

Research Article

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Local Cuisine in a Tourist City: Food Identity in Sarajevo Restaurant Menus as a Source of Destination Marketing

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Abstract: Food conveys the sense of a place, and it encapsulates both the natural and cultural meanings that locals attach to their culinary heritages. Food tourism contributes to the sustainable development of destinations because food-based activities are part of sustainable tourism practices. Sarajevo is becoming an increasingly popular gastronomic destination. The purpose of this research is to analyse the food image of the city of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a relevant issue for food tourism sustainable development in urban environments. To achieve it, this research understands restaurants as a food tourism attraction. To analyse how a destination promotes food identity, this article draws from a content analysis of 16 menus from restaurants located in the four municipalities of the city of Sarajevo. Results reveal to what extent local restaurants offer menus based on local foods and drinks that represent Bosnian-Herzegovinian cuisine. In particular, the research contributes to understanding food tourism in cities, and how restaurants can be crucial in developing and promoting sustainable tourism.

Keywords: Balkans; food tourism; gastronomy; identity; menu; tourism development

1 Introduction

Food tourism is a growing segment of tourism that, in recent years, has become a subject of not only an impressive number of research documents, but also a wide range of activities planned by public and private organisations at destinations everywhere. A wide range of theoretical and practical implications have emerged from culinary experiences, with restaurants taking a leading role (see DiPietro & Levitt, 2019) as an important attraction (Sparks et al., 2003). Nowadays, in the relationship between urban environments and sustainability, restaurants in cities can represent a pathway for sustainable development that can be scrutinised from various perspectives, such as supply chains, marketing policies, or restaurant menus.

In addition, the number of tourists who visit urban places is rapidly increasing so tourist flows are concentrated in cities (Eurostat Statistics Explained, 2020). This indicates an urgent need to investigate the relationships between restaurants, sustainability, and urban environments. Consequently, this article approaches the notion of sustainability in urban contexts by studying the restaurant offerings in Sarajevo, the capital city of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). The purpose of this research is to analyse how the food identity of the city of Sarajevo informs its food image, based on restaurants (Gordin et al., 2016). Drawing from the analysis of a nonprobability convenience sample of 16 restaurants and their menus, the representativeness of Bosnian-Herzegovinian cuisine is analysed, and food-based sustainable urban tourism development (SUTD) is debated. This article informs the study of food-based SUTD, which could push academics and practitioners to pay increased attention to the role of gastronomy in planning, development, and marketing of destinations.

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2 Literature Review

2.1 Restaurants and food tourism sustainable development in urban environments

Culinary heritages communicate the identity of a culture (Bessière, 1998; Long, 2004; Timothy & Ron, 2013), and local foods and drinks are remarkable tourist attractions (Ab Karim & Chi, 2010; Fusté-Forné, 2022; Long, 2004) and travel motivation factors (Kivela & Crotts, 2005; Quan & Wang, 2004; Timothy, 2016). Food tourism refers to the process of awarding tourism value to foods and drinks (Hall & Sharples, 2003; Richards & Hjalager, 2002), which is exemplified in products and services (see Fusté-Forné & Mundet i Cerdan, 2021). According to Hall and Sharples (2003), food tourism includes a range of activities and experiences, such as visits to food producers, events, markets, or other food-based tourist activities. Among these practices, restaurants and eating places are a key tourism attraction (Du Rand & Heath, 2006; Levitt et al., 2019). In this sense, restaurant offerings are crucial to destination choice (Ab Karim & Chi, 2010; Gálvez et al., 2017). Both destination experiences and visitor satisfaction are largely influenced by a restaurant's atmosphere (Björk & Kauppinen-Räsänen, 2017; Sparks et al., 2003).

Although food and dishes stimulate tourist experiences where travellers seek novelty, uniqueness, and memorability (Pine II & Gilmore, 1998), previous research reveals that there is a permanent conflict in the relationship between gastronomy and tourism that results in visitors' attraction or impediment toward food (Cohen & Avieli, 2004). The *authenticity* promoted in food tourism experiences relies on *genuine* features of the visited place, including unfamiliar forms of production and consumption (Quan & Wang, 2004). This is because food is a significant identity marker (see Berno & Fusté-Forné, 2019), conveying both cultural and natural idiosyncrasies of a place. Food tourism practises allow tourists to discover landscapes through food (Bessière & Tibere, 2013; Enzenbacher, 2020; Fusté-Forné & Berno, 2016; Hillel et al., 2013; Kim & Eves, 2012; Sidali et al., 2015).

The study of the relationships between food and tourism is critical to the sustainable development of cities. In particular, previous research has studied gastronomy as a salient attribute to urban sustainable tourism development (Pérez-Gálvez et al., 2017). According to the same authors, the most relevant attraction factor is gastronomic tradition. This article adds texture to this conversation by analysing how local dishes are presented in restaurant menus as a step toward the sustainable development

of food tourism in the city of Sarajevo, BiH. Following the work carried out by Gordin et al. (2016), the current research describes the role of restaurants in the protection and promotion of food identity as a source of destination marketing. Although many research examples discuss how local foods contribute to food tourism experiences (Tsai, 2016) and the creation of destination competitive advantage (Knollenberg et al., 2020), only few of them have focused on the influence of restaurants on destination image (Sánchez-Cañizares & López-Guzmán, 2012).

Furthermore, Ellis et al. (2018) affirmed that food tourism is obliged to combine the experiential ingredient with sustainable development of both production and consumption systems. This aligns with the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (United Nations, 2020). Restaurants appear as intermediaries between producers and consumers, between hosts and guests, and between local cuisine and tourists (Cohen & Avieli, 2004). Because few previous research studies have been based on the linkages between restaurant menus and food tourism sustainable development, this article focuses on the connections between food and tourism through the analysis of restaurant menus as potential safeguards of sustainability (Figure 1).

