001). In other words, symbolic power is the unseen force that orchestrates the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion within a territory, making it possible to ascribe identity, to classify and categorize, hence giving rise to the process of ‘othering’.

The manipulation of symbolic markers such as flags, language, and other cultural symbols is employed to create and enforce territorial boundaries, thereby distinguishing the ‘self’ from the ‘other’ (Goulding and Domic, 2009). The power to mark and symbolize boundary lines is central to the performative aspect of ‘othering’. It serves to assert dominance, to maintain order, and to preserve the integrity of a particular territorial identity. Douglas's (1966) conception of society's structuring and maintenance aligns with this understanding. She suggests that the universe is harnessed to encourage good citizenship, further driving the process of ‘othering’. This implies that boundaries and symbolic power are leveraged to coerce conformity within a

territory and to marginalize or exclude those that do not align with the dominant norms, thereby perpetuating the social order.

Finally, within the context of territorialized consumption, ‘othering’ emerges as an active process that not only delineates the ‘us’ and ‘them’ but also informs the transformation of space and the allocation of resources. It impacts how spaces are lived and experienced, and how resources within the territories are consumed. The acts of boundary maintenance, including road care, serve as a physical manifestation of ‘othering’, implicitly dividing spaces, resources, and people along territorial lines. Thus, the concept of othering plays a crucial role in territorialized consumption, influencing how the territory, as an active consumer, imposes its rules and structures upon its inhabitants.

Examples of Othering

The following excerpts illustrate the pervasive influence of ‘othering’ in individuals' lives, particularly in contexts marked by ethnic conflict or tension. They reveal how symbolic power manifests through physical and psychological boundaries, highlighting its role in maintaining territoriality and reinforcing power structures:

“There are people, people around me who think there are borders, for me no, I don’t care who is who. But, there are people who wouldn’t put their feet in the other entity. I was going as soon as the war stopped, there was a market in Republic of Srpska, well it is not close, there is a nice walk to the market. Me and two friends, we were going there regularly. It was a great market. No one dared, we did. No one asked us who we are, what is our name, I mean normal women. Normal life. Just let us live. But now it is not like that. Now it is important what your name is”, *Darla*.

In the accounts presented here, borders, both physical and mental, serve as significant markers of differentiation. The individuals express an awareness of an 'us versus them' dynamic that has been imposed on them, suggesting that identities are territorially marked. There's a keen sense of existing within a social landscape where divisions have been meticulously constructed and maintained.

“I expect always it is about us vs them”, *Roger*.

“I got fired from my job after the war. Why? Probably because of my surname”,
Darla.

“I mean the pressure was from everywhere. When I would go there where they were giving the aid, they would tell me such terrible words, insults. They would say what kind of name is that, what kind of names did you give to your children. Terrible, it was terrible”,
Darla.

“I don’t feel divisions in terms of people that much. More in the physical space. I always know where I am in relation to some identity”, *Jimmy*.

These narratives express direct experiences of discrimination and insult based on ethnic markers, like surnames, for example. This reflects how ‘othering’ operates to marginalize and exclude, and how it's often tied to tangible, harmful consequences, such as job loss. Furthermore, the awareness of one's position relative to certain identities, as expressed in one of the narratives, emphasizes how 'othering' impacts individuals' lived experiences and perceptions of the world. This spatial consciousness shows the pervasiveness of the 'othering' process, where individuals constantly assess their location in relation to established territorial identities.

The subsequent narrative vividly illustrates the symbolic division and ‘othering’ process during a bus journey through Republika Srpska. The experience showcases a palpable tension between the communities, emphasising how tangible and intangible signs of territoriality, such as prescribed bus stops and cultural practices, serve to delineate, enforce, and reinforce societal boundaries and the cultural identity of ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’:

“I travelled once through Republika Srpska to Novi Sad, bus full of Serbs bragging about what they own, about their houses. The bus stops in some coffeehouse where there was a huge mural of Mladic [convicted Serb war criminal]. My child asks me about it and I tell him: ‘Don’t worry, they have an order to stop there. The driver has an order to stop there by the owner, so we can spend our money there. Even now there are specific places along the road where buses must stop, there are two coffeehouses and that’s where they always stop. We shouldn’t think about it. We will just sit in front.’ We should just move on. It is important to move. I just don’t have anyone to go to”, *Laura*.

Territories are marked out as belonging to people of different communities. They are defined by the tangible and the intangible and they define who is part of that community and who is an outsider. Cohen (2001) argues that it is the symbolic construction and semiotic boundaries that

define community. *"Rather than being the sign of a traditional and outmoded social structure, the cultural experience of community as a bounded symbolic whole is something virtually universal in both non-industrial and industrial societies, transcending even the macro social forces of capitalism and socialism in their many variations"* (Hamilton, 2001 p. 9). The tensions and the fear expressed during the bus ride point to a clear demarcation between the two communities. The bragging, the enforced consumption, and the feeling of entrapment gives rise to relationships that are deeply embedded in power. At their core boundaries are about margins and their relation to totalities (Jenks, 2003 p.2). Douglas (1966) considers this in terms of the social structuring and maintenance of society where "the whole universe is harnessed to men's attempts to force one another into good citizenship. Thus, we find that certain moral codes are upheld and certain social rules are defined by belief in dangerous contagion" (Ibid, p.13) "...wherever the lines are precarious we find pollution ideas come to their support. Physical crossing of the social barrier is treated as a dangerous pollution.... (Ibid, p.165). The most significant implication of this is the defining factor of 'perceived difference'. Difference is tolerated so long as it operates within the boundaries of what a given society deems acceptable. Once these boundaries are crossed or pushed back, the perpetrator becomes a threat and therefore subject to being brought back into line (Douglas, 1996).

What follows are two personal stories, those of Ashley and Mike (pseud.), illustrating the profound influence of symbolic territoriality on everyday lives in Bosnia. The narratives provide a unique lens into the persistent practice of 'othering' within geographical boundaries. 'Othering' is a socio-cultural process that demarcates and enforces divisions between 'us' and 'them' - creating insiders and outsiders within societies or spaces. These stories explore how othering is manifested in various forms of symbolic markers such as road symbols, signs, flags, names and even the alphabets used in everyday life.

Living on the line

Ashley is a young 36-year-old woman who originally comes from Banja Luka, the biggest administrative and political centre of Republika Srpska (RS). She works as IT technician and lives very close to the boundary line between East Sarajevo (RS) and Sarajevo (FB&H). At the beginning of our four-hour conversation, Ashley notes that the boundary between East Sarajevo and Sarajevo is ‘evident since it is established on the map thus representing legal and political recognition’. Ashley's story draws us into her experience living on the boundary line between East Sarajevo and Sarajevo. She navigates through a landscape burdened with symbols and markers, which perpetually highlight the ‘otherness’ and division within her community.

“There are road symbols. If there are any words written on it, there is a change in alphabet, they start with Cyrillic and Latin letter are put second. Billboards are showing politicians that can be voted in Republic of Srpska. Certain restaurant's name uses the names of people who are Serbs according to our understanding. And it is not just that, it is also the use of flags...for example if you got through Vitez or even in Herzegovina, you see Herzeg-Bosna flags, where it just appears that those people are either so afraid or feel the need to point out something or they are afraid somebody is going to take something away from them. That is how I interpret it. And it is actually sadder to me that they feel the need to we have to point out, otherwise somehow it will be forgotten or somebody will point that put, show it in your... I feel as if I am showed in the face. Like, this is something disregard it”,
Ashley.

Figure 5.9 Boundary Line on Vraca: Entering Republika Srpska from the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with RS Flag and Welcome Sign on the Left



Photograph taken by author in summer 2018.

Ashley's observation of these markers highlights the ways in which symbols can create a sense of inclusion for those who identify with the represented group, while simultaneously excluding others. The photograph taken in summer 2018 (Figure 5.9, above) depicts the use of flags positioned in strategic places, to denote the identity of territory on which its placed. This can be seen as a tool for maintenance of territoriality and in turn territorialized consumption. These markers are forms of spatial language, communicating messages about identity, authority, and belonging. In a way, they are both an assertion and a defence, illustrating the emotional dimensions of territoriality. These markers become part of the 'landscape of power,' as per

Sack (1983), and contribute to the maintenance of certain social, cultural, and political norms and practices. The idea of ‘pointing out’ territorial markers as though they might otherwise be ‘forgotten or disregarded’ connects with Paasi's (2022) understanding of the production and reproduction of territorial identity as a social and cultural process that needs to be continually reinforced.

This is a very interesting point which can also be related to the theme of maintenance presented above. Namely, legitimizing territory and locating territoriality in space and place is not sufficient. For people to continue believing that boundaries are necessary, there needs to be a process of maintaining those boundaries. Furthermore, Ashley points out the similarities in these practices across different geographic regions in Bosnia, where she can also feel the notion of exclusion from those territories. This underlines the pervasive nature of these practices and the ways in which they contribute to the maintenance of boundaries across the country.

Walking the divides

On the other hand, Mike's narrative takes us through his experiences of hiking in areas marked with overt signs of Serb identity. Although he is drawn to the natural beauty of the area, the overt symbols make him feel unwelcome and uneasy. This discomfort highlights the power of these markers to create a sense of 'otherness' and exclusion.

"I feel I am not really welcome to that part of Bosnia, although I go, I go regularly to be honest, to nature especially. But, if I notice a lot of Serb signs somewhere, I get upset. To be honest, I am afraid to go really far in the forest on Serb side of territory.

You mean a forest when you are hiking in nature?

Yes, yes, exactly. I am not sure whether it is because of the forest – dark and scary when you go deeper. Or is it because I am afraid someone drunk and crazy will appear from nowhere. I mean, while I am telling you this story, I feel like I am crazy (laugh). But the fact that I get uncomfortable while going for a hike and seeing millions of flags, that is true. I mean, can I please live in a normal country where signs to the mountain hike are informative about hiking (we both laugh here).", *Mike*.

Mike wishes for a simpler experience, where signs in nature would serve merely informative purposes related to hiking, rather than being charged with political or ethnic meanings. The presence of these markers in what should be a calming natural space suggests that territorial claims are extending into all aspects of life, even ones where people seek escape or relaxation. This aligns with Brighenti's (2010) notion that visibility plays a crucial role in recognizing what is considered a 'proper' territory. In this context, the very act of filling a natural space with such markers disrupts the idea of territory as solely a geographical concept; it also becomes a psychological and emotional landscape. Mike's experience reveals how deeply territorial markers can affect daily life, particularly for those who feel alienated by what those markers represent.

Both stories illustrate that boundaries can be physical and material. They can also be culturally defined and enforced within particular social worlds (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006). Here boundaries and territorialization are legitimized through the emplacement of signs which are both informative and metaphorical. Barthes (1967) suggests that once society exists, every usage is converted into a sign where reality is nothing more than what is intelligible through and by the sign. In this case even the colour of the letters has a deep significance that is instantly understood as a marker of separation and difference. These signs serve the purpose of ‘othering’, whereby each group recognizes and responds accordingly to their sign. Size, scale, and location also play a part in the construction of the divisive message. The sheer size of the billboards scattered along key positions is a reminder of who is in charge. But it is the omnipresence of flags that are a potent symbol of identity. Flags are riddled with meaning. They are one of the many mechanisms by which positions of domination and power are perpetuated in the social world. They can be imbued with history and tradition (Hobsbawm, 1983), pride or shame. Crucially, they can be signifiers of control. They can replace those of conquered nations as markers of ownership and can serve to divide, unite, exclude, and include. They are raised in celebration and victory, lowered in death and defeat, and burnt in protest. They are the symbols of national and territorial identity and can be used to resignify notions of community. In this sense flags are part of the processes that restrain, order and reproduce domination through cultural mechanisms as averse to force (Rey, 2014). In this context, flags are mechanisms of power, exercised as symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1989) - namely "the imposition of systems of symbolism and meaning (i.e. culture) upon groups or classes in such a way that they are experienced as legitimate" (Jenkins 1992 p.104 in Rey 2014 p.388).

The relationship between othering and maintenance

Bourdieu's (1989, 2000) theory of symbolic power strengthens the relationship between maintenance and othering, with the formation of territorial boundaries often being driven by those wielding symbolic power. They establish norms, values, and symbols, defining the 'common sense' of that society, hence playing a critical role in 'othering'. This power is performative, separating the 'self' from the 'other' (Goulding and Domic, 2009) and maintaining the integrity of the territorial identity.

An example of a children playground portrays this interplay:

Memo: Sophie and me on the balcony

While we are standing on her balcony, Sophie shows me the playground in front of her building located on the IEBL. When the council workers come to mow the grass they stop at the boundary line, thus leaving visible mark of the separation line. She complains about this saying that her child cannot play safely because of tall grass. Mowing just one side of the boundary line plasticly represents the 'us' and 'them' divide, a tangible and visible sign of separation that is seemingly harmless yet deeply impactful.

“Since we moved, right there - they started constructing a residential building, they are almost done. Half of it is in the Federation and half of it in Republic of Srpska. I think there are apartment there that are in no man's land. There is a park there we don't know to whom it belongs. There is a guy who lives there for a long time, and he told us when you see a guy mowing the gras, you know the public service who mows the grass, you can see where they stop, in the middle of the field, and there is a line. So we know exactly where the line is, it is ridiculous.”

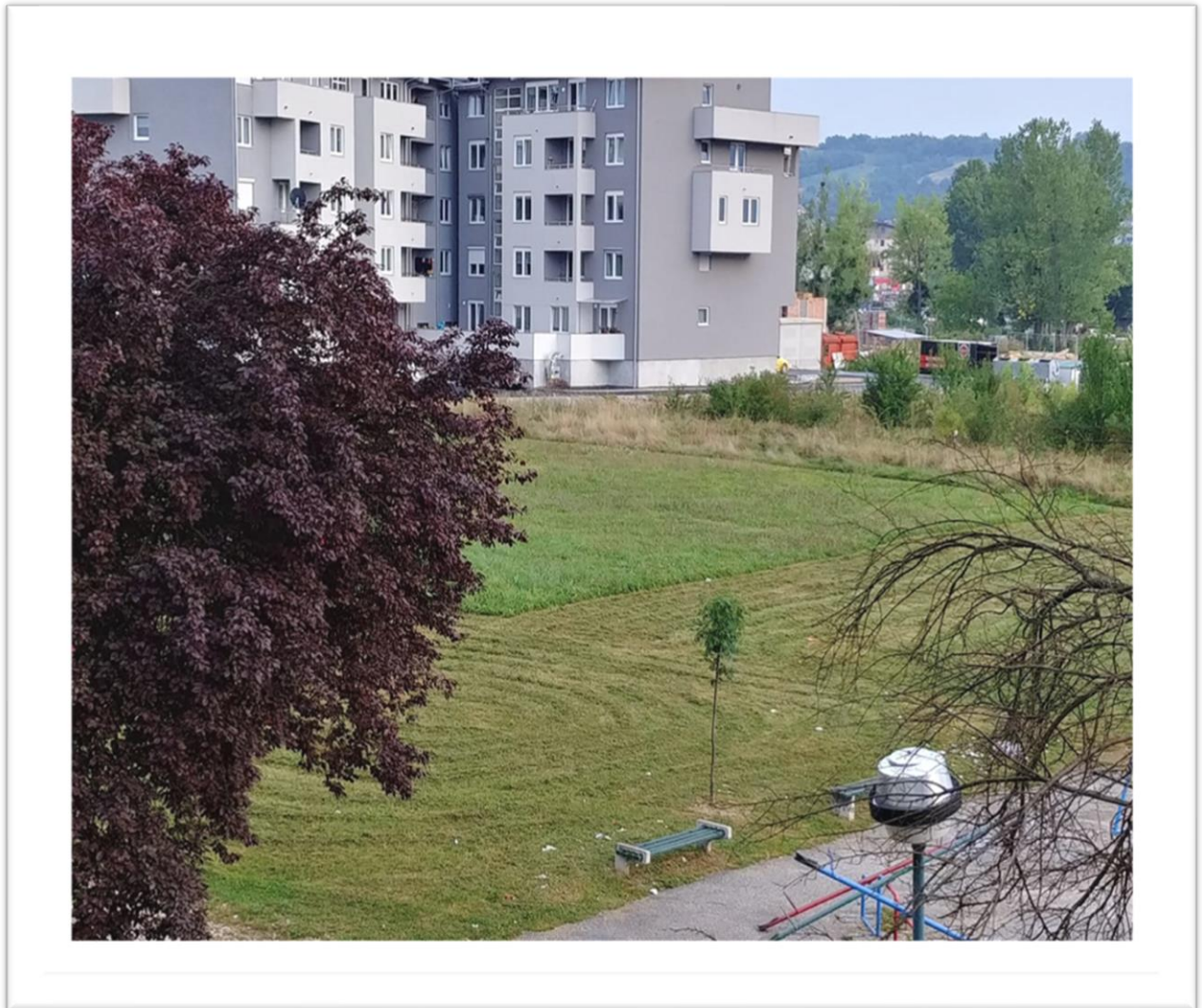
In the given memo, the act of mowing grass up to a boundary line serves as an understated but potent example of maintenance and othering in territorialization, reflecting Bourdieu's (2000) theory of symbolic power. The local council's deliberate cessation of mowing at the line

demarcates the limits of their jurisdiction but also reveals a deeper ‘us vs them’ divide that extends into the mundane aspects of daily life, such as a child's playground. Sophie's complaint that her child can't play safely because of the tall grass on the other side highlights how territorial divisions have real, palpable impacts on individual lives. Such micro-level enactments of territorial boundaries may appear trivial but are instrumental in maintaining and reinforcing the concept of ‘otherness’ within that particular locale.

This performative action—stopping the mow at a boundary—illustrates how symbolic power operates to maintain territorial identities. It makes explicit the 'common sense' of a divided society, ingraining in its members’ the idea that these divisions are natural and need to be maintained, even in the most trivial of community services. The boundary line, in essence, becomes more than just a geographical marker; it is a psychological barrier that the residents must navigate every day.

Furthermore, the boundary line also exudes a strange ambivalence, particularly in the construction of a residential building that straddles both sides of the divide, leading to a ‘no man's land.’ This resonates with the absurdity and arbitrariness of such territorial divisions and the conflicts that arise from these dichotomies. Yet, it is precisely these seemingly absurd and trivial manifestations that imbue the boundary with enduring significance, making it both visible and felt in everyday activities and decisions. The figure 5.10 depicts a photograph of the playground, which I took from Sophie’s balcony.

Figure 5.10 A playground divided



Source: Photograph taken by author in summer 2018

The photograph depicts the unmown grass on the playground, which acts as physical and metaphorical boundary, hindering Sophie's child from playing freely and fully experiencing the playground. This is an example of how territorialized consumption, and the process of 'othering' inherent to it, infiltrates the mundane and seemingly neutral aspects of life, like children's play. It imposes a spatial constraint and limits the scope of their play, subtly yet firmly enforcing the territorial boundaries.

The dynamics of territorialized consumption further elaborate this relationship. Consumption becomes a mode of both marking territory and enforcing social norms and boundaries. Acts of consumption, whether they be of goods, services, or space itself, are often a manifestation of power dynamics within a society and act as physical embodiments of othering (Allen and Anderson, 1994; Bradford and Sherry, 2015; Vikas et al., 2015). Sophia's story reflects her idea of the physical embodiments of othering, namely the exploitation of territorial maintenance - lawn mowing - to draw a tangible boundary line, thereby segregating spaces and imposing rules and restrictions on their use. Territorialized consumption, thus, provides a material form to the otherwise abstract process of othering, making it tangible and more deeply embedded in our everyday lives. The dynamics of territorialized consumption play out in the mundane and often overlooked actions, such as mowing a lawn, emphasizing, once again, how the territory consumes its inhabitants, dictating their actions, experiences, and behaviours.

In this dynamic, individuals are not just consumers of territories; they are also consumed by territoriality, that is by the power, violence and authority acting in the territory, with visible and invisible boundaries as their multifaced agents. Territoriality consumes people in order to reduce their individuality through identification with one side of the boundary and opposition to the other, thus preserving its existence and strength.

In conclusion, 'othering' serves as a fundamental tool in the construction and reinforcement of territorial boundaries. It influences how territories are perceived, experienced, and consumed, and highlights the dynamic interplay between territoriality, boundary maintenance, and symbolic power. This interconnectedness reveals the intricate complexity of the social world as depicted by Bourdieu (1985, p. 201), illustrating the "degree of indeterminacy and fuzziness" inherent in the construction and maintenance of social realities.

Summary

This part explored the concept of ‘othering’ as a critical process at the intersection of territoriality, boundary maintenance, and consumption. It identified how symbolic power, particularly through culturally significant markers, plays a key role in defining territorial boundaries and enforcing social norms. Flags were highlighted as a potent symbol of identity, signifying positions of power, and contributing to ‘othering’. The study demonstrated that ‘othering’ significantly influences how territories are consumed. By explaining these connections, the research contributed to a deeper understanding of territorialized consumption, highlighting the integral role of symbolic power and cultural mechanisms in shaping societal territories and their consumption.

What follows is the analysis of the final key category, identified as Expression of Territorialized Consumption.

Expression of Territorialized Consumption

The final category in this theoretical framework, termed the ‘expression’ of territorialized consumption, builds upon the preceding categories of legitimisation and maintenance of territorialized consumption. As the third and final key category, expression is illustrated by two concepts: naturalization of boundaries and challenging boundaries.

Naturalization of boundaries describes how boundaries can become accepted and perceived as natural or given over time, leading to the stabilization of territorial arrangements. Through a convergence of social norms, practices, and even historical remnants of conflict, these boundaries solidify, resulting in the stabilization of territorial arrangements. This stabilization isn't mere passivity; rather, it's a manifestation of symbolic violence influencing individual perspectives and societal norms (Bourdieu, 1989, 1991, 2000; Wacquant, 1990; Swartz, 2013; Varman and Vijay, 2018).

Challenging boundaries deals with questioning or resisting the established territorial boundaries, highlighting the dynamic nature of spatial arrangements. Based on Bourdieu's theory of symbolic power and violence, symbolic forms are not mere representations but are potent tools that legitimize, maintain, mirror, and challenge social structures. The concept of ‘challenging boundaries’ illustrates this resistance, demonstrating that responses to territorial boundaries aren't binary but rather fall along a spectrum (Cherrier, 2009). Individuals don't wholly reject or accept (naturalize) territorialized consumption. They may test boundaries or reject the imposed norms completely. The fluidity in this context reflects the dynamic nature of human responses to symbolic violence.

The relationship between these concepts shows that the naturalization of boundaries helps stabilize territories, while the challenging of boundaries keeps them adaptable and responsive.

Illustrating the Expression of territorialized consumption, these two concepts are analysed in depth below.

The Concept of Naturalisation

The concept of naturalization territorialized consumption confirms and applies Bourdieu's argument where "symbolic power is a gentle violence, imperceptible and invisible even to its victims, exerted for the most part through the purely symbolic channels of communication and cognition (more precisely, misrecognition), recognition, or even feeling" (Bourdieu, 2001c, p. 2). Naturalization therefore refers to the process through which individuals internalize and adapt to the symbolic violence that forms part of their everyday lives. This process of internalization ultimately leads to a 'misrecognition' of violence, whereby people fail to perceive the underlying power dynamics and injustices as violent.

The expression phase, characterized by the concept of naturalization, is where the influence of symbolic power and violence becomes fully absorbed into the daily lives of individuals and communities. At this stage, territories shape people's perceptions, as individuals internalize the norms, values, and power dynamics associated with their respective territories, adapting to the structural realities imposed upon them. The process of naturalization is thus a crucial mechanism in territorialized consumption. It facilitates the transformation of territorial boundaries, divisions, and power dynamics into a 'natural' social order. This 'natural' order, however, is a *misrecognition* (Bourdieu, 2000), a *socially constructed reality* (Berger and Luckmann, 1966; 1991), and a *derealized* violence (Varman and Vijay, 2018).

Examples of Naturalization

The following excerpts illustrate the concept of naturalization.

“I know they are there; I am well aware of them but they are something we all got used to. However, when I really start to think about them, then I get the sense of severity or how serious they really are...in their essence”, *Brian*.

The above participant acknowledges the existence of certain structures or boundaries (‘they’) but also admits to becoming accustomed to them. The gravity of these boundaries becomes apparent only upon deeper contemplation, revealing the underlying symbolic violence. Here, naturalization has led to the misrecognition of the seriousness of these boundaries. In a sense, this territorialized consumption is so pervasive and normalized that it becomes 'invisible' and part of the everyday lived reality. Invisibility becomes an effective tool of silent domination and silencing the dominated (Björkert et al., 2016).

