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VISUAL-IZING THE NATION

NATIONAL IDENTITY, TOURISM ADVERTISING, AND NATION BRANDING IN CROATIA

Nichole M. Fernández | University of Edinburgh | PhD Sociology | 2017

I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where states otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.

Nichole M. Fernández
Date

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ABSTRACT

In many daily forms of media we see the nation being represented by or alongside images. These images of the nation inform the way we see both others and ourselves. This thesis attempts to understand the way the nation is visualized, a topic that has been largely overlooked by theorists of nationalism. The visualization of the nation is explored by researching two national tourism campaigns in Croatia. Croatia was chosen as a case study in which to examine the visualization of the nation due to its recent accession into the European Union alongside the country's economic dependence on tourism and its current attempts at rebranding.

In order to achieve the aims of this research I ask two main research questions: 1. How is the nation visualized in Croatia through tourism advertising and by whom?, 2. How is this visualization received by members of the nation? These questions were answered by combining three methodological steps which consisted of a visual analysis of the images of the campaigns, interviewing those involved in creating the campaigns and other members of the design or tourism community, and finally photo elicitation interviews with members of the Croatian public.

This research found that Croatia is often peripheral within these tourism campaigns. The nation is represented passively with the main focus of the advertisements being the experience of tourism. Croatia is merely the backdrop that

these tourism activities are being advertised through. This passive representation of Croatia is a consequence of an industry that is focused on increasing tourism numbers and that relies heavily on marketing data. The representation of Croatia is not the aim of these tourism campaigns. The passive image of the nation is additionally the consequence of Croatia's uneasy relationship with presenting something as national. National pride is often equated with violent forms of nationalism and therefore visual representations of the nation are often eliminated from the positive marketing images of the tourism campaigns.

Both members of the nation and the industry downplay the importance of tourism advertising arguing that these images are solely for the tourist and therefore they are largely insignificant. However, I use du Gay's (1997) concept of the 'circuit of culture' to argue that tourism advertising is not just influenced by national identity but rather it is also influencing national identity. These tourism campaigns contribute to the construction of national identity. Therefore, this passive image of the nation is not just for tourists, it is part of a circuit of identity construction that reaches far beyond the target audience.

Overall, these tourism images are simplistic and reductive imitations of the nation while national identity is complex, inconsistent, and often contradictory. Branding and design often aims to condense identity into easily recognizable and quickly communicated images making any attempt to brand the nation inherently lacking. While this reductive identity is useful when branding a company or product, when applied to the nation ethical questions emerge about who has the right to construct the nation's image. I argue that this new phenomenon of commercialized branding that is now a responsibility of the nation is evidence of the changing role of the nation from a modern construction to a postmodern brander. This opens up questions about the democratic nature of these tourism images and consequences of nation branding efforts that continue to represent the nation in reductive and passive terms.

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INTRODUCTION

On April 13th, 2015 a Czech libertarian named Vít Jedlička proclaimed a 7 Kilometer square patch of land on the border between Croatia and Serbia the world's newest nation, the Free Republic of Liberland. The Czech politician declared that he had claimed a disputed and unclaimed portion of land between the two bordering nations for Liberland. While Liberland may not be internationally recognized, official, or even completely legal, it has the appearance of an established nation. With no citizens, no official territory, and no history, Liberland does not fit many of the traditional criteria for a nation. Much of the country's image, constitution, and policies were created before the territory was even decided and before there were people interested in becoming citizens. While it may not act like many other nations, visually Liberland makes a convincing argument. From a distance Liberland looks exactly like a nation should. The nation has a flag (Figure 0.1), it exists on Google maps (Figure 0.2), a motto ("to live and let live"), a constitution, a coat of arms, artistic renderings of the founders (Figure 0.3), architectural plans, a modern website, and a strong social media presence. The national imagery contains a story with detailed meaning and history ascribed to it. Liberland is a nation without territory or citizens, but it has a brand.

A brand is a strategic marketing image that summarizes the qualities of a product, normally through a visual medium, and injects identity on to the prod-

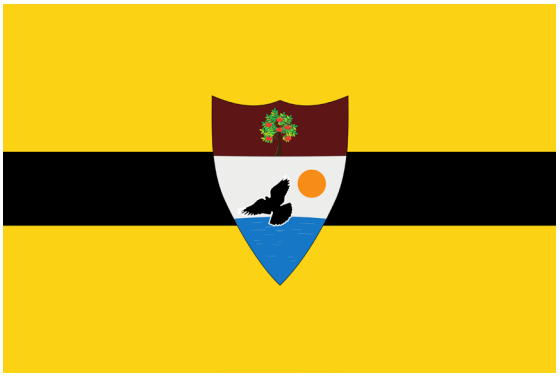


Figure 0.1 (left)
The flag of Liberland (Liberland 2016).

Figure 0.2 (right)
Google map of Liberland (Liberland 2016).

Figure 0.3
Painting of the founders. (Liberland 2016)

uct (Ogilvy 1963). Liberland's brand is clear, well defined, and follows the norms of national imagery. This brand is what makes Liberland look like a legitimate nation, even though it is not. Many legitimate nations worldwide have implemented nation branding strategies with logos, tourism slogans, social media pages, websites, and advertising campaigns. Liberland is a great example of nation branding. In fact, currently, Liberland only exists as a nation brand. Liberland is not a nation and has neither citizens nor territory. However, the brand gives the 'nation' the ability to convincingly look legitimate on the surface demonstrating the power that these brands have. This experimental self-declared 'nation' also represents the paradox of nation brands. It is not a nation and yet its image was convincingly shaped by its creators to look like it represents a nation of people in a physical place. This is an example of how the brand can precede the nation. The brand can convincingly exist separate from and in spite of existing national identities. The power of nation brands becomes a contradiction in which it is essential that nations use these brands for international legitimacy but they can exist irrespective of the complex reality of the nation.

This research examines how branding efforts in Croatia fit into this paradox of both the constructive nation building qualities of nation branding and its reductive representation of the nation. Just like Liberland, Croatia has constructed

an image of the nation to export internationally. This research is concerned with how the nation is visualized through these images. By exploring the images of two Croatian tourism campaigns, this research aims to study how the campaigns are perceived and reproduced by members of the nation. The Croatian tourism advertisements used in this research function as a significant visual component of Croatia's international image.

Theories and research on nations and national identity have neglected these visual representations of the nation. In this research I draw on modernist nationalist theorists such as Benedict Anderson (1991) who argues that the nation is an imagined community where the image of the nation was constructed through the rise of print media. While Anderson discusses imagery such as maps, he and other nationalism theorists do not acknowledge many of the visual elements of nations in the construction of the imagined national community. By researching Croatian tourism campaigns, this thesis argues that in addition to Anderson's claims of vernacular language, print capitalism, maps, and census data making the imagining of the nation possible, banal visual representations of the nation also influence national identity formation.

Other research on tourism advertising in Croatia has demonstrated that, since independence, Croatia has been advertising the nation in specific ways in order to construct a safe and profitable image of the nation. This was done by emphasizing Croatia's Western European characteristics and history, cleansing the nation of any references to its Yugoslav or Balkan past (Rivera 2008, Volcic 2008, Hall 2002). The new tourism image presented the nation as safe and European, but also restricted its image to representations of sun and sea destinations. This previous research on tourism advertisements in Croatia, while highly insightful, does not focus on how the nation and national identity as a whole is framed in these tourism advertisements. In this research I go beyond a content analysis of tourism advertising to asking questions of how the nation is visualized and what that means in the wider context of nations and national identity.

This research aims to understand how national identity is visualized both through tourism advertisements and members of the nation. Under these main research aims I also explore topics of design's reductive qualities, evolving methods for visual research, and Croatia's recent accession into the European Union. In order to achieve the aims of this research I ask two main research questions:

1. How is the nation visualized in Croatia through tourism advertising and by whom?
2. How is this visualization received by members of the nation?

Chapter 1 will start with the foundational theories of this thesis arguing

that nationalism theories, while relevant, lack inclusion of the visual aspects of national identity. Visual theories, on the other hand, emphasize the postmodern nature of images and the rise of visual communication in society. This research will attempt to show that modernist national theories and postmodern visual theories are both relevant to the topic of nation branding presented in this research. Chapter 1 continues to discuss theories of advertising, tourism, and nation branding before Chapter 2 delivers background on Croatia as a case study. Chapter 2 presents a short overview of Croatia's recent history and tourism in Croatia demonstrating the usefulness of Croatia as a case study for this research. After the theory and context chapters, Chapter 3 explains the methodology used to answer the research questions and achieve the research aims. A combination of interviews and visual methodologies are used to research the site of production, the image itself, and the site of audience, which in this case are members of the nation.

The data analysis is presented in three chapters where Chapter 4 focuses on the representation of Croatia within the tourism advertisements. Using Goffman's (1979) *Gender Advertisements*, I argue that Croatian landscape, history, and culture are being represented passively in contrast to the active, modern, and dominant tourist. The tourist therefore becomes the focal point of the advertisements making these tourism advertisements about selling tourism, not about representing Croatia to the tourist. Croatia's representation is ultimately so passive that these images could have been taken almost anywhere and varies little from the representations of other Mediterranean nations.

Building on the analysis of the representation of Croatia in the previous chapter, Chapter 5 focuses on the site of production. This chapter details the aims and motivations of the tourism board along with the agencies tasked with designing these advertisements. Overall, these campaigns are focused solely on tourism numbers, and not the representation of the nation providing an explanation for the passive representation of Croatia seen in Chapter 4. This chapter also demonstrates how the culture of independent design and divisive nationalist rhetoric limits designers making them unable to mediate both the reality of Croatian identity and creating a brand for Croatia. I argue that national identity in Croatia is being turned into a product, however national identity is complex and mutable but product branding is succinct and direct making any attempt to brand Croatian identity reductive and superficial. In this chapter I also explain how the participants and those involved in the site of production see these advertisements as not being important or significant. The next chapter however argues that tourism advertisements do more than just promote Croatian tourism.

The final data analysis chapter, Chapter 6, maintains that members of the

nation draw on tourism advertisements when visualizing national identity. I apply du Gay's (1997) concept of the 'circuit of culture' to this argument showing that instead of creating a split identity, the tourism advertisements are part of a circuit where advertisements and national identity influence each other. This 'circuit of identity' demonstrates the importance of tourism advertisements beyond their marketing goals. Additionally, I argue that tourism advertisements are important as part of nation branding efforts that homogenize and monetize national identity, tasks that are at odds with the plurality of democratic nations. Taking this argument further I state that these nation branding representations are creating simulated versions of the nation that reflect a shift in the nation as a modernist construction to postmodern branders. When examined from the wider context of supranational powers I ask whether the European Union has altered the image of the nation. However, the Croatians interviewed in this research view the EU in terms of political and economic functions that have no effect on identity. Analyzing the responses of participants along with images created by Croatian designers imagining the future of the European Union it becomes clear that we are asking the wrong question. Instead of questioning how the EU is affecting nations we should be asking how nations can determine the future of the EU.

1. THEORETICAL REVIEW

This research examines two national tourism campaigns in Croatia in order to explore how national identity is being visualized. By researching the visual characteristics of these tourism advertisements this research combines the theoretical fields of nations and nationalism with visual sociology. This chapter will explore these two schools of theory along with relevant research on related topics of tourism advertising and nation branding. Starting more broadly with a discussion of the definitions and origins of the nation, this chapter will construct a theoretical review of nations that also demonstrates the relationship between national identity and its representation. Drawing on theories of national identity outlined by Benedict Anderson (1991) I suggest that national identity is formed as part of an imagined community of the nation where media representation plays a large role in the creation and continuation of this community. I then turn to Michael Billig's (1995) theory of banal nationalism to reinforce Anderson's concept that representations created in the banality of everyday life have influence on both the national narrative and in imagining the nation on an international scale.

Connecting nationalism theory to visual sociology, I will then introduce the role of the visual within society. As society relies more and more on the visual as a form of communication I argue that there are aspects of postmodern theory that can be useful in understanding the visual representation of identity.

This chapter then connects visual theory and national identity through tourism advertising using examples from previous studies of tourism images before discussing the academic study of nation branding. Tourism advertising is seen here as a form of nation branding that visually reinforces the imagined community on a global scale. This chapter ends by introducing critiques of this sort of national image creation bringing up questions of its role in legitimizing nations and debates concerning its undemocratic aims.

Nations and Nationalism

In 1882 Ernest Renan asked the question 'What is a nation?' indicating the difficulty in defining what a makes a nation. Renan demonstrated how nations cannot be defined as homogeneous groups of people; they are not defined by uniform race, one religion, a common language, or even territory. Therefore, how do we define and describe what a nation is? For Renan a nation is defined by a strong sense of solidarity and shared sacrifices. It is spiritual and a "community of interest" with a "long past of endeavours, sacrifice, and devotion" (Renan 1882 [1994]: 17). However Renan's view of the nation is vague and does not end up providing a definition of the nation. Benedict Anderson (1991) criticizes Renan for emphasizing the traditional, ancestral, and personal form of national identification and not acknowledging the state driven efforts of nation building. In fact, the nation's definition and origin is highly disputed among academics. While Renan believes nations are rooted in ancestry, Anderson believes that nations are modern constructs. This debate between nations being modern or traditional occurred most famously between Ernest Gellner and Anthony Smith.

