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Old Market v. Shopping Malls: The Impacts of Changing Consumer Practices on Sarajevo's Urban Morphology¹

Abstract:

This paper investigates the change that has occurred over time in the commercial districts of Sarajevo. It explores how the newly opened shopping malls impact on the consumer behaviours and practices in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina and their overall influence on the urban morphology of the city. In particular the impact of the newly opened modern shopping malls on the city's traditional retail districts, such as Baščaršija and Ferhadija Street and the city's urban expansion towards the west throughout its history, are analysed in this paper. Based on a detailed review of existing literature, questionnaires and interviews with the general public and business owners both in the traditional market district and new shopping malls, this study will provide valuable information for future research focusing the urban planning in Sarajevo.

Keywords: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo, Baščaršija, Ferhadija Street, shopping malls, BBI Shopping Centre.

¹ The research results recorded in this paper should be considered preliminary. The results are expected to stimulate further research on consumer behaviour and its impact on Sarajevo's urban morphology.

1. Baščaršija: The commercial hub of Ottoman Sarajevo

Located on the banks of the Mijacka River along a westward valley surrounded by various mountains, the city of Sarajevo takes its name from two Turkish words, *Saray Ovası* meaning the 'Seraglio Plain'. Although the earliest settlements in the region date back to the Neolithic age (c.2400BC - c.2000BC), the city of Sarajevo developed from the mid-Fifteenth Century with the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia. The initial buildings were a palace for the Ottoman governor, a timber mosque, a caravanserai, a *bedesten* (covered market space), a bridge over Miljacka and a number of houses and shops constructed in the 1460s. Sarajevo's most prosperous period, however, was the 16th and 17th centuries when the Ottoman Empire expanded its power in the Balkans and Eastern Europe.

Similar to other Ottoman cities in West-Anatolia and the Balkans, Sarajevo's urban pattern was based on a clear division between residential and commercial areas: 'The road is the spine of the town and the valley it's shape, the *Čaršija* (business centre) it's heart, the vegetation it's lungs and the river it's soul.' (Gabrijan, 1957: 22). Residential settlements, or the *mahalas*, were gradually built on the surrounding slopes, based on an irregular urban development determined by the city's mountainous topography. The business centre, the Baščaršija, was located in the valley and became the heart of the town. It consisted of a more regular urban pattern.

Situated in a fertile region with abundant water sources and forests, together with its location on primary Ottoman trade routes starting from Istanbul and Salonika, Sarajevo was a strategic crossing point centre in the region. Both the Ottoman military campaigns in the region and trade with the Adriatic coast brought to the city a prosperous commercial life. This was especially the case for agricultural products. The economic verve also brought with it a vibrant cultural life making Sarajevo an important administrative centre in its region. The first half of the Sixteenth Century saw significant development activity in the Baščaršija. Similar to other Ottoman cities, Sarajevo's central business district was organized under the system of 'waqf' – a religious endowment with its own separate administration and legal identity. The Baščaršija's most prominent building, Gazi Husrev Beg Mosque, was constructed in 1530 in the name of the Ottoman governor of Bosnia (Koštović, 2001: 61-62). With its associated buildings, including two tombs, an elementary school and hostel for young dervishes, it represented a typical example of Ottoman *külliyes* or building complexes. These buildings were further accompanied by the construction of a guest house, a

kitchen for the poor and numerous shops.

The Baščaršija continued to grow during the second half of the Sixteenth Century with the construction of a group of buildings, the most important one being the Bursa *Bezistan* or *Bedesten*. This was a covered market place constructed in 1551 on a model of similar building in the first Ottoman capital of Bursa. Perhaps the most important factor in this prosperous expansion of the city was Sarajevo's status as a tax-free city. The *muafnama*, a state document which warrants the city exemptions from taxes, was first given to Sarajevo in 1464, which remained in force until it was revoked in the late Eighteenth Century (Alić, Gusheh, 1999: 7). A mid-Seventeenth Century Ottoman explorer Evliya Çelebi records 400 *mahallas*, 77 mosques, numerous medreses, 180 schools, 110 public fountains, 76 flour mills, five hamams, three caravansaries, 23 *hans* (buildings function as storage for goods and accommodation for travelers), 1,080 shops and many other buildings in the city. Again, similar to other Ottoman cities, different ethnic and religious groups were allowed to work together in the market place and conduct their commercial activities without discrimination by state officials. Merchants from Dubrovnik were settled in the Latinluk (or Franačka) quarter. Orthodox communities occupied the northern edges of the district and from the Sixteenth Century Sephardic Jews, who escaped from the Spanish inquisition, represented the non-Muslim population in the Baščaršija (Alić, Gusheh, 1999: 8).