“I pay water bill in one administrative territory and gas in another. So, I pay water bill in RS, and I pay gas to the Federation. It is like my apartment is split into two halves, honestly that is how I feel. But I am used to that, and I don’t mind so much. But, sometimes it gets on my nerves that I need to go physically to two separate places to pay these bills, *James*.

Another excerpt above illustrates the paradoxical nature of living on the boundary of two administrative territories. From a Bourdieusian perspective, the situation described epitomizes how symbolic power operates. The administrative division between water and gas bills isn't merely a logistical challenge; it is a constant reminder of the territorial and ideological divisions that permeate everyday life. The utility bills, in this case, serve as a tangible form of symbolic violence, imposing additional emotional and physical labour on the individual who has to navigate two different systems.

“We constantly comment that there is a border there. In the beginning it was like you have to accept you live here now, you park your car here and it gets stolen very often. They steal cars here because they can transport them quickly across the entity lines. So in that sense we think about the border. The second thing is the board, when you go over Vraca and on the one side is Kanton Sarajevo and 100m away is written Republika Srpska. So you think about it in the sense of the board and you know it is there”.

The quote above demonstrates the implications of territorialized consumption and how it impacts individuals' everyday lives. The physical border is not just a line on a map, but a significant demarcation that influences their living conditions (e.g., the frequent car theft due to the proximity to the border). They have become accustomed to this border, highlighting how symbolic violence manifests in their daily lives.

“There are all the road symbols. If there are any words written on it, there is a change in alphabet, they start with Cyrillic and Latin letter are put the second. Of course people who are politicians, so billboards are showing politicians that can be voted in Republic of Srpska. Certain restaurant's name use the names of people who are Serbs according to our understanding. And it is not just that, it is also the use of flags. So, this is not just for Sarajevo and East Sarajevo, it is in lot of parts of Republic of Srpska, I was just travelling to Bihac few days ago, and there is part of Mrkonjic Grad where when you go via the bridge and throughout the whole city you can see little flags that Republic of Srpska is using everywhere.

So what do you think about that?

I laughed at it because I am so used.”, *Ashley*.

Symbolic power and territorialized consumption manifest through symbols (such as road signs, billboards, restaurant names, and flags), which serve as constant reminders of territorial boundaries and associated identities. They underline the essence of Bourdieu's notion of symbolic power and violence exerted through symbolic channels of communication. What is interesting here is how Ashley above responds to the question about boundaries – she says she laughs at them because she is so used to them. Laughter shows the extent of the naturalization to these boundaries indicating how accustomed she has become to this symbolic violence. Even when directed at authorities, laughter often serves to vent frustrations and carry on (Kravetz,

2021). Laughter in this situation can be interpreted as a vent of frustration, reflection of misrecognition (Swartz, 2013), and a process whereby symbolic power is perceived “not for what it objectively is but in a form which renders it legitimate in the eyes of a beholder” (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977, p. 8).

What follows is the personal story from James and Sophie, a couple who've chosen to reside on the entity line.

Normalizing conflict in an everyday place

Their short story about living in the post-war boundary line follows:

“We really didn’t mind that the apartment is on the administrative line, they are cheaper than in the rest of Dobrinja. But they are cheaper because people don’t want to live there. It is a division line where there are a lot of Serbs, Muslims and Croats, and that is something we like. People are much warmer and nicer and it is quiet, and there is a lot of police there because it is an administrative line so it is also very safe, clean and quiet place, away from traffic, so this is why we choose the place. There is more police than usual because it is a border, administrative border. The border is there but it is not visible to you, when you walk down the street. Unless you stare in the street signs and see different colours. Police is there mainly because of traffic regulations, regulations for taxis and there is a large bus station there, so that is why there is a lot of police there”, *James and Sophie*.

The following memo describes my first impressions of our talk:

James is 44 years old and lives on the entity line in Dobrinja [one of Sarajevo's neighbourhoods]. He works as car-mechanic in Dobrinja. We talk for more than three hours in the apartment he shares with his wife and young baby boy. It is modern looking, has two bedrooms and a nice small balcony where we spent most of our time talking and drinking coffee. His wife, Sophie works as administrative clerk. Sophie, together with her family spent most of the war in Dobrinja. For Sophie, the street where she lived represents something that deeply formed her. During the war her street was 100 metres away from the front line, and she was not able to get out of emplacement the building hallway. Both of them have witnessed the power of territories and symbolic violence, with symbols of war and divisions carved into the fabric of their everyday life. Yet, they have chosen to live on this very administrative line, the representation of a war past now manifesting as an invisible boundary between identities and ethnic groups. As they navigate their lives on the entity line, they confront and internalize the subtleties of symbolic violence - the territorial markings, the presence of increased police, the nuanced differences in street signs. The very existence of these invisible borders is recognized and yet effortlessly incorporated into their lives. These markers, once symbols of overt violence and division, are now part of the mundane - normalized, overlooked, and misrecognized. This is the essence of naturalization. People adapt to the norms, values, and power dynamics that come with the territory, thus accepting a 'natural' social order that belies the underlying symbolic violence.

The memo provides the context of the couple's experience; it also attempts to bridge the gap between the abstract concepts of naturalization, symbolic power and violence, and the lived experiences of individuals in a specific context. This supports the analysis by showing the influence of territorial boundaries in shaping their daily experiences and perceptions, thus deepening the understanding of their normalization process.

In the context of Bourdieu's theory of symbolic power and violence, the memo detailing James and Sophie's experiences is particularly illuminating. They live in a place deeply marked by territorial divisions and symbolic violence, yet they have internalized these divisions to such an extent that they're largely taken for granted—what Bourdieu would term as "misrecognition" (Waquant, 1990; Swartz, 2013). The 'mundane' details like territorial markings, increased police presence, and nuanced differences in street signs that they navigate daily have become

so normalized that they are often overlooked and taken for granted. This is where symbolic violence transforms into symbolic power; it's now so deeply embedded that it's invisible, masquerading as the 'natural' state of things. They are part of a system that they didn't choose, but they perpetuate it by adhering to its norms and internalizing its violence. In this way, the boundary lines 'consume' them, just as they consume the territory they inhabit.

This notion highlights this two-way relation between people and territory challenging the conventional dichotomy between individuals as subject/consumers and territories as objects to be consumed. While this dynamic can be latent in most contexts, it is likely to be vivid and visible in territorialized and disrupted contexts. In my view Sarajevo, with its multifaced, subtle but still pervasive boundaries and relentless territoriality is a unique example of how territorialized consumption can be dramatically effective in its dual 'consuming' function even, or perhaps particularly, in the absence of hard borders or physical separation.

The decision to live in a place that many avoid because of administrative complexity could reflect a form of spatial vulnerability (Varman and Vijay, 2021). The role of administrative divisions is significant as it can represent sovereign power, reflecting governmental control over area, with the presence of the police as state intervention and authority (Varman and Vijay, 2021). Sophia and James have internalized this violence so completely that it has become second nature, thereby reinforcing the existing power structures. Their daily lives become the stage on which this misrecognized form of power is continuously re-enacted.

The boundary however, although representing past conflict and division, has been accepted and integrated into their lives, contributing to a sense of safety due to the increased police presence. This shift in perception exemplifies how territory-specific capital can be augmented, leading to the maintenance or even the creation of new social structures (Castilhos et al., 2017).

They recognize the presence of the administrative boundary and its implications, but they have adapted to it even to see benefits, such as safety and tranquillity. The presence of the boundary is normalized in their everyday life and has become an almost invisible part of their environment, noticed only in subtle traces, like colours and street signs. This demonstrates a clear connection between ‘maintenance’ where symbols are kept in status quo to aid the process of legitimisation of territoriality, and ‘naturalization’, where the boundary, once a source of extreme danger, has been integrated into the mundane routine of daily life.

Taken-for-granted boundary

The second story related to the concept of naturalization explores Victoria's experience. Victoria says she has grown so accustomed to the border signs, she no longer acknowledges them. The boundary has fallen into the backdrop of her life, completely routinized and anonymized, symbolizing a form of misrecognition (Bourdieu, 1997).

“And you know what else is interesting to me: when some people, visitors, who come here...I don't know, from USA, visitors.... They notice signs much more than we do—it really comes to their attention that there are signs of border crossing.... Sarajevo crossed and then Welcome to Republika Srpska.

Why do you think is that?

I have grown so accustomed to them that I no longer notice that. That is completely normal to me. I don't look at that anymore....how to say it....like some element of identification. For me that is everyday life and for them it is an indication.

Indication of what?

It can be just a reminder of some real...I don't know how to say it.... administrative differences. In fact, that is worse for me. Very often, wherever I am in Bosnia and Herzegovina...I don't know where I am...geographically. (laugh) I don't know geography. But then when you start to dig a little bit, go a little bit deeper, than you see the differences in health system, social system and security and so on...you basically see that the state apparatus functions completely separately. And that is for me a symbol of difference”,
Victoria.

Victoria does not see the boundary anymore as an element of identification, unlike her friends who come to visit her who see it as ‘an indication’. Boundaries, and everything they represent in this divided territory, become natural, taken for granted, “inevitable state of affairs, on the part of the dominated” (Swartz, 2013, p. 83). “Symbolic violence is misrecognized obedience in that symbolic power is accepted as legitimate rather than as an arbitrary imposition”, just like Victoria's story reveals, boundaries are reminders of some real ‘administrative differences’. In this context, she recognizes boundaries as legitimate tools of social divisions, yet not an element of identification, noting the sense

of misrecognition. Dominated accept this form of gentle, imperceptible, and sometimes invisible violence (Ibid, p. 83-84).

Further, it can be argued that Victoria's desensitization or as Varman and Vijay (2018) frame as “derealization” towards the boundary signs, such that they no longer stand out in her daily life, characterizes the process of naturalization. The practice of “everyday violence... operates in the ordinary, mundane world... both in the form of rumours and imaginings and in the daily enactments” (Scheper-Hughes, 1993, p.230). Symbolic violence is taken for granted, increased by its ambiguity (Ibid, p. 233).

Interestingly, when Victoria starts recognizing the importance of these boundaries, she embodies Bourdieu's (2000, p. 166 in Swartz, 2013, p. 84) idea of "symbolic capital." This recognition gives her a form of accumulated authority within her societal structure, allowing her to perceive and understand the symbolic power embedded within these territorial divisions. In her acknowledgement of the state apparatus functioning separately, she detects the symbolic hierarchy, understanding that the invisible divisions signify more than geographic separations - they represent deep-seated societal disparities. In summary, both stories illustrate the subtle yet profound influence of symbolic power and violence. Through naturalization and acceptance, the individuals have adopted a tacit obedience to these symbolic boundaries, reflecting Bourdieu's concept of 'misrecognized obedience.' The narratives thus provide valuable insights into how individuals navigate, interpret, and adapt to the symbolic power of territorial divisions in their daily lives, revealing the mundane manifestations of these complex socio-political dynamics.

The relationship between naturalization and expression

The expression of territorialized consumption, particularly as seen through the concept of naturalization, represents the concluding phase in the tripartite sequence of legitimisation, maintenance, and expression. The foundational step, legitimisation, was where territorial boundaries and associated power dynamics were initially established and justified within a society. This was followed by the maintenance phase, where these established territories were reinforced and upheld through continuous symbolic acts, thereby preserving the existing social order.

In the context of territorialized consumption, expression of territorialized consumption depicted how people internalize, react to, and interact with territorial boundaries and markers in their daily lives. This naturalization process involved people adjusting to the territorial markers - be it boundaries, symbols, or signs - and accepting them as a part of their daily existence. They no longer viewed these territorial demarcations as violent or disruptive but normalized them, thereby assimilating the territorial boundaries into their identity and sense of self.

The instances of James and Sophia living on the entity line and Victoria's desensitization towards the boundary signs illustrated this process. Through the everyday interaction with these symbolic markers, they adapted to the symbolic violence, which further mirrored and legitimized the existing social structures.

Expression, however, encompasses not only the naturalization these markers, but also the act of challenging them, that is resisting the existing power structures. This way, the expression of territorialized consumption represents the interplay of acceptance and resistance, forming a dynamic response to the symbolic power embedded within territorial boundaries.

Summary

The concept of naturalization, in the context of territorialized consumption, is the process wherein individuals adapt to and internalize the symbolic markers or boundaries of a territory in their daily experiences. This internalization leads to acceptance of these markers as normal aspects of life. Through this process, territorial divisions, or restrictions, which may initially appear disruptive or conflict-ridden, become an integral part of the individuals' identities and worldview. This normalization thus demonstrates the subtle but pervasive influence of symbolic power in shaping people's perceptions and actions within a given territory.

On the other hand, the next concept – ‘challenging boundaries’ introduces the dynamic element of resistance in the face of symbolic power. Despite the pervasive force of territorialized consumption, some individuals resist the imposed norms, either by pushing against the boundaries or rejecting them outright. This resistance does not eliminate symbolic power but challenges it, providing an avenue for individual agency and an opportunity to redefine social structures. It is this challenging of boundaries that infuses the territory with new meanings, disrupting the status quo, and often driving social change.

What follows is the exploration of the final concept, labelled as ‘challenging territorialized consumption’.

The Concept of Challenging

As the theoretical framework explored in this thesis, territorialized consumption recognizes the complex ways in which territorial boundaries influence human actions and choices, particularly in consumer behaviour. It moves beyond a simplified understanding of human responses to these boundaries, portraying a spectrum that ranges from acceptance to rejection (Cherrier, 2009). This framework illustrates the complex relationship between consumers and the consumption spaces they inhabit, reflecting the dynamic interactions that constitute our daily existence (Debord, 1994).

The concept of ‘challenging’ forms the final aspect of this framework, illustrating the resistance, fluidity, and dynamic nature of human responses to symbolic violence within territorialized consumption. Far from a simple acceptance or rejection, individuals engage with territorial demarcations in complex ways, testing or even rejecting the norms imposed (Cherrier and Murray, 2004; Rumbo, 2002). This demonstrates that the expression of territorialized consumption is not straightforward or binary, but a continuum of responses.

Furthermore, this framework acknowledges the inherent limitations in power structures and discourses (Harvey, 2009; Lefebvre, 1996). These power structures, including symbolic power (Bourdieu, 2000), leave room for contestation, resistance, or challenging. The theme of resistance has found resonance in a wide array of literature, from spatial-geographic studies to marketing and consumer research. Examples range from everyday practices like walking (Lorimer, 2011) to specific performances like street art (Visconti et al., 2010), and even consumer cynicism and scepticism (Ozanne and Murray, 1995).

From Bourdieu's perspective, the practices of challenging hold a distinctive social position. It's through challenging symbolic power and violence that individuals can gain control over their

own existence (Odou and de Pechpeyrou, 2010). As a critical tool, challenging can help people discover and define their ethical positions; This complex relation can be explored through the lens of the four types of consumer cynicism - defensive, offensive, subversive, and ethical (Odou and de Pechpeyrou, 2010).

Examples of Challenging

The following excerpts illustrate different forms of challenging boundaries in the post-conflict city of Sarajevo.

“Some of my friends have explicitly said that they would prefer not to go to RS or they do not want to consider it. I go”, *Brian*.

“I have a lot of friends who will even judge me when I go normally across the boundary”, *Roger*.

“I ‘ve heard that some people do not go there, I go”, *Nick*.

“For me, psychologically, borders do not exist. I refuse to think of them as divisions”, *Victoria*.

The excerpts from the post-conflict city of Sarajevo collectively reveal different attitudes and behaviours towards territorial boundaries. These statements reflect the complex dynamics and spectrum of human reactions to territorial demarcations, transcending a mere binary response of acceptance or rejection (Cherrier, 2009). Quotes above portray that people consciously navigate the borders: some are crossing them while others are expressing judgment or a preference not to do so. This navigation highlights the fluidity and dynamic nature of human responses, consistent with Debord's (1994) notion of dynamic interaction with consumption spaces. The refusal to acknowledge borders as divisions and the will to defy societal norms

resonate with Harvey's (2009) and Lefebvre's (1996) understanding of power structures that leave room for contestation, resistance, or challenging.

These real-life examples also align with the concept of consumer cynicism and scepticism as forms of challenging (Ozanne and Murray, 1995; Odou and de Pechpeyrou, 2010). According to Odou and de Pechpeyrou (2010), it is possible to identify four types of consumer cynicism: defensive (protection from persuasion), offensive (Machiavellianism in its core – get the most before being fooled), subversive (moral, but resistive), and ethical (moral, but mastering its own life). Whether driven by a moral stance, a desire to gain control over one's existence (as suggested by Bourdieu), or other motivations, the individuals' decisions to challenge or conform to boundaries reveal often clashing underlying dynamics.

What follows are two personal stories that will give a deeper understanding of these processes.

Beyond the Boundaries: A Story of Resistance and Identity in Dorothy's World

Dorothy mainly talks about her father. Through her father's story, we see a clear example of a boundary being rejected in a context of territorialized consumption. Despite the trauma her father experienced during the war in Banja Luka, he regularly returns to the city, the main centre of RS and a good four-hour drive from Sarajevo. He also routinely goes to East Sarajevo crossing the invisible line that separates the two entities. It should be noted that he does not have any compelling reason for crossing the boundary, as he goes there for ordinary activities such as grocery shopping or having a coffee. These mundane acts, performed on the 'other' side of the boundary, illustrate his rejection of the territorialized consumption delineated by the imposed divisions. During this 'visits' to the other side he openly talks about Bosnian politics with people. As this behaviour could potentially be perceived as provocative, it could be seen

as a form of resistance to the symbolic power. Dorothy, on the other hand, demonstrates a more cautious approach. She is aware of the symbolic boundaries and expresses discomfort over potential misinterpretations of her identity and views. She refrains from participating fully in the consumption due to her concerns about cultural differences. Nonetheless, she still accompanies her father, indicating a willingness to test the boundaries, even if she is not entirely comfortable rejecting them.

“My dad still likes Banja Luka (RS) and he is very connected to that city but it is not...maybe it wasn't stressful and horrific as certain other places given that the actual war was not happening in Banja Luka but there was a lot of pressure, a lot of people being put in jail including my dad, often being overseen by the police, not having something to eat. Yes it was a very lonely period and very terrifying in a sense that ‘Will I be sent to the army to fight against my own people?’ or do I get sent to jail...but the city itself did not cause traumas. He often goes there for a job, to visit his old house.

We exchanged the house with people who lived here; actually here in this house was a Serb family from Sarajevo. They lived here in this house. And we exchanged them.

So you mentioned that he goes often to East Sarajevo, that he has some favourite places. So you can say that he does this often?

Yes almost every day, very often. At least two three times he goes shopping for food and groceries there, he goes at least one for coffee and cake. He goes to Bingo store, and Best I think it is called. He says it is much more spacious, there is not a lot of people, he can park freely. And they have a good selection of food.

I don't go that often. I go if I travel to work. It is not unusual for me to go through Vraca and then airport. I go to shopping sometimes with him but for some reason I don't feel that comfortable sitting in certain places, restaurant and so on. For one reason if I go to eat a meal then I sometimes need to think ‘OK is pork being used?’, is it offered in it... I don't prefer to think about those things. And it is still somewhere in the back of my head that I don't feel that comfortable in the sense ‘Can I speak freely about everything and anything here?’, what if my name is mentioned? But if somebody says something about let's say religion, or if I say something related to Bosnian conditions, I wonder how it that going to be interpreted. It is funny that I have those perceptions in my head because often when I go with my dad, and I don't know if he is doing this on purpose, is he being provocative, but he purposely, or at least I feel it is purposely, speaks about certain topics and being very calm, saying and pointing out the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the fact that there is Republic of Srpska and Federation, or ‘if only Serbs would actually consider themselves as Bosnians, and then we wouldn't have these kind of problems’ and he keeps mentioning some things related to politics that someone could see as a provocation but nobody ever said anything or did anything. As far as I know. Maybe he was the one causing uncomfortable situations (laugh). I mean he wasn't speaking loudly or trying to talk

to anybody but he was talking about ourselves as we were completely free. He was sitting anywhere and he would express his opinion about whatever but mentioning how Serbs...there is nothing wrong with these people but how it would be wonderful if they would looked themselves as Bosnians and how that would benefit our country”, *Dorothy*.

In Dorothy's story, her father's relationship with Banja Luka and his shopping habits provides an illustrative case of how individuals may challenge territorialized consumption. His attachment to places with personal history and emotional connection, as opposed to mainstream consumer spaces, exemplifies rejection of the prevailing norms defined by a consumer-driven society (Kanter and Mirvis, 1989). His behaviour does not fall into a straightforward binary of acceptance or rejection but represents a complex interplay of resistance, nostalgia, and identity.

Furthermore, his openness to engage in dialogue about contested cultural and historical matters reveals an underlying challenge to territoriality. The very act of choosing specific shopping locations over others may be seen as a symbolic gesture of challenging the physical colonization of public space and the psychological colonization of consumers' minds (Cherrier, 2009) and rebelling against domination (Firat and Venkatesh, 1995). It is provocative and denouncing the marketplace colonization, therefore possibly fitting the subversive type of cynicism by “shocking a deluded humanity into awareness of its foolishness” (Odou and de Pechpeyrou, 2010. p. 1803).

However, it is essential to acknowledge that this form of challenging may also encompass subtler and more complicated dimensions. The story's exploration of post-conflict identity, the reconciliation of past and present, and the personal navigation of collective memories provides insights into the fluid and multifaceted nature of human responses to symbolic violence. The portrayal of these complexities highlights that ‘challenging territorialized consumption’ is not a mere act of rebellion but a profound reflection on the intricate relationship between individuals, consumption, and broader societal norms.

Reclaiming Identity: Ann's Journey

The second story concerns Ann and offers an interesting perspective on rejecting boundaries. Her story is characterized by the emotional pain and feelings of alienation she experienced due to territorial divisions. Her distress stems from the symbolic violence exerted by the territoriality, which she perceives as having taken identity from her. This pain is so profound that for a long time she avoided areas that were once, before the war, familiar to her but had become marked as the 'other' after the war.

Despite her initial retrain, over time Ann begins to challenge these invisible boundaries. This process goes through her decision to see the boundary as 'fictional', indicating a conscious rejection of the social order. She says she 'refuses to play their game', indicating she is contesting a system as a whole (Thompson, 2004). The rejection of boundaries is further exemplified by her confrontation with a nationalist person, indicating that while she is willing to cross the boundaries, she rejects the underlying notion of ethnic division that these boundaries represent.

“Going to Trebevic was quite scary after the war. I didn't go to Lukavica for a very long time....i don't remember... I felt very uncomfortable. My brother would go because the gas is cheaper in Dobrinja. And even though there is a gas station to which I would stop, it is next to the border, so I would feel very uncomfortable.

Why would you feel uncomfortable?

Well because it [IEBL] is in very close proximity. Because you know the one year before the war, my aunt had a house in Trebevic and they [Serb paramilitary] would stop us [car] and mistreat us. We wanted to go skiing and there would be a guy with guns, some months before the war. Maybe in February. I didn't go. My parents never went to Lukavica anymore even though they worked there before the war for many years. I didn't go to Jahorina until..probably...2006 or 2008. Fairly recently. Because we had that house, my aunt had a house and she didn't take it bad, the house burned down and she built a new one. She went there, I couldn't do it. It was too painful.

Were you scared?

Just hurt, angry and hurt.

Why?

Because they took my nationality from me.

So you didn't want to go to their land?

Their land...yes. I kinda felt like 'oh now it is their land' Like you took my land and now it is their land. How is this your land please explain, how is it possible this half now belongs to you. But that again was out of my control, so the only thing I could control was whether I would play the game. I think what I needed that time is to see that it is a fictional border, you know. And once I was sure that it was...that there is not going to be a guy asking for a passport, with a gun, then I was freer to go. And now I will not go there [RS] but I used to go for a week and it was fantastic, but I would not go [to RS] for a longer time. We used to rent a holiday house. But now we wouldn't do that. Last year I heard a nationalist thing, I came into a fight, I wasn't in a good mood so maybe I initiated it, with a guy, while I was trying to buy a ticket and he told me: 'Why don't you go to Bjelasnica [ski resort on the Federation side] and talk like that [there]' and I told him 'why don't you come to the 21st century'. I decided not to play their game. They are still nationalist, and I think that is shallow", *Ann*.