Ernest Gellner (1964) argued the nation is a purely modern construct born out of the industrialization. Anthony Smith (1987) however took a more primordialist view of the nation's definition and origins arguing instead of the nation being a purely instrumentalist modern construction, rooted in traditional, pre-modern culture or the 'ethnie'. This research does not attempt to construct a definition of the nation or add to the literature on its origins. It matters very little to this research whether or not Croatia is modern or traditional, or possibly a combination of both. What matters instead is that the visualization of the nation in the form of tourism advertising calls for the nation to have a recognizable visual definition. Therefore this research focuses less on uncovering the origins and definition of the nation and more on the ways in which the nation is constructed or imagined.

Benedict Anderson's (1991) argument about nations proposes to move away from nationalism as an ideology and in doing so creates the recognized

and highly cited definition of the nation as an "imagined political community" claiming that the nation is imagined "because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (ibid: 6). For Anderson, the nation is imagined in three fundamental ways: as limited, as sovereign, and as a community.

According to Anderson the nation emerged through modernization with the collapse of the sacred community, the dissolution of the dynastic realm, and the altered conception of time. Though pre-modern culture plays a role in the creation of the modern nation, Anderson, like Gellner, believes that nations themselves are a modern phenomenon that also depended on modernity in the creation of a national consciousness. It was through the rise of print capitalism and secularization, argues Anderson, that the nation became conscious in the minds of the people. Anderson's argument is that with modernizing and consolidating languages intersecting with the rise of print media the modern nation could become imagined. Anderson's focus on print capitalism is of particular interest to this research. The creation of print capitalism allowed for mass dissemination of information nationally. From national literature and national newspapers, print capitalism made it possible for members of the nation to consume information that reinforced the nation. This print capitalism allowed the nation and its members to become a conscious collective.

Though Anderson focuses on language within mass media, I intend to take this concept a step further and use Anderson's theory to turn attention towards the visual aspects of mass media in national imagining. The nation is communicated vernacularly through print capitalism, however it is also visualized through multiple forms of media. The tourism advertisements examined in this research form a portion of this national representation which, just as Anderson's print media, aids in creating a cohesive and shared image of the nation.

Anderson's theory of imagined communities also helps to explain how national identities, such as in Croatia, became a conscious construction throughout the nation and created a sense of solidarity enacted on by members of the nation. Following the main thesis, Anderson expands from the imagined to explain the ways in which nationalism is imagined and how it came into being. Here Anderson's work can be used to examine the construction of a national consciousness through collective remembering and forgetting, an aspect of national identity construction that is particularly relevant to the Croatian case.

Anderson considers the American Revolution and the independence movements in the new world as the first nationalist movements. During these nationalist movements, our modern day conception of the nation was being cre-

ated. In this process of nation building, a clean break was made from the previous ruling powers of the colonies to the now independent nations; they started fresh with a blank slate. Its newness became the nation's identity. However, these nations could not be new forever and the heirs of these recently independent states both in Europe and the New World were able to find this identity and temporal continuity through history "or rather History emplotted in particular ways" (Anderson 1991: 112).

The notion of time emphasized by Anderson (1991: 22) as one of the cultural institutions that "made it possible to 'think' the nation" is revisited in his later chapter on historical memory. Time changed from mixed stories intertwined and unconnected to linear events each following the next. These events are imagined so that each member of the community experiences, experienced, and will experience them simultaneously, a "solid community moving steadily down (or up) history" (ibid: 25). Time is used to create a temporal consistency both within the daily lives of the national community and the national narrative where the past can be used to mobilize national interests in the present. This temporal narrative is then used as a form of remembering events so far in the past they were not experienced by any of the members of the nation, but all the while creating an intense sense of national belonging through simultaneous collective forgetting that the event was not experienced. This combination of temporal continuity and shared memory are what create the collective image of the nation. Through time, remembering, and forgetting, history becomes reinterpreted and imbedded in the nation's sense of self. Events that are not experienced by all (i.e. casualties of war and economic success) then become embodied as 'our' losses and 'our' triumphs.

It is this constant remembering/forgetting that creates an embodiment of the national narrative that influenced Renan when he defined the conditions of the nation as having "common glories in the past, common will in the present; to have accomplished great things together and to wish to do so again" (1882: 17). Renan's view of nations acknowledges the importance of the past in the way that it shapes the identity of a nation for the future. In fact, Renan sees historical error in the reinterpretation of historical events for present and future aims as being a condition of nationhood. This construction of the past for present and future goals is a conscious and common theme in the creation of a national identity.

The reconstruction of time allows for a national memory essential in the creation of Anderson's imagined community. However, even though Anderson has developed a theory of nationalism that states that the nation is imagined, he does not equate imagined with fake. Stating that the nation is imagined, does not make it artificial and does not mean that the nation does not exist. Ernest Gellner

states in his book, *Thought and Change* (1964: 164), "Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist." Anderson (1991: 2) criticizes Gellner for this statement arguing that Gellner confuses "invention" with "falsity" instead of "creation". This distinction is essential both to Anderson's main argument and to the concepts presented in this research as, "communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (ibid: 2).

This study follows Anderson's view that the nation is an imagined community intentionally constructed through forgetting/remembering of the past for future aims. However, it is not the accuracy of national memory or the legitimacy of national claims that is important to this study, but rather the way in which the national community is imagined. The nation is imagined but this imagining has real, physical, and measurable manifestation whether it be in print culture, maps, history, political uprisings, or tourism advertisements. Within the case of Croatia, the construction of a continuous national history is an essential element in the construction of national identity. Tourism advertising represents the manifestation of this imagined community and is constructed by creating an imagined past for future aims. This research follows Anderson's position that is unconcerned with the legitimacy of the claims made within the tourist representation of Croatia but rather the way in which they contribute to the imagined community of the nation.

While nations are imagined and actively constructed through media representation, like tourism advertising, they are done so not once but continuously. The construction of this imagined community is engrained in everyday life. The idea that national identity has become a dynamic force evident in daily life is a growing concept within the study of nationalism (Billig 1995, Edensor 2002, Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008, Skey 2011). National identity is not created in times of crisis; it is constantly and subtly used, consumed, and altered in daily life. National identity and the creation of a visual national narrative is strong, even if its members are not dying in its name, and the strength of these national ties are created in the banality of daily life.

The term 'banal nationalism' was coined by Michael Billig (1995) to differentiate everyday nationalism from the endemic and often violent forms of nationalism that were most commonly studied by academics and widely portrayed by the media. This form of nationalism, "warrants our attention because it is appalling, not because it is ubiquitous" (Brubaker and Latin 1998: 424). Billig (1995) adds that these displays of nationalism are too infrequent and isolated to create the strong sense of imagining achieved in national communities. Additionally, this view of nationalism as existing on the "periphery" is what has caused

western nations to view nationalism as belonging to developing nations and not to the modernized west.

Billig created his recognizable term 'banal nationalism' as a way to define the everyday representations of nationalism, national identity, and the nation. While subtle and subconscious, these everyday forms of nationalism are what help to create the imagined community defined by Anderson. Arguing that banal nationalism is perpetuated in western nations on a daily basis, Billig uses examples such as political discourse, the nationalization of the weather, national news coverage, official symbols, national landscapes, currency, and cultural products. However banal and unobtrusive these national representations are, they are no less important than the independence movements and revolutions that garner so much attention. In fact, Billig argues that it is this banal daily influence of the nation that allows for the internalization of a strong social cohesion.

Billig, along with Anderson, describes how the media's banal representations of the nation slowly construct our image of the nation. The construction of national imagery is often seen as a direct extension of existing identities, however, in this research, I argue instead that nation branding forms part of the banal representation of the nation that seep into the national consciousness and influences the way the nation is visualized. Ståhlberg and Bolin (2016), argue that products of nation branding, like tourism advertising, do not follow Billig's theory since they are not part of the everyday, they are not seen by many members of the nation, they are not intended for the nation, and they do not create a sense of collective identity. In tourism branding the logos, advertisements, and slogans that are produced are not saluted and "do not move people to tears" overall nation branders "do not produce sacred symbols" (Ståhlberg and Bolin 2016: 27). These tourism advertisements might not be actively creating the collective "we" that other national images impart, however they are still banal images of the nation. Just like other everyday images, tourism advertisements are overlooked in their significance to the imagined community. Taking this perspective I argue that Billig's theory is relevant and can be applied to this research when arguing that banal and previously overlooked national images - such as tourism advertisements - do have an influence in shaping national identity.

Nation branding and tourism advertisements, however, are intended to predominantly represent the nation internationally. This internationality of national identity is represented by Billig in his theory of banal nationalism as another form of imagined community. Billig points out that by identifying 'us' in daily life we must visualize a 'them' in contrast. This othering or "outward looking element of internationalism is part of nationalism" in the west (Billig 1995: 61). Billig's argument however, turns the focus from 'us' in contrast to 'them' into a realiza-

tion that the international is a community that is just as imagined as the nation. This is seen through the emergence of international news, international political pacts, and international non-governmental organizations. In the international sphere there is a normalized way in which nations must act, reenact, and imagine themselves. Nations must "resemble other nations in order to gain recognition" (Billig 1995: 85). Billig uses the example of every nation needing a flag that fits a specific standard and a national anthem that accurately highlights the nation in a positive light. These are ways that the nation 'continually flags' itself within the international sphere meaning that "international consciousness is integral to the modern consciousness of nationalism" (ibid: 87).

Nation branding itself has become part of the essential elements of the nation in the international imagined community. The process of image construction and branding that occurred with Croatia's effort to join the European Union serves as a clear demonstration of Billig's point concerning the role of the international community in the creation of national imagery. As will be demonstrated later, Croatia created a distinct image through tourism that allowed for a more affirmative reception within the international community. This reimagining of Croatian identity to an international standard was essential for its acceptance into the EU, reinforcing the idea that we live in an international era where large political decisions are made within a community of nations. This international community plays out in Billig's everyday nation where nations not only construct an internal national image that creates a community of solidarity, but this image must also portray the nation externally in an international context.

Expanding off of Billig's concept of banal nationalism, Edensor (2002) reinterpreted everyday nationalism through the lens of popular culture. Edensor connects popular culture with both its influence on national identity and its ability to reflect the nation. Billig's focus on "unreflexive linguistic practices in media, politics and academia" is criticized by Edensor who sees the "material, spatial, and performative" aspects of everyday as playing a key role in the production and reproduction of the nation (ibid: 12). Other nationalism scholars have also argued for more integration of cultural sociology into the field of nations and nationalism (Woods and Debs 2013). This goes beyond simply the linguistic and state constructed nationalism to incorporate the way the nation is 'experienced' (Woods and Tsang 2014). This experience is highly performative and ritual, therefore visual. Following the approach of cultural studies and cultural sociology, this research also goes beyond the print media and language described by both Anderson and Billig; yet it also goes further than the academics of cultural studies in nationalism in its attention to not only culture, but more specifically, the role of images.

This intersection between the visual and national identity is evident in advertising. While the exact number of advertisements an individual is exposed to on a daily basis is highly disputed, it is no secret that in this occularcentric society we are constantly bombarded by advertising. While advertising does not always contain images, it does follow the trend of increasing forms of image communication and, for the purposes of this research, advertising images are what will be the main focus. Billig's *Banal Nationalism* focused most heavily on text and media discourse instead of images in order to demonstrate banal forms of nationalism, but I argue that his theory could easily be expanded to incorporate advertisements. Advertisements are as prolific and banal in our daily life as the 'unwaved flag' in Billig's theory. While not all advertisements are overtly national, they can define the nation in similar ways as national media and political rhetoric.

Advertisements can also become national icons in similar ways that national songs and popular political figures creep into national recognition. The Energizer bunny is an example of advertising that became a national and popular culture icon in the 1990's known in most households across America (Fowels 1996). Through its prominence in everyday life, the visual advertisement constitutes a form of banal nationalism in which the nation is being consciously or subconsciously retold and consumed in daily life. For Fowels (1996), it is this banal everyday ubiquity of advertising that intersects with popular culture, where popular culture plays a large role in the daily imagining of the nation (Edensor 2002). Both advertising and popular culture are

> woven so tightly into everyday life that to hold them at an objective distance and to comprehend them deeply is not easy. […] But advertising and popular culture, for all the slickness of their deceptive surfaces, are highly complex messages and deserve careful exploration (Fowels 1996: 19-20).

The ubiquity and banality of advertising serves a larger role than simply a means to promote a product. Advertising can have deeper meanings, create idealized aspects of the social world, shape our understanding of normative social relationships, reinforce inequalities, and produce unintentional responses (O'Barr 1994). The viewer is not passively absorbing these images but interpreting and reinterpreting the image giving the advertisement relevance and presence within the social world. Though advertising does have larger social meaning and plays a role in popular culture, its intention is most always to sell a product.

Advertisements aim at selling a product by applying additional culturally relevant shared symbols and meanings onto the commodity (O'Barr 1994). Applying non-commodity information onto a commodity is seen in most advertising. For example, placing rugged and masculine symbols onto Marlboro ciga-

rettes; sophistication and seduction to Chanel perfume; virility and class to Old Spice deodorant. This bank of socially recognized symbols that are placed onto a commodity is what Judith Williamson (1978) refers to as 'currency of signs'. As seen with the postmodern role of the image, advertising does not create new cultural products from scratch, the advertising revives and unpredictably combines previous cultural knowledge creating a new hyper reality indistinguishable from the reality drawn on to create and recreate it. These reallocated symbols are transformed through advertising to create new ideologies, symbols, and realities (ibid).