During the 20th century, consumption habits changed from eating at home to eating in restaurants, which became a basic need in particular geographical contexts and societies, both as part of leisure and tourist activities. One of the reasons food became a tourist attraction was the popularity of celebrity chefs (Pujol, 2009). From 1914 to 1934, gastronomy was directed by the leadership of big cities such as Paris (Luján, 1988). The Michelin Guide appeared to rate European restaurants, and it is currently still the 'most renowned and influential guide' (Opazo, 2012, p. 82) to fine dining. Founded in 1900, it is a world reference of the acknowledgment of high-quality restaurants. Although it started as a technical guide, it later evolved into a tourism and gastronomic offering, the goal of which is the quality assessment of food establishments (Karpik, 2000). In this sense, the origins of the current Michelin Gourmet Guide can be traced to 1933. As a consequence, a classification of restaurants was adopted using a system of stars, considering if a restaurant is *worth a trip* (three stars), *worth a detour* (two stars), or *a good restaurant in the area* (one star). This reflects a traditional critical assessment of eating places, but the current growing system of online reviews also relies on rating scales (see Lei & Law, 2015).

According to Fuentes-Luque (2017), restaurants are a powerful mechanism 'for cultural, social, and tourist image-building and projection for tourist promotion' (p.

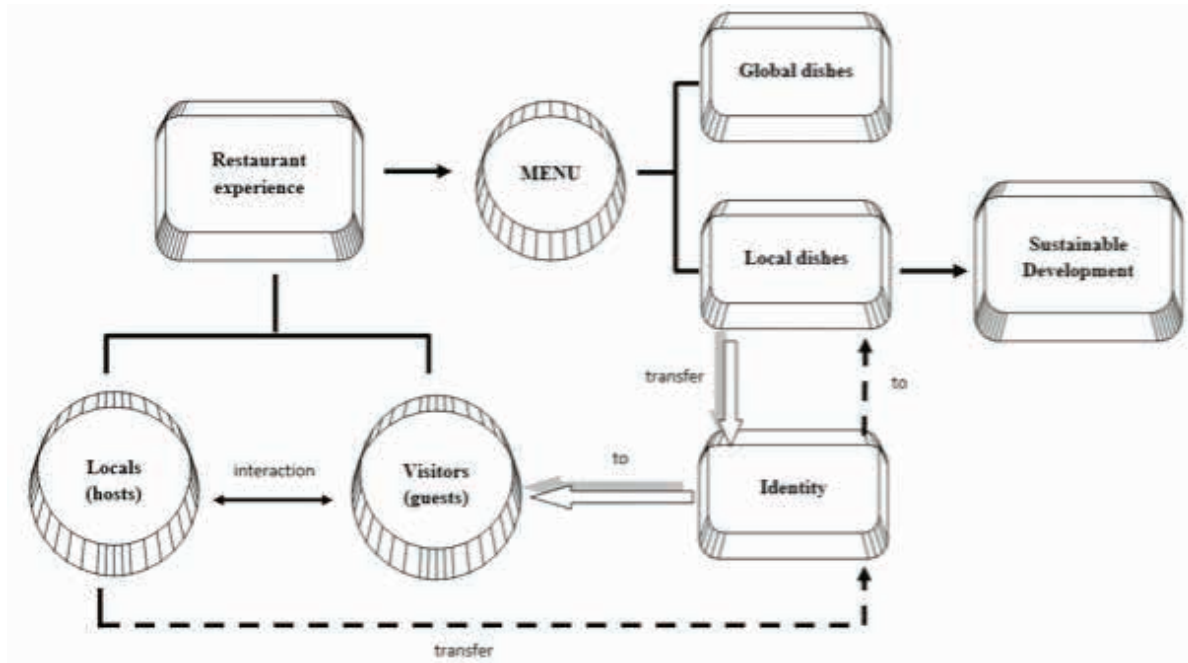


Figure 1: Theoretical framework of the study in the context of food-based sustainable urban tourism development

177). One of the most important aspects of restaurants is their menus (Mills & Thomas, 2008), which are not only a source of information, but also a tool to communicate the philosophy of a restaurant and the connections with local food culture, ‘which plays an indispensable role in preserving traditional culture, attracting tourists, and supporting the regional economy’ (Zhang et al., 2019, p. 1). Drawing on local supply chains, restaurants are able to effectively contribute to regional sustainable development (see Hall & Gössling, 2013). In addition, the promotion and consumption of local food have a positive impact on the environment (Tikkanen & Jaakkola, 2019). This is particularly relevant in urban environments, where Sartison and Artmann (2020) urged a movement toward an urban sustainability transformation (UST), which directly implies a sustainable food system transformation (Oliver et al., 2018).

In the framework of global urban challenges, Grah et al. (2020) stated that ‘sustainable urban development is defined as a process of synergetic integration and co-evolution among environmental, social, economic, and physical subsystems that compose every city’ (p. 2). These authors affirmed that little research has dealt with SUTD as a system that includes food and restaurant services (Timur & Getz, 2009), a source of well-being for both locals and visitors (Van der Borg, 1992) in the framework of urban tourism. Previous research has already acknowledged that restaurants are increasingly consid-

ering holistic sustainable planning (Higgins-Desbiolles & Wijesinghe, 2019) and environmental consequences of eating habits (Johnston & Baumann, 2015). This leads to the analysis of how local foods and dishes are included as part of a sustainable food tourism development (Hall & Gössling, 2013, 2016). The notion of slow food tourism fits well with this responsible development and emerges as a driving factor that contributes to addressing sustainability and climate change (Fusté-Forné & Jamal, 2020). This also includes the marketing dimension of food tourism (Du Rand & Heath, 2006; Henderson, 2009).