In Bourdieu's terms, Ann's initial emotional distress can be seen as a form of symbolic violence—social norms that impose territorial boundaries on her and strip her of her identity. However, she disrupts this oppressive narrative by labelling the boundary as 'fictional,' thereby challenging the symbolic power at play. In considering the border as fictional, she aligns with Lefebvre's (1996) idea that power structures have their limits, and the symbolic power exerted by territorial demarcations can be contested or challenged (Bourdieu, 1991). Her open confrontation with a nationalist individual, refusing to 'play their game,' is indicative of resistance. This form of challenging resonates with consumer cynicism and scepticism theories, such as those defined by Odou and de Pechpeyrou (2010). Her rejection of ethnic division aligns with subversive cynicism, characterized as moral but resistive. Ann's actions embody a critical perspective, an attempt to gain control over her existence, to define her ethical position against territorial constraints (Odou and de Pechpeyrou, 2010).

Overall, Ann's story portrays a complex interplay between identity, resistance, and the concept of territorialized consumption. Her experience captures the complex human responses to

territorial boundaries and symbolic violence. Her journey towards challenging these invisible boundaries represents a broader human condition, reflecting societal struggles with acceptance, rejection, and the fluid nature of human interactions with territorialized spaces.

The relationship between challenging and expression

The Expression of territorialized consumption is linked to the way power finds tangible manifestations in daily life, particularly in the habits and practices associated with consumption. In the context of this framework, the challenging of social structures occurs simultaneously with the expression of territorialized consumption. The symbolic forms that permeate daily life, such as territorialized consumption practices, can both uphold and challenge social norms and hierarchies. By engaging in specific consumption practices tied to their social or territorial identity, individuals and communities might simultaneously conform to and challenge existing social structures.

Helen provides a more complex account of testing boundaries. She describes the everyday interactions with taxi drivers who are reluctant to cross from one entity to another. She is frustrated and sees these boundaries as artificial and detrimental to everyday life. Her insistence on using taxis that cross the entity line can be seen as a form of boundary testing. Despite the negative experiences with some drivers, she continues to do this, perhaps as a personal form of protest against the division.

“It is just there and you don’t see it [boundary]. Taxi drivers don’t like to into another entity, into the Federation because we are the last building in the Federation. I mean, when I go home from work I take a cab, and cab drivers are not very happy, they ask me whether they need to take off the sign, the taxi sign, because taxis cannot drive between entities, I don’t know it is a stupid regulation. They say they don’t like crossing, and I keep telling them you are not going to cross it. They are the only ones that raise awareness of that. But when you live there you don’t perceive that. This happens on a daily basis. It pisses

me off badly. It is stupid, and it is kind a stupid reality check when you realize what type of people you must work with. Of course, there are cab drivers that are cool and think that is also a very stupid thing but a lot of them start us versus them story and then it pisses you off to be around those people”, *Helen*.

Helen's frustration with these artificial boundaries and her persistence in using taxis that cross these lines can be linked to Cherrier and Murray's (2004) concept of consumer resistance. Her choices and behaviours are not merely about convenience; they reflect a personal form of protest against the division and a challenge to the entrenched social norms. This resistance is not just a reactionary response but a deeply symbolic act that contests the very foundation of these territorial divisions. Her interactions with taxi drivers demonstrate how power, identity, resistance, and consumption are intertwined, reflecting a broader social and political landscape (Patsiaouras, 2022). Her frustrations and persistence provide a window into the underlying tensions that manifest through territorial boundaries, giving an indication into how individuals navigate, resist, and challenge these structures daily. Her story is not merely a narrative of inconvenience; it's a profound expression of the constant negotiation with the territory that permeates her daily life.

Summary

In summary, the relationship between challenging social structures and the expression of territorialized consumption lies in how daily practices both reflect and influence the social order. They can maintain, legitimize, and mirror the existing structures but also have the potential to challenge them, reflecting a complex interplay between individual actions and broader social dynamics.

The concept of challenging in the context of territorialized consumption speaks about active resistance and questioning of the symbolic and real boundaries that territories impose on daily life. It highlights how individuals negotiate, resist, and confront the restrictions, identities, and norms associated with territorial divisions. In terms of territorialized consumption, the concept of challenging contributes to the understanding of how power structures and identities are not just passively accepted but actively contested. Individuals like Ann, Helen, and Dorothy actively resisted the norms and power structures that dictated where they could go or what they could consume. They were not passive recipients of territorial rules but active agents in shaping their own experiences and identities.

The resistance was not merely practical but deeply symbolic. Challenging these boundaries was parallel to rejecting the broader social and political structures that these territorial divisions represented. It became a form of protest against the underlying notions of division, be it ethnic, cultural, or political.

CHAPTER VI

Discussion of Findings and Final Conclusions

The overarching aim of this concluding chapter is to summarize and integrate the insights emerging from the study, culminating in a grounded theory of territorialized consumption in the context of a post-conflict city. It firstly revisits the research question and summarizes the theoretical framework used in this research. The remainder of this chapter discusses the contributions made by this research to existing knowledge, recognizes the limitations encountered during the study, and outlines its broader implications. Finally, it suggests potential avenues for future research in this evolving interdisciplinary field.

Revisiting the Research Question and Theoretical Framework

This concluding chapter begins by re-examining the central research question that has underpinned this dissertation: "In the context of significant disruptive events, such as wars, how are places resignified, and what impact does this have on consumption patterns?" The objective of this chapter is to critically assess the extent to which the research aims have been fulfilled and to delineate the unique contributions this study offers to the academic discourse. It begins to do so by summarizing the theoretical foundations upon which this study has been built.

One of its foundational aspects is its interdisciplinary approach, which merges critical marketing and cultural geography into a cohesive theoretical framework for understanding the dynamics of territory and consumption. This dissertation acknowledges that in the field of marketing there has been a rising interest in the relationship between place and consumption, as evidenced by an increasing body of work (e.g., Chatzidakis et al., 2018; Castilhos and Dolbec, 2017; Sherry, 2000; Visconti et al., 2010; Ustuner and Holt., 2007; Brown and Campelo, 2014; Maclaran and and Brown, 2005; Penaloza 2001; Marcoux 2017; Castilhos, 2019; Chatterjee, 2023; Bhatnagar, et al., 2023). It contends, however, that there is a significant gap in the literature concerning the more specific concept of territory within marketing contexts. Despite their importance, questions about how consumers interact with territories have been largely overlooked (Castilhos et al., 2017; 2018; Cheetham et al., 2018). It is argued that one reason for this oversight is that the most salient examples of territoriality often occur in marginalized or contested spaces, the study of which poses unique challenges from an historical, political, and cultural viewpoint.

Building upon this observation, the critical marketing perspective has been instrumental in framing this study. It has specifically enriched an understanding of territories as multi-dimensional constructs—characterized not only by physical space but also by intricate power dynamics, control mechanisms, and boundaries (Castilhos et al., 2017; Goulding, 2009; Kozinets, 2002; Üstuner and Thompson, 2012; Varman and Belk, 2017). Thus, the critical marketing perspective serves as a vital lens through which the overlooked yet crucial role of territories in consumer interaction can be examined.

Integrating the perspectives of cultural geography into this research study has been a pivotal decision that has significantly broadened the analytical lens through which territoriality and consumption are understood. Cultural geography, with its focus on the exploration of boundaries, territories, and spatiality, has gained increased relevance in the field of marketing. This is particularly true in an era marked by significant disruptions—such as wars, environmental disasters, and pandemics—that fundamentally alter the spatial and territorial dynamics influencing consumer behaviours. Key theoretical constructs, such as Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence (1985, 1991, 1993, 2000) and Sack's notion of territoriality (1983, 1986, 1997, 1993, 2004), were integrated to demonstrate that places and territories are both producers and products of culture, thereby influencing individual and collective behaviours. Cultural geographic scholarship has been particularly instrumental in reframing the concept of 'place'—once merely considered a geographic location—into a complex entity shaped by social, cultural, symbolic, and emotional dimensions.

When it comes to the methodological framework, the adoption of grounded theory has been instrumental in ensuring that the research remains deeply anchored in the specific context of a post-conflict city. Grounded theory allows for an inductive approach to theory development, providing a nuanced understanding of the research subject. My intimate familiarity with

Bosnia's territorial complexities enriched the data and contributed to a more comprehensive framework.

The use of narrative inquiry in data collection enabled the capture of rich and contextual insights from the participants. Moreover, the research process was enhanced by the constructionist grounded theory interviewing approach, as outlined by Charmaz (2014). This approach not only facilitated data collection but also enriched the data by encouraging a relationship of 'mutuality' between the interviewer and the participant.

In summary, the interdisciplinary theoretical framework combining critical marketing and cultural geography, along with the grounded theory methodology, has allowed this thesis to offer new perspectives on the relationship between territory and consumption. It brings out the richness and complexity of places as complex entities, while simultaneously addressing a significant gap in existing marketing literature. The methodological approach, particularly the use of narrative inquiry and constructionist interviewing, further substantiates the study by allowing for the incorporation of lived experiences into the analytical framework, thereby contributing to a more nuanced and authentic understanding of the emergent core category: territorialized consumption.

Core Category: Territorialized Consumption

Conceived as the thesis' core category, territorialized consumption is the key that enabled me to reconceptualize the conventional frameworks of both territory and consumption, within the context of severe disruptions.

Territorialized consumption isn't just a framework for understanding how individuals interact with territories; it is the tool to unveil the multifaced nature of territoriality as it wields its power and authority to shape, constrain, and simultaneously 'consume' those who reside within its bounds. In this sense, the concept reframes territories not as passive backdrops for human activity but as active catalysts that influence and are influenced by individual and collective consumption patterns.

In a post conflict setting, soft boundaries such as the IEBL acquire a significance that is not revealed by their apparent fluidity and porousness. These boundaries are experienced by their inhabitants well beyond their physical features. They come loaded with the traumatic memories, symbolisms accumulated through the conflict period. Experiences from before, during and after the conflict all contribute to the accumulation of meaning to signs that, per se, do not represent a boundary, as seen for instance in Sophie's story about the playground split between a mown and an unmown area along the IEBL. Sophie's story amplifies how territorialized consumption extends itself into the mundane, infiltrating aspects of life we often consider neutral or benign. The spatial restrictions to her child's play represent a microcosm of the broader social and territorial constraints that individuals face in a post-conflict setting. This is territorialized consumption in action: limiting spaces, dictating behaviours, and influencing interactions, often under the guise of everyday normality.

The trauma experienced collectively and individually by my participants adds several layers of complexity in the patterns of territorialized consumption: as mentioned above, individuals are not just consumers of territories; they are also consumed by territoriality, that is by the power, violence and authority acting in the territory, with visible and invisible boundaries as their multifaced agents.

In this sense, this study reveals a significant overturning of the traditional idea of marketing as the art or science emphasizing the tangible attributes of products and how these met the needs of consumers. Here marketing, expressed in the form of territoriality and the process of territorialization, reveals a disquieting face, namely the process of reducing individuals to specific identities (tangible attributes), so that they meet the needs of the consuming territory, namely its preservation and entrenchment in everyday life.

What follows are the findings and final discussion for each of the three key categories used to unpack the territorialized consumption process. All of this is based on data gathered through the grounded theory method and forms the foundation of this thesis' theoretical framework.

Category One: Legitimation of Territorialized Consumption

The first category that emerged from the grounded theory analysis was Legitimation of Territorialized Consumption, a critical point of entry for understanding and exploring territorialized consumption. The study drew on a wide array of classical and contemporary theories to explore territoriality, a process by which individuals or groups assert control over a specific geographic area. In further unpacking the category of Legitimation, the study revealed that both power and authority act as catalysts in the process of making territories legitimate (Rousseau, 1725; Weber, 1946). In the study's context, 'power' refers to the ability to exert influence over people, objects, or territories, and 'authority' denotes a recognized right to exercise that power. These two elements act as catalysts for legitimizing territoriality in specific spaces. For example, in a post-conflict setting like Sarajevo, power may manifest through the military or government's control over specific zones. Simultaneously, authority may be derived from cultural or community consent that upholds these power dynamics. Legitimation in this sense is the social, psychological, and cultural process through which these power dynamics are normalized and accepted by the community.

Influences ranged from Sack's foundational ideas on territoriality (1986) to more contemporary scholarly contributions by Paasi (1998, 1999, 2003, 2009, 2022), Newman (1998, 2003, 2006), and Brighenti (2010, 2014). These theories guided me in interpreting territoriality as a complex system of control within specific geographic areas. This understanding was crucial for addressing the research question: "How do significant disruption events such as wars or environmental disasters influence the resignification of places and impact consumption patterns?"

In disrupted settings like post-conflict Sarajevo, the concept of spatial disruption became especially relevant. According to Sack's framework (1986), the process of territoriality involved not just institutionalizing power and authority over a geographic area, but also creating barriers that limited access and movement. In Sarajevo, it was found that the concept of spatial disruptions during the war drastically changed people's behaviour and movement, effectively turning the city into a maze of restricted areas (Ristic, 2015). These severe disruptions left lasting traces on the city's geography, confirming the importance of spatial disruption in studies of territoriality.

The lasting impact of spatial disruptions during the war can be observed in the stories and interview excerpts of Charlie, Laura, Darla, Fin, James, Helen, and Dorothy, among others. These accounts serve as cautionary tales about the enduring effects of spatial disruptions on daily life, even long after conflict has subsided. What is profoundly clear is that spatial disruption is not merely a historical phase but an ongoing process affecting present-day territorial practices, social interactions, and feelings of safety or insecurity.

Charlie's story demonstrates this very well. He and his neighbours modified their living spaces to make them appear vacant, essentially creating a safe territory that protected them from snipers but disrupted their natural ways of living. While the war has long ended, the consequences of living within such dangerous place still permeates Charlie's life. The notion that, in order to survive, one must strategize even the simplest acts, like which parts of a building to occupy, carries over into a persistent sense of precariousness and a changed approach to space and resources. This perception influences not just Charlie, but also the community around him. The invisible lines once drawn by sniper fire are now perhaps supplanted by socially constructed boundaries reinforced by lingering fears and prejudices. Dorothy's anxiety about driving in certain territories at night highlights how spatial disruptions

extend far beyond visible, physical boundaries into the realm of psychological territories marked by unease and apprehension.

These personal stories fit well with the broader societal narratives voiced by participants like Darla, Fin, James, and Helen, who attribute the division of their country to political actors. Indeed, the spatial disruptions catalysed by war serve as a precursor to the institutional boundaries endorsed by political systems. This plays into the concept of legitimisation, where these ‘new’ territories are given social definitions and sociocultural boundaries, often failing to consider the nuanced experiences and feelings of those who inhabit them.

Hence, we must realize that spatial disruption in war, while first and foremost a tool of military strategy, also has long-term social and psychological impacts that are internalized by those who live through it. These internalized disruptions continue to be externalized in how individuals and communities interact with their spatial environments, often reinforcing existing divisions and social hierarchies. The lines drawn by war, whether visible or invisible, continue to impact territorial practices and attitudes toward boundaries long after formal hostilities have ceased.

The post-war establishment of boundaries served as a form of spatial disruption, aiding the legitimisation of the new, post-conflict territory divided by the IEBL. This finding supported Bourdieu's (1991) claim that institutionalizing something, by socially defining it, also sets sociocultural boundaries. The study extended this framework by incorporating insights from critical marketing and from researchers like Castilhos et al. (2017) who theorize that defining territoriality inevitably creates new territories.

This said, the institutionalization of the new territory is not, per se, sufficient to affect the life of its inhabitants. While political and military actions might set the physical boundaries of these new areas, their ultimate meaning for the inhabitants was shaped by their collective experiences

and sufferings. This observation aligned with Smith's assertion that the importance of territory often emanates from the shared history of suffering associated with it (Smith, 1996). While political and military decisions might carve out geographical boundaries, it is the collective memory of these spaces that bestows them with deeper meaning. Building on this idea, the study introduced the concept of spatial memory which was found to have a relationship with spatial disruption concept.

The notion of spatial memory served to deepen our understanding of how war-induced spatial disruptions influenced the legitimisation of new territories and consumption patterns (Castilhos et al., 2017). Memories, laden with emotions and experiences tied to specific places, left enduring traces on those spaces (Goulding, 2001). Spatial memory, or the emotional and psychological imprints that spaces leave on us based on our (past) experiences, profoundly affects how people interact with their environment—especially in post-conflict settings. The memories that tie us to certain places not only define our individual relationships to those places but also contribute to the collective memory and identity of communities. This concept further deepens our understanding of the lasting impacts of war-induced spatial disruptions, and how they play into the legitimisation of new territories and consumption patterns.

Starting with Victoria's account of her experience crossing 'Sniper Alley', an area of the city very much in the open and for this reason intensively targeted by surrounding snipers. Palpable fear and anxiety characterize her spatial memory of the area; these feelings did not cease after the end of the conflict. For Victoria, this street will always represent danger, tension, and a period of life marked by extreme instability. The spatial memory, in this case, serves as a continual reminder of war's lasting impact, thus legitimizing the trauma and the divisive lines the war drew—both physical and psychological.

Researchers like Steadman et al. (2020) contended that these memories had the power to shape future interactions and perceptions, creating a long-lasting impact. In post-conflict settings, everyday spaces like buildings became repositories filled with the history of conflict, aligning with Till's (2012) concept of "wounded cities" that bear their scars of turbulent past within their fabric. These material reminders served dual purposes: they memorialized the past and influenced current behaviour and interactions, thereby affecting consumption patterns.

The work of Waterton and Watson (2015) became particularly relevant here, as it discusses the importance of 'contacts' as an integral part of lived experiences in post-conflict spaces. Simply by walking in the city, one encounters spatial wounds that serve as constant reminders of the recent war. These points of contact between past and present not only blur the temporal distinctions but also may strengthen the legitimacy of the new, post conflict territory by imbuing it with layers of shared history and experience. Waterton and Watson (2015) argue that contact with these spaces is not merely incidental but a vital part of living and understanding post-conflict environments. These points of contact, manifested as spatial wounds, serve to reiterate, and reinforce the narratives around the legitimacy of the new, post-conflict territories. They do more than just memorialize the past; they actively contribute to shaping current understandings and interactions within these spaces, potentially affecting consumption patterns as well. In this way, the very landscape of the city becomes a dynamic participant in the process of territorial legitimisation.

In this context, the work of Hirschman et al. (2012) offered a complementary perspective, introducing the concept of "transitional territories." Like the spatial wounds discussed earlier, transitional territories are spaces where the past and the present collide. These spaces embody the tension between acknowledging the complex legacies of conflict and navigating the realities and possibilities of the present. Much like Waterton and Watson's (2015) idea of

contact points serving to legitimize new territories, Hirschman et al. (2012) suggest that these transitional spaces further this legitimisation process. Spatial memories act as catalysts in this ongoing tension, pulling individuals toward either acknowledging the weight of the past or focusing on the present and future. In this way, both the physical landscape and the memories it evokes play a dynamic role in shaping the territory and the behaviours, including consumption patterns, of those who inhabit it.

In summary, it is argued that the discussion of spatial disruption and spatial memory, the two concepts illustrating how territory was formed and ultimately accepted, fills a critical gap in marketing research, particularly considering disrupted contexts. By exploring how spatial disruptions and spatial memory shape territorial dynamics, this research challenges conventional Western-centric models that may not account for the complexities inherent in disrupted or non-Western settings. It offers a framework that is sensitive to the varied historical and cultural factors that influence how territories are formed, perceived, and accessed. This approach of studying how territories are formed ultimately opens new avenues for research, inviting marketing scholars to adopt a more holistic and context sensitive approach to understandings market dynamics in diverse and ever-changing environments.

Category Two: Maintenance of Territorialized Consumption

The second key category is Maintenance of Territorialized Consumption. If Legitimation can be understood as the foundational layer where territorial boundaries are constructed and institutionalized—often amid the significant disruptions created by events like wars—then Maintenance is the ongoing, dynamic process that ensures these territorial structures don't merely exist but thrive over extended periods. These elements not only mirror existing societal power structures but also serve as prescriptive guidelines for behaviour within these spatial confines (Bourdieu, 1991), and offer a guide to individual and collective behaviours within the territory, as defined by Newman and Paasi (1998).

The Maintenance category builds upon existing theories in critical marketing, particularly those put forth by Castilhos et al., (2017). In their work, authors contend that territories possess symbolic power that facilitates the empowerment of market actors within these defined boundaries. Extending their framework to the territory under investigation in this thesis, it becomes apparent that such symbolic power not only remains stable but also evolves, thereby transforming into a form of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 2000). This transformation arises because symbolic power is not neutral; it embeds itself within the societal values and asymmetrical power dynamics that were initially responsible for its creation (Varman and Belk, 2009). This recursive nature of symbolic power becomes a daily lived experience for inhabitants, a constant resignification of their place within or outside the established hierarchies (Thompson and Üstüner, 2015).

Importantly, the Maintenance category can't be understood in isolation; it is integrally connected to previously discussed constructs of spatial disruption and spatial memory. Drawing from Goulding's (2001) idea that memories are closely tied to the places where they

were made, the emotional scars of past conflicts continue to live on in the shared memory of the community. In a manner similar to what Steadman et al., (2020) have observed, these memories shape future interactions and perceptions of these spaces, continuously reactivating the meanings attached to the new territorial boundaries. This resonates with Waterton and Watson's (2015) concept of 'contact,' wherein temporal layers of past and present experiences blur, continually reinforcing the established territoriality.

In the process of maintaining territorialized consumption, the concept of ownership plays a focal role. It serves as the key element that holds together the physical and symbolic elements that define a territory (Castilhos et al., 2017). Following Altman's (1975) definition, territorial ownership is about more than laying claim to a physical space; it also involves establishing psychological boundaries that delineate who belong and who doesn't. It's a form of control mechanism that negotiates the boundary between 'self' and 'other'. However, ownership in this context is not just a one-way street where people claim territories. Rather, territories also exert their own form of ownership over the people. This is where the research diverges from traditional consumer theories that often posit individuals as the ones consuming spaces, to consider how these territories 'consume' the people within them by imposing their structures, norms, and regulations on daily life.

To illustrate, it is possible to consider the visible and invisible markers that define a territory. Ashley's observation ("you see a huge sign -Welcome to RS- and then you enter into fields of grass") may serve as an illustration. The placard in question is more than just the typical signboard which can be found in any country; in this context it's an assertion of territorial ownership, establishing both physical and psychological boundaries. The 'Welcome to RS' sign serves to reinforce the identity of the territory while also subtly shaping the consciousness of those who pass through, subtly indicating who is in 'their' territory and who is not. On the

one hand, physical territory markers like signs and flags are straightforward in their function to demarcate space, echoing Popescu's (2011) idea that these boundaries serve to inscribe differences within spaces and enact control. On the other hand, the 'invisible' features of these signs are far more complex to decode. Nick's observation illustrates this: "The boundary is visible, but someone who doesn't know, they wouldn't know it is there." This suggests that the concept of territorial ownership extends beyond the visible markers. It lies in the shared understanding among those who 'belong', that they are now within a familiar territory. For those who are unaware, the boundaries might be scarcely visible, highlighting the psychological dimensions of territorial ownership internalized by the inhabitants.

These dimensions encompass the cultural norms, social expectations, or even the implicit sense of safety or danger in a space, resonating with Bourdieu's (1985) observation that the social world is inherently fuzzy and indeterminate. This fuzziness, or the blend of visible and invisible boundaries is critical here (Brighenti, 2007). According to Goulding et al. (2018), this is because these invisible boundaries, while being less tangible, are experienced emotionally and psychologically. Boundaries act upon people in ways that may not be directly observable but are nonetheless deeply felt. This subjective experience of territory emphasizes that while people may seek to 'own' spaces through physical or symbolic means, they are also 'owned' by these spaces in return.

Traditional marketing theories often conceptualize territories as passive entities that are acted upon, shaped, and owned by people. In contrast, this thesis puts forward an idea that individuals are not just consumers of territories; they are also consumed by territoriality, that is by the power, violence and authority acting in the territory, with visible and invisible boundaries as their multifaced agents. In this sense, territories, as active entities, assert their own forms of violence and trauma (Varman, 2018).

In addition to the concept of ownership, the concept of othering plays an important role in the maintenance phase of territorialized consumption. Bourdieu's (1989) framework on symbolic power lays the groundwork for understanding how 'othering' is not merely an individual act but rather an institutionalized process. Symbolic power refers to the ability to shape perception and influence how people understand the world, thereby gaining authority and legitimizing one's own position in the social hierarchy. Bourdieu (1989) asserts that the manipulation of symbols—be they linguistic, religious, or cultural—creates a structure that guides individuals' understanding of what is legitimate and what is not.