It is this process of transferring symbols and meanings on to advertising that both simultaneously gives advertising its permanent place in popular culture and causes a cultural backlash against advertising. Advertising, while playing into and creating new popular trends, causes many viewers to become suspicious of corporate claims in advertising. Feelings of annoyance, disdain, manipulation, and even irrelevance are common when many of us discuss advertising (O'Barr 1994). Skepticism towards advertising comes from how the images constructed in advertising subtly use our emotions as an attempt to persuade and even manipulate behavior (Messaris 1997). Even though many people are skeptical of advertising, it still plays an essential role in the heightened visual society of the contemporary era. Advertisements are discussed as being manipulative and annoying, but many consumers would not trust a product that was not embedded with such social symbols or a corporation that did not have a visual presence. Companies must advertise products and have a visually appealing corporate brand with a strong Internet presence in order to succeed in bridging the gap between the commodity and its social reception.

Advertisements, being imbedded in daily life and popular culture, whether intentionally or unintentionally, are playing a large role in the way we imagine the nation in daily life. This relationship between the nation and advertisements is reflected in author Norman Douglas's famous quote: "You can tell the ideals of a nation by its advertisements." (1917 [2006]: 45). National identity within advertising, however, is not simply about how the nation is being represented through images by corporations and institutions. Studies on advertisements often overlook the active process of identity construction and negotiation that occurs in the creation of these advertisements. Each detail of the advertisement is deliberate, meaning that campaigns are more than likely actively presenting products in a national way.

Advertising campaigns are long processes in which the final product must appear flawless to the viewer. This is a high stakes process in which any misrepresentation can lose consumer trust and reputation. Therefore it takes many

individuals from differing departments and industries to create a successful advertising campaign and many of these stakeholders do not always see eye to eye. Creating advertisements can sometimes be seen as a battle of wills where a consensus will never be made. "In the end, an advertisement is a temporary truce, offering a cease-fire for conflicts that are inherent and ultimately unresolvable" (Fowles 1996: 77). Therefore advertisements not only represent the nation, but in some cases they can actively and consciously construct a contested national image. Advertisements and the individuals involved in the process take part in the creation and reinterpretation of the imagined community. This intersection of national identity creation and advertising spans many industries and organizations around the world. However, where national identity and advertising is inherently interconnected is through tourism.

Tourism itself reinforces Benedict Anderson's (1991) concept of imagined communities, as tourists are actively told by the sites they visit how to remember, forget, and imagine the nation. Coming back to Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1991), the chapter of "Census, Map and Museum" can highlight the connections between tourism and national identity formation. Establishing that national consciousness was not materialized simply from Europe's enlightenment, but rather from the American Creoles, Anderson continues by analyzing how the colonial rulers that persuasively imagined their territory unintentionally laid the foundation for its replacement. Up until now Anderson's theory has been based on language and print capitalism, however here I will show how Anderson describes the nation as visually imagined. Anderson's claim is based in the idea that three specific institutions of the census, map, and museum "profoundly shaped the way in which the colonial state imagined its dominion - the nature of the human beings it ruled, the geography of its domain, and the legitimacy of its ancestry" (ibid: 164).

The census and the map were modern scientific technologies that created, within the colonized territory, an imagined sense of a unified and measurable community. The "map and census thus shaped the grammar" that would make the nation (ibid: 185). The census was a way for the colonizing power to classify and quantify the new and exotic found in the colonies. The nation became visualized through data. The map was also a "totalizing classification" that transformed from representing the physical to visually representing the imagined community (ibid: 173). In the words of Baudrillard (1988: 166), the map has become "hyperreal" and "the territory no longer precedes the map. […] It is nevertheless the map that precedes the territory - *precession of simulacra* - that engenders the territory" (emphasis original). This is the idea that Anderson (1991: 174) is attempting to portray with his concept of "avatars of the map" where maps both

blurred the legitimation of the colonial rule above those of native inhabitants and used the "map-as-logo" (ibid: 175). The coloring of colonial territories on maps quickly led to the territory being used as a logo, from a representation of the nation to the form of the nation itself, the map preceding the territory.

> In this shape, the map entered an infinitely reproducible series, available for transfer to posters, official seals, letterheads, magazine and textbook covers, tablecloths, and hotel walls. Instantly recognizable, everywhere visible, the logo-map penetrated deep into the popular imagination […] (ibid: 175).

The map became another form of imagining the national community, a 'hyper-real' visual imagination and marketing of the territory, which the members could not only recognize but also mobilize behind.

Therefore if the census and the map together visually "shaped the grammar which would in due course make possible" the creation of new colonial nations, then it was the museum that is credited with the "concretization of these possibilities" (Anderson 1991: 185). Just as the census created an imagined citizenry and the map imagined the territory, the museum formed an imagined history. Colonial rulers used objects of patrimony to legitimize domination, substantiate ownership, and reconstruct history to their liking. The museum became a political "inheritance" passed down to the post-colonial successors to reimagine the new nation (ibid).

Together the census, map, and museum became both devices of validation of colonial rule and tools for the creation of post-colonial states. These three institutions functioned in making a seamless, totalizing, and assumed national image. These same institutions were the foundation that the post-colonial government used to create a new national consciousness. Pretes (2003) makes the claim that the census, map, and museum are all still currently implemented through tourism in order to reinforce the national community and help to produce a national image.

For Pretes, the census works in defining numerically who belongs to the imagined community and who does not, guiding the representation of the nation's members that tourism constructs and advertises. The map then defines where the nation is located and what the nation looks like, while museums give "the nation a history and sense of common heritage, present the defining characteristics of nationhood and display historical evidence of its existence. They also manifest the foundation myth of the nation" (ibid: 127). Combining Anderson's museum with modern day tourist destinations, national heritage sites, and archeology, Pretes shows how these institutions intentionally nationalize landscapes and contribute to the imagined community. In fact, museums and heritage in-

stitutions promoting a shared history were one way in which Tito attempted to unify the diverse nations that made up Yugoslavia under one common shared national image and they continue to be used today in order to reinforce Croatia's national image (Goulding and Domic 2009).

It is when tourists visit these nationalized sites that the national community is reinforced and reimagined both by domestic and international tourists. These sites are then exported to "currency, postage stamps, and other official products, as well as in commercial advertising, entertainment, and the media, and represent something shared by all citizens" (Pretes 2003: 127). The census, map, and museum are all established as national and work together through tourism to create the imagined community. This imagined community is thus reinforced daily through the appropriation of these national symbols within popular culture and everyday life. But, as demonstrated earlier, the imagined community and banal nationalism of daily life is not only imagined and reproduced internally, but it is also positioned and presented on a global international scale. Therefore tourism is not simply reinforcing the nation internally, but international tourism is simultaneously imagining the nation globally. National identity is constructed and imagined on a global scale through tourism.

The construction of the nation has been examined from the point of 'high culture' of the elites aiding in the reproduction of the imagined community. This is seen in Hobsbawm's (1992) account of elites 'inventing' traditions. However, Edensor (2002) challenges this notion by asserting the value of 'low culture' or everyday popular culture within the creation and maintenance of a collective national identity. He uses the metaphor of a cultural 'matrix' in order to examine this idea. The matrix, not to dissimilar to the census, map, and museum, is described as a "process of continually weaving together fragments of discourse and images, enactions, spaces and times, things and people into a vast matrix" (Edensor 2002: 29-30).

For Edensor, tourism belongs to the reproduction of banal nationalism through the matrix of performance. Tourism is a performance that is acted out by both the nation and the visitor (Edensor 2002). This performance of tourism can simultaneously reinforce existing national narratives, construct new competing national narratives, and provide the opportunity for tourists to challenge the performance (ibid). The matrix of performance is connected to the other matrices of daily life. For example, Croatian tourism performs internally to tourists but it is also tied to the international imagining of Croatia and the nation's economic success. It is through the interconnected matrices that reproduce national identity in everyday life which give the nation its authority and durability in a globalizing context (Edensor 2002). These daily banal experiences of the nation are inter-

connected with matrices beyond the local into the global context. For Croatia, the connection between the geographic, material, and narrative matrices is demonstrated within the performance of tourism and can be seen visually through representations of the nation in tourist advertisements.

Tourism advertisements, therefore, provide an example in which to view the intersection of the visual and national imagining. These advertisements can be analyzed in order to answer questions of how national identity is constructed, imagined, visualized, and then consumed both domestically and internationally. Tourism advertisements also make up almost all of Croatia's nation branding attempts. In Croatia, tourism advertisements and the tourism industry is at the forefront of the nation's branding efforts. Croatia's tourism advertising is indicative of both the way Croatia is being branded but also the way in which national identity is being visualized. While nation branding is not widely studied by social scientists, researchers that have explored this phenomenon have been highly critical. The next section will discuss the increasing visual forms of communication and the role of images in society before discussing nation branding and the academic critique of this new widespread international branding movement.

Visual Society

In recent years, images have become more prolific and of greater importance in daily life due to the rise of technological advancements such as digital cameras, wireless Internet, and mobile technology (Mirzoeff 2002). Through the widespread availability of image capturing technology, image representation, and image circulation, the visual has become a prominent form of communication (Van House 2011). For example, social media has become a platform in which individuals don't just communicate on a global scale, but rather this communication has become dominated by images. This means that individuals have not only become cultural producers in their own right but they use images in their daily life in order to communicate information, concepts, opinions, emotions, and ideas. Sturken and Cartwright (2001) claim that the west has become mainly a visual society where visual communication has surpassed that of oral and written forms of communication. The image surrounds us in everyday life and, whether consciously or not, these images intrude into the way in which we "understand, describe, and define the world" (Sturken and Cartwright 2001: 12).

This phenomenon of heightened visual communication is a process that has been building through history. Gillian Rose (2006) argues that the rise of the modern era inadvertently created an "occularcentric" society in which individuals relate to the social world primarily through sight. The early camera obscura was

seen as representing reality as opposed to paintings in which the artist was part of the representation of the image (Cary 1990). These early photographic images depicted truth. The science and reason that were so highly valued within modernity were disseminated through visual forms connecting "seeing and knowing" (Rose 2006). However, as vision began to take hold as the primary sense, the role of the observer began to change (Cary 1990). The observer began to give subjective meaning to the image distancing images from truth. If modernity was seen as occularcentric then the gradual shift toward a new 'post'modernity is converting the image into the hyper-visual. Modernity succeeded at making the visual the dominant mode of experiencing the social world, but postmodernism is extending this importance of the visual while simultaneously creating a break in the connection between seeing and knowing (Rose 2006). Seeing no longer connects the visual image with the truth and rationality that were key to modernity.

In this section I will explore theories of the postmodern simulacra and the image by drawing mainly on the theorist Jean Baudrillard. I will demonstrate that the shift from modern nationalist theories explored previously to postmodern visual theorists examined in this section is connected by nation branding where nation branding is part of a process of transformation of the nation as society moves towards late-capitalism/postmodernity (Browning 2015). Baudrillard (1988) identifies the postmodern era as the age of the simulacrum, where, for images, a direct reality is no longer what is being portrayed or represented. The simulacrum is a symbol that creates its own reality or simulation of reality; "a strategy of the real, neo-real and hyperreal" (Baudrillard 1988: 170). In this stage of the hyper-real there is no longer a direct and true relationship between the visual representation and the thing that is being visualized. The real becomes a sign and the sign becomes the model of reality.

Baudrillard (1988) brings the focus of sociological visual theory from the analysis of the 'high culture' of the elites to the realization of the importance that images play in daily life. In this view, images are of importance not because of their artistic standard or cultural capital but because they intrude into every aspect of life; they are pervasive and ubiquitous (Chaplin 1994). This is where the role of the image in postmodern society merges with Billig's (1995) banal nationalism and everyday imagining of the national community. While modernism rejected this visual culture of the masses, postmodernism enmeshes itself in the popular ('low') culture interplay with society (Sturken and Cartwright 2001). Images can interpret the daily life of the nation and the imagining of the national community. However, these national images rely heavily on popular culture and the everyday visual elements such as advertisements rather than 'high art'.

This dismissal of the significance of high culture is evident in Baudrillard's

(1988) use of Disneyland to explain the hyper-real. It is a place that is a simulation of American landscapes with no basis in reality but this Disneyland version of America becomes the representation of America rather than the actual American landscape (i.e. the image of the American west) (ibid). The image or the visual representation therefore becomes "more real than the real" (Sturken and Cartwright 2001: 237).

In relation to the Croatian case studied here, the beach landscape of Croatia is a common motif drawn on in tourist advertisements that creates a hyper-reality similar to Baudrillard's Disneyland example. These advertisements use images of Croatia strategically so that they relate to a commonly shared image of beach destinations and are based on previously established symbols of these imaginary landscapes. Croatia is then represented by unrealistic images of stress-free beach resorts comparable to the tropics. However, this image is not founded in any reality. Beaches in Croatia are not tropical, they are lined with conifers not palm trees and are full of rocks not white sand. However, the image of the Croatian landscape becomes a simulacrum by drawing on the hyper-real image of the iconic beach destination.