The urban pattern of the Baščaršija consists of small narrow streets surrounded with the shops (Fig. 1). The small wooden shops were surrounded by mosques, hamams (public baths), market places and *hans*, which all together constituted a unified commercial area. The small wooden shops were called *ducani* where the goods were both manufactured and sold. The *ducani* were always open to the street and mostly cover a space of between six to ten square meters. The windows on the main facade were protected with wooden shutters. The shutters had two wings, serving as an extension to the roof and a bench in front of the shop (Figs. 2 and 3). The main construction rested on stone blocks for protection from floods during high water periods (Gabrijan, 1957: 5). The artisans usually sat on the floor and worked on their craftwork. The products were displayed in the shops so the customers could easily take a look and purchase them (Fig. 4). During the Ottoman period, the Baščaršija had a vibrant commercial life. This prosperity had played a great role on the development of existing and newly built settlements. The trades were separated into specific districts, the so called *esnafa*, another Turkish origin word meaning tradesmen (Redžić, 1983:93).

This prosperous life in Sarajevo, however, was brought to an abrupt end by the Austrian Prince Eugene Savoy who sacked and burnt the city in 1697. In 1699 the seat of the Ottoman vizier was transferred from Sarajevo to Travnik in north-west Bosnia. This brought about a turbulent life in the city during the Eighteenth Century when local Muslim rulers began to rise against the central government authority in Istanbul, who tried to implement reforms. This social unrest accelerated in the Nineteenth Century when the financial structure of the Ottoman Empire further weakened. The most immediate impact of these bitter economic conditions on Sarajevo's economic life was the gradual disappearance of the *esnaf* guilds in the city and the emergence of Serbs who gradually became the dominant force in the city's cultural and economic life.



FIG. 1, plan of the Baščaršija at the end of the Nineteenth Century; Source: Gabrijan, Dušan, The Bosnian oriental architecture in Sarajevo with Special Reference to the Contemporary One, Ljubljana, 1957.

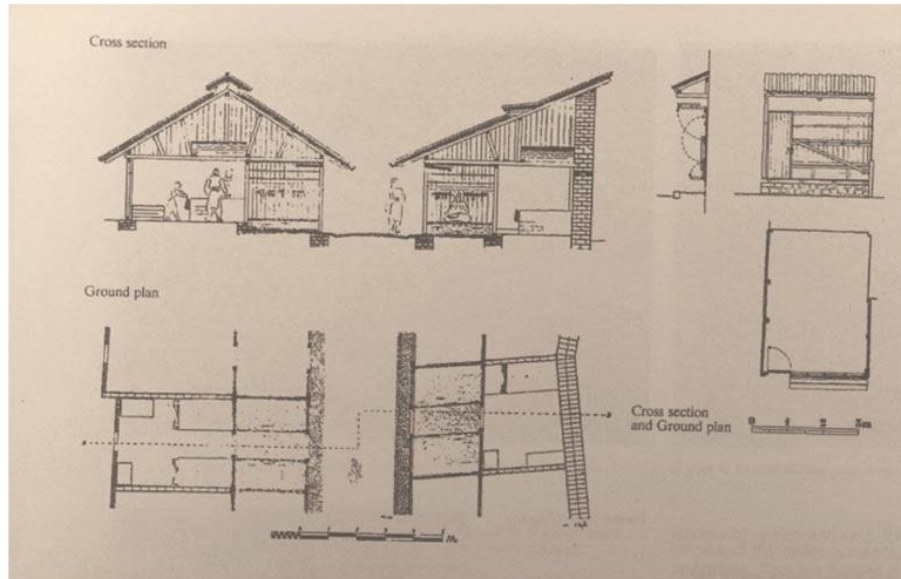


FIG. 2, Ground Floor Plan and Cross Section of a ducani; Source: Gabrijan, Dušan, The Bosnian oriental architecture in Sarajevo with Special Reference to the Contemporary One, Ljubljana, 1957.

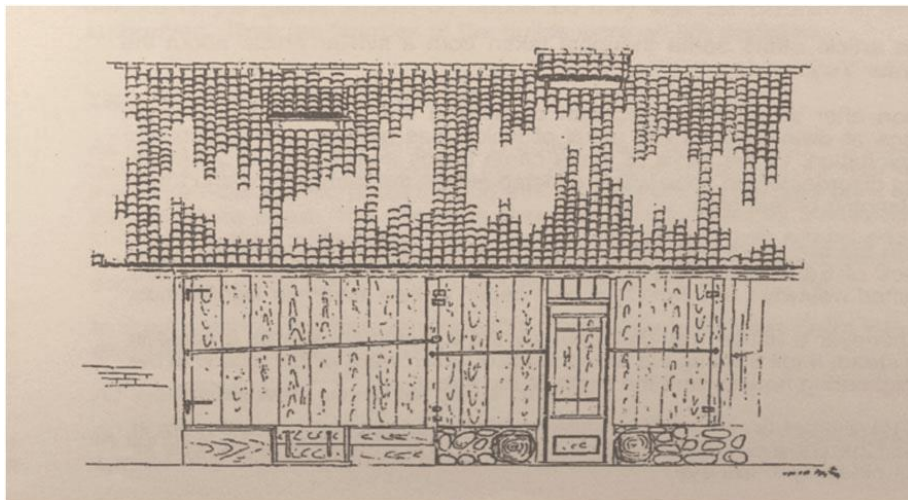


FIG. 3, main facade of a ducani; Source: Gabrijan, Dušan The Bosnian oriental architecture in Sarajevo with Special Reference to the Contemporary One, Ljubljana, 1957.