In the context of territories, symbolic power is wielded by ruling entities—be it the government, cultural institutions, or social leaders—to define the norms, values, and symbols that are considered 'acceptable' or 'legitimate' within that space. This form of power plays a pivotal role in the process of 'othering,' as it sets the parameters for those who belong within a given territory and those who do not. This resonates with Swartz's (2013) and Mostov's (2010) understanding of how symbolic power serves to enforce a sense of 'natural order' or 'common sense' within a society.

This symbolic power extends to the manipulation of markers that delineate the territory. Building upon the ideas presented by Goulding and Domic (2009), these markers—be they flags, language, or cultural symbols—serve a performative function. They are not mere ornaments but active agents in asserting dominance and maintaining territorial integrity. This form of performativity is central to the maintenance of the territory and serves as a manifestation of 'othering', echoing Douglas's (1966) views on how society uses structures and symbols to encourage conformity and citizenship.

This brings us back to the idea that territories, that is their power, violence, and authority, consume their inhabitants by imposing rules and structures upon them. Here ‘othering’ functions as a mechanism through which the territory, as an active entity, almost dictates who gets to partake in the consumption of its resources and who does not. It creates a landscape where divisions are not just maintained but are actively lived and experienced, thereby affecting the everyday life of the inhabitants.

The section on Maintenance of Territorialized Consumption has revealed that maintaining territories is an active, ongoing process governed by established norms and symbolic power. This symbolic power not only sustains but also shapes the region's social fabric, reinforcing inclusion and exclusion criteria. The concept of ‘ownership’ emerges as dualistic; while individuals claim territories, territories also exert control over individuals. Therefore, this key category adds depth to the understanding of how territories influence consumer behaviour and suggests that territories themselves ‘consume’ their inhabitants by enforcing specific norms. These findings offer important contributions to the field of critical marketing.

Category Three: Expression of Territorialized Consumption

Having examined the categories of ‘Legitimation’ and ‘Maintenance’ in territorialized consumption, this chapter arrives at the third and final stage, the ‘Expression’ phase. This phase emerges as a culmination of the previously discussed dynamic processes. In the ‘expression’ phase individuals navigate through two core processes: the ‘naturalization of boundaries’ and the act of ‘challenging boundaries.’

The concept of ‘naturalization of boundaries’ evolves from the categories of ‘legitimation’ and ‘maintenance.’ Over time, territorial demarcations—whether physical, as in signs and flags, or ideological, as in collective social norms—become integral to the fabric of a community. They transform from being provisional structures to ‘given’ or ‘natural’ components of the lived experience, harmonizing with Swartz's (2013) idea that boundaries eventually become embedded in the collective social fabric.

However, the ‘expression’ phase also unravels the complex relationship between individuals and territories in the form of challenging boundaries. The dual role of individuals—both as consumers and the consumed—is most tangibly evident here. It's a phase marked by a constant tension between acceptance and rebellion. While ‘legitimation’ and ‘maintenance’ phases primarily deal with the construction and preservation of boundaries, the ‘expression’ phase presents individuals with a continuous choice: to accept or to challenge these territorial confines.

The simultaneous co-existence of naturalization and challenging in the expression phase underlines the complex relationship between territorialized consumption and symbolic power. The dynamic nature of human responses—ranging from conformity to resistance—reflects the

multi-layered nature of territorialized consumption. The concept of ‘challenging’ deepens our understanding of how territorial boundaries are not mere static demarcations but dynamic spaces of negotiation and resistance (Castilhos and Dolbec, 2017; Roux, et al., 2017; Hirschman et al., 2012). It reveals that power structures and identities aren't passively internalized but are subject to questioning, adaptation, and transformation (Jafari and Visconti, 2015). This contestation is vital for the negotiation of space, identity, and power within territorialized consumption, making the ‘challenging’ phase an important component of the framework.

What makes the ‘expression’ phase even more complex is the notion of ‘soft’ boundaries, a term referring to the ambiguous nature of these demarcations. Unlike ‘hard’ boundaries, where room for challenging the status quo is typically more limited, soft boundaries continuously question the individual’s perception—adding an ongoing tension, captured in the haunting question: "Are these boundaries real or not?"

The presence of such soft boundaries means that acceptance and rebellion are not mutually exclusive but coexist in varying degrees and shades, as confirmed through interviews. This phenomenon suggests that the ‘expression’ phase may be more pervasive and intense, precisely because of this ambiguity. Therefore, the incorporation of the ‘expression’ phase into the theoretical framework extends the understanding of territorialized consumption to include not only how territories consume individuals through legitimisation and maintenance but also how individuals actively participate in the shaping, and sometimes reshaping, of these very territories.

Therefore, the ‘expression’ phase serves as a complex interplay of agency and structure, acceptance and rebellion. It enriches the framework by incorporating the often-ignored

individual complexities into the broader sociocultural and territorial discourse, ultimately painting a more holistic picture of the phenomenon of territorialized consumption.

The concept of ‘naturalization’ in the expression phase is a profound manifestation of Bourdieu's argument about symbolic power and violence. It offers a lens through which the nuanced interactions between individuals and their territorial boundaries can be understood. At this juncture, symbolic power exercises its ‘gentle violence,’ leading individuals to internalize and normalize the existing territorial structures and dynamics, thereby masking the actual power relations at play (Swartz, 2013). In line with Bourdieu's characterization, this internalization results in a ‘misrecognition’ of the embedded violence. That is, people become so accustomed to the norms, practices, and values that they fail to recognize them as products of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1990, 2000). This misrecognition isn't an accident but rather a product of the systemic social conditioning that leads people to perceive these imposed boundaries and social orders as ‘natural’ or ‘given’.

Ashley's narrative well illustrates this internalized acceptance. As she crosses territorial divides, her observations capture the markers of these boundaries—from the shift in alphabets to the prevalence of certain flags and the names of local politicians on billboards. Yet, her reaction is not one of surprise or disdain; instead, she laughs because she has become ‘so used’ to these markers.

Building on Varman and Vijay (2018), this notion of ‘natural’ order can also be seen as “derealized” violence’. In this sense, violence inherent in the territorial boundaries and divisions is so deeply ingrained that it becomes “derealized” (Varman and Vijaj, 2018) or taken for granted, as the participants in my research characterized it. The inhabitants no longer question it; they accept it as part of the ‘way things are’.

While this picture may look grim, the stories I presented also show that, whether they accept or challenge the boundary, they are not reduced by the consumption process to the tangible attributes of products (in this case, the side of the boundary they inhabit). This is because of the high level of awareness of the imposed and artificial nature of the boundaries.

Ashley's story illustrates a powerful tension between internalized acceptance and the capacity for agency within these territorial divides. As she laughs at the explicit territorial markers, recognizing their "derealized" violent nature, this doesn't make her powerless or a mere product of the system. Rather, her awareness of the boundary as both real and artificially constructed allows for a nuanced form of acceptance, where one's identity is neither entirely consumed by the territory nor wholly resistant to it.

Revisiting the Aims of the Research

Upon the completion of this dissertation, it is necessary to revisit its initial aims and determine how and to what extent they have been achieved.

Aim 1: Exploration of Territorial Formation and Maintenance

This aim sought to explore the initial processes that contribute to the formation of territorial boundaries, their maintenance, and their impact on consumption patterns. The research fulfils this aim through the development of the theoretical framework with its three key categories: legitimisation, maintenance, and expression of territorialized consumption. Offering a context to explore territory, the thesis integrated critical marketing and cultural geography to explore how territory has been formed, legitimized, and maintained over time.

Aim 2: Understanding the Complexities of Territoriality

The second aim of this thesis, namely, to locate a deeper understanding of the complexities of territoriality within a broader socio-cultural context, has been effectively met. Utilizing a critical marketing lens, the research has deeply engaged with the ways in which symbolic power, especially in disrupted settings, informs territorial formations and experience. Using the grounded theory method, the goal of this research was to develop a theoretical framework. While this objective was successfully achieved, the study went beyond the academic to offer a humanistic perspective. By incorporating life stories of individuals living on boundary lines, the research added a layer of narrative richness that arguably elevated the socio-cultural dimensions of territoriality. Therefore, it can be affirmed that this thesis skilfully

explored the nuanced relationships that inhabitants have with territorial demarcations, offering an intimate look at a rich spectrum of lived experiences in divided territories. In doing so, the research expands the academic discourse on territoriality by including voices that are often marginalized, thereby fulfilling its aim to provide a comprehensive understanding of the complexities involved in territoriality.

Aim 3: Application of Grounded Theory Methodology

The third aim focused on applying grounded theory methodology to construct a comprehensive theoretical framework that interprets the influence of significant disruptions on consumption patterns. This aim was fulfilled through a series of rigorous research steps, such as data collection, coding, and constant comparison, which are fundamental to grounded theory. The emergent theoretical framework provided interdisciplinary insights into the dynamic nature of territories, particularly highlighting how they are susceptible to transformations triggered by significant disruptions like wars or natural disasters. Furthermore, the methodology allowed for iterative theory building that was deeply rooted in data, thus giving voice to lived experiences that often get overlooked in more rigid research designs.

Aim 4: Extend Understanding into Critical Marketing Scholarship

The fourth aim was to extend the understanding of territorial boundaries from a sociological and geographical perspective into critical marketing scholarship. The research achieves this by bridging the gap between cultural geography and marketing. It expands the concept of territory in marketing by introducing the idea that territories can also ‘consume’ people, thereby extending the scope of critical marketing studies.

In conclusion, all four aims of the research have been comprehensively fulfilled. The study not only enriches the existing literature in critical marketing but also introduces new dimensions and frameworks for understanding territorialized consumption, particularly in disrupted settings.

Contribution to knowledge made by this research

By diving deep into a unique setting and employing various marketing theories, I hope this research advanced the current landscape of territory in critical marketing theory. Specifically, my contributions to knowledge can be outlined as follows:

Theoretical Advancements

Central to this research is a developed theoretical framework that interprets the impact of significant disruptions—such as conflict—on consumption patterns. This framework not only expands the scope of critical marketing studies but also enriches the discussions in CCT by introducing the multi-directional relationship between territories and individuals, particularly in disrupted settings.

Reconceptualizing Territory

As a significant departure from traditional marketing theories, this research introduces the notion that territory, with its associated borders, can ‘consume’ people. This reconceptualization advances our understanding of territorialized consumption by adding layers of complexity around symbolic power and daily experiences of symbolic violence.

Post-Conflict Focus as Lens to Study Territory and Disruption

The selection of Sarajevo as the research setting serves multiple functions. First, it addresses a significant gap in marketing literature by focusing on an underexplored context—that of a post-

conflict environment. The majority of existing marketing studies tend to focus on stable or developed settings, often overlooking the complexities that arise in post-conflict or disrupted settings. By concentrating on a post-conflict setting, this thesis not only widens the scope of the types of territories considered in marketing literature but also introduces a layer of social and historical disruption that is rarely accounted for. Second, this unique setting provides a fertile ground for studying the complex relationship between territorialized consumption patterns and societal disruption. Sarajevo's post-conflict environment brings to light contrasts and shifts in consumption patterns, shaped both by traumatic experiences and by the restructuring of societal norms. These shifts offer a distinctive lens through which to understand the broader implications of disruption on consumption, thereby contributing to a richer body of knowledge in the field.

Methodological Advancements for Research with Vulnerable Populations

This thesis offers a comprehensive methodological framework specifically designed for conducting research with vulnerable participants, such as those residing in post-conflict or disrupted environments. By detailing the procedures, ethical considerations, and potential challenges of working in such contexts, the research contributes significantly to the methodological discourse. The framework provides insights into how to approach sensitive topics, navigate ethical dilemmas, and build rapport in situations where participants might have experienced trauma or marginalization. Importantly, the research also advances the field by emphasizing the role of reflexivity as not just an adjunct but as a central methodological feature. This conscious and purposive characteristic was instrumental in the knowledge-building process. In a complex setting where participants were often discussing traumas and fears, researchers' reflexive stance provided a layer of ethical integrity and enhanced the depth of the

research. This approach illuminated how being conscious of one's own power dynamics, as well as acknowledging those of the participants, can significantly enrich the quality and authenticity of the data collected.

Interdisciplinary Contributions

By bridging cultural geography and sociology, the research extends its implications beyond critical marketing into wider socio-cultural studies. This broadens the conversation around territoriality, symbolic power, and their applications in consumer culture, and adds valuable interdisciplinary insights into marketing studies.

Taken together, it can be argued that these contributions represent a step forward in both critical marketing and CCT, providing fresh perspectives and new tools for analysing the complexities of consumer behaviour, especially in exceptional or disrupted contexts.

Limitations of the Study

Every research study is accompanied by certain limitations that must be acknowledged for a comprehensive understanding of the findings. Below are the identified limitations in this study.

Managing Large Sets of Data

The scope and depth of this research yielded an overwhelming amount of data, including 700 pages of interview transcripts, visual materials, and other secondary sources. Managing and making sense of such a large dataset presented a unique set of challenges. This large set of data meant that certain threads of inquiry or subtle nuances might have been overlooked or under-analysed in the final reporting.

Smooth Data Collection

Contrary to many research endeavours in sensitive or politically charged environments, this study did not encounter significant issues in data collection. However, this lack of difficulty might itself be seen as a limitation. It is conceivable that the ease of access to participants and data sources could introduce a bias. In delicate contexts like Sarajevo, people who are more willing to speak to researchers might have specific viewpoints or experiences that are not fully representative of the community. This could inadvertently tilt the findings or overlook perspectives that are underrepresented due to less accessibility.

Balancing between Data and Theory

Conducting grounded theory research in complex settings like post-conflict Sarajevo calls for a delicate balance between allowing the data to drive the inquiry and adhering to theoretical frameworks. The ‘let the data lead’ imperative is particularly important in these dynamic and complex contexts. This approach, while enriching, was extremely time-consuming and at times emotionally taxing given the sensitive context

Wider implications and Future Areas of Research

The findings of this study, although based on the post-conflict context of Sarajevo, have significant broader implications. Once we remove the specificity of the Bosnian war from the equation, the framework reveals universal elements such as violent disruption, trauma, and symbolic violence forming the backbone of territorialized consumption processes. These elements manifest through legitimisation, maintenance, and expression, conditioning people's everyday experiences and fundamentally altering how individuals interact with territories.

Hence the term used in the title: the consuming power of territories. The dual role of individuals as consumers and consumed is evident in connection with the first two categories of the territorialized consumption process, that is legitimisation and maintenance. More problematic is its unravelling in the third category of expression, in relation to both the opposite concepts of naturalization and challenging of boundaries. The ambiguous form of the boundaries, in simple terms their 'softness', puts individuals continuously in the position of choosing between acceptance or rebellion of the boundary. This would not be the case with a hard boundary where the possibilities to challenge it are very limited or virtually non-existent. The inclusion of the expression phase as being part of the territorialized consumption process therefore implies that both acceptance and rebellion are, unfortunately but inescapably, part of the consumption process and that this process may, in some ways, be more pervasive and intense in the presence of soft, rather than hard, boundaries. This due to the permanent question mark that they pose to the individual: 'are they real or not'? In fact, the two attitudes mostly coexisting in all the participants, with differences only in degrees and shades. It is obvious that expression is deeply variegated and cannot be exhausted in two self-excluding concepts.

It is argued that these findings could be relevant in many different contexts in connection with a wide range of disruptive events: the pandemic with its polarization between vaccinated and non-vaccinated and the potential creation of sanitized areas; climate disasters with the relocation of people to safer areas and the simultaneous creation of barriers by the traditional inhabitants of those areas to separate from the new-comers; political polarization and extremism resulting in the territorialization of areas based on adherence to certain ideologies as displayed through the use of a myriad of signs like flags, banners, t-shirts, car adhesives, tattoos, hair styles and many others.

Recent research, like that of Wells et al. (2023), also suggests that not only physical but also situational factors can operate as territories. The COVID-19 pandemic, for instance, acted as a form of territory in that it imposed significant constraints on consumer behaviour, transforming markets and consumption patterns globally. The pandemic, in particular, has accentuated the territorial dimensions of consumption, challenging marketers to reconsider the spatial and situational contexts of their audiences. This thesis advocates for a marketing paradigm that is acutely sensitive to the nuances of territoriality, urging a shift towards strategies that are not only cognizant of but also responsive to the symbolic territories consumers navigate daily.

While maintaining the broad applicability of these findings, I would like to emphasize in these last pages how they could inform a wide range of national and international policies and strategies in the field of conflict prevention or post-conflict transition and reconstruction. These matters are unfortunately very actual and pressing. According to Uppsala University (2023), in 2022 the number of casualties resulting from wars in the world has doubled; the number of conflicts has been steadily increasing since 2016 (United Nations, 2018), and 2023 manifestly confirmed this trend. Accordingly, lots of efforts and resources have been dedicated to the development of strategies and frameworks aimed at shaping national and international policies in the field of conflict prevention and recovery.

Regarding recovery, one of the key questions in this field is the identification of the main factors determining whether post-conflict transition can be successfully carried out and bring sustainable peace and prosperity to fragile states; or whether the affected communities will be condemned to repeated cycles of violence, conflict, or instability. On the other hand, the identification of early signs of tension and violence is at the core of conflict prevention. As conflicts are becoming more and more cyclical (World Bank, 2011, p. 2-6) theories of recovery and prevention become increasingly intertwined.

The findings of this thesis make a strong argument that territorialized consumption, marketing as the process of territorialization, symbolic power applied through soft boundaries are all important factors to be considered when trying to address the roots of conflict and division. It is argued that the processes and modalities through which territorialized consumption is experienced in post-conflict or fragile societies can be a powerful indicator of seeds of future violence or an important factor in the recovery process. The consumption of territory by people, together with, as this thesis argues, the ‘consuming power of territory’, is however mostly ignored when devising prevention and recovery strategies and policies.

These strategies, being conceived either at the international or at national level, tend to focus on ‘big issues’, such as demilitarization, democratic election, inclusive governments, reconstruction (World Bank, 2011, p. 14). There is no denying that all these matters, which can be comprised under the umbrella of ‘state building’, are fundamental. On the other hand, Bosnia is a vivid example of the inherent limits of the top-down policies normally employed to address them. The post-conflict recovery process in this country has achieved several important goals on hard issues such as freedom of movement, power-sharing, peaceful elections, and accountability for war crimes (Bennett, 2016). This notwithstanding, the possibility of a renewed conflict is still very much present in the public discourse and, based

on my experience, in the mind of the people. This simple fact shows the recovery process requires more than institutional reform and a top-down approach.

This thesis in particular calls for a deeper and more nuanced understanding of the power of territory through the lens of territorialized consumption as articulated in theoretical framework. An example from another conflict-affected country can help to illustrate the potential impact of its application. The ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict has seen many phases and cycles of violence and destruction of varying intensity since the mid-20th century. The start of the second intifada in September 2000 after a period of relative peace arguably represents a turning point in the escalation of the conflict. It is broadly argued that the main factor leading to this new cycle of the conflict lied in the collapse of the peace process based on the Oslo Accord of 1993. While this is the ‘big picture’ obvious explanation, it is important to remember that the single event which triggered the start of the Palestinian insurrection and of the Israeli military reaction in 2000 was the visit by an Israeli political leader to the Temple Mount, which is the site of the gold Dome of the Rock in East Jerusalem, a holy shrine for Islam (Greenberg, 2000). As this site was normally open to the public, it would be hard to understand how this simple act triggered the conflict without considering its symbolic value. Applying this thesis’ lens, this would mean looking at Temple Mount’s soft boundaries, at their weight in terms of symbolic violence, at the process of territorialized consumption in that context, and finally at the ‘consuming power’ of those boundaries on the Palestinians and the Israelis.

It is argued that the findings of this study can be skilfully applied in all contexts where communities are divided along ethnic, religious, political, linguistic, or other grounds, and where their respective leaders try to assert control on a shared territory through the use of soft or quasi-hard boundaries. This could be happening in the aftermath of a conflict or unrest; or it could be in preparation of previously unexperienced unrest or of a new cycle of violence. In other words, it is maintained that this theoretical framework could be applied in a variety of

contexts, such as Ukraine, North Ireland, Darfur, or Syria to give few examples, by looking for signs of symbolic violence in territorialized consumption before the start of the conflict or in its aftermath.

It is also argued that this type of enquiry would require an approach in critical marketing informed by post-colonial theory (Varman, 2018). This is because each specific process of territorialized consumption through legitimisation, maintenance, and expression has its unique forms and symbols requiring the observer to acquire the local knowledge necessary to read the signs correctly. This contextual immersion (Chibber, 2013) would allow the researcher to pay due attention to the ambiguity and plurality inherent in soft boundaries; the importance of memories and previous experiences connected to the interested territories; the duality of territorialized consumption epitomized in the ‘consuming power of the territory’ formula. Understanding this duality provides researchers with a more complete framework to analyse how territories and the people who inhabit them mutually shape each other in intricate and often unpredictable ways.

In sum, this thesis offers a theoretical model that could be invaluable for peacebuilding initiatives. Understanding the critical role of symbolic markers—such as flags, monuments, and cultural symbols—in maintaining and challenging territorial boundaries can serve as a catalyst for de-escalating tensions and fostering unity. Creating the spaces and conditions for challenging and defeating symbolic violence of territorialize consumption through every-day mundane acts and in a peaceful, safe, and constructive manner, is a fundamental but overlooked question. In this sense, it is argued that this research could further inform the development of ‘trauma-aware’ marketing strategies, sensitive to the unique needs and triggers of consumers living in territories marked by past or ongoing trauma. As opposed to the prevalent top-down strategies, a lot can be done in this realm through bottom-down initiatives by grassroots organisations. Fragile or post-conflict societies can be seen as ill persons: curing the disease

and saving the patient often requires hard medical treatments or surgery; on the other hand, rehabilitation and preventing a relapse calls for less intrusive but more pervasive treatments and, most likely, a change in lifestyle. This thesis aims at offering a theoretical framework to assist and support the administration of this second type of treatments.

As we move forward, it is clear that the challenges and opportunities presented by territorialized consumption will continue to shape the landscape of marketing theory and practice. This thesis, therefore, stands as a call to action for scholars and practitioners alike to explore these territories with curiosity, empathy, and a commitment to fostering a more inclusive and understanding global society.

Bibliography

1. Agency for Statistics Bosnia and Herzegovina. (2016). Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2013: Final Results. Available at: URL [Accessed: 17 February 2020].
2. Agnew, J. (1999) 'Mapping Political Power Beyond State Boundaries: Territory, Identity, and Movement in World Politics', *Millennium*, vol. 28, no. 3, pp. 499-521.
3. Agnew, J.A., Mitchell, K. & Toal, G. (2003) A companion to political geography [electronic resource]. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
4. Alessandro, G. (2021) 'Cosmopolitans of regionalism: dealers of omnivorous taste under Italian food truck economic imaginary', *Consumption Markets & Culture*, 24(1), pp. 30-53.
5. Allen, D. E. & Anderson, P. F. (1994) 'Consumption and Social Stratification: Bourdieu's Distinction', in Allen, C. T. & John, D. R. (eds.) *Advances in Consumer Research*, 21, Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research, pp. 70-74.
6. Altman, I. (1975) *Environment and Social Behaviour: Privacy, Personal Space, Territory, and Crowding*. Brooks/Cole, Monterey.
7. Anderson, B. (2020) 'Cultural Geography III: The concept of "culture"', *Progress in Human Geography*, 44(3), pp. 608-617.
8. Anderson, J. (2009) *Understanding Cultural Geography: Places and Traces*. Routledge.
9. Anderson, J. (2021) *Understanding Cultural Geography: Places and Traces*. Routledge. 3rd edition.
10. Anderson, K. & Gale, F. (1992) *Inventing Places: Studies in Cultural Geography*. Guilford Publications.
11. Anderson, P.F. (1983) 'Marketing, Scientific Progress, and Scientific Method', *Journal of Marketing*, 47(4), pp. 18-31.
12. Anderson, P.F. (1986) 'On method in consumer research: a critical relativist perspective', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 13(2), pp. 155-173.