These images are not only theorized as part of Baudrillard's simulacrum but as part of the postmodern multiplicity of reality. Postmodern society is defined by Bauman (1997) as plurality and impermanence as demonstrated in the rejection of social cohesion in favor of social fragmentation and durable identities in favor of flexible and unstable ones. "The main identity-bound anxiety of modern times was the worry about durability; it is the concern with commitment-avoidance today. Modernity built in steel and concrete; postmodernity, in bio-degradable plastic" (ibid: 18). However postmodern society is defined as being primarily visual (Mirzoeff 2002). This plurality and flexibility of society is prominent within the production and consumption of the visual. Images, just as postmodern identities, will contain multiple meanings, draw on multiple styles, and can even convey contradictory messages.

However extreme and ambiguous postmodern theory can become, I use Baudrillard's visual society not to reject all reality within the visual and all relevance of the visual to the social world. The image itself may be detached and disengaged with the truth, reason, and rationality of early modernity, but in postmodernity what is of significance is the reality that the image is creating or perpetuating. Freedberg (1989) describes how images have real power and effect on people; they can create strong and real emotional and psychological responses. The response to an image is real even though the image itself may not be. Therefore, within the theoretical perspective that I take here, what is important is that the image can represent and perpetuate a new reality which members of the na-

tion can draw upon to construct an identity, creating the hyper-real with real emotional effects.

Nation branding practitioners, such as Olins (2003), often emphasize this same emotional component to creating a brand identity where the images of a nation can spur feelings of social cohesion and national belonging. Nation branding itself functions as an example of the postmodern role of images in society. The images created by nation branding are a postmodern hyper-real in which aspirational and marketable elements of the nation are represented through tourism advertisements or branding efforts and portrayed globally. These images create the cyclical absence of reality that is described by Baudrillard in "a time of postmodern neoliberalism in which the 'image is everything'" (Volcic 2008: 396). Tourism images create a stereotype of the nation based on tourist activities, and tourists consume the image and create an increasingly simulated version of the nation (MacCannell 1992, McCrone et. al. 1995). Branding images in general are meant to be consumed both domestically and internationally to change international perception, spur economic investment, and be mirrored by members of the nation. Throughout this thesis I will argue that these branded images are signs that society and the nation are moving towards the postmodern theories described by Baudrillard. As McCrone et. al. (1995: 48) states:

> The classical form of the 'nation-state' for instance, is undergoing radical change even dissolution, and the ideology of nationalism emerges as both a device for bolstering its fading popularity, and as a means for 'imagining', in Benedict Anderson's words, a new form of political community.

Through this nation branding process in Croatia, I argue that the nation is changing from the role and definition of the nation prescribed by modernist by incorporating evidence of the postmodern.

However, the postmodern image as conceived by postmodern theorists such as Baudrillard has been criticized as overly complex, abstract, vague, and exaggerated, creating a theory that puts him in the know and leaves everyone else in the category of the mystified (Best and Kellner 1991, Perry Anderson 1998). The abstract nature of the work of postmodern theorists is coupled with its over use and misappropriation (Robins 1996). But despite its abstract, vague, and overplayed status, I argue that not all of postmodern theory should be rejected. "We do live in a world where images proliferate independently from meaning and referents in the real world" and identity is formed not from some form of reality but rather perpetuated by these images (ibid 1996: 44).

Additionally, postmodernism's rejection of totalizing theories of society lends itself nicely to the analysis of images and visual documents within social

sciences. By not attempting to create a grand metanarrative about the world, social scientists can focus on the everyday lives of individuals (Plummer 2001). The local has become a focus of social research and the mundane (like tourism advertising) has become an acceptable and interesting area of research. Ken Plummer (2001), though not directly referencing visual documents, argues that where his approach to documents is opposed to postmodernism is through an extreme view of postmodern reality that rejects social products as having any relative meaning. Whether real or hyper real, based in truth or false reality, the postmodern theory I present here does not reject the validity of image production in society or the ability to glean valuable data from these images. Baudrillard's theory was also created with the knowledge that we are not in a postmodern society, but rather society is headed towards postmodernism. I am not attempting to prove or disprove the contested theories of postmodernists in this research, however these theories can help to contextualize the visual aspects of this research where nationalism theories are lacking.

Postmodern theories have caught the attention of not only scholars of the visual, but of tourism and leisure studies as well. Modernity approached tourism as a pilgrimage of self actualization and the search for the authentic (Rojek 1993). However, postmodern theories help to explain the shift from this modernist tourism experience to the commercialized experience we seen today. In postmodernity the boundary between work life and leisure are not as rigid (Rojek 1995). The 'real' and 'actualized' self no longer exist only in the tourist experience and tourism is no longer a search for the authentic. The tourist is a consumer unconcerned with "self improvement or capturing the essence of every site" (Rojek 1993: 134). The authentic experience is no longer important instead "signs and symbols are the common currency" (Rojek 1995: 171). The tourist experience is visual (based on signs and spectacle) and emotional (based on sensation). But it is no longer concerned with the search for the 'true' experience. If the postmodern is predominantly a visual and aesthetic society, then the postmodern tourist experience is a visual one dominated by the simulacrum of postmodern images. Rojek (1993: 134) argues that the tourist "realizes that what one is consuming is not real, but nonetheless the experience can be pleasurable and exciting, even if one recognizes that it is also 'useless.'"

Tourism is bound up within debates of postmodern reality when referring to questions of whether there is such a thing as authentic tourism or if all tourism is experienced through a pseudo-reality (Urry 2011). MacCannell (1992) argues that tourists are subconsciously attempting to recreate what modernity has destroyed: a time that was more wholesome and authentic than the daily life they now occupy. While this nostalgic view of the tourist is widely acknowledged and

accepted, MacCannell's theory has been criticized as representing only one type of tourist, when in reality there are many types, for example some tourists are just adventure tourists looking for recreational activities (Selwyn 1996). The Croatian tourism advertisements explored in this research demonstrate both of these views of tourism: 1. the nostalgic tourists consuming cultural myths, seeking authenticity, and attempting to recapture a time long gone, and 2. adventure tourists looking to experience untouched nature and/or thrill seeking recreational activities as an antidote to their modern city lives.

These two views of tourists inform much of how tourism is represented in advertisements. However, as we have already discussed, tourism advertisements and nation brands are not simply a reflection of existing realities. These advertisements are produced for foreigners with a western gaze and are highly market driven. The designs are then produced by specific experts with specialized skills and hold a certain amount of social status. Within tourism advertisements there often exists the reflection of "imperialist structures and colonial fantasies" (Mellinger 1994: 776). Mellinger argues that when studying tourism images "one needs to situate tourism representations politically, examine what they include and exclude, and expose whose interests they serve" (ibid). In this research I attempt to go beyond the tourist experience represented to uncover these power structures and forces reflected in Croatian tourism advertisements inherent within branding of Eastern European nations marketing to their western European counterparts.

Marion Markwick's (2001) study of postcards in Malta demonstrates how the bright colors of sun, sea, and even amplified greens contrast the grey of their target northern European markets. This is one example of the way tourism advertising creates a tension between being different from the target markets but also having some familiarity since too different can be seen as unsafe. Croatia uses weather and geography to communicate this difference from the monotonous grey of many of the target countries. The Maltese postcards also demonstrate the nostalgic tourism that MacCannell (1992) has described in the rural lifestyle of small fishing villages. This nostalgia is explained by Markwick's research on Maltese postcards as "collapsing the past and the present into one." (2001: 427). This "timelessness" is defined by postmodernism in its act of taking elements of the past and repurposing them in the present, however it is also indicative of a more colonial view of tourism that sees the 'other' as simpler and more primitive (ibid).

Nevertheless, the postcards do not completely mislead tourists, the experiences that are presented through these visuals can be had by tourists. Additionally they can find other visual representations such as tourist brochures that fit this stereotype of the destination and then reinforces the messages of these ad-

vertisements. Markwick (2001: 429) explains how this system of "production and consumption of images are also caught up in a mutually sustaining relationship" where other images and experiences generated from tourists "not only draw on touristic expectations but they also help to reinforce perceptions held of Malta, lending weight to the images seen beforehand in brochures as well as actual sights and experiences gained during visits to the islands." In Croatia these advertisements show an experience that can be had in Croatia, that experience is taken by tourists and re-presented visually confirming the reality of that representation and then taken to be the sum of the whole. While this research does not focus on the tourist experience and their perceived image of Croatia, it does examine how these tourism images form part of Croatia's overall national image. The tourism advertisements studied in this research represent one side of Croatia, a nicely packaged representation of the nation that was created by the tourist industry. It is an experience for tourists that tourists can and do have. But, as I will argue later, this tourist representation is influencing other forms of national representation and the way interviewees visualized the nation.

In the book *Scotland – the Brand* (McCrone et. al. 1995) this tourism constructed narrative of the nation is explored within the context of Scotland. The authors make the claim that misleading portrayals of heritage in tourism brochures, advertisements, postcards, etc., can have negative influences on the nation that extends far beyond the tourism industry. While Croatia's tourist representation of its past is limiting, Scotland's representation of tartan, kilts, and rugged highlands is limiting with very little basis in historical fact. *Scotland – the Brand* discusses how this commercialization of a fabricated past creates a rupture in time, where Scotland exists in a mythical past that never was. For Scotland, the worry is less with the nation's portrayal in a competitive global sphere, but rather its internal identity. Representations of the nation as an enchanted land of tradition are seen to have "a negative psychological effect on Scots by confining them to stereotypes of themselves which are judged to have adverse political consequences." (ibid: 182). Here the authors argue that as a stateless nation, these representations of Scotland as existing in a simpler time can reverberate up to influence the political autonomy and authority of Scotland. In relation to Croatia what is important to consider is that not only could a restrictive brand affect Croatia's success in the global market, but it could also affect its political weight as a small nation in the EU and ultimately have negative effects on Croatian identity.

McCrone et. al. makes another useful point when stating, "no mono-culture project is possible" (McCrone et. al. 1995: 69). Croatia, like many European nations, is diverse. From Croatia's diverse geography to its cultural diversity, there is not one way to be and see Croatia. What McCrone et. al. points out is the im-

Figure 1.1
Spanish tourism logo designed by Joan Miró. ©Turespaña

practicality and unfeasibility of creating a representation of a nation as one cohesive unit. Additionally, is the goal of a "mono-culture project" even desirable? Nations are not homogenous states and any effort to represent them as such will unavoidably create an unequal power dynamic. "All essentialist attempts to create mono-culture will inevitably build in power assumptions, and in this scheme of things gender will be skewed. The same will be true of race, religion, class or any other social dimension we examine" (McCrone et. al. 1995: 70). It is therefore unrealistic to assume that tourism advertising and nation branding can create an inclusive image, one that doesn't valorize some aspects of its culture over others.

Because tourism images are selective and show only certain aspects of the destination, tourism advertising and other touristic images are bound to create an unrealistic and skewed representation of the destination (Urry 2011). However, what I have attempted to demonstrate is that the way the tourism industry selects what will be advertised is based on social constructions that rely on stereotypes. It is the outward looking way in which these representations are constructed in countries like Croatia that tend to create tourism advertisements that suit the tourist rather than reflect the nation. These market driven visuals that are created by less economically competitive countries are what make many critics of nation branding refer to such images as self-exoticism and cultural imperialism.

With all the hyperreality, fragmentation, and discontinuity that defines postmodernity, there is a optimistic undertone. What has emerged from postmodern depictions is an image free of intent and can consequently be interpreted freely. Postmodernity can describe a society that lacks emotion, community, and progress. Conversely, it also describes a society that can allow for plural and alternative identities. These identities are mutable and can challenge traditional restrictive social structures. However, Baudrillard's rightful critique and pessimistic outlook of a postmodern society refers to a world in which images are

dangerous in the hands of large corporations and advertisers. Images without reference to reality is a never ending cycle in which identities are abused creating disenchantment within the social world, "a game which as it proceeds becomes more and more romantic and more pathetic" (Baudrillard 1987: 35).

Nation Branding: The Costs and Benefits

In this research nation branding is seen as the possibility of expressing national identity visually and therefore it explores how national identity both influences and is influenced by nation branding. Nation branding, a term self-credited to the branding consultant Simon Anholt (1998), is more than just creating an impressive website and giving the country a new logo. Nation branding is a phenomenon born out of the late 20th century "connected to ideological and economic changes on a global scale" (Ståhlberg and Bolin 2016: 275). It goes beyond the tourism industry into the sphere of international global trade and economy. More than a strategic capital generating plan, nation branding creates "legitimacy and authority" in an international political field (Aronczyk 2013: 16). This new image of the country creates a positive global appearance that is intended to not only increase foreign investment and international trade but also so that this positive image can reverberate back to the nation forming a sense of national pride and belonging (ibid). Nation branding is more than just an image, it is "identity, status, and recognition" that works to preserve 'territorial sovereignty' and to respond to "emergent conditions of 'late modernity'"(Browning 2015: 196).

Nation branding is seen as encompassing a "variety of activities ranging from 'cosmetic' operations, such as the creation of national logos and slogans, to efforts to institutionalize branding within state structures by creating governmental and quasi-governmental bodies that oversee long term nation branding efforts" (Kaneva 2011:118). These branding efforts are seen in campaigns from "Incredible India" and "100% Pure New Zealand" campaigns to Canada's iconic maple leaf and Spain's logo designed by the famous artist Joan Miró (Figure 1.1). Proponents of nation branding believe that a powerful brand is what makes a nation or a company successful arguing that "what they do is not as important as how they do it, and more important still is how they are perceived to do it." (Olins 2003: 7).