FIG. 4, a typical street in Baščaršija. Source: N. Omićević.

2. Ferhadija Street: The Europeanized Face of Sarajevo under the Austro-Hungarian Rule

One of the most important milestones in Sarajevo's history came in 1878. Following the Ottoman defeat of Russia and the Congress of Berlin, the whole of Bosnia was handed to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The Austrians controlled Sarajevo until 1918. During this period the city saw a wholesale transformation which left significant impacts on its urban morphology. Considering Sarajevo as a showcase for its colonization policy in the Balkans, the Austro-Hungarian Empire undertook significant infrastructure works such as the establishing of a central electricity system, construction of railways and a tram line and the reorganization of the banks of the river Miljacka. During this period the city also encountered new monumental buildings such as a Catholic Cathedral, a theatre, banks, schools, a hospital and the city's first public park on the site of a Muslim cemetery. Completed in 1896 and designed by A. Wittek and C. M. Iveković, the "pseudo-Moorish" style Town Hall represented the

Austro-Hungarian aim of 'manufacturing a distinct Bosnian national identity that would appeal to Bosnia's Muslim population' (Alić, Gusheh, 1999: 9). Moreover the Post Office designed by Josip pl. Vancaš, modelled on the Viennese Post Saving Bank and the National Museum by Karlo Paržik are amongst the most important buildings representing the Austrian influence on Sarajevo's built environment. Again, during this period the city extended west towards Ilidža—the main resource of hot spring water that dated from the Roman period. The 40-year Austro-Hungarian rule also brought with it the first factories to Sarajevo, which resulted in the diminution of the local craft industry. This change in manufacturing created a further adverse impact on the *esnaf* guilds of the Baščaršija.

During the Austro-Hungarian period of Bosnia (1878-1918), Sarajevo and its business centre started to spread rapidly westward. In this period the influence of the European architecture played a major role in the further urban development of the centre. Tall commercial buildings replaced the smaller ones, transforming the urban pattern of a once historical and cultural commercial district. The 'Europeanization' also led to the separation of the manufacture and the commerce. The merchants moved into new modernized stone storehouses with glass partitions and industrial tile shingles on the roofs (Gabrijan, 1957: 7).

Hence the city centre started to shift west ward from the old commercial district, occupying the existing empty places with newly constructed buildings. The great fire that burnt the city in 1697 destroying 304 houses, 434 shops and 135 other buildings along 36 streets, was of one of the main reasons that led to new construction techniques for buildings, thereby contributing to the design of the first regulation plan of the Baščaršija and more generally Sarajevo. This regulation plan led to the extension of the existing road system and its division into classes. According to their importance the streets were divided into four classes in regard to their width: 11,25m; 9,00m; 7,50m; and 6,00m (Bejtlic, 1973: 30).

These new streets started to spread whereby the several rows of *ducana* with their wooden structures completely disappeared. The main streets, parallel to the river Miljacka were all widened, with today's Maršal Tito street as the widest in this part of the City. One of these streets was the Ferhadija street, the city's main east-west passage, named after the Ferhat- Beg.² The eastern part of this street was created in

² Ferhad-Beg Vuković-Desisalić raised his Mosque, hidžr.969. (1561./1562.) that was later surrounded by a special *mahala*, by the founder known as Ferhadija.

1531 in the Gazi Husrev Begovoj *mahalla*, but the western part was not started to be developed until 1562 (Bejtović, 1973: 15). According to the Austro-Hungarian map of Sarajevo of 1879 (Plan von Sarajev, K und K Kriegs-Arcviih, Gih 621-13, Wien), the size and border of this street is almost identical with its layout today. Over time Ferhadija became a 'High Street' of Sarajevo with its western style buildings and modern shops which all create a deep contrast to the Ottoman character of the Baščaršija (Fig. 5).

The Ferhadija Street has a very important historical significance, because in the *mahala* 'Čemaluša' there was once an old Mosque 'Havadže Kemaludina' with its Cemetery that was demolished in 1940. With the arrival of the Austro-Hungarian government, the *mahala* "Čemaluša" started to develop rapidly so that in a short period of time the small Bosnian houses were replaced by new higher and more massive buildings. Close to the Mosque, along Ferhadija Street, rails were placed for transporting the required materials for the construction of the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Sarajevo.³ The construction works for the city's first rail line, however, adversely impacted the Mosque both in the physical and congregational sense. Just before the World War II, during the reign of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the waqf authorities ordered the demolition of the Mosque's remains and the construction of the first high-rise building in Sarajevo. The design of this building was to be symbolic for the purpose of preserving the memories of the demolished Mosque. The design proposal was done by the prominent architect, Reuf Kadić, one of the leaders of Modern architecture in Bosnia. The construction works for the tall building lasted until 1947. On the ninth floor, a number that has an important significance in Islam, was a Terrace constructed in the form of an open gallery around the tower. The terrace symbolised the *šerefes* (balcony) on the Mosque's Minaret. Today, the building is mainly residential with commercial functions on the ground floor with the Tower now being part of a Hotel.