13. Andersson, I. (2014) 'Placing place branding: an analysis of an emerging research field in human geography', *Geografisk Tidsskrift-Danish Journal of Geography*, pp. 1-13.
14. Andreas, P. (2003) 'Redrawing the Line: Borders and Security in the Twenty-First Century', *International Security*, 28(2), pp. 78–111.
15. Andrews, T. (2012) 'What is Social Constructionism?', *Grounded Theory Review: An International Journal*, 1(11). Available at [URL](#) [Accessed 5 August 2022].
16. Andriela, V. & Ringer, G. (2008) 'Branding Post-Conflict Destinations', *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 23(2-4), pp. 127-137.
17. Anholt, S. (2005) *Brand new justice: how branding places and products can help the developing world*. Rev. ed. Oxford: Elsevier/Butterworth-Heinemann.
18. Anholt, S. (2005) 'Nation brand as context and reputation', *Place Brand Public Diplomacy*, 1, pp. 224-228.
19. Anholt, S. (2008) *Anholt-GfK Roper Nation Brands Index 2008 report highlights*. Available at: [URL](#) [Accessed 14 April 2019].
20. Anholt, S. (2008) 'Place branding: Is it marketing, or isn't it?', *Place Brand Public Diplomacy*, 4, pp. 1-6.
21. Applebaum, W. (1965) 'Can store location research be a science?', *Economic Geography*, 41(3), pp. 234-237.
22. Aquilué, I. & Roca, E. (2016) 'Urban development after the Bosnian War: The division of Sarajevo's territory and the construction of East Sarajevo', *Cities*, 58, pp. 152-163.
23. Arnould, E. & Thompson, C. (2005) 'Consumer Culture Theory (CCT): Twenty Years of Research', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 31(4), pp. 868-882.
24. Arnould, E., Crockett, D. & Eckhardt, G. (2021) 'Informing marketing theory through consumer culture theoretics', *AMS Rev*, 11, pp. 1–8.
25. Arnould, E.J., & Thompson, C.J. (2005) 'Consumer Culture Theory (CCT): Twenty Years of Research', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 31(4), pp. 868-882.
26. Arsel, Z. & Thompson, C.J. (2011) 'Demythologizing Consumption Practices: How Consumers Protect Their Field-Dependent Identity Investments from Devaluing Marketplace Myths', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 37(5), pp. 791–806.
27. Arsel, Z. (2017) 'Asking Questions with Reflexive Focus: A Tutorial on Designing and Conducting Interviews', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 44, doi:10.1093/jcr/ucx096.

28. Ashworth, G. & Kavaratzis, M. (2007) 'Beyond the logo: Brand management for cities', *Journal of Brand Management*, 16(8), pp. 520.
29. Ashworth, G. (1993) 'Marketing of Places: What are we Doing?' In: Ave, G. & Corsico, F. (eds.) *Urban Marketing in Europe*. Turin: Torino Incontra, pp. 643-649.
30. Ashworth, G.J. (1993) 'Heritage Planning: An Approach to Managing Historic Cities', in Zuziak, Z., et al. (eds.), *Managing Historic Cities*, International Cultural Centre, Kraków, pp. 27-53.
31. Ashworth, G.J. (2007) *Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies*. London: Pluto Press.
32. Ashworth, J., Kavaratzis, M., and Warnaby, G. (2016) 'The Need to Rethink Place Branding', in *Rethinking Place Branding* (ed). Springer.
33. Askegaard, S. (2011) 'Towards an Epistemology of Consumer Culture Theory: Phenomenology and the Context of Context', *Marketing Theory*, 11(4), pp. 381-405.
34. Askegaard, S. (2015) 'Consumer Culture Theory (CCT)', in Cook, D.T. and Ryan, J.M. (eds.), *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Consumption and Consumer Studies*. [URL](#) [Accessed 2 August 2023].
35. Atkinson, R. (1998) *The Life Story Interview*. SAGE Publications, Inc.
36. Audi, R. (2003) *Epistemology: A Contemporary Introduction to the Theory of Knowledge*. London: Routledge.
37. Bagozzi, R.P. (1975) 'Social Exchange in Marketing', *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 3(2), pp. 314-327.
38. Bailin, S. & Siegel, H. (2002) *The Blackwell Guide to the Philosophy of Education*. In: N. Blake, P. Smeyers, R. Smith & P. Standish (Eds.), John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated.
39. Baker, M.J. (ed.) (1994) *The Marketing Book*. 3rd ed. Oxford; Boston: Butterworth-Heinemann.
40. Banks, M. & Morphy, H., eds. (1997) *Rethinking Visual Anthropology*. London and New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press.
41. Bardhi, F., Ostberg, J. & Bengtsson, A. (2010) 'Negotiating cultural boundaries: Food, travel and consumer identities', *Consumption Markets & Culture*, 13(2), pp. 133-157.
42. Barnes, B. (2016) 'On the Social Construction of Reality: Reflection on a Missed Opportunity', *Human Studies*, 39(1), pp. 113-125.

43. Barnes, D.M. (1996) 'An Analysis of the Grounded Theory Method and the Concept of Culture', *Qualitative Health Research*, 6(3), pp. 429-441.
44. Barnes, T. (2005) 'Culture: economy', in Cloke, P. and Johnston, R. (eds), *Spaces of Geographical Thought*. London: Sage, pp. 61–80.
45. Barnes, T. J. (2022) 'David Lowenthal on geography and its past', *Landscape Research*, 47(4), pp. 452-463.
46. Barth, F. (1994) 'Enduring and emerging issues in the analysis of ethnicity', in Vermeulen, H. & Govers, C. (eds), *The Anthropology of Ethnicity: Beyond 'Ethnic Groups and Boundaries'*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.
47. Barthes, R. (1973) *Mythologies*. Hill & Wang Publishers.
48. Bassiouni, M.C. (1994) *Final report of the United Nations Commission of Experts established pursuant to security council resolution 780 (1992) Study of the battle and siege of Sarajevo, Annex VI - part I*. Available at: [URL](#) [Accessed 2 August 2023].
49. Baudrillard, J. (1988) *America*. Translated by C. Turner. New York: Verso.
50. Bauman, Z. (1991) *Intimations of Postmodernity*. Taylor & Francis Group.
51. Bauman, Z. (1995) *Life in Fragments: Essays in Postmodern Morality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
52. Beirman, D. (2002) 'Marketing of tourism destinations during a prolonged crisis: Israel and the Middle East', *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, 8(2), pp. 167-176.
53. Belk, R.W. & Costa, J. (1998) 'The Mountain Man Myth: A Contemporary Consuming Fantasy', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 25(December), pp. 218-242.
54. Belk, R.W. (1987) 'The Role of the Odyssey in Consumer Behaviour and in Consumer Research', in Wallendorf, M. & Anderson, P. (eds.), *NA - Advances in Consumer Research Volume 14*. Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research, pp. 357–361.
55. Belk, R.W. (1988) 'Possessions and the extended self', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 15(2), pp. 139-168.
56. Belk, R.W. (1990) 'The Role of Possessions in Constructing and Maintaining a Sense of Past', *Advances in Consumer Research*, 17, pp. 669–676.
57. Belk, R.W. (1996) 'On aura, illusion, escape and hope in apocalyptic consumption', in Brown, S., Bell, J. & Carson, D. (eds.), *Marketing Apocalypse: Eschatology, Escapology and Illusion of the End*, pp. 87–107. Routledge, London.

58. Belk, R.W., Wallendorf, M. & Sherry, F. Jr (1989) 'The sacred and the profane in consumer behavior: theodicy on the Odyssey', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 16(June), pp. 1-38.
59. Bell, P.A., Greene, T.C., Fisher, J.D. & Baum, A. (1996) *Environmental Psychology* (4th ed.). Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace.
60. Bennett, C. (2016) *Bosnia's Paralyzed Peace*, Online edn. Oxford: Oxford Academic, 19 Jan. 2017, Available at: [URL](#) [Accessed: 13 February 2024].
61. Berezin, M. (2003) 'Territory, emotion, and identity: spatial recalibration in a new Europe', in: M. Berezin & M. Schain (Eds) *Europe without Borders: Remapping Territory, Citizenship, and Identity in a Transnational Age*, pp. 1–30. London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
62. Berger, P.L. & Luckmann, T. (1966) *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. Penguin Books.
63. Berger, P.L. & Luckmann, T. (1991) *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. London: Penguin Books.
64. Berglund, E. & Olsson, K. (2010) 'Rethinking place marketing: A literature review'. In *Proceedings of the 50th European Regional Science Association Congress*, pp. 19-23, Jönköping.
65. Best, J. (1989) *Images of Issues: Typifying Contemporary Social Problems*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
66. Bhatnagar, K., Tillotson, J.S., Toyoki, S. & Laker, B. (2023) 'Learning to Live with an Unruly Consuming Body,' *Journal of Consumer Research*, ucad041.
67. Bitner, M.J. (1992) 'Servicescapes: The Impact of Physical Surroundings on Customers and Employees', *Journal of Marketing*, 56(2), pp. 57–71.
68. Björkert, S. T., Samelius, L. & Sanghera, G. S. (2016) 'Exploring symbolic violence in the everyday: misrecognition, condescension, consent and complicity', *Feminist Review*, 112, pp. 144-162.
69. Blaikie, N. (2010) *Designing Social Research*. Polity Press.
70. Blois, K. & Ryan, A. (2012) 'Interpreting the nature of business-to-business exchanges through the use of Fiske's Relational Models Theory', *Marketing Theory*, 12(4), pp. 351–367.

71. Blumer, H. (1971) 'Social Problems as Collective Behaviour', *Social Problems*, 18(3), pp. 298–306.
72. Boltanski, L., & Thévenot, L. (2006). *On Justification: Economies of Worth*. (C. Porter, Trans.). Princeton University Press.
73. Bourdieu, P. & Passeron, J. (1977) *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. London: Sage.
74. Bourdieu, P. & Wacquant, L. (1992) *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
75. Bourdieu, P. (1977) *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
76. Bourdieu, P. (1984) *Distinction. A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
77. Bourdieu, P. (1985) 'The social space and the genesis of groups', *Social Science Information*, vol. 24, no. 2, pp. 195–220.
78. Bourdieu, P. (1989) 'Social space and symbolic power', *Sociological Theory*, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 14–25.
79. Bourdieu, P. (1990) *In Other Words: Essays towards a Reflective Sociology*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
80. Bourdieu, P. (1991) *Language and Symbolic Power*. Malden: Polity Press.
81. Bourdieu, P. (1993) *Sociology in Question*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
82. Bourdieu, P. (1993) *The Field of Cultural Production*. New York: Columbia University Press.
83. Bourdieu, P. (1998) *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
84. Bourdieu, P. (2000) *Pascalian Meditations*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
85. Bourdieu, P. (2001a) *Masculine Domination*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
86. Bourdieu, P. (2018) 'Social Space and the Genesis of Appropriated Physical Space', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, pp. 106 – 114.
87. Bradford, T. W. & Sherry, J. F. (2015) 'Domesticating Public Space through Ritual: Tailgating as Vestaval', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 42(1), pp. 130–151.
88. Bradshaw, A. & Chatzidakis, A. (2016) 'The skins we live in', *Marketing Theory*, 16(3), pp. 347–360.

89. Brenner, N. (2001) *The limits to scale? Methodological reflections on scalar structuration*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
90. Brighenti, A.M. (2007) 'Visibility: A Category for the Social Sciences', *Current Sociology*, 55(3), pp. 323–342.
91. Brighenti, A.M. (2010) 'On Territorology: Towards a General Science of Territory', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 27(1), pp. 52–72.
92. Brighenti, A.M. (2014) 'Mobilizing Territories, Territorializing Mobilities', *Sociologica*, 8(1). Available at: [URL](#) [Accessed 11 May 2020].
93. Brown, K. and MacGinty, R. (2003) 'Public Attitudes toward Partisan and Neutral Symbols in Post-Agreement Northern Ireland', *Identities*, 10(1), pp. 83-108.
94. Brown, S. (1993) 'Postmodern Marketing?', *European Journal of Marketing*, 27(4), pp. 19-34.
95. Brown, S. (1996) 'Art or Science?: Fifty Years of Marketing Debate', *Journal of Marketing Management*, 12, pp. 243-267.
96. Brown, S. (1999) 'Postmodernism: The end of Marketing?' in Brownlie, D., et al. (eds.), *Rethinking Marketing: Towards Critical Marketing Accountings*, SAGE Publications, Limited, pp. 27-58.
97. Brownlie, D., Saren, M., Wensley, R., & Whittington, R. (eds) (1999) *Rethinking Marketing: Towards Critical Marketing Accountings*, SAGE Publications, Limited, London.
98. Bryant, A. & Charmaz, K. (eds.) (2019) *The Sage Handbook of Current Developments in Grounded Theory*. SAGE Publications, Limited.
99. Bryant, A. (2017) '1967 And All That', in *Grounded Theory and Grounded Theorizing: Pragmatism in Research Practice* (online edn). New York: Oxford Academic. Available at: [URL](#) [Accessed: 5 April 2021].
100. Burr, V. (1995) *An Introduction to Social Constructionism*. Taylor & Frances/Routledge.
101. Buttimer, A. & Seamon, D. (1980) *The Human Experience of Space and Place*. London: Croom Helm.
102. Buttimer, A. (1998) 'Geography's contested stories: changing states-of-the-art', *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, vol. 89, no. 1, pp. 90–9.

103. Buzzell, R. D. (1963) 'Is Marketing a Science?', *Harvard Business Review*, 41(January-February), pp. 32.
104. Canniford, R., Riach, K., & Hill, T. (2018) 'Nosenography: how smell constitutes meaning, identity and temporal experience in spatial assemblages', *Marketing Theory*, 18(2), pp. 234–248.
105. Casais, B. & Poço, T. (2023) 'Emotional branding of a city for inciting resident and visitor place attachment', *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 19(1), pp. 93-102.
106. Casey, E. S. (2011) 'Border versus boundary at La Frontera', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 29(3), pp. 384–398.
107. Castilhos, R. B. (2019) 'Branded places and marketplace exclusion', *Consumption Markets & Culture*, 22(5-6), pp. 582-597.
108. Castilhos, R.B. & Dolbec, P.Y. (2017) 'Conceptualizing spatial types: Characteristics, transitions, and research avenues', *Marketing Theory*, 18(2), pp. 154-168.
109. Castilhos, R.B. (2008) 'Introducing a Spatial Perspective to Analyze Market Dynamics', *Marketing Theory*, 17(1), pp. 9-30.
110. Castilhos, R.B. (2015) 'Researching the Post-Industrial City: Assessing the Relations Between Space, Markets, and Society in Urban Places', *Advances in Consumer Research*, 43, pp. 329–334.
111. Castilhos, R.B., Dolbec, P.Y. & Veresiu, E. (2017) 'Introducing a spatial perspective to analyse market dynamics', *Marketing Theory*, 17(1), pp. 9-29.
112. Cayla, J. & Eckhardt, G.M. (2008) 'Asian Brands and the Shaping of a Transnational Imagined Community', *Journal of Consumer Research*, Volume 35, Issue 2, August, pp. 216–230.
113. Charmaz, K. (1996) 'The Search for Meanings – Grounded Theory'. In Smooth, J.A., Harre, R. & Van Langenhove, L. (Eds.), *Rethinking Methods in Psychology*, pp. 27-49. London: Sage Publications.
114. Charmaz, K. (2001) 'Grounded Theory: Methodology and Theory Construction'. In Smelser, N.J. & Baltes, P.B. (Eds.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, Pergamon, pp. 6396-6399.
115. Charmaz, K. (2006) *Constructing Grounded Theory 2nd edition*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
116. Charmaz, K. (2008) 'Constructionism and the Grounded Theory' In: Holstein, J.A. &

117. Charmaz, K. (2014) *Constructing Grounded Theory* (2nd ed.). Sonoma State University.
118. Charmaz, K. (2014) 'Grounded Theory in Global Perspective: Reviews by International Researchers', *Qualitative Inquiry*, 20(9), pp. 1074-1084.
119. Charmaz, K. (2015) 'Teaching Theory Construction With Initial Grounded Theory Tools: A Reflection on Lessons and Learning', *Qualitative Health Research*, 25(12), pp. 1610-1622.
120. Charmaz, K. (2017) 'The Power of Constructivist Grounded Theory for Critical Inquiry', *Qualitative Inquiry*, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 34-45.
121. Chatterjee, A.K. (2023) 'The “decline” of London’s curry houses invented tradition, authenticity, gastromythology', *Consumption Markets & Culture*, pp. 1-23.
122. Chatzidakis, A., Morven, M., & Warnaby, G. (2018) 'Consumption in and of space and place: introduction to the special issue', *Marketing Theory*, 18(2), pp. 149–153.
123. Cheetham, F., McEachern, M.G. & Warnaby, G. (2018) 'A kaleidoscopic view of the territorialized consumption of place', *Marketing Theory*, pp. 1-20.
124. Chelekis, J. & Figueiredo, B. (2015) 'Regions and archipelagos of consumer culture: A reflexive approach to analytical scales and boundaries', *Marketing Theory*, 15(3), pp. 321–345.
125. Cherrier, H. & Murray, J. (2004) 'The sociology of consumption: the hidden facet of marketing', *Journal of Marketing Management*, 20(5), pp. 509-24.
126. Cherrier, H. (2009) 'Anti-consumption discourses and consumer-resistant identities', *Journal of Business Research*, 62(2), pp. 181-90.
127. Chibber, V. (2013), *Postcolonial theory and the specter of capital*, London, Verso.
128. Clabaugh, M.G., Forbes, J.L., & Clabaugh, J.P. (1995) 'Bloom's cognitive domain theory: A basis for developing higher levels of critical thinking skills in reconstructing a professional selling course', *Journal of Marketing Education*, 17, pp. 25-34.
129. Clarke, A.E. (2019) 'Situating Grounded Theory and Situational Analysis in Interpretative Qualitative Inquiry', in Bryant, A. & Charmaz, K. (eds.) *The Sage Handbook of Current Developments in Grounded Theory*. SAGE Publications, Limited, pp. 3-47.
130. Cody, K. & Lawlor, K. (2011) 'On the borderline: Exploring liminal consumption and the negotiation of threshold selves', *Marketing Theory*, 11(2), pp. 207–228.

131. Coffin, J. & Chatzidakis, A. (2021) 'The Möbius strip of market spatiality: mobilizing transdisciplinary dialogues between CCT and the marketing mainstream', *AMS Rev*, 11, pp. 40–59.
132. Cohen, M.R. (1927) 'Property and Sovereignty', *Cornell Law Review*, 13, 8. Available at: [URL](#) [Accessed 3 March 2022].
133. Cohen, S.B. & Kliot, N. (1992) 'Place-Names in Israel's Ideological Struggle over the Administered Territories', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 82, pp. 653–680.
134. Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina (2000) 'U-5/98 (Partial Decision Part 1)', p. 18. Sarajevo, 29 and 30 January. Available at: [URL](#) [Accessed 02 August 2023].
135. Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina (2006) Bulletin of the Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina, No. 1. Available at: [URL](#) [Accessed 14 Sep 2023].
136. Cosgrove, D. & Jackson, P. (1987) 'New Directions in Cultural Geography', *Area*, 19(2), pp. 95–101.
137. Cosgrove, D. (1994) 'Worlds of meaning: cultural geography and the imagination', in Foote, K. E., Hugill, P., Mathewson, K. & Smith, J. (eds), *Re-reading Cultural Geography*. Austin: University of Texas Press, pp. 387–95.
138. Coutant, F.R. (1937) 'Scientific Marketing Makes Progress', *Journal of Marketing*, 1(3), pp. 226–230.
139. Cova, B. & Svanfeldt, E. (1993) 'Societal innovations and the postmodern aestheticization of everyday life', *International Journal of Research in Marketing*, 10, pp. 297–310.
140. Cova, B. (1999) 'From Marketing to Societing: When the Link is more important than the Thing', in Brownlie, D., et al. (eds.), *Rethinking Marketing: Towards Critical Marketing Accountings*, SAGE Publications, Limited, pp. 64–83.
141. Cova, B., Maclaran, P., & Bradshaw, A. (2013) 'Rethinking consumer culture theory from the postmodern to the communist horizon', *Marketing theory*, 13(2), pp. 213–225.
142. Coward, M. (2009) *Urbicide: The Politics of Urban Destruction*, Milton Park: Routledge.
143. Coyle, I.T. (1997) 'Sampling in Qualitative Research: Purposeful and Theoretical Sampling; Merging or Clear Boundaries?', *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 26(3), pp. 623–630.

144. Crang, M. (2009) 'Visual Methods and Methodologies'. In Delyser, D., Herbert, S., Aitken, S., Crang, M. & McDowell, L. (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography*, pp. 208-225. SAGE Publications.
145. Crockett, D. & Wallendorf, M. (2004) 'The Role of Normative Political Ideology in Consumer Behavior', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 31(3), pp. 511–28.
146. Crotty, M. (1998) *The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process*. Allen & Unwin.
147. Croxton, D. (1999) 'The Peace of Westphalia of 1648 and the Origins of Sovereignty', *The International History Review*, vol. 21, no. 3, pp. 569-591.
148. Currie, S. (2020) 'Measuring and improving the image of a post-conflict nation: The impact of destination branding', *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management*, 18, p. 100472.
149. Cutright, K.M. (2012) 'The Beauty of Boundaries: When and Why We Seek Structure in Consumption', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 38(5), pp. 775–790.
150. Dahl, A.J., Peltier, J.W., & Schibrowsky, J.A. (2018) 'Critical thinking and reflective learning in the marketing education literature: A historical perspective and future research needs', *Journal of Marketing Education*, 40(2).
151. De Saussure, F. (1967) *Cours de linguistique générale*. Payot: Paris.
152. Dear, M. (1994) 'Postmodern Human Geography: A Preliminary Assessment (Postmoderne Geographie des Menschen. Eine vorläufige Bilanz)', *Erdkunde*, 48(1), pp. 2–13.
153. Debenedetti, A., Oppewal, A. & Arsel, Z. (2014) 'Place Attachment in Commercial Settings: A Gift Economy Perspective', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 40(5), pp. 904–923.
154. Debord, G. (1994) *The Society of the Spectacle*. Cambridge, MA: Zone Books/MIT Press, (originally published in 1967).
155. Delaney, D. (2005) *Territory: A Short Introduction*. Blackwell Publishing.
156. Deleuze, G. & Guattari, F.L. (1987) *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (B. Massumi, Trans.). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
157. Demirbag Kaplan, M., Yurt, O., Guneri, B., & Kurtulus, K. (2010) 'Branding places: applying brand personality concept to cities', *European Journal of Marketing*, 44(9/10), pp. 1286-1304.

158. Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y. (2000) 'The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research'. In Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, pp. 1-32.
159. Descartes, R. (1641) 'Meditations on First Philosophy'. In Cottingham, J. et al., (Eds.), *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes, Vol. II*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
160. DeWalt, K. M. & DeWalt, B. R. (2002) *Participant Observation: A Guide for Fieldworkers*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
161. Dholakia, N. & Firat, A.F. (eds.) (1999) *Consuming People: From Political Economy to Theatres of Consumption*. Taylor & Francis Group.
162. Dholakia, N. (2012) 'Being Critical in Marketing Studies: The Imperative of Macro Perspectives', *Journal of Macromarketing*, 32(2), p. 220-225.
163. Dingley, J. (2002) 'Peace in Our Time? The Stresses and Strains on the Northern Ireland Peace Process', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 25(6), pp. 357-382.
164. Dinnie, K. (ed) (2010) *City Branding: Theory and Cases*, Basingstoke, England: Palgrave-McMillan.
165. Discetti, R. & Anderson, M. (2022) 'Hybrid consumer activism in Fairtrade Towns: exploring digital consumer activism through spatiality', *Consumption Markets & Culture*.
166. Donia, R.J. (2009) *Sarajevo: A Biography*. London: Hurst & Co.
167. Douglas, M. (1966) *Purity and Danger; An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. Routledge.
168. Dovey, K. & Ristic, M. (2017) 'Mapping urban assemblages: the production of spatial knowledge', *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability*, 10(1), pp. 15-28, January.
169. Dovey, K., Ristic, M. & Pafka, E. (2017) *Mapping as Spatial Knowledge*. Routledge.
170. Duncan, J. & Ley, D. (1993) *Place/Culture/Representation*. Abingdon Oxon: Routledge.
171. Duncan, J. (1994) 'After the civil war: reconstructing cultural geography as heterotopia', in Foote, K. E., Hugill, P., Mathewson, K. and Smith, J. (eds), *Re-reading Cultural Geography*. Austin: University of Texas Press, pp. 401-8.