Authors like Ab Karim et al. (2011) and Peštek and Činjurević (2014) have highlighted the role of food and cuisine as determinants of destination image and promotion, and also as a significant factor influencing both tourist motivation and satisfaction (Chi et al., 2013). Matson-Barkat and Robert-Demontrond (2018) explored the social significance of restaurant experiences for tourists, and determined that the influence of family and friends, and other customers, together with the cultural guidance provided by restaurant staff, become vital attributes to the production of valuable meaning in restaurant experiences. This includes restaurant menus, which also contribute to food image formation. As Roustafard and Jamshidi (2020) affirmed, a destination’s image is the creation of a traveller’s impression of a place, which is, in turn, highly subjective. In particular, food image has a direct influence on tourists’ experiences (see Sims, 2009), and thus a desti-

nation's food image is a foundation for travellers' visit and revisit intentions (Ab Karim & Chi, 2010). Ab Karim and Chi (2010) identified different food image dimensions: the offering of foods (variety, quality, regionally produced), the dining and restaurant experiences (access, service, menus), and food-related tourism activities (tours, markets, farm visits). Restaurants are identified as one of the key determinants of destination image (Gordin et al., 2016), and restaurant menus are an important factor in restaurant success (Nemeschansky et al., 2019). This article analyses restaurant menus to critically describe the presence of local dishes. The research is focused on the case of Sarajevo restaurants and the (under)representation of Bosnian culinary heritages and gastronomy.

3 Study Context

Sarajevo is becoming an increasingly popular tourist destination. In 2018, 573,227 tourists visited Sarajevo Canton and made a total of 1,189,159 overnight stays. Most tourists were from China, Croatia, Germany, Italy, Saudi Arabia, Serbia, Slovenia, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates and the United States. In 2018, Sarajevo Canton was visited by tourists from 167 countries. The average length of their stay was 2.1 days (Zavod za planiranje razvoja Kantona Sarajevo, 2018). Of the visitors who visited Sarajevo Canton, 26.2% stayed in Stari Grad (Old Town), 20.9% in Centar, 7.6% in Novo Sarajevo, and 5.3% in Novi Grad (Čaušević et al., 2020).

3.1 The growing importance of tourism in Sarajevo

The tourism sector in Sarajevo and BiH has recorded positive trends for all growth indicators during the last ten years. However, there is still significant space for further exploration of its potential (Čaušević & Hrelja, 2020). Some of the positive effects are undoubtedly the economic growth and contribution to gross domestic product, employment growth, and the systematic stimulation of capital inflows into destinations, as the tourism industry is also a major driver of many investments. For centuries, various traditions, religions, and cultures have crossed the territory of BiH, leaving their mark, which provides added value to tourist products and destinations. The geographical location of the country, in the centre of Europe, offers the potential to attract large numbers of visitors located within a three-hour flight (Čaušević & Hrelja, 2020). It is

recognised as a good destination due to its relatively low service prices as well as good, but not expensive, beverage and food offerings (Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Relations of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2018).

In this sense, the country's tourism sector has great untapped potential in terms of the extent of its tourism. BiH can also take advantage of current world megatrends, like, for example, the increasing appeal of gastronomy, as a historical opportunity for the development of selected forms of tourism, including food tourism (Čaušević & Hrelja, 2020). In the rich past of Sarajevo, which includes the Yugoslav Federation (1945–1989), Austro–Hungarian rule (1878–1914), and Ottoman occupation (1463–1878), it is possible to find the origins of the diverse cultural character of the city that are still evident in the 21st century. The Muslim, Orthodox, and Catholic heritages are blended to form a distinct multicultural urban environment (Kamber et al., 2016).

Sarajevo is renowned for its religious, cultural, and traditional diversity. Because of its long history of diversity, Sarajevo is sometimes called 'the Jerusalem of Europe' or 'the Jerusalem of the Balkans'. It is one of the few European cities with a Catholic church, a mosque, a synagogue, and an Orthodox church in the immediate vicinity. If there is a city in Europe that seamlessly connects the West and the East, it is Sarajevo. It was here that the Ottoman and Byzantine Empires of the East, as well as the Venetian, Austro-Hungarian, and Roman lands of the West, left distinctive marks on culture, tradition, and religion. From the oriental Ottoman neighbourhoods, home to the largest pastry shops, cafes, and handicraft shops, to the administrative and cultural centre built during the Austro-Hungarian period, Sarajevo has maintained the best of both the East and the West (BH Turizam – Sarajevo, 2020a). In addition, Sarajevo is famous for the XIV Olympic Winter Games, which took place in 1984 (Moll, 2014) and the 2019 European Youth Olympic Winter Festival. These are just some of the reasons why Sarajevo became an increasingly popular destination (Brkić et al., 2008; Federal Ministry of Environment and Tourism, 2008).

3.2 The influence of food on the image of the city

Sarajevo is also famous for its rich and diverse gastronomic offerings. As described earlier, food is a significant travel motivation factor. According to research conducted over a decade ago by the Tourist Board of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in 2008, 38.8%

of respondents answered that the most common association with BiH is good food (Čaušević & Hrelja, 2020). Thus, foods and drinks are a significant motive for visiting BiH. A pilot study conducted in 2010 by the Institute for Tourism on the consumption and attitudes of tourists in the country demonstrated that visitors are very satisfied with its culinary offerings (Čaušević, 2017). Also, previous research on the perception and satisfaction of tourists with tourist amenities in Sarajevo conducted between July and October 2007 showed that visitors were very satisfied with the overall food offerings, which includes restaurant service, availability of traditional food, prices, and quality (Domazet, 2007). Another research project showed that the overall food offering was rated above 4 (on a 1–5 scale) during the Sarajevo Film Festival (Čizmić & Čaušević, 2017).

In addition, research by Peštek and Činjurević (2014) confirmed that the image of local cuisine is jointly formed by food experiences and tourists' evaluations of food characteristics. Their results partially confirmed that the 'perceptions of local cuisine attributes vary between visitors from different European regions' (pp. 1824–1825). Previous studies confirm that food is an important element of the tourist experience of Sarajevo, becoming an important reason to visit the city (Čaušević & Hrelja, 2020).