³Roman Catholic cathedral 'Srce Isusovo' in Sarajevo was built in 1889; Architect Josip Vancas.



FIG. 5, view of the Ferhadija Street; Source: N. Ormičević.

3. Sarajevo and its commercial districts in Titoist Yugoslavia

On 28 June 1914 the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand was assassinated in Sarajevo by a Serbian nationalist, which provided the trigger for the First World War. After the war Sarajevo became the part of Kingdom of Yugoslavia (also known as the 'Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians'). Between the two wars Sarajevo experienced a relatively quiet period with no major changes to its urban character. In this same period Sarajevo had to compete with the other regional centres such as Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana. The Second World War saw Sarajevo become part of a Fascist Croat State controlled by Ante Pavelic that was followed by Tito's Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia. During this period Sarajevo became the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a new status that brought rapid population growth from 100,000 in 1946 to 250,000 in 1968.

The Second World War and the decades immediately following saw gradual decay and neglect of the traditional centre of Sarajevo. Various proposals were put to restore the Baščaršija, the most noteworthy project being that of the eminent Croatia-born architect Juraj Neidhardt. Neidhardt's proposal was to convert the Bascarsija into a socialist cultural centre for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Strongly influenced by Le Corbusier's modernist principles, Neidhardt envisaged an interesting dialogue between the Islamic character of the district and modernist ideas. He suggested the wholesale demolition of the buildings surrounding the main religious buildings and the replacement of the waqf system with a state sponsored financial system. In Neidhardt's proposal only important public buildings—namely the Gazi Husrev Beg's Mosque and Complex, the Jewish Synagogue, the old Orthodox Church, the Catholic Church and the Baščaršija Mosque—were selected for preservation. The area around them was cleared of all structures, a gesture that allowed specific monuments to be perceived as single autonomous objects (Alić, Gusheh, 1999: 15-23). Although Neidhardt's project was never realized, it was published in various guises and became an influential text in architectural debates and education during the socialist era of Yugoslavia.⁴

Perhaps the most noteworthy development of the Titoist period of Sarajevo was the construction of the city's first modern department store towards the west of Ferhadija Street. Designed by Vladimir Zarahovic, the building, initially named as 'Unima', opened its doors to Sarajevans on the 6th of April 1975. Unima was one of the 'robna kuća' or new department stores that opened in all major cities of Socialist Yugoslavia during the 1970s. A department store project for the site was doubtful from the very beginning. Various proposals were put forward after analysis made by many experts stating that that the department store project would be a wrong investment in the wrong place. Despite this intense criticism, following several amendments made on the project, the proposal was finally accepted by the city authorities, and the first department store of Sarajevo, representing a unique example of socialistic formalism in architecture, was built. The building was later renamed 'Sarajka' and became a very popular shopping and recreational destination for the people of Sarajevo. A large front courtyard, in front of this 'blue and irregular shaped building' facing Maršal Tito Street, gradually became an important meeting point for the general public. Again, this period saw the construction of large scale residential buildings in the western part of the city. With their bold prismatic

⁴ While Neidhardt's proposal was not realized, between 1945 and 1950 approximately 250 small shops in Baščaršija were demolished. The remaining demolitions could not proceed because of a strong public opposition.

envelope and large size, these buildings were mostly associated with small retail areas, parks and other recreational facilities.

4. The Emergence of Modern Shopping Malls after the Balkan War (1992-1995)

In 1992 a bloody war broke out in Yugoslavia between Serbs, Croats and Bosnians. The city of Sarajevo was sieged by the Serbian controlled Yugoslav People's Army together with local Serbian paramilitary from April 1992 to October 1995. It was the longest siege in the modern history and cost around 11,000 civilian lives along with significant destruction of the city's infrastructure (Peter, 2008: 2). The war ended with the Dayton Agreement signed in Ohio on the 14th December 1995. Peace was finally established and Bosnia and Herzegovina obtained its independence. Yet this development did not provide a sustainable outcome for the country because of complicated political system following the Dayton Agreement. Today Bosnia and Herzegovina is a parliamentary democracy which consists of a self-governing administrative unit, the Brčko District, and two political entities: Republika Srpska and the Federation. The Federation is further divided into 10 cantons. This division requires a very complex legislative system which impacts on all aspects of the country's administration (Markovitz, 2007: 44). As a result, Bosnia and Herzegovina has three rotating presidents at the state level with each sub-state having its own president, 13 prime ministers. There are more than 130 ministers and around 150 municipalities.