172. Eckhardt, G.M., Belk, R.W., Bradford, T., Dobscha, S., Ger, G. & Varman, R. (2022) 'Decolonizing marketing', *Consumption Markets and Culture*, 25(2), pp. 176–186.
173. Edney, J.J. (1976) 'Human territories: Comment on functional properties', *Environment and Behaviour*, 8(1), pp. 31–47.
174. Edwards, S. & Wilson, J. (2014) 'Do we do the past differently now? An interview with David Lowenthal', *Consumption Markets & Culture*, 17(2), pp. 105–119.
175. Elden, S. (2010) 'Land, terrain, territory', *Progress in Human Geography*, 34(6), pp. 799–817.
176. Elden, S. (2013) 'The Significance of Territory', *Geographica Helvetica*, 68, pp. 65–68.
177. Elg, U. & Johansson, U. (1996) 'Networking when national boundaries dissolve', *European Journal of Marketing*, 30(2), pp. 61–74.
178. Ellis, N., Jack, G., Hopkinson, G. & O'Reilly, D. (2010) 'Boundary work and identity construction in market exchanges', *Marketing Theory*, 10(3), pp. 227–236.
179. Farr, J. (2005) 'Point: The Westphalia Legacy and the Modern Nation-State', *International Social Science Review*, 80(3/4), pp. 156–159.
180. Feldman, R. (1948) *Epistemology*. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall.
181. Fernandez, K.V., Veer, E. & Lastovicka, J.L. (2011) 'The golden ties that bind: boundary crossing in diasporic Hindu wedding ritual', *Consumption Markets & Culture*, 14(3), pp. 245–265.
182. Finch, J. & Geiger, S. (2010) 'Positioning and relating: Market boundaries and the slippery identity of the marketing object', *Marketing Theory*, vol. 10, no. 3, 237–251.
183. Firat, A. F. & Venkatesh, A. (1995) 'Liberatory Postmodernism and the Reenchantment of Consumption', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 22(December), pp. 239–67.
184. Firat, F. & Venkatesh, A. (1993) 'Postmodernity: The age of marketing', *International Journal of Research in Marketing*, 10, pp. 227–249.
185. Firat, F. (2012) 'Marketing: Culture Institutionalized', *Journal of Macromarketing*, 33(1), pp. 78–82.
186. Fitchett, J.A., Patsiaouras, G. & Davies, A. (2014) 'Myth and ideology in consumer culture theory', *Marketing Theory*, 14(4), pp. 495–506.
187. Foucault, M. (1986) 'Of Other Spaces', *Diacritics*, 16(1).
188. Fumerton, R.A. (1949) *Metaphysical and Epistemological Problems of Perception*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

189. Gavidia, L.A. & Adu, J. (2022) 'Critical Narrative Inquiry: An Examination of a Methodological Approach', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 21.
190. Geertz, C. (1973) *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books.
191. Ger, G. & Yenicioglu, B. (2004) 'Clean and Dirty: Playing with Boundaries of Consumers' Safe Havens', *Advances in Consumer Research*, 31, pp. 462–7.
192. Gertner, D. & Kotler, P. (2004) 'How can a place correct a negative image?', *Place Branding*, 1(1), pp. 50-57.
193. Gertner, D. (2011) 'A (tentative) meta-analysis of the 'place marketing' and 'place branding' literature', *Journal of Brand Management*, 19, pp. 112–131.
194. Gertner, D. (2011b) 'Unfolding and configuring two decades of research and publications on place marketing and place branding', *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 7(2), pp. 91-106.
195. Giovanardi, M. & Lucarelli, A. (2018) 'Sailing through marketing: A critical assessment of spatiality in marketing literature', *Journal of Business Research*, 82, pp. 149-159.
196. Glaser, B. & Strauss, A. (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. Chicago, Aldine Publishing Co.
197. Glaser, B.G. & Strauss, A.L. (1965a) *Awareness of Dying*. Chicago: Aldine.
198. Glaser, B.G. (1978) *Theoretical Sensitivity*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.
199. Glaser, B.G. (1992) *Basics of Grounded theory: Emergence vs Forcing*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.
200. Glaser, B.G. (1992) *Emergence Vs Forcing: Basics of Grounded Theory Analysis*. California: Sociology Press.
201. Glaser, B.G. (1998) *Doing Grounded Theory: Issues and Discussions*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.
202. Godefroit-Winkel, D., Schill, M. & Hogg, M.K. (2019) 'The interplay of emotions and consumption in the relational identity trajectories of grandmothers with their grandchildren', *European Journal of Marketing*, 53(2), pp. 164-194.
203. Godfrey, R. & Lilley, S. (2009) 'Visual consumption, collective memory and the representation of war', *Consumption, Markets and Culture*, 12(4), pp. 275-300.
204. Godlewska, A. & Smith, N. (eds) (1994) *Geography and Empire*. Oxford: Blackwell.

205. Goode, E. & Ben-Yehuda, N. (1994) 'Moral Panics: Culture, Politics, and Social Construction', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 20, pp. 149–171.
206. Gordon, R. & Zainuddin, N. (2020) 'Symbolic violence and Marketing ECRs in the neoliberal University', *Journal of Marketing Management*.
207. Gormley-Heenan, C. and Aughey, A. (2017) 'Northern Ireland and Brexit: Three Effects on 'The Border in the Mind'', *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 19, pp. 497-511.
208. Gormley-Heenan, C. and Byrne, J. (2012) 'The Problem with Northern Ireland's Peace Walls', *Political Insight*, 3(3), pp. 4-7.
209. Gottman, J. (1975) 'The Evolution of the Concept of Territory', *Social Science Information*, XIV (3/4), pp. 29–47.
210. Gottmann, J. (1973) *The Significance of Territory*. Charlottesville: UVP.
211. Gould, M. & Skinner, H. (2007) 'Branding on ambiguity? Place branding without a national identity: Marketing Northern Ireland as a post-conflict society in the USA', *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 3(1), pp. 100-113.
212. Goulding, C. & Saren, M. (2010) 'Immersion, emergence and reflexivity: grounded theory and aesthetic consumption', *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research*, Vol. 4 No. 1, pp. 70-82.
213. Goulding, C. (1998) 'Grounded Theory: The Missing Methodology on the Interpretivist Agenda', *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal*, 1(1), pp. 50-57.
214. Goulding, C. (1999) 'Consumer research, interpretive paradigms and methodological ambiguities', *European Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 33 No. 9/10, pp. 859-873.
215. Goulding, C. (2000) 'The Commodification of the Past, Postmodern Pastiche, and the Search for Authentic Experiences at Contemporary Heritage Attractions', *European Journal of Marketing*, 34(7), pp. 835–853.
216. Goulding, C. (2001) 'Grounded Theory: A Magical Formula or a Potential Nightmare', *Marketing Review*, Vol. 2, Issue 2, pp. 21-33.
217. Goulding, C. (2001) 'Romancing the Past: Heritage Visiting and the Nostalgic Consumer', *Psychology and Marketing*, 18(June), pp. 565–592.
218. Goulding, C. (2002) 'An Exploratory Study of Age Related Vicarious Nostalgia and Aesthetic Consumption', in Broniarczyk, S.M. & Nakamoto, K. (eds.), *Advances in Consumer Research*. Vol. 29, pp. 542-546.

219. Goulding, C. (2002) *Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide for Management, Business and Market Researchers*. London: SAGE.
220. Goulding, C. (2005) 'Grounded theory, ethnography and phenomenology: A comparative analysis of three qualitative strategies for marketing research', *European Journal of Marketing*, 39(3-4), pp. 294-308.
221. Goulding, C. (2017) 'Navigating the Complexities of Grounded Theory Research in Advertising', *Journal of Advertising*, 46(1), pp. 61-70.
222. Goulding, C., Shankar, A., Elliott, R., & Canniford, R. (2009) 'The Marketplace Management of Illicit Pleasure', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 35(5), pp. 759–71.
223. Goulding, D. & Domic, D. (2009) 'Heritage, Identity and Ideological Manipulation: The Case of Croatia', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 36(1), pp. 85-102.
224. Govers R., Go F. (2009) *Place Branding: Virtual and Physical Identities, Glocal, Imagined and Experienced*. Basingstoke, England: Palgrave-Macmillan.
225. Greenberg, J. (2000) *Sharon Touches a Nerve, and Jerusalem Explodes*, The New York Times. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2000/09/29/world/sharon-touches-a-nerve-and-jerusalem-explodes.html> (Accessed: 20 February 2024).
226. Gregory, J. (2021) 'Statue wars: collective memory reshaping the past', *History Australia*, 18(3), pp. 564-587.
227. Guba, G.E. & Lincoln, Y.S. (2004) 'Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues'. In Hesse-Biber, S.N. and Leavy, P., *Approaches to Qualitative Research: A Reader on Theory and Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 17-39.
228. Gubrium, J.F. (2005) *Handbook of Constructionist Research*. New York: The Guilford Press, pp. 397-414.
229. Gurova, O. (2018) *Consumer Culture in Socialist Russia*, in Kravets, O., Maclaran, P., Miles, S., & Venkatesh, A. (2018) *The Sage Handbook of Consumer Culture*. SAGE Publications Ltd.
230. Guzzini, S. (2017) 'Max Weber's Power', in R. Lebow (Ed.), *Max Weber and International Relations*, pp. 97-118. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
231. Hackley, C. (2009) *Marketing: A Critical Introduction*. Sage.
232. Hall, E.T. (1959) *The Silent Language*. Doubleday and Company Inc.

233. Hall, S. (ed.) (1997) *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage.
234. Hamilton, R.F. (2001) *Mass Society, Pluralism, and Bureaucracy*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
235. Hankinson, G. (2009) 'Managing destination brands: establishing a theoretical foundation', *Journal of Marketing Management*, 25:1-2, pp. 97-115.
236. Hankinson, G. (2010) 'Place branding research: A cross-disciplinary agenda and the views of practitioners', *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 6(4), pp. 300-315.
237. Hardy, C. (2012) 'Social space', in M. Grenfell (Ed.), *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts* (Key Concepts, pp. 229-249). Acumen Publishing.
238. Harvey, D. (2009) 'The right to the city', in *Social justice and the city* (Rev. ed.). Georgia: University of Georgia Press.
239. Hatch, J.A. (1985) 'Naturalistic Methods in Educational Research', Paper presented at the Centro Interdisciplinario de Investigación y Docencia en Educación Técnica, Queretaro, Qro. Mexico, June 17. Available at [URL](#) [Accessed: 5 September 2023].
240. Hesse-Biber, S.N. & Leavy, P. (2004) *Approaches to Qualitative Research: A Reader on Theory and Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
241. Hildebrand, B. (2007) 'Mediating Structure and Interaction in Grounded Theory', in Bryant, A. and Charmaz, K. (eds.) *The Sage Handbook of Grounded Theory*. SAGE Publications, Limited, pp. 539-564.
242. Hill, M.E., & McGinnis, J. (2007) 'The curiosity in marketing thinking', *Journal of Marketing Education*, 29, pp. 52-62.
243. Hill, T. (2016) 'Mood management in the English premier league'. In: R. Canniford & D. Bajde (Eds.), *Assembling consumption: researching actors*, pp. 155–171. Oxford: Networks and Markets, Routledge.
244. Hill, T., Canniford, R. & Mol, J. (2014) 'Non-representational marketing theory', *Marketing Theory*, 14(4), pp. 377–394.
245. Hirschman, E. C., Ruvio, A. & Belk, R. W. (2012) 'Exploring space and place in marketing research: Excavating the garage', *Marketing Theory*, 12(4), pp. 369–389.
246. Hirschman, E.C. & Holbrook, M.B. (Eds) *Advances in Consumer Research*, Association for Consumer Research.

247. Hirschman, E.C. & Thompson, C.J. (1997) 'Why Media Matter: Toward a Richer Understanding of Consumers' Relationships with Advertising and Mass Media', *Journal of Advertising*, 26(1), pp. 43-60.
248. Hirschman, E.C. (1986) 'Humanistic inquiry in marketing research: philosophy, method, and criteria', *Journal of Marketing Research*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 237-249.
249. Hoare, M. A. (2010) 'The War of Yugoslav Succession'. In: Ramet, S. P. (ed.) *Central and Southeast European Politics since 1989*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 111–136.
250. Hoare, M.A. (2019) 'The War of Yugoslav secession', in Ramet, S.P. and Hassenstab, C.M. (eds.), *European Politics since 1989* (2nd ed.), pp. 106-133. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
251. Hobbes, T. (1651) *Leviathan*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968.
252. Hobsbawm, E.J. (1983) *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
253. Hodgin, K. & Radstone, S. (2003) *Contested Pasts: The Politics of Memory* (eds.). Routledge.
254. Holbrook, M.B. (1995b) *Consumer Research*. Thousands Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, Inc.
255. Holstein, J. A. & Gubrium, J. F. (1995) *The Active Interview. Qualitative Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
256. Hopkins, S. (2014) *The Politics of Memoir and the Northern Ireland Conflict*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. Available from: ProQuest Ebook Central [Accessed 17 February 2024].
257. Houston, H.R. & Venkatesh, A. (1996) 'The health care consumption patterns of Asian immigrants: Grounded theory implications for consumer acculturation theory', *ACR North American Advances*.
258. Huberman, A.M. & Miles, M.B. (1994) 'Data Management and Analysis Methods', in Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y. (eds), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousands Oaks: Sage Publications.
259. Hugly, P. & Sayward, C. (1987) 'Relativism and Ontology', *The Philosophical Quarterly*, 37(148), pp. 278–290.

260. Hunt, S. D. (1976) *Marketing Theory: Conceptual Foundations of Research in Marketing*. Columbus, OH: Grid.
261. Hunt, S.D. (1993) 'Objectivity in marketing theory and research', *Journal of Marketing*, 57, pp. 76-91.
262. Hunt, S.D. (1994) 'On the rhetoric of qualitative methods: Toward historically informed argumentation in management inquiry', *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 3, pp. 221-234.
263. Hunt, S.D. (2005) 'For Truth and Realism in Management Research', *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 14(2), pp. 127-138.
264. Hunter, S. V. (2010) 'Analysing and representing narrative data: The long and winding road', *Current Narratives*, 2, pp. 44-54.
265. Husain, S., Molesworth, M. & Grigore, G. (2019) 'I once wore an angry bird T-shirt and went to read Qur'an': Asymmetrical institutional complexity and emerging consumption practices in Pakistan', *Marketing Theory*, 19(3), pp. 367–390.
266. ICTY (n.d.) 'Case Information Sheet: Sarajevo (IT-98-29) STANISLAV GALIĆ'. Available at: [URL](#) [Accessed: 07 Sep. 2023].
267. Jacobsen, B.P. (2009) 'Investor-based place brand equity: A theoretical framework', *Journal of Place Management and Development*, 2(1), pp. 70-84.
268. Jafari, A. (2022) 'The role of institutions in non-Western contexts in reinforcing West-centric knowledge hierarchies: Towards more self-reflexivity in marketing and consumer research', *Marketing Theory*, 22(2), pp. 211-227.
269. Jafari, A., & Visconti, L. M. (2015). 'New directions in researching ethnicity in marketing and consumer behaviour: A well-being agenda.' *Marketing Theory*, 15(2), 265–270.
270. Jafari, A., Firat, F., Süerdem, A., Askegaard, S., & Dalli, D. (2012) 'Non-western contexts: The invisible half', *Marketing Theory*, 12(1), pp. 3-12
271. Jenkins, R. (1992) *Pierre Bourdieu*. London: Routledge.
272. Jenks, C. (2003) *Transgression*. Routledge: London.
273. Jessop, B., Brenner, N. & Jones, M. (2008) 'Theorizing Sociospatial Relations', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 26(3), pp. 389-401.
274. Joseph, J.E. (2012) *Saussure*. Oxford University Press, Incorporated, Oxford.

275. Kalandides, A. & Kavaratzis, M. (2011) 'Branding Cities: The Search for Place Identity', *Journal of Place Management and Development*, 4(1), pp. 5-8.
276. Kalandides, A., Kavaratzis, M., Boisen, M., & Kavaratzis, M. (2012) 'From "necessary evil" to necessity: Stakeholders' involvement in place branding', *Journal of Place Management and Development*, 5(1), pp. 7-19.
277. Kampmann, C. (2021) 'The Treaty of Westphalia As Peace Settlement and Political Concept: From a German Security System to the Constitution of International Law', in M. Weller, M. Retter & A. Varga (Eds.), *International Law and Peace Settlements*, pp. 64-85. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
278. Kanter, D. & Mirvis, P. (1989) *The Cynical Americans: Living and Working in an Age of Discontent and Disillusion*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
279. Karavatzis, M. (2004) 'From City Marketing to City Branding: Towards a Theoretical Framework for Developing City Brands', *Journal of Place Branding*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 58-73.
280. Kärrholm, M. (2007) 'The Materiality of Territorial Production: A Conceptual Discussion of Territoriality, Materiality, and the Everyday Life of Public Space', *Space and Culture*, 10(4), pp. 437-453.
281. Kärrholm, M. (2017) 'The temporality of territorial production – the case of Stortorget, Malmö', *Social & Cultural Geography*, 18:5, pp. 683-705.
282. Kavanagh, D. (1994) 'Hunt versus Anderson: Round 16', *European Journal of Marketing*, 28, 3, pp. 26-41.
283. Kavaratzis, M. & Ashworth, G. (2008) 'Place marketing: how did we get here and where are we going?', *Journal of Place Management and Development*, 1(2), pp. 150-165.
284. Kavaratzis, M. & Ashworth, G. (2008) 'Place marketing: How did we get here and where are we going?', *Journal of Place Management and Development*, 1(2), pp. 150-165.
285. Kavaratzis, M., & Ashworth, G. (2006) 'City branding: An effective assertion of identity or a transitory marketing trick?', *Place Brand Public Dipl*, 2, pp. 183–194.
286. Kavaratzis, M., & Hatch, M.J. (2013) 'The dynamics of place brands: An identity-based approach to place branding theory', *Marketing Theory*, 13(1), pp. 69–86.
287. Kimura, J. & Belk, R. (2005) 'Christmas in Japan: Globalization Versus Localization', *Consumption Markets & Culture*, 8:3, pp. 325-338.

288. Kissinger, H. (1995) *Diplomacy*. New York: Pocket Books.
289. Klix.ba (2020) 'Sarajevo: Stanovnici Dobrinje parkirali auta na entitetskoj liniji kako bi spriječili gradnju zgrade'. Available at: [URL](#) [Accessed: 2 August 2023].
290. Knight, D.B. (1982) 'Identity and Territory: Geographical Perspectives on Nationalism and Regionalism', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 72(4), pp. 514-531.
291. Knudsen, B.T. and Andersen, C. (2019) 'Affective Politics and Colonial Heritage, Rhodes Must Fall at UCT and Oxford', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 25(3), p. 242.
292. Kotler, P. & Levy, S.J. (1969) 'Broadening the Concept of Marketing', *Journal of Marketing*, 33(1), pp. 10-15.
293. Kotler, P., & Gertner, D. (2002) 'Country as brand, product, and beyond: A place marketing and brand management perspective', *Journal of Brand Management*, 9(4), pp. 249–261.
294. Kozinets, R.V. (2002) 'Can Consumers Escape the Market? Emancipatory Illuminations from Burning Man', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 29(1), pp. 20–38.
295. Kravets, O. & Varman, R. (2022) 'Introduction to special issue: Hierarchies of knowledge in marketing theory', *Marketing Theory*, 22(2), pp. 127–133.
296. Kravets, O. (2021) 'It's no joke: The critical power of a laughing chorus', *Marketing Theory*, 21(3), pp. 297–315
- Kuhn, T.S. (1962) *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
298. Lal, S. & Suto, M. (2012) 'Examining the Potential of Combining the Methods of Grounded Theory and Narrative Inquiry: A Comparative Analysis', *The Qualitative Report*, vol. 17, no. 41, pp. 1-22
299. Lamont, M. & Molnár, V. (2002) 'The Study of Boundaries in the Social Sciences', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 28, pp. 167-195.
300. Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell.
301. Lefebvre, H. (1996) 'The right to the city', in Kofman, E. & Lebas, E. (eds.), *Henri Lefebvre: Writings on cities*, pp. 147-159. London, England: Basil Blackwell.
302. Lefebvre, H. (2004) *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time, and Everyday Life*. London: Continuum.

303. Lemke, J. (2005) 'Place, pace, and meaning: Multimedia chronotopes', in *Discourse in action*, pp. 110–122. Routledge.
304. Levy, S.J. (1981) 'Interpreting consumer mythology: a structural approach to consumer behaviour', *Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 45 No. 3, pp. 49-61.
305. Ley, D. (1981) 'Cultural/Humanistic Geography', *Progress in Human Geography*, 5(2), pp. 249–257.
306. Light, D. & Young, C. (2010) 'Reconfiguring Socialist Urban Landscapes: The “Left-Over” Spaces of State-Socialism in Bucharest', *Human Geographies*, 4(1), pp. 5-15.
307. Lincoln, Y.S. & Guba, E.G. (1985) *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Sage Publishing.
308. Lisa, M.G. (2008) *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*. California: SAGE Publications, Inc.
309. Lorimer, H. (2011) 'Walking—New forms and spaces for studies of pedestrianism', in Cresswell, T. & Merriman, P. (eds.), *Geographies of mobilities—Practices, spaces, subjects*, pp. 19-34. Aldershot, England: Ashgate.
310. Löw, M. & Weidenhaus, G. (2017) 'Borders that relate: Conceptualizing boundaries in relational space', *Current Sociology*, 65(4), pp. 553-570.
311. Low, M. (2005) 'Power and politics in human geography', *Geogr. Ann.*, 87 B (1), pp. 81-88.
312. Lowenthal, D. (1985) *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge University Press.
313. Lucarelli, A. & Berg, P.O. (2011) 'City Branding: A State-of-the-Art Review of the Research Domain', *Journal of Place Management and Development*, 4(1), pp. 9-27.
314. Macdonald, M. & Schreiber, R.S. (2001) 'Constructing and Deconstructing: Grounded Theory in a Postmodern World'. In Schreiber, R.S. & Stern, P.N., (Eds.), *Using Grounded Theory in Nursing*, Springer Publishing Company, New York, pp. 35-53.
315. Macdonald, S. (2013) *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today*. Routledge.
316. Maciel, A.F. & Wallendorf, M. (2021) 'Space as a Resource in the Politics of Consumer Identity', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 48(2), pp. 309–332.
317. Maclaran, P. & Brown, S. (2005) 'The center cannot hold: consuming the utopian marketplace', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 32, pp. 311–323.

318. Maclaran, P. (2009) 'Postmodern Marketing and Beyond', in Parsons, E. and Macaran, P. (eds.), *Contemporary Issues in Marketing and Consumer Behaviour* (1st Edition), pp. 36-54, London: Routledge.
319. Malpas, J. (2012) 'Putting Space in Place: Philosophical Topography and Relational Geography', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 30(2), pp. 226–242.
320. Marcoux, J.-S. (2017) 'Souvenirs to forget', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 43(6), pp. 950–969.
321. Marko, J. (2000) 'Bosnia and Herzegovina - Multi-Ethnic or Multinational?', in Council of Europe (ed.), *Societies in Conflict: The Contribution of Law and Democracy to Conflict Resolution (Science and Technique of Democracy No. 29)*. Strasbourg. Available at: [URL](#), pp. 66-86 [Accessed: 3 September 2023].
322. Marshall, A. (2013) *Principles of Economics: Palgrave Classics in Economics*. Palgrave Macmillan.
323. Martin, J.L. (2003) 'What Is Field Theory?', *American Journal of Sociology*, 109(1), pp. 1–49.
324. Massey, D. (1996) 'Politicising space and place', *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 112(2), pp. 117-123.
325. Mele, C., Sebastiani, R. & Corsaro, D. (2019) 'Service innovation as a social construction: The role of boundary objects', *Marketing Theory*, 19(3), pp. 259–279.
326. Miles, S. (2018) 'The Emergence of Contemporary Consumer Culture', in Kravets, O., Maclaran, P., Miles, S., & Venkatesh, A. (eds.) *The Sage Handbook of Consumer Culture*. SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 2-17.
327. Montgomery, P. & Bailey, P.H. (2007) 'Field Notes and Theoretical Memos in Grounded Theory', *Western Journal of Nursing Research*, 29(1), pp. 65-79.
328. Morse, J. (1994) *Critical Issues in Qualitative Research Methods*. Sage Publications.
329. Moss, P. & Falconer Al-Hindi, K. (2008) *Feminisms in geography: rethinking space, place, and knowledges*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.
330. Mostov, J. (2008) *Soft Borders: Rethinking Sovereignty and Democracy*. Palgrave Macmillan.
331. Mostov, J. (2010) 'Rethinking Borders, Violence, and Space', *SSRN*. Available at: [URL](#) [Accessed 07 Sep. 2023].