Nation branding itself is a relatively new concept. The topic's newness is reflected in the scholarly literature, where academic critique of nation branding is still marginal to the vast supporting literature (Kaneva 2011). Kaneva (2011)

separates the literature on nation branding into three categories - technical-economic, political, and cultural – with technical-economic and political articles representing 92% of the literature on nation branding. This economic and political section of the literature is highly supportive of nation branding efforts and conducted mainly by scholars and marketing practitioners (Volcic 2008). What Kaneva (2011) defines as cultural scholarship of nation branding makes up only 8% of the literature. This literature is skeptical of nation branding and criticizes it for increasing stereotypes, opposing pluralism, commoditizing identity, self-exoctization, cultural imperialism, defining national welfare in terms of economic competitiveness, and an imbalance of power expressing collective identity (Aronczyk 2013, Kaneva 2011).

Wally Olins (2003) is a well-known supporter and one of the fathers of nation branding. His literature belongs to the 92% (Kaneva 2011) of all publications on nation branding that see nation branding as positive and inevitable. Where Olins' theory of nation branding is relevant to this research is how he emphasizes a brand's ability to evoke strong emotions. Brands and identity are strongly connected and this connection to identity means that brands "have immense emotional content and inspire loyalty beyond reason" (Olins 2003: 19). Both brands and nations can spur similar feelings of allegiance. For Olins branding nations is a logical extension of the public relations and identity communication that already exists within and between nations. However he goes on to argue that nation branding is the new norm, every nation will be seen as a brand whether or not they intend to, "every nation has an identity: they can either seek to manage it or it will manage them" (ibid: 169). In this research I argue that managing a nation's identity as one would a corporate brand is a new role for nations to take on and it may not be the most democratic of national aims.

While Olins is optimistic about the potential of nation branding, he does acknowledge that brands can be manipulative, however he argues that brands are successful because of the consumer. "[T]he brand is not really controlled by marketing people, despite their huge budgets, their research programmes and their panoply of branding, advertising and event managing satraps. The brand is controlled by us – the consumer" (Olins 2003: 16). In his thinking, if a brand is successful it is because we purchase the product it is selling. In tourism branding therefore, Olins would argue that the brand is created by the consumer, or the tourist, rather than by members of the nation. Additionally, this opinion perpetuates the view that designers and brand managers are separate from the consumers, thus making fair and accurate representations a more and more distant reality. This is a view of branding that uses marketing data of tourists to inform the design of the nation allowing them to reject all responsibility for images they

produce. The data collected from the target market decide how the nation is visualized making it a national identity building project without national inclusion.

There is a small and growing movement within design that urges those in the field of branding and advertising to think about what they are making and that it is possible to be a good citizen and a good designer simultaneously (Heller 2003). The famous American graphic designer Martin Glaser once created a quiz judging his own "willingness to lie" in designs (ibid). The point of this exercise was to show that all designers make moral judgments, or ignore them. Within design, and therefore branding, there are inherent elements of deceit. "An elegant logo can legitimize the illegitimate; a beautiful package can spike up the sales of an inferior product; an appealing trade character can convince kids that something dangerous is essential" (Heller 2003: xi). Heller argues that good design is responsible design for "without responsibility, talent is too easily wasted on waste" (ibid). Design is always and has always been "future-making" and has the capacity to push the boundaries of the social world, to challenge the norm, and to create action (Yelavich 2014). But the banality of design and the ubiquity of this sort of marketing and branding all around us has made us lose "sight of design's part in enabling us to live well with each other" (ibid: 14). However, there are few designers that would agree fully with this sentiment and, as will be covered in the fifth chapter, the large design firms tasked with nation branding projects in Croatia tend to follow more traditional views of design with the sole intention to please the client. Designers are also only one small actor within the creation of a nation brand.

While branding professionals should be held accountable for the seductive images they produce, it is clear that they belong to a system in which bad branding is simply a symptom. As an industry branding and design is not transparent, there is an evident lack of diversity, poor business practices are hidden, and unethical behavior is denied. The way in which Wally Olins (2003: 15) frames those critical of branding practices and the advertising industry however is by presenting the critics as having a view of the public as "gullible" and marketing professionals as "manipulative". When in reality critics of nation branding are aware that the general public is knowledgeable about what they like and dislike, alternatively critics acknowledge that marketing and design professionals are citizens themselves doing a job. Critiques of nation branding do not take such an extreme view of the general public, marketing, and design professionals as Olins suggests. These critics argue that there are larger more structural issues in the way we accept branding and the lack of alternatives offered.

The studies that critique nation branding show that while supporters of nation branding focus on literature that explores how to get the best results from

nation branding, they are ignoring the fact that nation branding, though having positive outcomes, does come at a cost. When the nation is branded the country simultaneously undergoes a process of both differentiation and normalization (Aronczyk 2013). The country's image is used in order to distinguish it from others emphasizing the country's uniqueness and the reasons investors, corporations, and tourists should consider one nation over any other. At the same time the country is positioned as being standard, safe, and stable normalizing what makes the country valuable in monetary terms (ibid). This homogenization of value makes diversity problematic and creates an unsustainable view of the nation.

Just as will be explored in the next chapter on Croatia, many eastern European nations like Hungary, Poland, and Estonia have all had to deal with redefining the nation after the fall of the Soviet Union and turned to nation branding experts for an international image makeover (Surowiec 2012, Kulcsár and Yum 2012, Jansen 2008). Despite the growth of nation branding and its seemingly vital importance to these Eastern European nations, many of these authors give a fairly bleak account of nation branding. Most Eastern European countries tend to have a long history of 'top down' approach to politics that still lingers in the consciousness of many nations meaning the government ultimately decides the nation's brand and international image (Kulcsár and Yum 2012). This brings up debates on who has the right to brand the nation and make decisions of national identity construction. Nadia Kaneva (2011: 121) shows how this top down idea of nation branding is an instrumental approach that "unapologetically espouses a form of 'social engineering' that allows elites to manipulate national identities. It ignores relations of power and neglects the implications of nation branding for democracy." Additionally, many of these Eastern European countries attempting to join the EU have enlisted the help of Western European consultants opening up even more questions about whose right it is to brand the nation and the role of Western European narratives on the formation of national identity in Eastern European nations.

Iordanova's (2007) research on the branding of Transylvania brings up additional critiques of nation branding in these Eastern European and new EU countries. Since the 1990s the Transylvanian government has become aware of the profitability of capitalizing on the Dracula imagery of Transylvania that was already established in the west. Referring to the process as self-exoticism, Iordanova (2007: 47) shows that, while voluntary, "in poorer nations where the domestic consumer market is not solvent cultural entrepreneurship is underpinned by decisions made on the basis of perceptions of Western (entertainment) market demand." The danger of this outward looking formation of collective identity is

that not only does this stereotype become fulfilled continuing to represent the country internationally, but it also creates what Iordanova calls a "split identity" (Iordanova 2007). The external portrayal of Transylvania based on the image created by the entertainment industry occurs alongside the existing identities of Transylvania creating two separate narratives with distinct visual identities. I will argue, using the Croatian case, that rather than a simple split identity, these branding strategies have instead contributed to Croatian identity formation.

Jansen (2008) uses Estonia as an example of another Eastern European country enacting nation branding as a way of creating a more economically advantageous international image after the cold war. For Jansen (2008: 134) the negative consequences of nation branding are in its creation of a:

> monologic, hierarchical, reductive form of communication that is intended to privilege one message, require all voices of authority to speak in unison, and marginalize and silence dissenting voices. The message itself is, by design, hyper-visible, but the decision making involved in arriving at it and the multiple agendas incorporated within it are neither legible nor visible in the classic liberal sense.

For Jansen, nation branding is narrow and normalizing, it simplifies a nation, privatizes national identity, and turns identity into a commodity. Furthermore the industry's lack of transparency or open involvement makes nation brands an un-egalitarian construction of the elite. This national image is then used as the new reality, the new hyper-real, where corporations, governments, and institutions buy into this new reality of the nation.

> Nation branding does not just selectively distill and valorize what is. It is a dynamic process that incorporates a vision of a new reality: what branders call an 'aspirational element'. As part of the branding process, government and corporate sponsors are expected to commit public and private resources to creating this new reality, which is designed to further amplify the nation's marketable qualities. In effect, the purpose of the aspirational element is to produce more calculative space. (Jansen 2008: 122)

The new market driven reality of the nation is replicated and marketed internationally and gets fed back to the nation for domestic consumption.

This distortion of identities is seen in this research on Croatia, where tourist images help to inform a new identity of the nation. However rather than replacing old images of Croatia these images are incorporated into existing visual landscapes with unknown effects. Within the process of nation branding, as Kaneva (2011: 118) states, "the meaning and experiential reality of nationhood itself is transformed in ways that are not yet to be fully understood". This research attempts to understand how nation branding transforms identities and the possible

side effects of corporate branding on nations.

Jansen's (2008) article goes further to argue that not only are nation brands reductive top-down commercially driven forms of identity representation resembling corporations, but that nation branding should also be criticized for its undemocratic aims. The problem in letting national brands develop in the same way as corporate brands, argues Jansen, is that nations and corporations are not the same and should not be run in the same fashion. Brands may work for corporations that can control the product image through constant regulation, supervision, and authoritarian control. However, in a democratic system of government creating a consistent and controllable national image should not be a "desirable national goal" (ibid: 122). Browning (2015: 212) comes to a similar conclusion about nation branding arguing that while making national identity a commodity it presents this identity as narrow with no diversity creating "bland marketable homogeneity" that is fixed. This lack of diversity and fluidity of identity comes at a "cost to democratic pluralism" with "the potential to produce disembodied artificial caricatures of self-identity that undermine it in the long run" (ibid). Browning (2015: 196) argues that "branding promotes particular conceptions of good citizenship that can simultaneously enhance the sense of democratic deficit and elitism that often surrounds debates about national identity and purpose."

In this world where "governments are brands and corporations make public policy" (Jansen 2008: 137), both Jansen and Browning (2015) see globalization and 'late-modernity' as a central force in perpetuating the existence of nation branding. In Jansen's (2008) article, globalization is perceived as a way of creating a universal narrative of differing cultures and nations. Nation branding therefore becomes a force of globalization where branding "explains nations to the world" (Jansen 2008: 122). Nation branding is also simultaneously fighting against globalization's post-national trend by reestablishing and branding the nation as a legitimate economic force in a modernizing era (Aronczyk 2013). However the globalized 'late-modern' world that created the need for a fixed nation brand also requires flexibility of identity and the capacity to cope with constant change (Browning 2015). Nation branding is "in danger of ignoring the reflexivity central to late modernity, which arguably makes such strategies attractive in the first place" (Browning 2015: 196).

In sum, nation branding is a legitimate topic for academic research that contributes to studies of nations and nationalism, helping to answer questions of the roles of nations in the contemporary world. However, nation branding has been mainly researched by marketing scholars and practitioners without questioning the effects nation branding can have. This fairly supportive marketing research on nation branding comes from a "perspective that sees nation branding

as a strategic tool for enhancing a nation's competitive advantage in a global marketplace" (Kaneva 2011). The research presented here approaches nation branding with a more critical perspective and intends to inform an area of scholarship within nation branding that is lacking. In addition this research argues points that have not been made by the critics of nation branding by stating that identity is affected by nation branding in more complex ways than simply creating a split identity. Furthermore, recent critiques of nation branding practices have focused on discourse, text, and observations as research methods and have neglected the highly visual nature of nation branding. This research focuses on the visual aspects of nation branding in the form of tourism advertising.

Croatia has used tourism advertising as their main form of nation branding internationally. Nation branding is seen as being a positive and essential move for countries like Croatia, which had a very poor international image in the late 1990s and was simultaneously determined to become a EU member. The next chapter explores how Croatia has been branded by tourism advertising and the, both positive and negative, outcomes of this representation.

Conclusion

The creation of a national brand has become an essential role of nations. The need to present one's nation with a succinct and effective branding strategy inspired by corporations is now crucial for the political and economic competitiveness of nations internationally. Even with the rapid growth of nation branding there is still a lack of academic literature that goes beyond a marketing perspective. This research intends to inform the scholarly gap in critical analyses of nation branding attempts by examining tourist advertising in Croatia during the process of rebranding.

Since tourism advertising is a highly visual form of national identity representation, this research approaches Croatian tourism advertisements using a combination of theories on national identity and visual social theory. Using Benedict Anderson's (1991) theory of imagined communities combined with Billig's (1995) banal nationalism I show that national identity and the imagined national community are constructed through media represented in daily life and internationally. While both Anderson and Billig focus highly on print media and discourse I apply these theories to images showing that images of the nation are equally important in creating the imagined community. I argue that postmodern visual social theory can be appropriately layered on top of the modernist theories of Anderson and Billig to show how nation branding brings nations from their modern construct into the realm of the postmodern.

Tourism advertising is used in this research as an effective way of studying how the nation is visualized. Advertising is a national endeavor embedded with symbolic meaning that goes beyond the literal message of the advertisement. When tourism is what is being advertised the symbolic meaning is often presented as national. Tourism in general is an activity that reinforces national narratives and the advertisements promoting tourism are not immune to this national representation. Tourism advertising however has been criticized as reinforcing national stereotypes and creating reductive images of the nation for an external audience. When poorer nations advertise to wealthier nations, academics have often pointed out that a colonial structure develops in the tourist representations and these structures are not without consequences.