Since its establishment in the mid-Fifteenth Century, Sarajevo has expanded west along the river Miljacka. The city has now reached its natural boundaries as defined by high mountains in all directions. Recent developments in Ilidža, the western-most suburb of Sarajevo, has seen the last remaining vacant land on the city's fringes covered by residential and commercial developments. This development was undertaken with minimal planning control. It can be argued that the rapid growth of the city is based on two factors. The first is increased population following the end of the Yugoslavian War in the mid-1990s and early 2000s. Muslim immigrants who were forced to leave their homelands in Serbian controlled eastern Bosnia arrived in the city and constructed utilitarian houses on the city's eastern and western slopes. The second factor refers to the construction of residential apartment blocks at the western end of Sarajevo. Although the economic structure of this war-torn country is

still fragile with financial indicators portraying a bitter economic picture,⁵ slight improvements in economic conditions together with foreign economic aid and investment have allowed the construction of new developments for the wealthier stratum of the city. And the most vivid indicator of this trend is the construction of the new shopping malls in the city. Despite the stagnant nature of the economy, the modern shopping premises survive and their number is growing.

After the 2000s, Bosnia and Herzegovina entered a new phase where international funds, mostly from European Union, Turkey and other Islamic countries both in the Middle East and South-East Asia, canalized for the reconstruction of the country's highly damaged infrastructure. This included the renovation of the roads, rehabilitation of the hospitals, residential buildings and similar works. During this period Sarajevo also saw the emergence of western style shopping malls (Fig. 6). The first and the most influential is the BBI (Bosnia Bank International) Shopping Centre. The Sarajka Department store, which was badly damaged during the war, was demolished and sold to BBI.⁶ The stakeholders of BBI—The Islamic Development Bank, Abu Dhabi Islamic Bank and Dubai Islamic Bank—proposed the construction of a new shopping mall. In 2006 the old Sarajka was demolished and the construction of the new shopping centre was completed in 2009. The project bears the signature of a reputable local architect Sead Gološ and includes ten-storey office block accommodation for the BBI Head Office and Al-Jazeera Balkans headquarters (Fig. 7).



FIG. 6. map marking the location of the newly built shopping malls and the old commercial district (Baščaršija); Source: N. Omićević.

⁵ Some statistics for the year 2002 are per below: GDP \$18,15 billion; GDP per capita \$4,618; Average Net Wages 415 Euros (this is the official figure, the unofficial figure however is less below than the official indicators and estimated around 200 Euros); Unemployment officially is 25%, but the real figure according to trusted international sources is around 45%.

⁶ A survey on the daily newspapers of the time reveals that the demolition of the 'Sarajka' remains caused a lot of public dissatisfaction and there were severe reactions from the citizen of Sarajevo.

The construction of the new BBI Centre cost over 35 million Euros and included a total of 19,000 sqm shopping space and more than 450 undercover parking lots. The opening of the BBI Centre was revolutionary. Many world-wide brand names, a food-court, modern cinemas, commercial and recreational activities organized on the front courtyard were new experiences for many of the city's inhabitants. The motto of BBI Centre is 'Your favourite meeting point'. In fact, the place is truly a meeting place of the citizens of Sarajevo where artistic performances, kids playgroups and workshops, concerts, promotions, sports competitions and similar events take place on a regular basis.



FIG. 7, BBI Shopping Centre, Sarajevo; Source: N. Omičević.

The success of the BBI Centre also brought new initiatives by various investors. Located on the edge of down town Sarajevo, the Alta Shopping Centre is one of the most stylish newly built constructions in the city. It covers an area of over 24.000m² and was constructed between 2007 and 2010. It has a central location which is well connected to public transport, and has two hundred parking spaces for shoppers. It represents a simple and comfortable visitor experience. Besides various boutique shops, Alta Centre offers a diverse range of cafes and restaurants (Fig. 8).⁷

⁷ Alta Shopping Centre is currently struggling with severe operational problems. While there is no certain data on this problem, it is believed that there are financial issues associated with this development. As a result some shops have now closed and public visits to the centre have declined significantly.

The other notable example is the Importanne Centre being the first and only shopping/business centre in Sarajevo that contains a combined business, residential and shopping environment in one entity. Designed by “Studio Non Stop” and financed by the Teloptic Group, Importanne is a 60 million Euro venture. It covers an area of nearly 65.000m² and is comprised of six connected sections of which three represent the residential part, one the Sparkasse Bank Headquarters with the remaining two for shopping and gastronomy purposes.



Fig. 8, Alta Shopping Centre; Source: N. Omićević.

The most recent shopping mall in the city is known as the Sarajevo City Centre. Bearing the signature of Gološ, the project is financed by the Al Shiddi Group, a Saudi based company. Its construction started in 2008 and is still ongoing. With more than 100.000 m² it will be the largest shopping and business centre in Bosnia and one of the largest in the region. Sarajevo City Centre will include shopping mall, entertainment venues, a five-star Hotel across 18 floors with over 220 rooms, business premises and more than 1100 parking spots in five underground garage floors.