Although the image of the city of Sarajevo has long been marred by wartime events and an unstable economic and political situation (Brkić et al., 2008; Čaušević & Hrelja, 2020; Federal Ministry of Environment and Tourism, 2008), recent research shows that the image of the city is becoming more positive (Čaušević et al., 2020). For example, a recent survey conducted in Sarajevo with a sample of 250 foreign tourists showed that the image of the city is positive. This research confirmed that there is a statistically significant positive influence of cognitive, affective, and conative destination image on the overall image of the city. This study also showed that the highest rated element of Sarajevo as a destination is the local food offerings (Čaušević, 2019). This article analyses the effective adoption of local cuisine by local restaurants to provide evidence of the extent to which the restaurants in Sarajevo prepare (or do not) menus highlighted by tradition.

3.3 Local foods and culinary traditions in Sarajevo

The term *Bosnian cuisine* is heavily associated with the city of Sarajevo. Although different cultures, nations, and traditions have left their mark on local cuisine, it was

coloured mainly by the Ottoman influences (Peštek & Činjurević, 2014). Sarajevo is a place with a great gastronomic culture. Added to the historical and cultural landmarks of Sarajevo, visitors will experience the cuisine of Sarajevo, which has been influenced by the almost 500-year rule of the Ottoman Empire (Čaušević & Hrelja, 2020). According to Clancy (2007), the caravans arriving from Vienna, Venice, Central Europe, the Mediterranean, and the East were accommodated in the 50 inns of Sarajevo, named *han*. The most famous was *Morića han*, which was built by the end of the 16th century. Today, this *han* is a tourist attraction that offers a glimpse into Sarajevo's past, because it used to offer facilities such as a café on the first floor.

By the 16th century, the city of Sarajevo had established relationships with other European cities and started to resemble a true metropolis. The vision of the city spread with the Ottoman rule. One of the characteristics of Ottoman rule was tolerance toward other religious denominations, especially compared to the religious persecution of most European powers of the time. Catholics, Orthodox, and Sephardic Jews (who moved to Sarajevo after their expulsion from Spain in 1492) lived and worked in relative harmony in the *Baščaršija* neighbourhood. This laid the foundations for the now-famous cultural pluralism of the city (BH Turizam – Sarajevo, 2020b). In this sense, the cuisine of Sarajevo is all about culinary and eating habits balanced between Eastern and Western influences. Sarajevo food is closely related to Greek, Turkish, and other Mediterranean cuisines. However, there are many influences from Central Europe due to years of Austro-Hungarian rule. Sarajevo has an excellent gastronomic offering that should be placed at the centre of its tourist experience, which would contribute to the development of a unique culture-based destination image (Čaušević & Hrelja, 2020).

The most traditional Bosnian foods and dishes are those made of meat. Typical Bosnian meat dishes are prepared with lamb and beef (PanaComp, 2020). Some of the most popular Bosnian-Herzegovinian meat-based dishes are *Bosanski lonac* (Bosnian pot stew), *čevapi* (grilled dish of minced meat), *pljeskavica* (grilled meat patty), *Begova čorba* (Bey's soup), *burek* and *grah* (Bosnian bean soup; Visit My Country, 2020b). Other traditional Bosnian dishes that every visitor should try are *dolma* (stuffed vegetables), *ćufte* (minced cooked meatballs), *tufahija* (walnut-stuffed apples stewed in sugar), *uštipci* (doughnut-like fried dough balls), and *baklava*. Many restaurants also serve *Travnički sir* (Travnik cheese) and *suho meso* (smoked meat) as an appetizer, although they are often served as a side dish to *uštipci*. Traditional Bosnian restaurants are cafeteria-style

eating houses (*aščinice*), serving traditional Bosnian dishes such as Bosanski lonac, dolma, ćufte, and Begova čorba; pie houses (*buregdžinice*), where pita (baked, filled pastries made of a thin flaky dough such as phyllo or yufka, the most famous being burek) are served; and grill houses (*ćevabdžinice*), where you can enjoy ćevapi, pljeskavica, and other grilled meat dishes. In addition, traditional sweets are of high quality because they are artisanal and mostly made from homemade ingredients, such as tufahija and baklava.

As for beverages, beer and coffee are highlighted. Beer is a well-known alcoholic beverage in BiH. The selection of domestic beer is rich—Banjalučki Nektar, Bihac Preminger, Sarajevsko Pivo, and Tuzla Pilsner (Čaušević & Hrelja, 2020). Black coffee and the ritual of enjoying and drinking coffee with family and friends is indispensable. Bosnian or Turkish coffee is often brewed and served in Bosnian homes. Local coffee can also be found in some of Sarajevo's cafés and is served with a sugar cube or *rahat lokum*, which is also an Eastern delicacy (Agency for Cultural Historical and Natural Heritage and Tourism Development of Town Jajce, 2020). Bosnian coffee is a symbol of the country, part of its tradition, and a reflection of a gourmet mentality among its citizens. It is an example of Bosnian-Herzegovinian identity (Visit My Country, 2020a).

In Bosnia, coffee is consumed during a break from any task and, of course, it is a shared moment with friends. Drinking coffee is a social event. As coffee occupies an important place in Bosnian society, a number of different words associated with coffee have evolved over time. The most common word for drinking coffee is *kahvenisanje*. It is more than just an act of drinking coffee, and actually means bonding over coffee. Another important term is *ćejf* (or *cheyf*), which can be translated as pleasure or the act of enjoying something. Although this word does not only refer to coffee, coffee drinking could be described using this term (Meet Bosnia, 2020). Bosnian coffee has always been at the heart of people's lives, and it is synonymous with both happy and sorrowful moments (Visit BiH, 2017), as it is also manifested in other cultures.