Tourism advertising as a form of nation branding will be placed within the context of Croatia in the next chapter, which goes into more detail on Croatia as a case study exploring the nation's recent history and past attempts at nation branding. Recent studies of Croatian tourism will be considered in order to help situate this research within the broader debate of the consequences of tourism advertising in Croatia.

2. CROATIA

The insignia in the middle of the Croatian flag, seen in Figure 2.1, contains a red checkered pattern. These red and white squares make up the most widely recognized Croatian national imagery. The following two images on the opposite page are both using this iconic national symbol for two separate aims. During the war of independence and the breakup of Yugoslavia in the 1990s this red square symbol was used in Croatia by both nationalist supporting and citizens criticizing the war. Figure 2.2 shows the red square image being used to protest the violence in the war by turning the squares into blood and bold letters at the top reading "SOS". This is contrasted with Figure 2.3, where the same red checkered squares are redesigned to celebrate Croatia's accession into the EU and to promote tourism in the new member state. These images reflect and at the same time are intended to affect societal shifts within the nation. The first uses the national checkered symbol for political demonstration and promoting awareness for social issues while the second image is used less for social protest and instead for more capitalistic purposes. National identity has been used throughout Croatian history for many different aims and these two images demonstrate a shift where Croatia is being increasingly represented for economic aims rather than to benefit social aims or create social cohesion.

Currently, the national image of Croatia is largely influenced and constructed by tourism advertising. This chapter will outline how Croatia effectively

Figure 2.1
The flag of the Rebublic of Croatia (World Flag Database 2016).

cleansed the nation's negative image in its tourism campaigns after the war, and in doing so it represented the nation towards an idealized Western European image. The nation's economic and political aims after independence resulted in this Europeanized tourism image. The creation of this new image, alongside both the vast amounts of institutional and social changes since Croatia's split from Yugoslavia and the importance of the Croatian tourism industry for the nation's economic development, creates a rich case study in which to examine the visual representation of the nation. The connection between tourism, national image construction, rapid societal shifts in recent years, and the new accession in to the EU are the foundation for what makes Croatia a good case to research the visualization of national identity.

In order to explore how Croatia has been visualized through tourism advertising, this chapter will first start with a brief overview of Croatia's recent history and the role of tourism within this history. I will then outline the way in which Croatia has presented itself visually through tourism since the war arguing that tourism's selective representation of history allowed the country to develop an identity that was not associated with the war. This chapter will conclude with demonstrating the effects of this representation while looking towards the future to the new rebranding that Croatia is currently undertaking.

National Identity in Modern Day Croatia

After WWII Croatia's fear of domination by Europe and the West caused Croatia to seek security within the creation of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia in 1946 (Sekulic 1997). Sixty-seven years later, on July 1, 2013, after a violent war and political instability, Croatia became the 28th state in the European Union. In these 67 years, Croatian went from seeking safety and se-

Figure 2.2 (left)
SOS Croatia designed by Ranko Novak 1991 (Glaser and Ilić 2005).

Figure 2.3 (right)
HR, EU. Designed by Boris Ljubičić, Studio International (Red Dot 21, nd).

curity within the political union of Yugoslavia to an independent state rejecting political unions and claiming that its independence is the accomplishment of a "centuries-old dream" (Bellamy 2003). During this transition national identity was continually constructed and reconstructed. National imaginings were distorted, abused, and manipulated for political gain (Mirković 1996). Even before Croatia's union with Yugoslavia, the country experienced a long and drawn out history of political domination and fighting for autonomy and sovereignty within political unions such as Hungary, Holy Roman Empire, Austrian Empire, Austro-Hungarian Empire, and The Kingdom of Yugoslavia (additionally some current Croatian territories were ceded by the Republic of Venice, Italy, and the Ottoman Empire). With Croatia's recent accession into the EU, it has yet again joined another political union. This raises questions not only of the significance of national identity, but also of how national identity can be visualized in a country that has undergone vast social and political changes in such a short timeframe.

Since Croatia's union with Hungary in the 12th century, the Croatian state has experienced a lack of independence and sovereignty that defies the traditional role of a nation. Biondich (2004) describes much of Croatia's historical nationalism and national identity as a reaction to a series of various dominating powers and a romanticization of a past in which Croats were independent. From Hapsburg control to German invasion during WWII, and even within the more recent political union of Yugoslavia, Croats lacked an independent nation-state. However, Croatia consistently recognizes (whether real or imagined) the continual existence of a Croatian nation tied to the medieval Kingdom of Croatia (Biondich 2004). This is seen most clearly in the first part of the Croatian constitution (1990), entitled "Historical Foundations", which states that the Croatian nation in its current form established itself:

> in the formation of Croatian principalities in the 7th century;
> in the independent medieval state of Croatia founded in the 9th century;
> in the Kingdom of Croats established in the 10th century;

> in the preservation of the subjectivity of the Croatian state in the Croatian-Hungarian personal union; […]
> (The Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, part I)

The constitution continues on to list historical events from the 7th century all the way to present day. Through this construction of Croatian history as continual and unbroken, the nation proves its legitimacy as a sovereign state. This 'invention' of history is not unique to Croatia, however it demonstrates the large importance that is placed on history within the creation of a national identity and reflects Anderson's (1991) notion of memory and forgetting explored in the previous chapter. This reinterpretation of history is still apparent within the tourist industry where landscapes are represented as inherently heritage based and historically biased towards Western European influences.

For Croatia, national identity and legitimacy has historically been a construction of the elites (Sekulic 2004), however this creation of an unbroken national narrative was at its strongest during Franjo Tuđman's post-Yugoslav Croatia. Tuđman was the first president of the newly independent Croatia and he served as the president until his death in 1999 promoting a strong state driven project of national identity construction. During his time in office Tuđman's goal was to unify Croatia creating a national narrative called Franjoism (Bellamy 2003). Once separated from Yugoslavia, Croatia needed a unifying project and the national narratives that were not needed under communism were used to create the new independent Croatian identity. After the geopolitical shifts that caused the collapse of Yugoslavia, the "traditional nationalist projects, pushed to the margins during the period of communist modernization, emerged as the only viable alternative" (Sekulic 2004: 472).

The era of Franjoism and Tuđman's nationalism project was intended to unify all Croatian ideologies not only of the polarized fascists with the communists but to also unify all Croatians: those in Croatia and those who emigrated (Bellamy 2003). Franjoism was the idea that there was one narrative of Croatia that was defined by Croatia's continual lack of sovereignty and the aspiration of all Croatians regardless of political beliefs was national independence (ibid). Franjoism also argued that only Tuđman could unify Croatia and fulfill its aspirations. He rallied Croatia around a shared suffering, history, and enemy (Serbia).

> Croatia has passed through a period of reinterpretation of its history and a strong nationalist reawakening. 'Class', as the main element in the communist discourse, was replaced with 'nation' in the nationalist discourse […] national identity became the only legitimizing principle. The justification of the state existence, in classical nationalist formula, was the existence of identity that should be protected and nurtured by the state. The state was justified as the realization of the long suppressed aspirations. (Sekulic 2004: 473)

The nationalist government was built around a rewritten shared history, the goal of independence, and attempting to convince the nation that Serbia was not only a threat but also lesser than Croatia (Bellamy 2003). Tuđman saw Serbs as Eastern European, Turkish, and Balkan. He arguing these qualities were backwards and lacked culture (ibid). Simultaneously Croatia was argued to be western, European, and Mediterranean equating that with culture, progress, and prosperity. Franjoism therefore promoted only one Croatian narrative with a shared history and shared enemy. While these ideas were not new to the Croatian people, under Tuđman they become an official state program that informed national government and policies. Franjoism, however, is seen as a failed project that ended with Tuđman's death (Bellamy 2003). The Croatian people did not fully subscribe to Tuđman's ideals and did not blindly follow the way Franjoism reinterpreted Croatia's past and identity.

Goulding and Domic (2009) researched how heritage sites in Croatia reconstructed the national narrative during the post-war period. Domestic tourists agreed that these national heritage sites created a continual narrative of Croatian identity reinforcing a sense of national solidarity. Goulding and Domic (2009) interviewed these Croatian heritage consumers and found that the respondents were conscious of the intentional reinterpretation of history through heritage tourism in Croatia. They were aware of many of the government's efforts to reconstruct the national image. For example, the Croatian language is a recent construction by political elites that has the appearance of being traditional and ancient, however in its current form the Croatian language was created in order to produce a distinct national image and increased sense of national solidarity in the 90s (ibid). Even though participants found that these heritage sites induced a sense of solidarity many of the respondents were simultaneously weary of the constant changes to the Croatian language and history seeing it as "a mechanism for social ordering and homogeneity" (ibid: 97).

Tuđman's Franjoism was seen as a failure because, as identified in the example above, members of the nation did not blindly follow his reimagining of the nation. Croatia's national narrative in reality remained inconsistent and showed large gaps between Tuđman's ideals and the reality of the nation's members (Bellamy 2003). Croatian identity even within and between individuals was not unified, there was still a polarization between fascists and communists, regional identities were still stronger than national identification, and Croatian society was still a state of plurality and instability (Sekulic 2004). Franjoism also became seen by the Croatian public as contrary to modernization and progress (ibid). Tuđman's nationalism created policies that went against the wishes of the Croatian public who wanted more liberal agendas that allowed for things like EU in-

tegration and an end to perpetuating wartime animosities between neighbors (ibid). Even though Franjoism as a whole failed, traces of Tuđman era nationalist beliefs are still visible in Croatia and are especially evident in the government created narratives of tourism advertising.

Ignoring Yugoslavia: Tourism Representations of Croatia

While Croatia's history has been relatively unstable in recent years, tourism has remained a fairly consistent activity since the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This section will explore the role that tourism has played in Croatia in contrast to the political instability and geopolitical shifts of the nation. The way in which Croatia has been constructed through tourism will be the main focus of this section showing how tourism appropriated aspects of Croatian nationalism to construct a narrow European image of the nation.

During the Republic of Yugoslavia tourism was seen not as a form of international economic growth, but as a citizen's right (Duda 2010). The workers of the socialist republic were given paid vacation time and the government provided institutionalized social tourism where the Croatian coast became the main tourist destination for the Yugoslav worker (ibid). The structure of guidebooks and lack of national borders meant that the international tourists that did visit Croatia were not always aware that they were in Croatia, but rather as simply in Yugoslavia (Duda 2015). Tourism before Croatia's independence, though not widely international, was a source of external and internal revenue for the country. Tourism was so important to Yugoslavian Croatia, in comparison to other Yugoslavian nations, that many popular tourist destinations, such as the medieval city of Dubrovnik, were heavily bombed during the 1990 Yugoslav wars as an attempt to damage the Croatian economy (Hall 2002).

After the war of independence, the tourism industry in Croatia saw a dramatic decline. This decline was in part due to the international image that perceived the country to be violent, backward, and unsafe. However, because of Croatia's lack of alternative economic resources combined with the country's "comparatively valuable natural environment and quite interesting cultural heritage" tourism was Croatia's key economic resource and was thus essential to creating an improved national and international image (Martinović 2002: 319). At the same time as Tuđman was attempting to create one unified Croatian national identity, tourism was becoming the focus of a wider strategy of rebranding the nation in order to restore the international image of the nation and simultane-

ously come full circle to revitalize the tourist industry.

This new post-independent and newly capitalist Croatia began to turn almost exclusively towards international tourists. The late 1990s and early 2000s saw a major rebranding effort in Croatia. This meant that not only did the tourism board have to deal with international tourists that were not able to distinguish Croatia from other former Yugoslavian nations, but they also had to rebuild an image of Croatia to a global audience whose only reference to Croatia was built out of violent media coverage from the war. In order to change this negative international perception, Croatia used tourism as a vehicle to communicate a new image of the nation, one of sun and sea (Miličević et. al. 2012). The Institute of Tourism in Zagreb argued that tourism is what disassociated Croatia from its Balkan neighbors, creating instead an image of a coastal tourist destination.

> The Croatian government realized that, in order to make a perceptual separation of Croatia from other Balkan countries, it was very important to provide the international community with […] information not connected with war and the suffering of the Croatian people. Tourism provided huge potential for this, since Croatia has a very indented coastline and, unlike other Yugoslav republics, had a long tourism history, first as a part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and later as a part of Yugoslavia. (ibid 2012: 3).

This concept of removing Croatia's Balkan association and instead emphasizing its coastal Mediterranean geography was part of Tuđman's Franjoism and was a concept that was widespread during the late 1990s and early 2000s. In order to be accepted by Western Europe, Croatia had to "distance itself from any notion of 'Balkan-ness'" due to the vastly negative implications the term has within Western Europe (Hall 2002: 328). To be Balkan was to be "defined as a barbaric, and undemocratic" nation (Volcic 2008: 402). In the process of dispelling its Balkan image Croatia had to remove its association from Yugoslavia because, as mentioned earlier, "its long coastline was the essential ingredient of the pre-1991 Yugoslavia tourism product'" and therefore Croatia was what many Western tourists associated with Yugoslavia "an image not easy to dispel" (ibid: 328).