5. The Impact of the New Shopping Malls on the Traditional Business Districts

The question which this research is concerned with is how the modern shopping malls impact on the traditional shopping district of Sarajevo. The research draws on questionnaires with shop keepers and the general public with respect to traditional market districts and the extent that the newly constructed shopping malls represent a change in consumer practices in Sarajevo over the last few years. The questionnaire surveys were conducted by face by face interviews in the selected areas.

The first questionnaire includes 30 shop owners and businessmen in the Baščaršija and Ferhadija Street. The main goal of this survey was to understand the impact of the new shopping malls on these traditional commercial districts through the eyes of the local businessmen. The following diagrams (Diagrams 1 and 2) indicate the business type and duration of business holders in their respective locations:

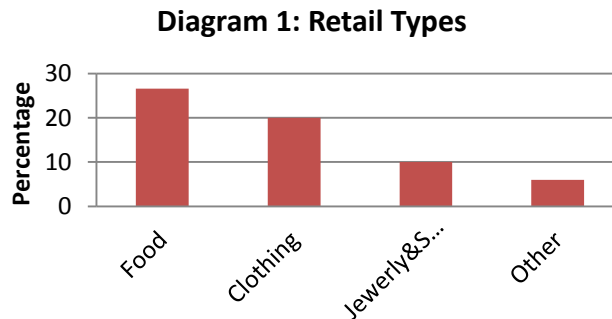
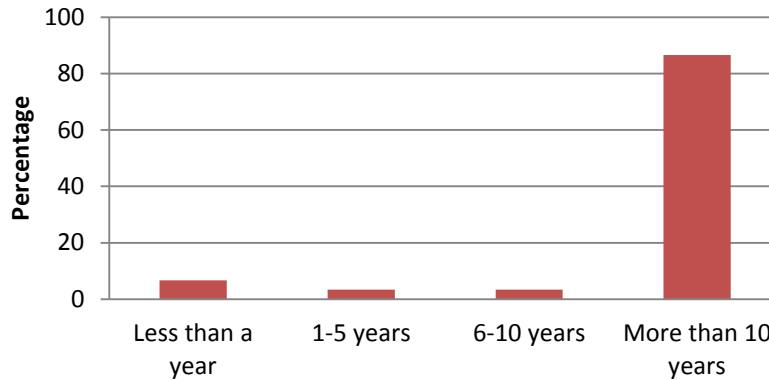


Diagram 2: Duration of Bussiness

From Diagram 2, the vast majority of the business ownership is more than 10 years indicating a static market for new retail investment in the area. During the interviews, shopkeepers expressed the following remarks and concerns: the lack of legislative measures to protect small and traditional business; the impact of economic crises on the purchasing power of consumers; the lack of interest in traditional goods among the youth; proximity of new shopping malls to the traditional market district; the attractiveness of the new shopping malls that provide day-long recreational facilities for entire families. The 73% of the shop keepers indicated that they have been experiencing significant loss of income in their retail spaces since the new shopping malls opened in the city. On the other hand, there are also some positive comments made by the retail owners in the traditional districts. These are mainly related to the increasing number of tourists to Sarajevo,⁸ customer loyalty to traditional shops and, in particular, restaurants.

The second questionnaire is concerned the general public in the Baščaršija and Ferhadija Street. The major aim of this survey was to gather public opinion about commercial activities in the traditional shopping districts of Sarajevo. Forty percent of the participants were male and 60% female. Regarding the age groups, 10% of the participants were between 15 and 18 years old, 40% between 19 and 26 years old,

⁸ The total (domestic and international) tourist arrivals to Sarajevo increased dramatically during the last decade. In 2000 the total number of tourist visited Sarajevo was 221,000. This figure became 274,000 in 2005 and 436,000 in 2011. The total turnovers in hotels and restaurants in 2003 was 38,760,000 Euros, this figure reached to 70,890,000 Euros in 2011 (Source: Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Federal Office of Statistics, Statistical Yearbook 2012).

16.5% between 26 and 40 years old, 26.5% between 41 and 60 years old with the remaining 10% over 60 years old. The participants were asked various questions regarding their shopping preferences, comments and concerns.