332. Murphy, A.B. (1990) 'Historical Justifications for Territorial Claims', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 80, no. 4, pp. 531-548.
333. Murphy, A.B. (2012) 'Territory's continuing allure', *Annals of the Association of the American Geographers*, vol. 80, no. 4, pp. 531-648.
334. Murray, J.B. & Ozanne, J.L. (1991) 'The Critical Imagination: Emancipatory Interests in Consumer Research', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 18(2), pp. 129-144.
335. Neuman, L.W. (2005) *Power, State, and Society: An Introduction to Political Sociology*. McGraw-Hill Humanities.
336. Newman, D. & Paasi, A. (1998) 'Fences and neighbours in the postmodern world: Boundary narratives in political geography', *Progress in Human Geography*, 22(2), pp. 187-207.
337. Newman, D. (1998) 'Geopolitics Renaissance: Territory, sovereignty and the world political map', *Geopolitics*, 3(1), pp. 1-16.
338. Newman, D. (2003) 'On borders and power: A theoretical framework', *Journal of Borderland Studies*, 18(1), pp. 13-25.
339. Newman, D. (2006) 'The Resilience of Territorial Conflict in an Era of Globalization'
340. Newman, D. (2006) 'Borders and bordering: Towards an interdisciplinary dialogue', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 9(2), pp. 171-186.
341. Newman, D. (2006) 'The resilience of territorial conflict in an era of globalization', in Kahler, M. & Walter, B. (eds.), *Territoriality and Conflict in an Era of Globalization*, pp. 85-110. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
342. Niedomysl, T. & Jonasson, M. (2012) 'Towards a theory of place marketing', *Journal of Place Management and Development*, 5(3), pp. 223-230.
343. O'Guinn, T.C. et al., (2015) 'Turning to Space: Social Density, Social Class, and the Value of Things in Stores', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 42(2), pp. 196-213.
344. O'Leary, J. (2022) 'Belfast's 'peace walls': How the politics and policy of 1969-1971 shaped the city's contemporary 'interface areas'', in *The Routledge Handbook of Architecture, Urban Space and Politics*, Volume I, 1st edn. Routledge, pp. 18.
345. Ozanne, J.L. & Murray, J.B. (1995) 'Uniting critical theory and public policy to create the reflexively defiant consumer', *American Behavioral Scientist*, 38(4), pp. 516-25.
346. Paasi, A. (1998) 'Boundaries as Social Processes: Territoriality in the World of Flows', *Geopolitics*, 3(1), pp. 69-88.

347. Paasi, A. (1999) 'Boundaries as Social Practice and Discourse: The Finnish-Russian Border', *Regional Studies*, 33(7), pp. 669–80.
348. Paasi, A. (2001) 'Europe as a social process and discourse: considerations of place, boundaries and identity', *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 8(1), pp. 7-28.
349. Paasi, A. (2018) 'Regions and Regional Dynamics' In: Rumford, C. (ed.) *Handbook of European Studies*. London: Sage, pp. 464-484.
350. Paasi, A. (2022) 'Bounded spaces in question: x-raying the persistence of regions, territories and borders', *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 104(1), pp. 1-8.
351. Paasi, A. (2022) 'Examining the Persistence of Bounded Spaces: Remarks on Regions, Territories, and the Practices of Bordering.' *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 104(1), 9-26.
352. Paasi, A. et al., (2022) 'Locating the Territoriality of Territory in Border Studies,' *Political Geography*, 95 (2022), pp. 102584.
353. Papadopoulos, N., & Cleveland, M. (2021) *Marketing Countries, Places, and Place-associated Brands: Identity and Image*. Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, UK.
354. Patsiaouras, G. & Fitchett, J. (2023) 'Red Tsars and Iron Ladies: Exploring the role of marketing forces in the construction of political heroism', *Marketing Theory*, 23(1), pp. 119–140.
355. Patsiaouras, G. (2019) 'Marketing concepts can have a life of their own: Representation and pluralism in marketing concept analysis', *Marketing Theory*, 19(4), pp. 559–566.
356. Patsiaouras, G. (2022) 'Marketplace cultures for social change? New social movements and consumer culture theory', *Journal of Marketing Management*, 38(1-2), pp. 17-47.
357. Patsiaouras, G., Saren, M. & Fitchett, J. A. (2015) 'The Marketplace of Life? An Exploratory Study of the Commercialization of Water Resources through the Lens of Macromarketing', *Journal of Macromarketing*, 35(1), pp. 23-35.
358. Peet, R. (1985) 'The Social Origins of Environmental Determinism', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 75, no. 3, pp. 309–333.
359. Peñaloza, L. (1994) 'Atravesando Fronteras/Border Crossings: A Critical Ethnographic Exploration of the Consumer Acculturation of Mexican Immigrants', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 21(1), pp. 32–54.

360. Peñaloza, L. (2001) 'Consuming the American West: Animating cultural meaning and memory at a stock show and rodeo', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 28(3), pp. 369–398.
361. Pettigrew, S. (1999) *Culture and Consumption: A Study of Beer Consumption in Australia*, PhD Thesis, The University of Western Australia, The Graduate School of Management. Available at: [URL](#) [Accessed: 1 July 2023].
362. Pettigrew, S. (2002) 'A grounded theory of beer consumption in Australia', *Qualitative Market Research*, Vol. 5 No. 2, pp. 112-122.
363. Pettigrew, S. (2007) 'Place as a site and item of consumption: an exploratory study', *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 31(6), pp. 603-608.
364. Phillips, D. (1987) *Philosophy, Science, and Social Inquiry: Contemporary Methodological Controversies in Social Science and Related Applied Fields of Research*. Oxford, England: Pergamon Press.
365. Pink, S. (2007), *Doing Visual Ethnography Second Edition*, London: Sage.
366. Pocock, D.C.D., ed. (1981) *Humanistic Geography and Literature: Essays on the Experience of Place*. London: Croom Helm.
367. Popescu, G. (2011) *Bordering and Ordering the Twenty-first Century: Understanding Borders*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
368. Pretto, A. (2021) 'Different Landscape Perceptions of the Same Territorial Area: A Research Study in Italy', *Space and Culture*, 24(1), pp. 144-156.
369. Raffestin, C. & Butler, S.A. (2012) 'Space, territory, and territoriality', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol. 30, no. 1, pp. 121–141.
370. Reisman, W.M. (ed), (1999) *Jurisdiction in International Law*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
371. Rey, T. (2014) *Bourdieu on Religion: Imposing Faith and Legitimacy*. Milton Park: Routledge.
372. Ristić, M. (2015) 'Intangible Borders: Everyday Spatialities of Ethnic Division in Postwar Sarajevo', *Fabrications*, 25(3), pp. 322-343.
373. Ristić, M. (2018) *Architecture, Urban Space and War: The Destruction and Reconstruction of Sarajevo*. Palgrave Studies in Cultural Heritage and Conflict.
374. Ristić, M. (2018) 'Topography of Terror: Sniping and Shelling of Urban Space: The Destruction and Reconstruction of Sarajevo'. doi:10.1007/978-3-319-76771-0_3.

375. Robrecht, I.C. (1995) 'Grounded Theory: Evolving Methods', *Qualitative Health Research*, 5(2), pp. 167-177.
376. Robson, C. (2002) *Real World Research: A Resource for Social Scientists and Practitioner-Researchers* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
377. Ronchetto, J.R., & Buckles, T.A. (1994) 'Developing critical thinking and interpersonal skills in a services marketing course employing total quality management concepts and techniques', *Journal of Marketing Education*, 16, pp. 20-31.
378. Rousseau, J.J. (1762) *The Social Contract*. Available at: [URL](#) [Accessed 14 August 2022].
379. Roux, D. & Belk, R. (2019) 'The Body as (Another) Place: Producing Embodied Heterotopias Through Tattooing', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 46(3), pp. 483–507.
380. Roux, D., Guillard, V., & Blanchet, V. (2018). 'Of counter spaces of provisioning: Reframing the sidewalk as a parasite heterotopia.' *Marketing Theory*, 18(2), 218–233.
381. Rumbo, J.D. (2002) 'Consumer resistance in a world of advertising clutter: the case of Adbusters', *Psychology and Marketing*, 19(2), pp. 127-48.
382. Saatcioglu, B., & Ozanne, J.L. (2013) 'Moral Habitus and Status Negotiation in a Marginalized Working-Class Neighbourhood', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 40(4), pp. 692–710.
383. Sack, R. D. (1983) 'Human Territoriality: A Theory', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 73, pp. 55-74.
384. Sack, R. D. (1986) *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History*, Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography, 7. CUP Archive.
385. Sack, R. D. (1997) *Homo Geographicus: A Framework for Action, Awareness and Moral Concern*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
386. Sack, R. D. (2004) 'Place-making and time', in Mels, T. (ed.), *Reanimating Places: Re-materialising. Cultural Geography Series*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 243–53.
387. Sack, R.D. (1993) 'The Power of Place and Space.' *Geographical Review*, 83(3), pp. 326–329.
388. Sandikci, O. (2022) 'The scalar politics of difference: Researching consumption and marketing outside the west', *Marketing Theory*, 22(2), pp. 135-153.
389. Saren, M. et al., (2007) *Critical Marketing: Defining the Field*. Routledge.

390. Sauer, C. (1925) *The Morphology of Landscape*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
391. Sauer, C.O. (1963) 'Historical Geography and the Western Frontier', in J. Leighly (Ed.), *Land and Life*, pp. 45-52. Berkeley: University of California Press (originally published in 1930).
392. Schembri, S. & Boyle, M. (2013) 'Visual ethnography: Achieving rigorous and authentic interpretations', *Journal of Business Research*, 66, pp. 1251-1254.
393. Scheper-Hughes, N. (1993) *Death Without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life In Brazil*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
394. Shankar, A., Elliot, R., & Goulding, C. (2001) 'Understanding consumption: Contributions from a narrative perspective', *Journal of Marketing Management*, 17(3/4), pp. 429–453.
395. Sharifonnasabi, Z., Mimoun, L. & Bardhi, F. (2023) 'Transnational Market Navigation: Living and Consuming across Borders', *Journal of Consumer Research*, ucad049.
396. Shaw, H.E. (2009) 'Reflections on The History of Marketing Thought', *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing*, 1(2), pp. 330-345.
397. Sherry, J.F. Jr. (1987) 'Keeping the monkeys away from the typewriters: an anthropologist's view of the consumer behavior odyssey', *Advances in Consumer Research*, 14, pp. 370-373.
398. Sherry, J.F. Jr. (1991) 'Postmodern Alternatives: The Interpretive Turn in Consumer Research', in Robertson, T. & Kassarian, H. (eds.) *Handbook of Consumer Behavior*. Englewoods Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, pp. 548–591.
399. Sherry, J.F., Jr. (2000) 'Place, Technology, and Representation', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 27(2), pp. 273–278.
400. Shields, R. (1991) *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity*. London and New York: Routledge.
401. Shils, E. (1975) *Center and Periphery*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
402. Shostack, G.L. (1977) 'Breaking Free from Product Marketing', *Journal of Marketing*, 41(2), pp. 73–80.
403. Silber, L. & Little, A. (1997) *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation*, Rev. ed. edn. New York: Penguin Books.

404. Skinner, H. (2008) 'The emergence and development of place marketing's confused identity', *Journal of Marketing Management*, 24(9-10), pp. 915-928.
405. Smith, D. (1996) 'Culture, Community and Territory: the Politics of Ethnicity and Nationalism', *International Affairs*, 72, pp.445-58.
406. Smith, K. (1996) *Environmental Hazards: Assessing Risk and Reducing Disaster*. London: Routledge.
407. Soja, E.W. (1971) *The Political Organization of Space*. Association of American Geographers, Commission on College Geography.
408. Southerton, D. (2001) 'Consuming Kitchens', *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 1(2), pp. 179-203.
409. Spiggle, S. (1994) 'Analysis and Interpretation of Qualitative Data in Consumer Research', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 21(3), pp. 491-503.
410. Spradley, J. P. (1980) *Participant Observation*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
411. Steadman, C., Banister, E. & Medway, D. (2019) 'Ma(r)king memories: exploring embodied processes of remembering and forgetting temporal experiences', *Consumption Markets & Culture*, 22(3), pp. 209–225.
412. Steadman, C., Roberts, G., Medway, D., Millington, S. & Platt, L. (2021) '(Re)thinking place atmospheres in marketing theory', *Marketing Theory*, 21(1), pp. 135–154.
413. Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1990) *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory, Procedures and Techniques*. Newbury Park, California: Sage.
414. Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1998) *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (2nd ed.). Sage Publications, Inc.
415. Strübing, J. (2007) 'Research as Pragmatic Problem-solving: The Pragmatic Roots of Empirically-grounded Theorizing', in Bryant, A. and Charmaz, K. (eds.) *The Sage Handbook of Grounded Theory*. SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 580-602.
416. Strübing, J. (2019) 'The Pragmatism of Anselm L. Strauss: Linking Theory and Method', in Bryant, A. and Charmaz, K. (eds.) *The Sage Handbook of Current Developments in Grounded Theory*. SAGE Publications, Limited, pp. 51-67.
417. Swartz, D. L. (2013) *Symbolic Power, Politics, and Intellectuals: The Political Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*. The University of Chicago Press.
418. Tadajewski, M. (2010) 'Towards a history of critical marketing studies', *Journal of Marketing Management*, 26: 9-10, pp. 773-824.

419. Tadajewski, M. (2012) 'History and critical marketing studies', *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing*, 4(3), pp. 440-552.
420. Tadajewski, M. (2014) 'Paradigm debates and marketing theory, thought and practice: From the 1900s to the present day', *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing*, 6(3), pp. 303-330.
421. Tadajewski, M. (2023) 'On being critically oriented in precarious times: for resistant curiosity', *Journal of Marketing Management*, 39:1-2, pp. 8-19.
422. Tedlock, B. (2000) 'Ethnography and ethnographic representation', in Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (eds) *The Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 2nd edn. London: Sage Publications.
423. The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (2023) Available at: [URL](#) [Accessed: 3 September 2023].
424. Thompson, C.J. & Üstüner, T. (2015) 'Women Skating on the Edge: Marketplace Performances as Ideological Edgework', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 42(2), pp. 235–265.
425. Thomson, P. (2012) 'Field', in M. Grenfell (Ed.), *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts* (Key Concepts, pp. 65-80). Acumen Publishing.
426. Till, K. E. (2012) 'Wounded cities: Memory-work and a place-based ethics of care', *Political Geography*, 31(2012), pp. 3-14.
427. Timmermans, S. & Tavory, I. (2007) *Advancing Ethnographic Research Through Grounded Theory Practice*. SAGE Publications Ltd.
428. Tran, K. (2013) 'Overview of Social Constructionism and Its Potential Applications for Social Work Education and Research in Vietnam', *VNU Journal of Social Science and Humanities*, 29, pp. 30-37.
429. Tuan, Y. (1977) *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
430. Tuan, Y. (1979) *Landscapes of Fear*. New York: Pantheon Books.
431. Tuan, Y.F. (1976) 'Humanistic Geography', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 66(2), pp. 266–276.
432. Tucker, W.T. (1957) *Foundations for a Theory of Consumer Behaviour*, New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

433. Tuğal, C. (2020) 'Urban Symbolic Violence re-made: Religion, Politics and Spatial Struggles in Istanbul', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, pp. 154 – 163.
434. United Nations; World Bank. (2018). *Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict*. Washington, DC: World Bank. Available at: [URL](#) [Accessed on 20 February 2024].
435. Uppsala University. (2023) 'Still many conflicts in the world in 2023', 27 December. Available at: [URL](#) [Accessed: 20 February 2024].
436. Urry, J. (1990) *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. London: Sage.
437. Urry, J. (1995) *Consuming Places*. London: Routledge.
438. Ustuner, T. & Holt, D.B. (2007) 'Dominated Consumer Acculturation: The Social Construction of Poor Migrant Women's Consumer Identity Projects in a Turkish Squatter', *Journal of Consumer Research*, vol. 34, no. 6, pp. 41-56.
439. Üstuner, T. & Thompson, C.J. (2012) 'How Marketplace Performances Produce Interdependent Status Games and Contested Forms of Symbolic Capital', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 38(5), pp. 796–815.
440. Vaile, R. S. (1949) 'Towards a Theory of Marketing—A Comment', *Journal of Marketing*, 13(4), pp. 520–522.
441. Varman, R. & Belk, R. (2011) 'Consuming Postcolonial Shopping Malls', *Journal of Marketing Management*, 28(1–2), pp. 62–84.
442. Varman, R. & Vijay, D. (2018) 'Dispossessing vulnerable consumers: Derealization, desubjectification, and violence', *Marketing Theory*, 18(3), pp. 307–326.
443. Varman, R. (2018) 'Postcolonialism, subalternity, and critical marketing', in *The Routledge Companion to Critical Marketing* (1st ed., pp. 65-79), Routledge.
444. Varman, R. (2018) 'Violence, Markets and Marketing', *Journal of Marketing Management*, 34(11-12), pp. 903-912.
445. Varman, R., & Belk, R.W. (2009) 'Nationalism and Ideology in an Anticonsumption Movement', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 36(4), pp. 686–700.
446. Venkatesh, A. (1999) 'Postmodernism Perspectives for Macromarketing: An Inquiry into the Global Information and Sign Economy', *Journal of Macromarketing*, 19(2), pp. 153–169.

447. Vikas, R. M., Varman, R. & Belk, R. W. (2015) 'Status, Caste, and Market in a Changing Indian Village', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 42(3), pp. 472–498.
448. Visconti, L.M. (2008) 'Gays' market and social behaviors in (de)constructing symbolic boundaries', *Consumption, Markets and Culture*, 11:2, pp. 113-135.
449. Visconti, L.M., Sherry, J., Borghini, S., & Laurel, L. (2010) 'Street Art, Sweet Art? Reclaiming the "Public" in Public Space', *Journal of Consumer Research*, vol. 37, no. 10, pp. 511-529.
450. Vitic, A. & Ringer, G. (2008) 'Branding Post-Conflict Destinations', *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 23(2-4), pp. 127-137.
451. Vitic, A. & Ringer, G. (2008) 'Branding Post-Conflict Destinations: Recreating Montenegro After the Disintegration of Yugoslavia', *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 23(2-4), pp. 127-137.
452. Vuignier, R. (2017) 'Place branding & place marketing 1976–2016: A multidisciplinary literature review', *International Review on Public and Nonprofit Marketing*, 14(4), pp. 447-473.
453. Wacquant, L.J.D. (1990) 'Sociology as Socioanalysis: Tales of "Homo Academicus" [By Pierre Bourdieu]'. *Sociological Forum*, 5(4), pp.677-89.
454. Walasek, H. (2015) *Bosnia and the Destruction of Cultural Heritage*. Farnham: Ashgate.
455. Wallendorf, M., & Arnould, E.J. (1991) 'We gather together: consumption rituals of Thanksgiving Day', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 18(June), pp. 13-31.
456. Warnaby G. (2011) 'What About the Place in Place Marketing?', *Academy of Marketing 2011 Conference*, Liverpool, UK, 5–7 Jul.
457. Warnaby, G. & Medway, D. (2013) 'What About the 'Place' in Place Marketing?', *Marketing Theory*, 13(3), pp. 345–63.
458. Warnaby, G. (2013) 'Synchronising retail and space: using urban squares for competitive place differentiation', *Consumption Markets & Culture*, 16(1), pp. 25-44.
459. Warnaby, G., Bennison, D., Davies, B., & Hughes, H. (2002) 'Marketing UK Towns and Cities as Shopping Destinations', *Journal of Marketing Management*, 18(9-10), pp. 877-904.
460. Waterton, E. & Watson, S. (2015) 'A War Long Forgotten', *Angelaki*, 20(3), pp. 89-103.

461. Waterton, E. & Watson, S. (2015) *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research*. Palgrave Macmillan.
462. Weber, M. (1946) 'Politics as Vocation', in H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (Trans. and Ed.), *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, pp. 77–128. New York: Oxford University Press.
463. Weber, M. (1978) *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, ed. Roth, G. and Wittich, C. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
464. Weinberger, M.F. (2015) 'Dominant Consumption Rituals and Intragroup Boundary Work: How Non-Celebrants Manage Conflicting Relational and Identity Goals', *Journal of Consumer Research*, 42(3), pp. 378–400.
465. Wells, V., Carrigan, M., & Athwal, N. (2023) 'Pandemic-driven consumer behaviour: A foraging exploration', *Marketing Theory*, 0(0).
466. World Bank. (2011) 'World development report 2011: Conflict, security, and development – overview' Washington, DC: World Bank Group. Available at: [URL](#) [Accessed 20th February 2024].
467. Yamagata-Lynch, L.C., Do, J., Deshpande, D., Skutnik, A.L., Murphy, B.K. and Garty, E. (2017) 'Narrative inquiry with activity systems: A story about net neutrality', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 16(1).
468. Yates, E.A. and Mahmood, A. (2022) *Countering Anti-Muslim Opposition to Mosque and Islamic Center Construction and Expansion: Recommendations for mosque leaders, policymakers, interfaith and community allies, and more*. [online] Institute for Social Policy and Understanding (ISPU). Available at: <https://www.ispu.org/mosque-opposition/> [Accessed 17 Feb. 2024].
469. Zavattaro, S. M. (2014) *Place branding through phases of the image: Balancing image and substance*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan US.
470. Zenker, S., Braun, E. & Petersen, S. (2017) Branding the destination versus the place: The effects of brand complexity and identification for residents and visitors, *Tourism Management*, 58, pp. 15-27.
471. Zukin, S. (1995) *The Cultures of Cities*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Appendices

Appendix A.

Ruling of the Constitutional Court in case of Bosnia and Herzegovina

In 2000 the Constitutional Court ruled on the issue whether the Constitution of the Republika Srpska can use the word "border" instead of the "boundary" in its text. The Court declared:

“Provision of the Constitution of RS, referring to the "border" between the Republika Srpska and the Federation of BiH, is not in conformity with the Constitution of BiH (Article III of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina speaks of "boundary lines" between the two Entities, while Article X uses the term border in the sense of borders between states” (Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina, U-5/98 (Partial Decision Part 1), p. 18, Sarajevo, 29 and 30 January 2000)

The decision is further elaborated:

“[...] in a complex state such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is characterised by intricate relations between state and entities, it is important that a consistent terminology be used in the various constitutions. In its first partial decision in the present case, the Constitutional Court found that the use of the term “border (granica)” in Article 2.2 of the Constitution of RS to describe the boundaries between the entities was not in conformity with the Constitution of BiH, since the General Framework Agreement, of which the Constitution of BiH forms a part, makes a clear terminological distinction between a “border”, which is a frontier between states, and a “boundary”, which describes the internal geographical line separating Republika Srpska and the Federation.” (Ibid, p. 38).

Source: Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina (2006) *Bulletin of the Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina, No. 1*. Available at: https://www.ustavisud.ba/uploads/documents/bulletin-no-1_1614714151.pdf [Accessed 14 Sep 2023].

Appendix B.