The city of Sarajevo thus has a unique combination of resources that can be used to develop an innovative tourism product that will consist of activities reflecting different types of tourism: rural, gastronomic, religious, and cultural. This product should offer an extraordinary experience to tourists by meeting their needs and evoking emotions that will connect them to the destination and motivate them to extend their stay, return to the city, and recommend it to others (Kotler, 2002). Such a product would build a recognisable and unique brand image of the city of Sarajevo as a must-visit destination. The basis of a

tourism experience in the city of Sarajevo should include the indigenous and traditional products and lifestyles that reflect the cultural and natural uniqueness of the area. A local food-based offering captures both the sense of traditional products and ways of life. This experience should provide for integrated and sustainable regional development (Peštek & Nikolić, 2011), aligned with the UNESCO Sustainable Development Goals (United Nations, 2020). In this sense, this article assumes that Sarajevo aims to build an image as a popular gastronomic tourist destination, where food can take a central position.

4 Study Method

This research analyses the case of the city of Sarajevo and how its food image is defined, based on its restaurants and menus. The study method is based on a nonprobability convenience sample of 16 restaurants located in the city of Sarajevo. The restaurants that were selected for the sample are the top-rated establishments on TripAdvisor, which is often used to analyse restaurant performance (see Filieri et al., 2015; Zhang et al., 2017). Previous research has shown that 'historically menus have served more as a functional tool of the business than that of today's menus designed as marketing tools. In the past, menus traditionally had two looks—the blackboard in the kitchen, and a mere list of available dishes and their prices in the dining room' (Antun & Gustafson, 2005, p. 54). Nowadays, a menu is a marketing instrument (Lai et al., 2019). This article reviews both restaurant websites and restaurant menus to determine the type of offering in relation to the research objective: to analyse to what extent local restaurants are offering menus based on local foods and dishes that are examples of Bosnian-Herzegovinian culinary identity.

Following Peters and Remaud (2020), who analysed the importance of menu-item attributes in restaurant services, restaurants were visited by the first researcher and the menus of the selected restaurants were manually collected during February 2020. All the items included on the menus were annotated (see Figure 2). For analysis purposes, foods and drinks were grouped into different categories, as observed in Table 1. This classification was done by both researchers independently; they later discussed defining the categories into which each item should be allocated. The categories are breakfast and side dishes; starters, salads, and soups; main dishes; desserts; and drinks. Every reference in the menu was added to the spreadsheet. Table 1 includes an additional column where Bosnian-Herzegovinian dishes are highlighted, accord-



Figure 2: Example of a menu (Klopa restaurant)

ing to the definitions provided in the study context. This column includes a 1 if a dish is represented in the menu. Overall, 60 types of dishes were analysed, and 284 items were coded.

Specifically, restaurants are located in the four municipalities of the city of Sarajevo and the sample included the highest rated four restaurants from each municipality: Stari Grad, Centar, Novo Sarajevo, and Novi Grad. For each municipality, two restaurants with all kinds of dishes and two traditional Bosnian restaurants were selected to secure the representation of different food establishments in the city. The list of the 16 included restaurants is provided in the next section (designated I–XVI in Table 1). We note that Novi Grad municipality only included one traditional restaurant, Čevabdžinica-Caffe Venus, that was included in the list of the best restaurants in Sarajevo on TripAdvisor. There are several traditional restaurants in that municipality; however, they are not listed among TripAdvisor’s top-rated restaurants. Tourists are less likely to visit this municipality, however, as 5.3% of the total number of international tourists who visited Sarajevo visited Novi Grad (Zavod za planiranje razvoja Kantona

Sarajevo, 2018). For this reason, the Restaurant Pizzeria Dino was selected; although it is not a typical traditional Bosnian restaurant, it is also top-rated and does offer traditional Bosnian dishes.

5 Results

This section is divided into four subsections, because restaurants are described and analysed by municipality. Each restaurant is explained, departing from how it is promoted offline and online, and the features of each menu are discussed. Drawing on the case of Sarajevo restaurants, the representation of local foods and drinks is studied as a path toward food-based sustainable urban tourism.

As explained earlier, Table 1 showcases the results of data collection, with the classification of each restaurant’s offerings. In studying each group, salads with vegetables are commonly found as starters, and dishes with red meat and poultry are abundant as main dishes. In terms of Bosnian-Herzegovinian cuisine, čevapi and pljeskavica are

Table 1: Menus offered by restaurants in Sarajevo.

Menus	Traditional Bosnian dish	Restaurants in																N					
		Restaurants in Stari Grad (Old Town)						Restaurants in Centar (Centre)				Restaurants in Novo Sarajevo (New Sarajevo)				Restaurants in Novi Grad (New City)							
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI						
	Baked potatoes/French fries	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	5
	Eggs in different ways	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	4
	Falafel and hummus dishes	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	Grain cereal	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Breakfast and side dishes	Kajmak	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	6	
	Kljukuša	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Other vegetables (spinach, pepperoni, onion)	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	6
	Rice	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	5
	Sandwiches	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2
	Begova čorba (Bey's soup)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	3
	Cheese/Dalmatian prosciutto	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	7
	Homemade bread/Somun	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	7
	Mushroom croquettes	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	Olives	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
	Salads with meat	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	9
	Salads with vegetables	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	13
Starters, salads, and soups	Soup of the day	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	5
	Soup with meat	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	3
	Suho meso (dried meat)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
	Travnik cheese	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	3
	Uštipci	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	3
	Various types of platters	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	6
	Vegetable soup	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	5
	Vegetarian appetizers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2
	Zucchini	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2

Table 1 continued: Menus offered by restaurants in Sarajevo.