Diagram 3: Origins of Shoppers in Baščaršija and Ferhadija Street

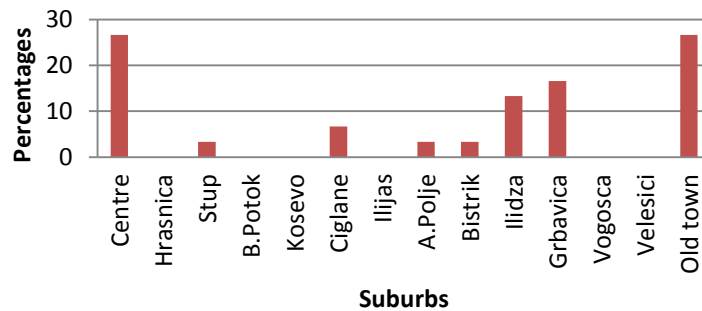


Diagram 4: Main Reasons for Preference

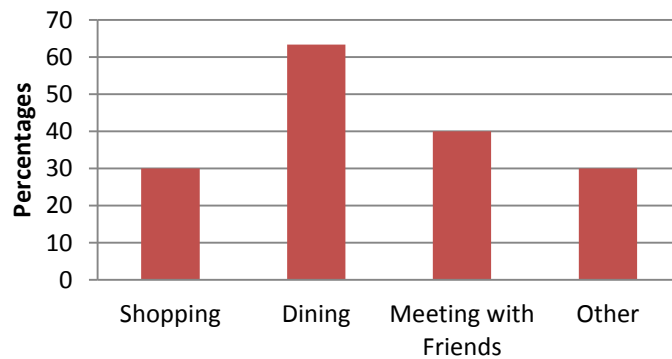
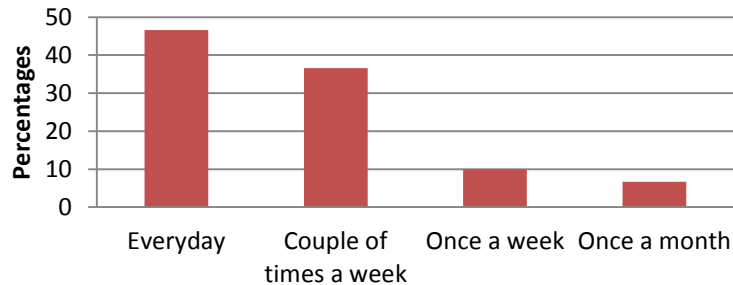
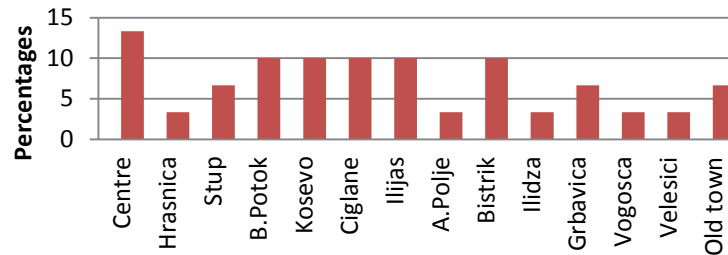


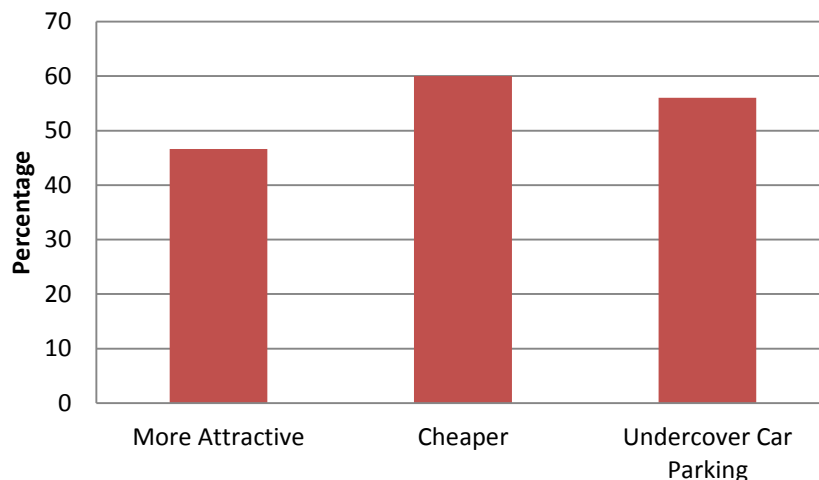
Diagram 5: Visiting Frequency

From the above tables, the origin of people who visit the Baščaršija and Ferhadija Street varies, and these districts attract people from different parts of Sarajevo (Diagram 3). The main reasons for visiting these traditional districts are shopping, dining and meeting with people (Diagram 4). This is an equal distribution across the various facilities. Visitor frequency shows that the great majority of people who come to the Baščaršija and Ferhadija Street make their visits either everyday or at least couple of times a week (Diagram 5). These figures indicate a loyal stratum of the society who visits the old district regularly. Where survey participants were asked 'where do you prefer to do shopping?' 60% favoured the shopping malls. The main reasons given for this preference were the attractiveness of the shopping malls (49%), habitual preference (23%) and cheaper prices (12%). Other factors were convenience, more choice available etc. (16%).