Initial Coding (Line-by-Line and searching for topics and themes)

Coming to Sarajevo as a young student – connection to family	Well, I came here in 1984 to study. I came from Trebinje. I studied journalism. My mother is from Sarajevo, Logavina, so I had family here, and I spent four years there. It was a nice time, for Sarajevo too.
Changing city	I mean 1984 was good for me, I came to another place, started studying. That is also the year of the Olympics and this bloom of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo got a picture of a bigger city, Sarajevo became new neighbourhoods, Breka was built, Mojmiro, Zetra was built, the bob paths on Trebevic.
The period she came to Sarajevo	That was the period when I came to Sarajevo and I experienced it while it was blooming and shining.
Talking about neighbourhoods and surrounding mountains	Ehm, life was.. you know, youth is causal anyways.
Older generations experience difference	Those who were more serious and older could sense some changes in the city. We were children born in socialism. We were educated and raised in that system. Historians would say that some kind of a state dissolution started in the 1980s. Not in the sense that the war began, but a social and economic dissolution.
Changing city - systems	Economic affairs and so, and I believe that the older generation sensed that. We, as young students did not pay attention to that.
Raised in socialist system, educational system	Then, unlike now, nobody had a car until they got married or something. I do not know anybody who had a car during their studies. It was really a big deal to have a car, or a good TV. Okay TV is not that important, but yes, a family had one car and everyone uses it until it falls apart, like everything else. We went to the seaside, we went camping. When it is season time, people would go to work at hotels in
Reflecting on historical accounts on break-up of Yugoslavia	
Economic and social dissolution	
Surrounded by economic problems but young people do not notice that. She feels nostalgic.	
Material possessions differently consumed in the old times	
Boundaries of possession related to the past	
Consumption related to the past, family, memory (seaside, camping)	
She feels like she belongs	
She is part of community	
There is freedom, no boundaries which she relates to absence of nationalism she did not feel the tension caused by who? Government? Politicians? All her friends were Serbs	

<p>Immediate comparison with the upcoming war that will come (without me asking).</p> <p>Identity division, nationalism, hatred looming as darkness is coming. The tension is becoming real even for the youngster who ought to be carefree.</p> <p>Nostalgia</p> <p>choosing to look at things differently, also depends on your own situations</p> <p>having money and buying clothes in Italy</p> <p>Material possessions were not available in Yugoslavia – boundaries she needs to cross to buy something so simple.</p> <p>Place of consumption different than now</p> <p>Place of consumption reflected the city in which people lived – located in the centre of the city, very visible</p> <p>Consumption patterns, breaking boundaries</p> <p>Keeping and transforming objects of consumption</p> <p>Borders of consumption</p> <p>Reflecting on space and place</p> <p>Changing city – relation to the past</p> <p>Shopping malls, supermarkets and the changing city</p>	<p>Dalmatia. Here also, people worked during the winter season. It was really blooming, we also went skiing. We, at that time, did not experience any national... how to say. At that time no, not even in Trebinje where mostly Serbs live. All of my friends, absolutely all of them were Serbs. I grew up with them and we did not sense some kind of tension. I repeat, you look at the good things when you are young, you select what is nice. When you are young, healthy.. we had almost the equal amount of money. Maybe, someone who was somewhat wealthier went to Italy to buy clothes. Especially in Trieste, you would go to Trst to buy trousers, shoes, a bag, and so. If someone had family abroad, they would send Nutella, colourful cigarettes, then shampoos and soaps were sent. I remember we would keep Coca Cola cans to keep our pens in it or something. We could not buy Coca Cola cans here .”</p> <p>“There were no shopping malls as we know them now. We had some kind of a department store, every city had one. Ours was where BBI is now. It was called “Sarajka” then there was “Beograđanka”, “Bišćanka” and so. Every city had that main department store. You could buy some fashion trends there, which were at that time the top piece of clothing. I remember my cousin buying me something on instalments, she was working so she could do it. I do not know how to say it, people dressed nicely, but they did not pay too much attention to it. I bought some of my stuff, and my mother knew how to sew.. We also went to Dubrovnik to shop, we lived in</p>
--	--

	<p>Trebinje so that was very close. We liked to dress well, but it was not like earlier, such a big distinction.”</p>
--	---

Memo 1 on Edith

Edith reflects on her youthful time during Yugoslavia. She thinks about her past and her relation to the past. She tells me how ‘everything was blooming’ and everyone ‘had almost equal amount of money’. Edith is a woman that came to Sarajevo in 1984 to study journalism. Her mother is from this city so she says she spent crucial years of her life living in the blooming Sarajevo, right before the Olympic Games. She starts telling me a story about her youth, reflecting on the economic and cultural life in Yugoslavia. She remembers everyone going to discos, playing guitars, having casual walks through the city, and overall the economic bloom of Sarajevo in those years and what that meant for the youth. Being much more positively nostalgic than Jane, Edith reflects on her youthful times as belonging to unique consumer culture although commodities were limited, shared and re-used. Edith reflects on space and place by talking about the transformation of parts of her city into new consumption places characterized by big shopping malls and a different socio-economic condition. These are mental boundaries she had to break down. Before, it was all about community, family, her youth, travelling and experiencing new things. Experience of new products that were not available. Boundaries again, but in this sense, they are boundaries of consumption. Then, suddenly there is an abrupt change and the war is coming. She senses this sudden change. In her care-free young age, she feels something is changing, her identity is shaken. There is an immediate comparison of her experiences in life with what is going to come, like something from above her head is looming and darkness will come soon.

Edith lives her life the best she can, despite looming dangers she feels are yet to come.

<p>Location of the study – Vraca</p> <p>Tensions started to rise due to government referendum for independence of Bosnia</p> <p>The beginning of the war</p> <p>Going for a visit to her grandmother downtown</p> <p>Taking some precious possessions from her house and escaping from her house</p> <p>Bad feeling, looming danger</p> <p>The neighbourhood is occupied by Serb forces the next day</p> <p>Coming back to her apartment quickly to pick up food</p> <p>Barricades – physical dangerous border – war starts</p> <p>Taking some necessary possessions, but quietly not to raise suspicion</p> <p>Not truly understanding or feeling what was happening</p> <p>Seeing buildings burning and planes flying over – domination</p> <p>Men guarding homes</p> <p>But they don't have weapons, losing control</p> <p>Hiding</p> <p>Shelling</p> <p>Basement</p> <p>Feeling powerless</p> <p>Destruction of space and place</p> <p>Moving to another building</p> <p>City zones under barricades</p> <p>Sniper line/zone</p> <p>Serb army</p>	<p>You know, my husband and me lived in Vraca. We got married two years before and got an apartment there. The referendum was on March 1st, Bosnia and Herzegovina got its independence and tensions started to rise. Anyhow, Eid was on April 4th. We went the next day to my grandmother to downtown. I wanted to go to work the next morning. My husband told me to take my jewellery with me and some sweatpants so we can sleep at my grandmother's because he had some bad feeling. And we never came back there. The war started the next day.</p> <p>While Grbavica was still free, I told my friend Biljana that I wanted to go back to pick up the food from my fridge. We made it through, I am not going to tell you all the details, but that is how the war started. I saw tanks through the window. I took a pair of shoes for my husband, they told us to be subtle, not to carry big bags with us. So, the war started, grenades started to fall, the houses in the hills do not have basements. You actually have no clue what is going on, we did not felt war in that sense. You could see buildings burning, noises, planes flying over. Also, the men would leave the houses during the night to watch out for the houses. That was silly, they had no weapons or anything to defend themselves, but they did it anyways. We still had electricity at that time.</p> <p>Anyways, I lived there for some time, then we moved because my husband was a member of a military unit, we could move to the first skyscraper right next to the ambulance, in Kolodvorska street. However, that zone was horrible because the Serbian troops were right there in Grbavica. These skyscrapers were constantly shelled. The parents of my husband lived there, but they moved then to Brač. Him, his brother, and I stayed in the apartment. Then</p>
---	---

Shelling Family is leaving for Croatia She is staying in the apartment Finding a job in newspaper Spatial composition, urban zones in the war – how to survive the war in the city - building protection borders from snipers Navigating protection zones: Labyrinth spaces Trucks and cars manmade as protection barricades Scarcity Never returning to her apartment in Vraca Feeling she would be trapped and killed Getting rid of her furniture and personal belongings New borders formed as she never returns to her home	<p>I applied for the army and started to work in the logistics base “Marsal Tito” for some newspaper, something, it was very improvised. I worked where now Energoinvest is approximately. However, that part was constantly shelled, there were containers there, every street that was opened to the other side had containers so you could walk behind them. Then some devastated trucks and so, you can see that in those movies.</p> <p>We had nothing at that time. We also never came back to our apartment in Vrace. After the war, we heard that many apartments were mined. We rented that place anyways, and we did not care about the furniture and other stuff. So we never came back there.</p>
---	---

Memo 2 on Edith

Right before the war Edith and her husband lived in Vraca. Day before Vraca would be occupied by Serb forces and cut-out from the rest of the city, Edith went normally to work. There, she got a phone call from her husband telling her she should go back home and take her jewellery because he has a strange feeling. There is a lot of fear as she is taking her precious jewellery and escaping her home. Borders are erected, physically her house is out of reach. She moves to the other part of the city with high skyscrapers. There, the sniper line is visible. Shelling comes from the surrounding hills and it hits civilians where they are visible to the gunman. People create protection zones by lifting old trucks, cars, garbage containers, and other materials they can find. In a sense, streets become labyrinth zones through which ordinary people must navigate to reach their destination (work, school, water, food). However, even after the war Edith does not return to her home. I wonder what kind of boundaries exist after the war and how are they navigated? Does the existence of the boundary line between two entities affect their lives, actions, behaviours?

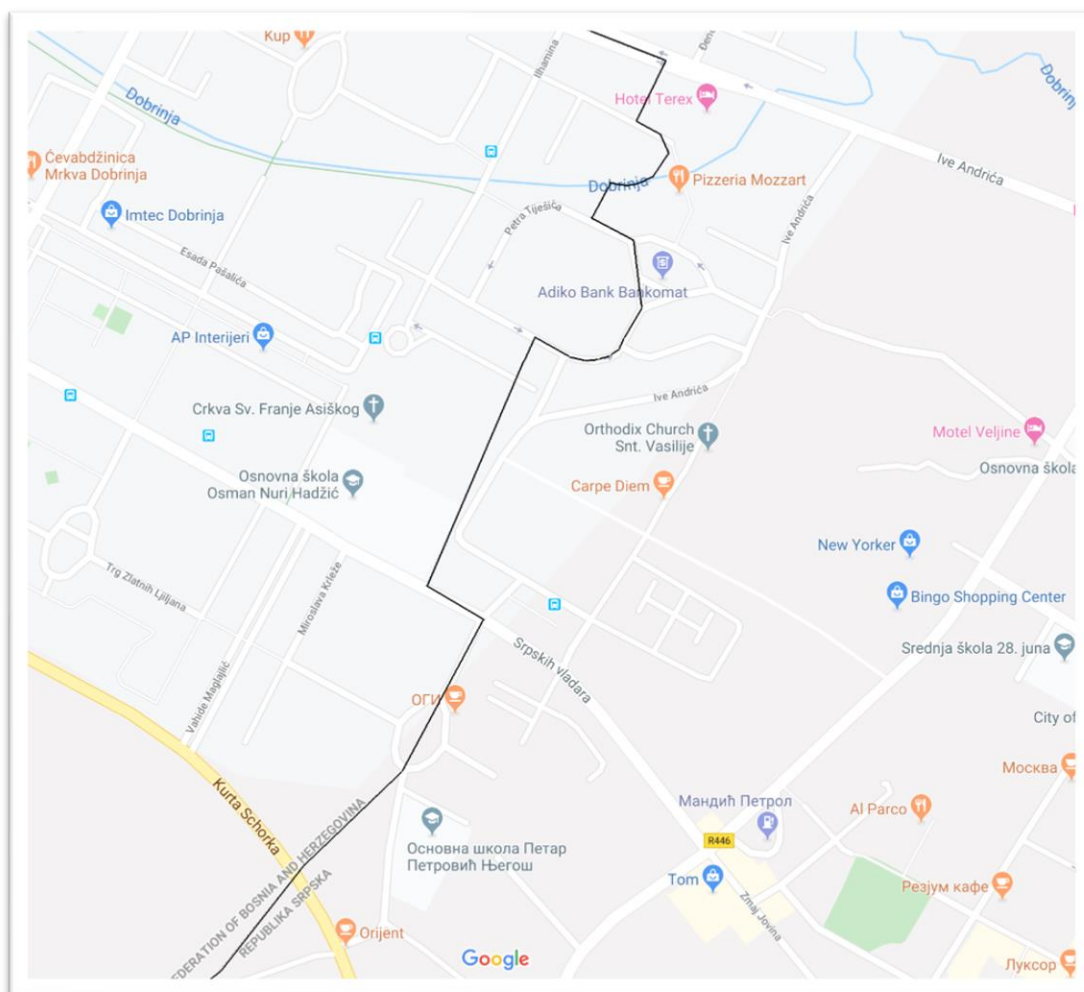
Following Charmaz's (2006) and Goulding (2002) guidelines for grounded theory coding, I presented open codes against each line of my data in order to portray meanings and actions in Edith's story. Codes stick closely to the data showing the relationships, actions, and behaviours Edith is revealing. They define what is happening in data. For instance, Edith reflects on consumption places and practices when she was a young woman, but she particularly emphasises the changes in space and place. Reflecting on space and place, changing city, hopping malls, supermarkets and the changing city are codes that portray this. Like for most of my participants, Edith's youth life is dramatically and abruptly stopped once the war starts and she suddenly needs to escape and survive. Her home is taken away from her and she is losing control. Hard borders are everywhere, in urban labyrinths built with containers and old cars to protect walkers from snipers. It is interesting to me that Edith starts talking about physical (hard) and mental (soft) borders without me asking. Codes explaining borders in this transcript are: sniper zones, protection zones, trucks and cars as manmade barricades, labyrinth spaces, escaping home, planes flying over, new borders arising after the war.

Appendix C.

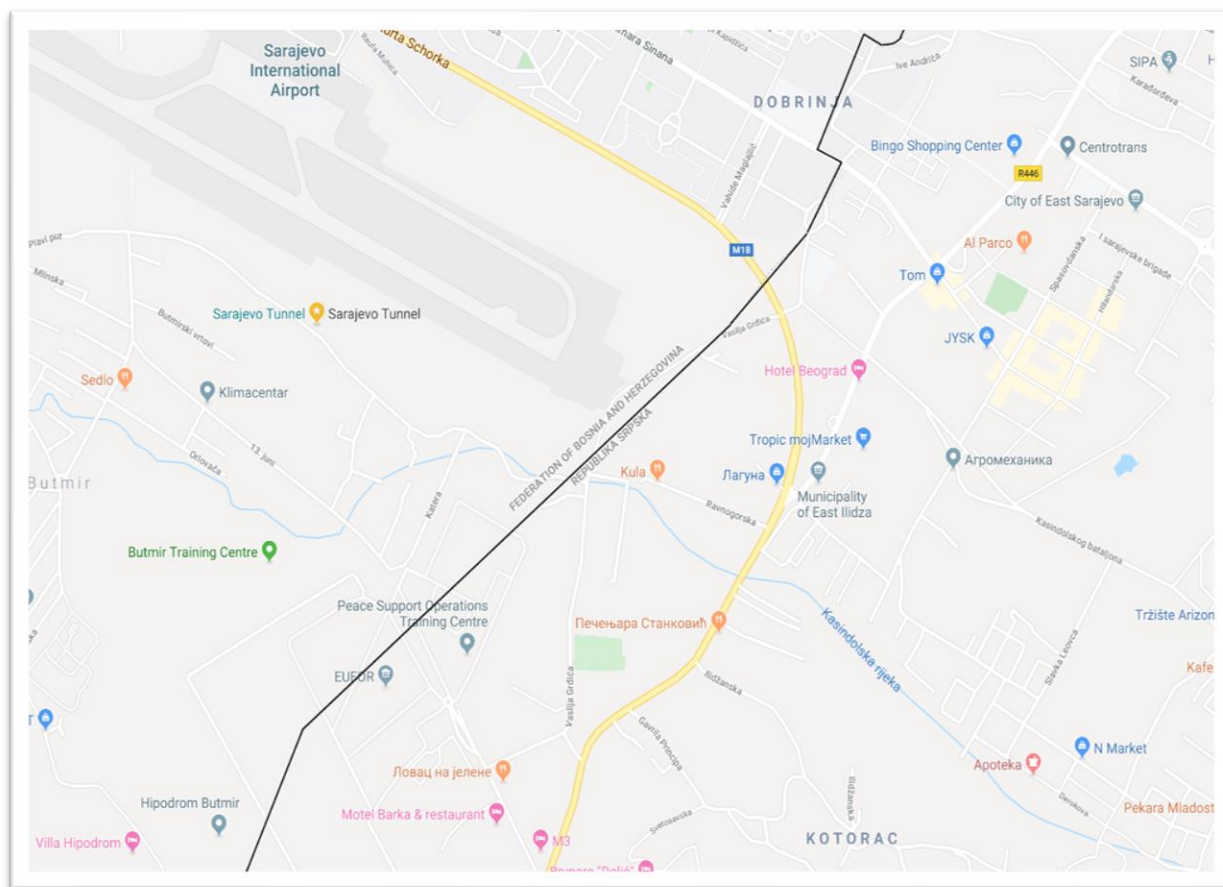
Locations of Research (maps)

The four maps provided in this section depict the Inter-Entity Boundary Line (IEBL) that separates the Republika Srpska from the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. I used Google Maps as the base layer and enhanced it using PAINT 3D to clearly mark and highlight the existing boundary line between the two entities. The purpose of doing this was to provide a visual representation of the IEBL and to indicate the approximate areas where I conducted participant observations and interviews.

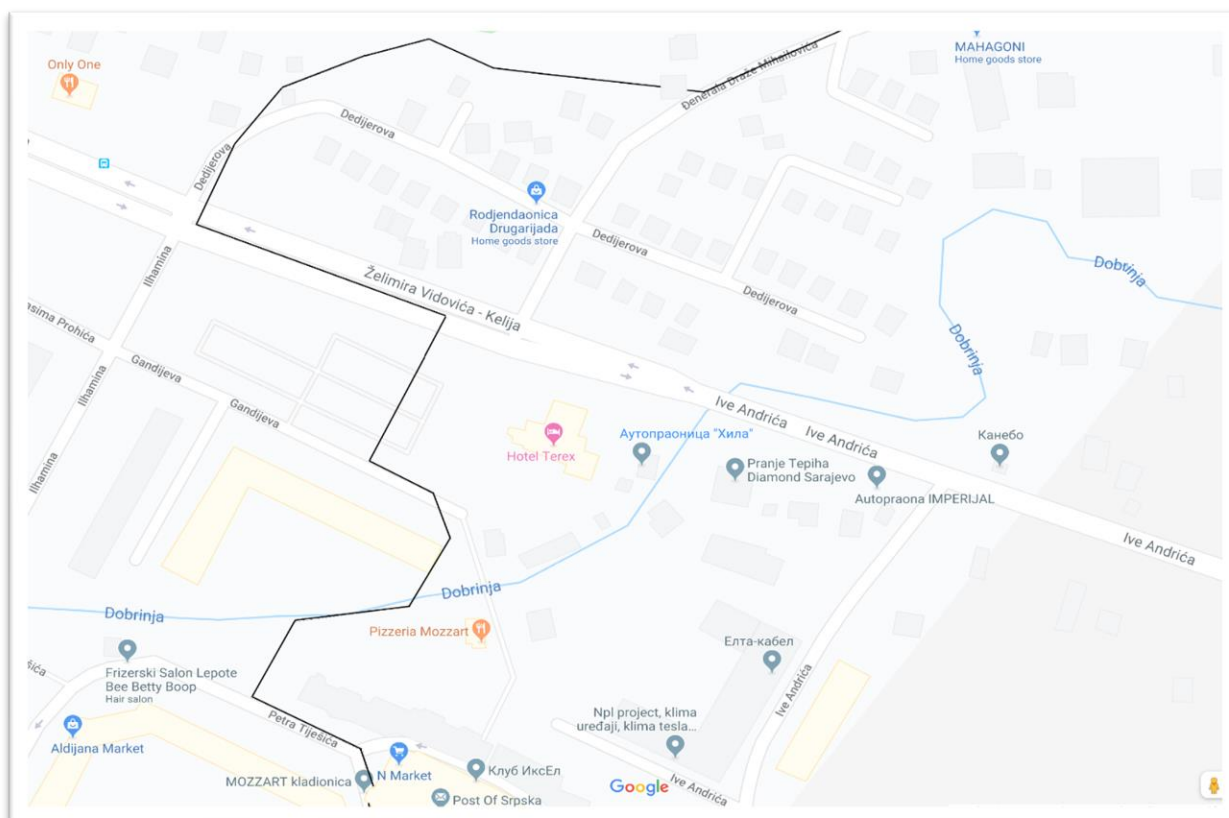
Map 1. The Inter-Entity Boundary Line: Sarajevo (Dobrinja) -East Sarajevo



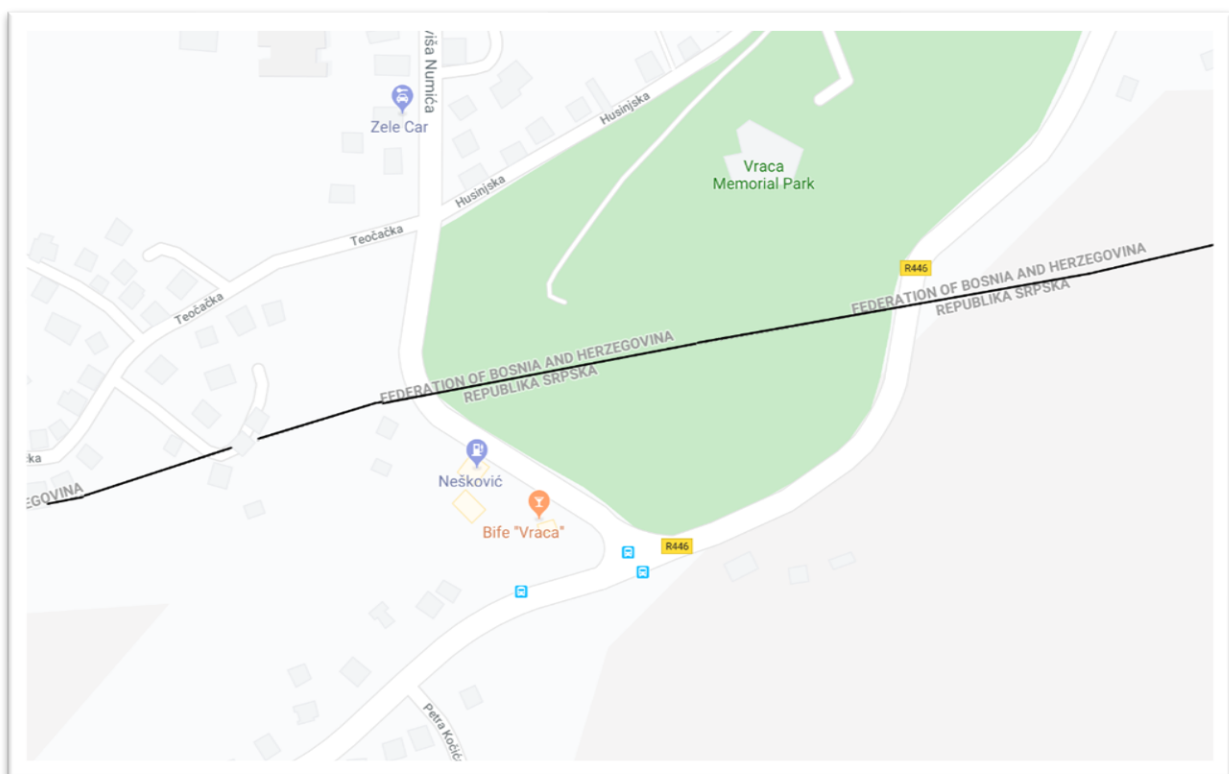
Map 2 The Inter-Entity Boundary Line: Sarajevo (Dobrinja) – East Sarajevo



Map 3: Inter-Entity Boundary Line: Sarajevo (Dobrinja) – East Sarajevo



Map 4: Inter-Entity Boundary Line: Sarajevo (Vraca) - East Sarajevo



Appendix D.

Axial Coding

Concept 1: Spatial Disruption

The following are underlying properties that illustrate the concept of Spatial Disruption:

Boundaries of fear (sniper, bombardment)
Safe zones (basements, barricades)
Innovative consumption (utilizing available natural resources)
Territorial marking (sniper zones)
Trauma
Power (sniper position)

Concept 2 Spatial Memory

The following are underlying properties that illustrate the concept of Spatial Memory:

Scarred buildings
Spatial boundaries
Trauma
Tangibility of memory
History

Concept 3 Ownership

The following are underlying properties that illustrate the concept of Ownership:

Visible territorial markers
Language and alphabet
Symbols dictating story and history
Contested past
Sense of control

Concept 4: Othering

The following are underlying properties that illustrate the concept of Othering:

Us vs Them
Marginalization
Identity
Difference
Mental borders/geographic borders

Concept 5: Naturalization

The following are underlying properties that illustrate the concept of Naturalization:

Desensitization
Taking territory for granted
Accepting the daily life as it is
Past war that is still shaping lives
Choice of residence

Concept 6: Challenging

The following are underlying properties that illustrate the concept of Challenging:

Sense of pressure
Testing crossing boundaries
Rejecting the system as a whole
Sense of provocation
Dialogue/open conversations