Menus	Traditional Bosnian dish	Restaurants in																N
		Stari Grad (Old Town)			Centre			Centar			Novo Sarajevo (New Sarajevo)			Restaurants in Novi Grad (New City)				
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	
	Bosanski lonac (Bosnian pot)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Burek	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
	Cannelloni/Lasagne/Maslenica	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
	Ćevapi	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	6
	Ćufte	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
	Dishes with red meat (beef/veal/pork/lamb)	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	13
	Dolma	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
	Fish and seafood	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	5
	Grah (Bosnian bean soup)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	3
	Grilled vegetables	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
	Pasta/Spaghetti/Tagliatelle/Penne	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	6
	Pijesakavica	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	5
	Polenta	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	Poultry dishes	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12
	Tortellini/Gnocchi/Campanelle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
	Various types of pizza	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4
	Various types of risotto	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	6
	Baklava	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Fruit	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
	Homemade cake	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	4
	Ice cream	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Jabukovača (apple pie)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	3
	Pancakes	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	3
	Tufahija	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
	Various types of cakes	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	6
	Alcoholic drinks	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	6
	Bosnian beer	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	8
	Bosnian coffee	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	5
	Carbonated drinks	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	12
	Healthy fruit juices and cocktails	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	8
	Hot drinks (coffee, tea, hot chocolate)	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	8
	Juices	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	12
	Milk	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
	Water	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	10
	Yoghurt	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	9
		3	30	2	10	20	26	12	3	28	22	15	11	31	38	14	19	284

the most represented dishes. Local beer is also offered by several restaurants, such as Italian, Indian, and Mediterranean restaurants, and both Eastern and Western. With 15 dishes tagged as 'local', they only represent one fifth of the total number of dishes. However, this can be explained by two factors. First, there is a range of restaurants with international cuisine, where local dishes are extremely underrepresented. Second, although traditional eateries count on a locally based offering, they also have a specialised menu that relies on a more limited number of dishes.

5.1 Restaurants in Stari Grad (Old Town)

Falafel Restaurant (I) is advertised as a house of healthy and delicious food. It is located at Đulagina Čikma 2, Baščaršija. Its name is derived from the word *falafel*, the eponymous specialty served at the restaurant. Falafel is a world-renowned dish that is known for its perfect taste and enhancing the flavours of the food with which it is served. Falafel Restaurant provides food based on natural ingredients and offers a unique menu consisting of vegetarian flavoured dishes (Falafel Restoran – Kuća zdrave i ukusne hrane, 2020). The analysis of its menu reveals a small selection of dishes. However, the menu is confirmedly health-oriented, with falafel, hummus, and a range of salads with vegetables. The menu also includes fruit juices and cocktails. This restaurant does not offer a cuisine based on local culinary recipes.

Dveri (II) is located at Prote Bakovića 12, Baščaršija. The restaurant offers a combination of local and international cuisine. This is a traditional Bosnian restaurant with a unique interior. The portions of food are large, and the service is friendly and warm. It serves breakfast, lunch, and dinner, with an extensive list of local wines (Arrival-Guides, 2019). Although Dveri is one of the smallest restaurants in Sarajevo, its limited space does not make it a place of a limited experience, and the restaurant has won 15 prestigious awards (Dveri, 2020). In analysing its menu, there is a notable variety of foods and drinks (Table 1). Specifically, this restaurant evokes Bosnian starters like Travniki sir or suho meso and traditional soups such as grah. It also offers Bosnian coffee and Bosnian beers, but the restaurant does not offer Bosnian-based desserts.

Buregdžinica Bosna (III) is located in the heart of the Old Town, Bravadžiluk 11, and it has a large selection of traditional Bosnian pies, which are always handmade and freshly prepared. The most famous of all pies is the burek. In addition to the garden, Buregdžinica Bosna has two more floors, so it can always accommodate more guests (Baščaršija.info, 2020). As is evident from Table 1, this is

a local specialist restaurant—*buregdžinica*—and it has a specific offer based on pies, as explained earlier.

Ćevabdžinica Željo (IV) is located at Kundurdžiluk 19, Baščaršija. Ćevabdžinica Željo was founded in 1968. It serves a range of dishes, with ćevapi being the most popular, as a traditional Bosnian dish that every tourist visiting Sarajevo should try. The real way of eating ćevapi includes onions and it comes with *kajmak* as a side dish (Novo.hr, 2020). Table 1 showcases that its limited menu relies on meat-based dishes as their symbol, namely ćevapi and pljeskavica.

5.2 Restaurants in Centar (Centre)

Bon Appetit (V) is located in Marijin Dvor, at Kranjčevićeva 17, and it is described as a hidden diamond of Sarajevo's gastronomic scene. Bon Appetit was born out of the desire of a chef who, in the search for culinary excellence, wanted to open a restaurant in the heart of his hometown. It resulted in an intimate space where guests experience a combination of international cuisine and Bosnian hospitality (Bon Appetit Sarajevo, 2020). Its menu confirms this mixture of gastronomies, and especially reverts to use of locally based ingredients and Bosnian drinks.

Klopa (VI) is a slang word for food in the Bosnian language. Klopa is promoted as a nonsmoking, baby-friendly, vegetarian-friendly restaurant located on the main pedestrian street in Sarajevo, in the city centre. It is located at Ferhadija 5. The charm of this restaurant relies on a space where guests will immediately feel like they are sitting in a garden at home, surrounded by flowers, a wooden interior, and lively colours, while enjoying a dining experience (Klopa, 2020). The total capacity of the restaurant is 40 (Destination Sarajevo, 2020a). Its menu offers mostly international specialities, and local specialities are limited to drinks.

Ćevabdžinica Nune (VII) is one of the oldest *ćevabdžinica* in the city of Sarajevo, open since 1966. It is located at Ferhadija 12. It has remained in the same place since it was founded. This restaurant has a halal certification (HalalTrip, 2020). Its menu features traditional Bosnian dishes like ćevapi and pljeskavica, which again are the tokens of Bosnian cuisine, and the dishes that visitors and tourists expect to taste for an authentic flavour.