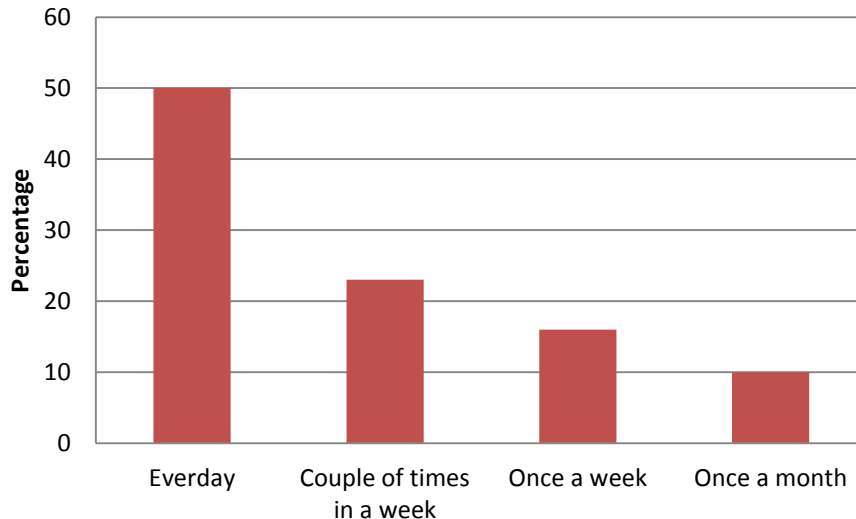
The third questionnaire interviewed shoppers in the three newly constructed shopping malls in the city (BBI Centre, Alta and Immportanne). 46.5% of the participants who answered the questionnaire were male and 53.5% female. In terms of age groups, 16.5% of participants were between 15 and 18 years old, 36.5% between 19 to 26 years old, 20% between 26 and 40 years old, 23% between 41 and 60 years old with the remaining 4% over 60 years old. The following charts show the results.

Diagram 6: Origins of Shoppers

The above chart (Diagram 6) shows that shopping malls attract customers from the every suburbs of Sarajevo. And when the results are compared to those of the Baščaršija and Ferhadija Street (Diagram 3), it can be seen that the shopping malls' popularity is based on a wider geographic area than the traditional market and shopping districts.

Diagram 7: Main Reasons for Preference

The results that can be read from the above chart (Diagram 7) suggest three major reasons for public preference for modern shopping malls. These are the 'attractiveness' of the malls, cheaper prices and the convenience offered by undercover car parking facilities.

Diagram 8: Visiting Frequency

The visitor frequency table (Diagram 8) shows the great majority of people who prefer to come to shopping malls visit either everyday or at least couple of times a week. In a similar way to the old commercial districts, there is a loyal group of people who visit the modern shopping malls on a regular basis.

6. Conclusion

The research shows that the opening of the modern shopping malls constructed on the western side of the city centre have not had a negative impact on the traditional shopping districts of Sarajevo (Baščaršija and Ferhadija Street). Although the revenue collected in the retail spaces has fallen as a result of competition with the modern shopping malls, the traditional shopping districts still retain a vibrant commercial life. There is a charm in these old parts of the city for many Sarajevo dwellers who enjoy leisurely shopping and browsing, traditional culinary delights such as *burek* (mince filled pastry) shops or *ćevapi* (grilled meat balls) restaurants and Bosnian coffee in the traditional cafes. Similarly the shops and cafes along Ferhadija Street attract many city dwellers as a vibrant promenade, especially during the spring and summer

seasons. Recent renovation works undertaken by the city such as new street paving in the Baščaršija and Ferhadija Street, outdoor seating facilities and improved public amenities have definitely helped these old districts compete with the modern shopping malls. In addition, an increasing number of tourists prefers to visit, shop and entertain themselves in the traditional market areas of Sarajevo. From this perspective it can be argued that despite the new developments, trade in Baščaršija and Ferhadija Street is still a significant factor in the city's business life.

The results of the questionnaires, however, indicate that the modern shopping malls with their covered retail spaces, international brands, entertainment facilities, food courts, cinemas and undercover car parking provide an attractive alternative for the general public. Such conveniences offered in the shopping malls together with the increasing awareness of western style consumer behaviour have certainly increased the popularity of the new shopping centres. The results also show that the new shopping malls attract people across all age groups and equally from almost all areas of Sarajevo. Like many cities around the world the increasing car ownership, globalization of trade, improved purchasing power all contribute to the public appreciation of modern shopping malls in Sarajevo. Perhaps one of the most vivid indicators of this trend is the recently opened McDonald's restaurants. Until recently, Sarajevo was one of the very few capital cities in Europe without a McDonald's restaurant. And although the *čevapi*, the local competitor of western style hamburger, is very popular among the people, the success of the first McDonald's restaurant opened in Ferhadija Street in 2011 immediately brought the second one with drive-through service, on the western side of the city near Ilidža.

Consumer acceptance of the modern shopping malls has impacted on Sarajevo's urban morphology by accelerating expansion to the west, a development trend that is consistent with the city's urban history since the late Eighteenth Century. This development pattern is largely the result of city's topography, which limits new development to the west. Hence all new shopping malls and other major buildings are located on the western side of Sarajevo. Ten years ago the city centre for Sarajevans was definitely the Baščaršija and Ferhadija Street. Today, there are several emerging centres to the west in the area of Marijin Dvor and beyond.

NB: The research results recorded in this paper should be considered preliminary. The results are expected to stimulate further research on consumer behaviour and its impact on Sarajevo's urban morphology.

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