Stjepo Martinović (2002) was a politician involved in both the Croatian Ministry for European Integration and the President's Working Group for Image-Making and International Promotion of the Republic of Croatia. This discussion of Croatia's image post-independence spurred Martinović to publish a practitioners paper in an academic journal stating exactly how Croatia can and should be repositioned through tourism branding. Step one was to detach the image of Croatia from the Balkan name, as the word Balkan was an "unacceptable 'brand' and it has neither historic nor other viable options" (ibid 2002: 316). In other words Martinović, as many other politicians at the time, felt that the term Balkan

was tainted by years of negative association in the minds of Western Europeans. In fact Martinović goes so far as to imply that the name Croatia is also tainted. Instead he argues for exclusively using the term Hrvatska, the Serbo-Croat word for Croatia. This exists in other branding efforts of countries like Spain which use an *España* logo regardless of the target audience's language and Finland that often uses *Suomi* in their tourism campaigns. However, for Martinović using the Croatian name is not a pronouncement of national pride but, on the contrary, this term would be used in order to create "a new brand unspoiled by any resemblance with Tuđman's nationalist Croatia of the early 1990s […] or the Croats of Bosnia-Herzegovina who have created an extremely bad image of the Croatian name in general" (2002: 321). While not everyone at that time agreed that the Croatian name was tainted, this anti-Balkan and anti-nationalistic sentiment was widespread within many branding efforts that rejected Tuđman's nationalist policies but simultaneously shared many similarities with his nation building efforts.

In removing Croatia's Balkan association, Martinović, and many of his colleagues, advocated for Croatia to focus on its marketable western European characteristics such as the Mediterranean coast. Focusing on Croatia's shared western European heritage and geography added a political benefit to the nation as it pursued the possibility of EU integration. Martinović (2002: 316) argued that "it is not too soon to start a campaign to create the image of this country in the collective notion of the enlarged Europe's citizens as one of a genuine European state". Research done by the Institute for Tourism showed that this approach to tourism branding in Croatia was successful at recreating a new image of the nation (Miličević et. al. 2012: 7). It was able to shift its international image away from the war and, even in Serbia, Croatia was associated most strongly with "sea, natural beauty and cultural sites" rather than the violence of the 1990s (ibid: 7).

Rivera's (2008) research on Croatian tourism brochures post independence shows this trend of creating a more western European image. Rivera observed the tourist industry's transformation from promoting a Balkan identity within Yugoslavia to a post independence identity in favor of Europeanness. All references to Yugoslavia, Balkans, Ottoman, Islam, and even to local culture and history within tourism brochures were replaced with an admiration of Croatia's similarity to Europe (Rivera 2008). Croatia depicted itself as not only having a similar and shared cultural history with Western Europe, but it also engendered the landscape and geography with historical meanings and similarities to those of Western Europe. For example, Croatia had beaches like France, food like Italy, and mountains like Austria. Croatia attempted "to reinforce the imagery of historically and culturally being a part of a western and 'civilized' Europe by emphasizing their 'distinctive, strong, historical Central European character', Habsburg heritage, Alpine

associations and contiguity with Austria and Italy" (Volcic 2008: 402). Croatia was rebranded instead as "familiar, safe, pious, trustworthy […] a country comfortably European and a component of successful Mediterranean tourism" (Hall 2002: 331). The connection between this intentional and deliberate shift towards an entirely European identification and Croatia's then political intentions of joining the EU is seen as deliberate.

In their research on the creation of a nation brand in Ukraine, Ståhlberg and Bolin (2016) discussed the internal and external motivations for creating the new brand. There were both push and pull factors involved in the discussion around the new brand. The push came internally with the desire for a cohesive collective identity that members of the nation could be proud of and felt an affinity with. There was also an external pull that was fueled by concern that the Ukraine had a negative international image. However, Croatia's brand and tourism image was created in response mainly to external pulls. These pulls include a negative international image, economic dependence on tourism, and political aspirations of European integration. These external influences are motivated by neoliberal political and capitalistic aims, which Jansen (2008), as discussed in the previous chapter, argues has undemocratic aims that are not concerned with the presence of collective identities.

In the process of this tourism rebranding, Croatia has become a nation that is depicted internationally only by a narrow tourist representation created in reaction to external international demand. Croatia is a small nation lacking any significant visual presence within the international community, therefore this narrow view of Croatia constructed through tourism advertising is, in many cases, the nation's only exposure. The next section will explore some of the effects of this narrow, limited, and externally motivated representation of Croatia.

The Effects of Croatia's Tourism Image

Croatia has been consciously reduced to this one homogenous tourism image, removing any diversity of its regions and people (Martinović 2002). This "incomplete and somewhat superficial image" (Miličević et. al. 2012: 7) of the nation does not include the diverse culture and heritage of Croatia, it does not promote regional differences, and it doesn't communicate the nation as having anything else to offer other than summer tourism. This sort of representation is lacking not only in the reality of the Croatian identity and the tourist experience, but it also lacks the ability to represent Croatia as much more than a tourist destination. As

described by the Institute of Tourism:

> Croatia must reach consensus about its own identity and its own vision of the future. […] Croatia will have to build a strong and distinctive umbrella brand. In this umbrella brand, Croatian natural beauties, Adriatic Sea and tourism offer will certainly play an important role, but Croatia must make efforts to show to the rest of the world its other attributes, or to show that it is not just a destination for pleasure, but also a country of hard working people, creativity, science and technology, etc. (Miličević et. al. 2012:7)

While any attempt at creating a visual representation cannot possibly include all variations of Croatian identity, this tourism representation of Croatia is overly narrow. It is attempting to 'sell' Croatia to the tourists rather than represent the nation. Even though this representation of Croatia is limited and reductive, it succeeded in its purpose of 'selling' Croatia and increasing tourism profits. The Croatian government turned to tourism post-independence as a form of economic development. It was a way to cleanse Croatia's negative international image and to ultimately increase tourism and investment. In the process the tourism board created an image of Croatia that was stripped of its diversity and instead promoted only its western European characteristics and its seaside locations. But this narrow representation of Croatia was driven in large part by economic motives and capitalist development rather than a more internal nation building or social cohesion imperative. Looking at Croatia's representation as purely a economic endeavor, it was successful.

Croatia's economy is highly dependent on the income generated from tourism with 69.1% of Croatia's GDP coming from the services industry which relies largely on tourism (CIA 2015). According to data on the economic importance of tourism to EU countries collected by Eurostat (2015), Croatia has the highest share of profits from tourism relative to their GDP than that of any other EU member:

> The economic importance of international tourism can be measured by looking at the ratio of international travel receipts relative to GDP; these data are from balance of payments statistics and include business travel, as well as travel for pleasure. In 2014, the ratio of travel receipts to GDP was highest, among the EU Member States, in Croatia (17.2 %), Malta (14.4 %) and Cyprus (12.3 %), confirming the importance of tourism to these countries. (Eurostat 2015: np).

The data compiled by Eurostat describes how Croatia's GDP is more dependent on tourism than any other EU nation. This dependence is ultimately what is driving this tourism representation of Croatia.

The intended outcome of these tourism advertisements and representation is to grow tourism profits and therefore when looking solely at the intended out-

come these tourism advertisements have successfully grown Croatian tourism. Tourism arrivals have increased from around 10.5 million in 2010 to 13 million in 2014, with around 85% of those arrivals coming from foreign tourists (Croatian Bureau of Statistics 2015). It is also important to note that domestic tourists have decreased slightly in the past three years (ibid). This makes tourism more dependent on international tourists and therefore advertising to target markets means advertising to tourists of countries such as Germany, Austria, Slovenia, and Italy whose residents have the highest arrivals by country (ibid). Additionally 94% of the total number of nights spent in Croatia in 2014 by all tourist types were in seaside resorts making tourism an economically important industry based on a western European market that is visiting mostly coastal destinations (ibid). The representation of Croatia as a sun and sea destination promoting only its western European heritage, can then be seen as an outcome of the marketing data and commercial interests.

The increase of tourists since the 90s and the even more rapid international tourism growth post-recession has been explained by the Institute for Tourism as the result of advertising that has created a successful sun and sea image (Miličević et. al. 2012). There is therefore a relationship between this market data influencing the tourism representation and the tourism representation influencing the marketing data. This argument that advertising plays an essential role in marketing data may be a slight exaggeration. The increase in international tourism for Croatia can also be explained as a result of the changing tourism market due to the "introduction of low-budget airlines, and a variety of forms of cheaper accommodation for tourists with lower purchasing power" (The Miroslav Krleža Institute of Lexicography, n.d.). Additionally, the increase in Croatia's capacity to support cruise liners means that "Croatia is visited by an increasing number of tourists with greater purchasing power every year." (ibid). However the point being made here is that tourism advertising is the effect of economic aims and follows marketing data while simultaneously influencing it. This is a form of national identity construction that is not at its core intended for state building and social cohesion as it was in Tuđman's governance, but rather it is national identity construction on capitalistic economic requirements.

Setting the intended economic effects of tourism advertising aside for now, this representation of Croatia has other more unintended effects. These unintended effects are part of what this research will explore. Looking at similar case studies provides insight on the effects of this narrow Europeanized sun and sea image of the nation. Spain is a country that shares many similarities to the Croatian case and is claimed to be nation branding's original success story. Wally Olins (2003:162) states that after the civil war and decades of "isolated, autarkic, pov-

erty-stricken, authoritarian anachronism, hardly part of Europe at all" Spain was able to transform into a "modern, well-off, European democracy" after the death of the fascist dictator, Francisco Franco. This transformation was accredited to a series of nation branding strategies ultimately creating the government body *Marca España* (or Brand Spain). The brand started as a widespread tourism campaign that promoted modernized and sunny Spain with a logo designed by the famous Catalan artist, Joan Miró. This tourism logo encapsulated the whole of Spain's new image of European modernity (Aronczyk 2013). Through this image constructed by tourism, Spain "carefully orchestrated and promoted its re-entry into the European family" (Olins 2003:162). Just like in the Croatia case, Spain reinterpreted its identity, promoted its sunny seaside regions while reducing all regional identities to one image, ignored its problematic history, and presented itself as securely Western European.

Both Spain and Croatia have intentionally represented a European narrative of the nation but have done so specifically for economic gains. Spain and Croatia's nation branding efforts lend validity to the argument that national identity is not just cultural, historical, or political but also economic. The cultural resources and history of a nation are used to push economic goals in the present and for the future. Bond et. al. (2003) describes four ways in which the historical identity of a nation is being administered for normative economic aims: through reiteration, recapture, reinterpretation, or repudiation.

> 'Reiteration' refers to agents' belief that a historic attribute confers contemporary economic advantage. Where such positive historic attributes are felt to have diminished, but remain positive in their potential economic effects, they are 'recaptured'. 'Reinterpretation', on the other hand, involves turning a historic disadvantage into a contemporary advantage. Finally, 'repudiation' indicates aspects of identity which are inappropriate or deleterious in their contemporary effects. (Bond et. al. 2003: 377)

The Western European and warm Mediterranean characteristics of Spain and Croatia were 'reiterated' and smaller less prominent aspects of the history of these nations that fit with this image were 'recaptured'. Spain's fascist past and Croatia's recent war were 'repudiated'. In this way identity is viewed as a resource that can be used for internal and external economic mobilization. This construction of identity and economic desire to fit the dominant European narratives is not unique; many new and aspiring EU nations face this Europeanization of identity for political and economic development.

Other former Yugoslavian countries are also following the trend of increasingly European identification. While this phenomenon is apparent in many post-socialist and aspiring EU nations, what is unique to many former Yugoslavian nations is their wavering geopolitical positioning and diversity of eastern and

western influences. While researching how former Yugoslav governments present themselves online, Volcic found that all former Yugoslavian nations geographically presented themselves "first, that of 'Europe' and second, 'a bridge between East and West'" demonstrating that these nations at the crossroads between the east and west view being European as more economically and politically desirable and credible (Volcic 2008: 402). This trend of promoting a European geography extended to tourism and heritage where former Yugoslav nations presented their cultural attractions to Western Europeans as Western European in historical influence and their landscape as untouched Europe.

Macedonia provides a very clear example of how former Yugoslavian countries like Croatia are attempting to rebrand their heritage to emphasize a shared Western European past and identity. In the project "Skopje 2014", the Macedonian government created a plan to rebuild the center of Skopje, Macedonia's capital city, in order to brand itself as a 'European' city. Andrew Graan (2013: 161) describes in his ethnography on the "Skopje 2014" project how

> New buildings—almost exclusively in baroque and neoclassical style—will obscure the modernist construction of the socialist period and the Ottoman-era architecture that indexes the city's Muslim heritage […]. [T]he project promises Skopje a new image, one that will deliver Macedonia a properly 'European' capital, at once attractive to outsiders and worthy of national pride.

This new development project consists of a specific style that is valorizing one era, one culture, one identity and one version of history while ignoring the rest. This plan hopes to create a city that is visually reminiscent of other western European cities. Through this project Macedonia is excluding much of its history and refusing to acknowledge its current cultural and religious diversity. By claiming that nation branding is a form of neoliberal nationalism, Grann argues that these nation brands are a way of communicating economic competitiveness on a global scale. Backlash against these branding projects claimed "the state's failure to represent Macedonia in value-producing ways will not only 'tarnish' Macedonia's brand image, but it will also exile Macedonia from the world class and distance it from contemporary financescapes." (Graan 2013: 176). Therefore, presenting the nation narrowly only by its Western European characteristics they are not only denying the existing diversity of the nation, but because it is not done accurately it can actually exclude the nation from competing on the global economic market.