Dervoz Buregdžinica (VIII) is located at Koševo 24. It was opened in 1973. It is one of the oldest and most popular *buregdžinica* in Sarajevo. Dervoz Buregdžinica is near the building of the Presidency of BiH. It offers all kinds of pita, but this eating place is best known for its burek (Destination Sarajevo, 2016). Table 1 shows that, in

addition to burek, they only offer apple pie as a dessert and yoghurt as a drink.

5.3 Restaurants in Novo Sarajevo

Trattoria Uno (IX) is an Italian restaurant located at Ulica Zmaja od Bosne 45. The owner of the restaurant, Senad Špago, is a great supporter of Italian cuisine, and his restaurant is one of the first Italian eateries in Sarajevo and the entire country. The restaurant was opened in 1999. The atmosphere is intimate, which is the result of a small space that accommodates only five tables. However, this is one of the reasons why people love it (Blogger.ba, 2020). Its menu, featuring a range of starters and main dishes, in addition to the combination of pasta and pizza, also offers Bosnian specialties like Travniki sir.

Restaurant Taj Mahal (X) is located at Paromlinska 48A. It is advertised as the only Indian restaurant in BiH. Dishes are prepared in a special Indian oven called a tandoor, which accentuates the authentic Indian atmosphere at the restaurant. The hallmark of Indian cuisine is its use of spices. In this sense, each spice has its own culinary purpose, unique colour and taste, and effect on the human body. Indian cuisine is not only about ingredients, but also about the pleasure of the preparation of the meal. As the saying in India goes, 'How you eat is what you think'. Visitors are immersed into a genuine Indian experience at Restaurant Taj Mahal (Tajmahalsarajevo, 2020). In keeping to its Indian-oriented menu, this restaurant offers a variety of dishes that, although vast, does not communicate a sense of Bosnia, represented only by Bosnian beer.

Ćevabdžinica Zmaj (XI) is located at Azize Šaćirbegović 68A. Ćevabdžinica Zmaj (Dragon) was a winner of the 2009 Golden Crown for quality of products and services, as the best ćevapi restaurant in the Balkans. This award was presented by the Association of Hotel and Restaurant Entrepreneurs of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Ćevabdžinica Zmaj, located in the Sarajevo neighbourhood of Hrasno, was founded in 1986. It is big, accommodating only 12 persons at once, which seems to be another characteristic of traditional restaurants in Sarajevo (ĆevabdžinicaZmaj, 2020). Its menu reveals the significance of dishes prepared with meat, where Bosnian food staples ćevapi and pljeskavica are again highlighted.

Aščinica Moščanica (XII) is located at Paromlinska 37a, in the centre of Novo Sarajevo. It is one of the best three aščinica in Sarajevo, with great tradition and superb dishes prepared according to the old recipes. Unlike most

other aščinica, it is located outside the Old Town (Sarajevo Food Dictionary, 2020). According to the Depo portal, customers represent a mixture of ordinary workers, artisans, neighbours, and a business clientele. The interior is antique, with wooden benches, which gives a special charm to this aščinica (Ganibegović, 2010). This restaurant offers a wide range of local dishes, as shown in Table 1, including Bosanski lonac, burek, ćufte, and dolma.

5.4 Restaurants in Novi Grad

Reuff Restaurant (XIII) is located at Aleja Bosne Srebrene 14. According to its online advertising, its menu offers a wide selection of Bosnian, Arabic, and Mediterranean dishes. The Reuff Restaurant has a cosy summer garden. During the month of Ramadan, the restaurant organises iftar for Muslim worshipers (Destination Sarajevo, 2020b), which makes it a suitable spot for halal tourism. Its menu showcases that the restaurant delivers most of the traditional Bosnian dishes identified earlier in this study, especially main dishes.

Radon Plaza - Plava prizma (XIV) is located at Džemala Bijedića 185. It offers a unique space for breakfast and a 360-degree panoramic view of the city, which creates a unique atmosphere (Radonplazahotel, 2020). Table 1 shows that this restaurant offers not only international cuisine, but also traditional Bosnian-Herzegovinian dishes, mostly starters like uštipci, Travniki sir, suho meso, and Begova čorba, and typical desserts (tufahija and baklava).

Ćevabdžinica-Caffe Venera (XV) is located at Ante Babića 20. As an added value, it has a garden that guests can enjoy during the summer months (Venerafood, 2020). It is the only *ćevabdžinica* listed on TripAdvisor, but also the best rated restaurant in the municipality of Novi Grad. Similar to other traditional restaurants, its menu is based on meat dishes, with ćevapi and pljeskavica as the highlights.

Restoran Picerija Dino (XVI) is located at Braće Mulić 29. The building was renovated in April 1997, in a war-torn neighbourhood near the Sarajevo airport. The restaurant, once oriented toward locals as a pizzeria, has grown into a well-known restaurant throughout the city. The restaurant maintains its essence, and it has a large selection of traditional Bosnian dishes, appetizers, hot meals, salads, pasta, pizzas, risotto, chicken dishes, steaks, grilled dishes, and sandwiches (Dino Restaurant Pizzeria, 2020). This restaurant confirms that ćevapi has been ordained the must-try dish when visiting Sarajevo.

6 Discussion

This article has analysed restaurant menus to determine the presence of local foods and drinks, which can lead to the creation of a gastronomic image for tourism based on the case of Sarajevo restaurants and the representation of Bosnian culinary recipes. Results confirm that food in cities in a globalised world is a combination of local and global flavours. The analysis of restaurant menus shows how a particular restaurant landscape is communicated to visitors and tourists, and the offering of local dishes reveals culinary heritages that locals identify as a genuine representation of local gastronomy and a source of attraction. Restaurant services are not only a crucial ingredient for SUTD, but also actors that support the formation of a destination's image (Ab Karim et al., 2011; Peštek & Činjurević, 2014). This article contributes to this discussion.

In this research, the presence of local dishes on restaurant menus demonstrates to what extent Bosnian-Herzegovinian cuisine shapes the food image of the city of Sarajevo, drawing from the analysis of its restaurant menus. Results of this research reveal that, whereas traditional restaurants plan and promote a local-based cuisine, international restaurants are slower to incorporate local culinary examples into their menus. On one side, this is logical because of the idiosyncrasy of an international-oriented restaurant. On the other side, a progressive focus on local recipes could enhance the contribution of these establishments to sustainable development. This is particularly observed in the delivery of local specialties as starters and drinks, as observed in Figure 3.

Although tourists have the possibility of eating traditional food as part of their tourist experience in Sarajevo, the overall representation of traditional foods and drinks on restaurant menus is low. Figure 3 shows that traditional eateries, predominantly based on a very limited menu, include *ćevapi* and *pljeskavica* as the epitome of Bosnian cuisine. In this sense, *burek* should also be acknowledged as an identity dish that is restricted to *buregdžinica*. Bosnian-Herzegovinian cuisine at international restaurants is underrepresented. These restaurants mostly offer starters such as *Travnički sir* or *uštipci*, and drinks like Bosnian coffee and Bosnian beers. Few differences were observed in the representation of traditional Bosnian dishes in the menus of restaurants among municipalities in the city of Sarajevo. For example, restaurants in Novi Grad have a significantly higher share of traditional Bosnian dishes than those in other municipalities. Also, in Novo Sarajevo, *Aščinica Moščanica* is the traditional eatery that offers the highest representation of Bosnian gastronomy. All of

these dishes are offered to visitors and tourists at popular restaurants, and they critically influence the creation of a food image and, as a consequence, destination marketing strategies.

This research is focused on traditional Bosnian dishes under the framework of food tourism in urban environments. Food tourism is a promising and challenging tourism product (see Ab Karim & Chi, 2010; Stone et al., 2019). Both now and in the future, cities like Sarajevo should focus more on the sustainable planning and marketing of selective forms of tourism, such as food tourism, which can contribute to the strengthening of Sarajevo as a city and as a destination. In this sense, food tourism is required to further analyse the economic, environmental, and social impacts of food systems and the relationships between food tourism and justice (Hall, 2020). This reflection opens a wide range of opportunities for food tourism-based research, which are explained next.

This study contributes to advancing a food-based SUTD where cities must increase the implementation of sustainability-based innovations to attract customers (Scott & Cooper, 2010). Among them, gastronomy as a cultural product is an example (Miller et al., 2015). Specifically, this article has dealt with the representation of food on restaurant menus as a process toward the configuration of a food destination image (Choe & Kim, 2018). Results fit well into recent conversations that examine the relationship between food tourism and sustainable development (see Enzenbacher, 2020). Enzenbacher (2020) manifested 'the importance of placing food tourism development on a sustainable footing to protect and preserve Dhofar's unique food culture, heritage, traditions and environment' (p. 1897). This can also be extended to the case of Sarajevo in particular and BiH in general.

Previous studies also analysed the role of gastronomy in place branding. Restaurants are able to increase destination attractiveness (Björk & Kauppinen-Räsänen, 2019; Sánchez-Cañizares & López-Guzmán, 2012), as this research explored. The incorporation of local-based recipes into restaurant menus is a step toward the building of a genuine and recognisable food story. In parallel, marketing policies also need to pursue sustainability (Kotler, 2011) to engage visitors in responsible consumption (Fennell & Bowyer, 2020). This will result in development of a positive destination image (Gordin et al., 2016) and contribute to the consolidation of local sustainable supply chains (Sims, 2010).

7 Conclusions

Drawing on the city of Sarajevo as an urban destination whose attraction is increasingly based on food experiences, traditional food and dishes are offered to visitors and tourists at restaurants. Although this certainly happens to a limited extent, this study confirms the presence of local foods and dishes in Sarajevo's restaurants, which serves to determine a certain degree of sustainability of its urban food tourism system and observe the identity dishes that predominantly contribute to its food image. The main limitation of this research is that it focuses only on a limited sample of restaurants. Further investigation could extend the number of restaurants analysed and also include a qualitative approach from both the supply and demand perspectives to provide a more robust and widespread conclusion. Moreover, this would contribute to expanding the validity of the results in two ways. First, it would influence the intentions of restaurant owners in designing their menus, and the way they effectively communicate the local sense of place through their dishes. Second, upcoming research must analyse the perceptions of tourists about local food and their willingness to transmit it to travellers (i.e., how and why). As urban places receive high volumes of tourists, they must also enhance tourists' social responsibility (Miller et al., 2015). Further research would also enlarge the body of literature that specifically discusses the relationships between food and image in Sarajevo, the capital city of BiH.

From a theoretical perspective, this research confirms that food tourism practices not only offer a connection between hosts and guests, but they also provide tourists with a taste of the destination. The degree of identity that is conveyed heavily depends on individual restaurants. Nonetheless, this research identifies performance patterns according to the type of restaurant analysed, and how its menu particularly displays a Balkan, genuine, and sustainable-based experience. Previous research elaborated by Zhang et al. (2019) reported that 'authenticity is a key antecedent to the quality–satisfaction–loyalty framework of food tourism' (p. 1). In analysing the practical implications of this research, results suggest that, although restaurants supply the dishes that visitors and tourists expect to taste as authentic Bosnian flavours, they do not offer varied local-based menus. This is crucial for the actual development of sustainable food tourism in urban environments. Both restaurants and food tourism companies need to reinforce the use of local ingredients and dishes in the planning, delivery, and promotion of their culinary experiences. This will contribute to the sustainability of food tourism futures (Fusté-Forné & Jamal,

2020) and to facing global food challenges effectively (Bertella & Vidmar, 2019).

Bionotes

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