This example of Macedonia reflects the struggle that many new and aspiring EU countries face to fit the criteria of an imagined Europe. The European identity that these countries are constructing is based not on the reality of the members of the nation, nor is it intended for nation building or collective identities. Instead the nation is being constructed to meet an idealistic standard of

the Western European image and for the purpose of economic strategy. Nation branding in these countries exists as part of a wider conversation about what is a European identity and if it exists. While shared cultural values and traditions exist between European countries, postnationalists, such as Habermas and Derrida (2003), have identified a "core" Europe that forms the fundamentals of a European identity and simultaneously alienates those that do not fit. The notion of a 'core' Europe, identified by Habermas and Derrida (2003), not only identifies a standard vision of European identity unfairly based on an 'old Europe', but it also creates the idea of a non-core, or a second class Europe (Case 2009). The 'core' Europe is seen as being countries such as France and Germany and the 'non-core' comes from the newer European nations of Eastern Europe. The division between a core and non-core or West and East, old and new, are more than geographical or temporal divisions within Europe. These terms identify what can be viewed as a true European identity, rejecting other narratives of European nations. For many of these non-core European countries, the notion of an existing 'core' European identity is accepted and is seen as something achievable.

> There is a broad consensus – both within and outside East-Central Europe – that integration and Europeanization are things that East-Central European states must do, implying that there is an already existing static entity called 'Europe' that can be joined by assimilating to its ideals. (Case 2009: 130).

The assumption that 'core' Europe exists and must be followed is present within many new and aspiring EU nations and it causes a limiting perspective on who is and can become European.

Croatia's nation branding is part of this process of a 'non-core' European nation attempting to construct a more 'core' European image. Joining the imagined 'core' Europe is seen as achievable by assimilating to its standards and stereotypes. Croatia, by presenting itself as Mediterranean, is stressing its shared Western European history and ignoring the nation's difficult past, it is creating an image of the nation as securely belonging to the 'core'. Beyond Europeanization being a potential form of cultural imperialism, it is additionally relevant in the Croatian case to reflect on what this means in the wider context of post-national theories. This discussion of nations attempting to become more European ultimately relates to theories that question the strength of national identities within the European Union and the role of nations internationally.

This research will question the role of the European Union on the visualization of national identity, exploring how Croatia's transition into a more European international image relates to the recent accession into the EU. However this research is not attempting to debate postnationalist claims that the "nation-state has

lost significance and relevance" (Habermas 1992: 241). While society is becoming more global, diverse, and interconnected, the truth is that nations themselves still exist and identification to a wider European identity remains weak. This research agrees with Anderson's (1991: 3) claim that "the 'end of the era of nationalism,' so long prophesied, is not remotely in sight. Indeed, nation-ness is the most universally legitimate value in the political life of our time." By taking this view I intend to research the connection between Croatia's visualization and its accession into the EU not to debate the validity of nations in a globalized world, but rather to understand the effects of this visualization more fully. The European Union and an increased identification with Western Europe is not delegitimizing the nation, but it is possible that this economic and politically driven identity construction could be changing the way nations are visualized.

Croatia's tourism advertisings are constructed with the purpose of increasing profitability. Tied into the economic interests of tourism is a need to create a positive international image of the nation relevant to the target market. In creating this economically profitable Croatian brand, the image of the nation became reduced to only representations of its Western European heritage and its coastal regions. Overall nation branding "is intended to accomplish two seemingly irreconcilable objectives: to convey and promote the essential and territorial characteristics of a given national identity while signaling the state's readiness to comply with the globally footloose needs of transnational corporate capital" (Aronczyk 2013: 37). Croatia needed to both present the nation positively as a viable country for investment and tourism while simultaneously creating an image that is truthful to Croatia's identity. While the intended effects of these advertisements are economic, they end up creating an image that is narrow and limiting.

Conclusion: The Rebranding of Croatia

This limited representation of Croatia that was created through tourism, was part of a rebranding project of the late 90s and early 2000s. As we have seen, since the branding project Croatian tourism has grown and changed. The almost 20 years since the rebranding has also occurred alongside other changes in branding and advertising. Therefore the tourism board has decided that it is time for Croatia to have a new brand, one whose role is no longer to build the image of a newly independent post-Yugoslavian nation, but instead to create an image for an already popular tourist destination in the European Union.

Croatia has consistently branded itself since 2002 under the slogan "The

Figure 2.4
Visovac (top) and Zadar (bottom), designed by Bruketa&Žinić. (© 2016 Croatian National Tourist Board)

Mediterranean as it once was". This slogan was accompanied by advertising images of Croatian beach destinations and old historic towns, such as the posters in Figure 2.4 made by the well-known Croatian design agency Bruketa&Žinić. In 2014 the tourist board presented a tender for a new redesign that they called the "Big Idea". This Big Idea was intended to hire a design agency with the best concept for a new rebranding project of Croatia. The Big Idea tender was given to BBDO Advertising in Early 2015. BBDO is a large international advertising firm with offices in 81 countries around the world (BBDO n.d.). The bid for the Big Idea was a joint submission between BBDO Zagreb, BBDO UK, and BBDO Spain (Croatia Week 2014). The rebranding project began by replacing "The Mediterranean as it once was" with the slogan "Croatia Full of Life". The advertising campaigns explored in this research represent the transition campaigns of 2014-2015 that were intended to bridge "The Mediterranean as it once was" image with the goal that the Big Idea presented. The plan is for the new slogan to eventually be accompanied by a new logo, consistent image, and advertising campaigns that create a more modern design scheme advertising more of Croatia than just the coastal destinations. Therefore by using Croatia as a case study, this research is also very timely showing how the nation is actively being visualized.

Overall Croatia presents a useful case study in which to examine how the nation is visualized and how this visualization is perceived and understood. Croatia and its tourism advertising can be used to answer these research questions in light of factors such as Croatia's recent accession into the EU, its history of political instability that largely effected national identity construction, and tourism's growing economic importance alongside the current rebranding efforts. Research on tourism advertising in Croatia has showed that this narrow image created by the tourism industry portrays a specific Western European version of history for tourists interested in visiting the coastal areas. This image was constructed to present a more acceptable international version of the nation that supported Croatia's goal of EU integration. This large importance of tourism advertising for changing perceptions of the nation internationally adds to the significance of using Croatia as a case study.

This chapter explored both the way Croatia has been advertising tourism since its independence and some of the intended and unintended consequences of this representation. However, this research will go beyond branding critique to further explore the role of this visualization in the social construction of identities. The following chapter will outline the methods used in order to answer the research questions and examine how the nation is visualized.

3. METHODOLOGY

This research explores the visualization of national identity in Croatia through two main research questions:

1. How is the nation visualized in Croatia through tourism advertising and by whom?
2. How is this visualization received by members of the nation?

This thesis applies qualitative research methods in order to answer these questions. Qualitative methods were seen as the most appropriate tool to answer the research questions because this research is concerned not with quantifying how individuals identify with the nation, but with the way that individuals visualize and identify with the nation (Silverman 2004). The methods used in this study were a combination of visual analysis and standard semi-structured interviews mixed with the visual method of photo elicitation. While the more traditional semi-structured interview method formed the foundation of my methodology, every interview put the visual elements to the foreground making the interviews qualify as visual research.

Visual research, while not new, is still largely lacking in some sociological subjects including that of national identity. Even research on nation branding tends to focus more on discourse than on the visual product being produced. However, in recent years visual research methods have become more popular

within sociological research creating a larger discussion about what visual methods are and how to use them. Victoria Alexander (2001:344) explains how visual research in social sciences can be separated in to four main categories:

1. The analysis of existing visual materials (e.g. looking at the portrayal of gender or race on television).
2. The use of visual materials to generate data (e.g. showing photos to an individual during an interview or a film to a focus group).
3. Creating visual data to analyse (e.g. filming children on the playground to learn about their social interaction).
4. Using images to present results.

Of these four categories, this research uses both 1 and 2 because it allows me to research the advertisements as existing visual materials and also use the advertisements within the interviews to generate data. This was done by analyzing the advertisements that already existed (1) and using photo elicitation methods in the interviews (2). Many visual researchers that explore these same categories will focus on either the production of the image, explore the image itself, or focus on the 'site of audiencing' (Rose 2016). In this research there is slightly more attention paid to a specific site of audiencing, or the reception of the images. However, in order to understand the image I will argue that research on advertising must explore all three sites of the image. Therefore this research combines three methodological steps in order to examine the tourism campaigns researched here:

1. **The site of production of the advertisements:** This was done by interviewing representatives from the tourism board, those involved in the design processes of tourism advertising, and others in the industry.

2. **The image itself :** The image was treated as data itself and analyzed by examining what the advertisements communicate and how meaning is made.

3. **'Site of audiencing':** In this research I am not concerned with how the advertisements are received by the intended audience (tourists in the target markets), but rather how they are received by the members of the nation which I will argue can be itself a site of audiencing. This portion also explores how participants visualize the nation.

This chapter will give an overview of the location of the research and how the images being used in this research were selected before going into detail of each of these three methodological steps. After a brief discussion of the issues surrounding the use of a translator in the research process I will then discuss ethical concerns and the limitations of this research.

The Research Site

As the previous chapter discussed, Croatia presents a useful case study in which to examine how national identity is visualized. However, the research itself took place in two specific areas of Croatia: Zagreb and Split. Zagreb is the capital of Croatia and it is where the national tourism board and most of the design agencies are located. Croatia's capital was also an ideal location to begin conducting interviews with the general public. Since it is the largest city in Croatia it was easier to find a large diversity of people from a variety of regions around Croatia with different jobs, education, and cultural backgrounds. As for tourism, Zagreb has historically been a transit city, where tourists would pass through to get to destinations on the coast. In recent years however, the city has become a tourist destination in its own right winning tourism awards such as the prestigious award for best Christmas market in Europe for 2016 (European Best Destinations 2016). However, Zagreb doesn't bring in the same number of tourists as many of the coastal destinations (Croatian Bureau of Statistics 2015). This growing, but still relatively small tourism in Zagreb, combined with the large population of the city, means that while tourists are visible in the city center, the city itself is never crowded with tourists such as other locations like Split. This also means that it is relatively easy to find people to interview that are not directly involved in the tourism industry. Whereas in very popular tourist destinations on the coast like Dubrovnik it is more difficult to interview people living there that are not directly working in the tourism industry.

Split was chosen as the second research site. In Split there were no interviews with members of the design industry, interviews were conducted solely with the general public. Split is the second largest city in Croatia and a top tourist destination due to its location on the Dalmatian coast. During the summer months Split is very crowded and filled with tourists. Since 2013 the city has been host to the large music festival Ultra Europe. In 2016 the festival was expected to host around 150,000 people (Matijaca 2016). Split was chosen as a location to do interviews because of its history as one of the iconic Dalmatian tourism destinations, it is also present in many tourism advertisements, and it is still a relatively large city, meaning it would be easy to find participants that don't directly work in the tourism industry.

It should be acknowledged that I only chose two locations, the two largest cities in Croatia. This means that the interviews conducted in these urban locations are limited and did not include a certain demographic of the Croatian population. The limitations in the range of participants in this research are explored in more depth later on in this chapter, however it is important to note here

that these locations were intentionally chosen in order to make the research more feasible. As the researcher, I do not speak Croatian and am not familiar with the rural areas of the country. The cities provided greater opportunities for meeting participants and ease of travel that made the project more feasible. As rural settings are not easily accessible it would have made travel much more difficult and I would have had a harder time encountering participants. Therefore, I relied on the diversity of the urban setting to interview participants that had lived in more rural settings and interviewed participants that lived in more rural villages but worked in the cities. While not the same as interviewing participants living and working outside of the cities, it was the most feasible way of conducting this research.

Choosing the Sample

Two national advertising campaigns of Croatia were chosen as both visual data and for photo elicitation in interviews. Both campaigns were national tourism campaigns by the Croatian National Tourist Board as opposed to regional campaigns. These campaigns were selected for a variety of reasons. First, both campaigns were currently in use at the beginning of the data collection. They were also chosen because of the tourism board's process of rebranding. Therefore these two campaigns served as a transition from the old image to the new one that they were in the process of creating. During an interview with the Acting Director of the "Brand 'Croatia' Division" from the national tourism board, the two campaigns were discussed as the most important campaigns during that time and were being highly promoted. These two campaigns were also the first major tourism marketing promotions since Croatia's new position as an EU member. Overall the themes and aims of the campaigns selected were both different and demonstrate two distinct ways that Croatia is being advertised.

The first campaign used in this research is "Visit Croatia. Share Croatia." (see Appendix 1) It was launched in May 2014 as a summer campaign only. While the campaign was focused on summer tourism it aimed at nevertheless promoting sun and sea but with more updated aesthetics breaking away from the more traditional advertisements previously created by the tourism board. The campaign was created by the Zagreb office of the international advertising agency BBDO. Since the purpose of the campaign was to get tourists to share images through social media, most of the advertising was done online. Therefore the images selected for this campaign were mainly taken from online sources such as the official Croatian tourism Facebook page and the tourism board's website. Two of the images were given to me from the national tourism board and they

are of two print advertisements used for promotion. Since the images of the print advertisements are of larger dimensions they were able to show different destinations and therefore I included those two advertisements in addition to the ones found online. All the images of this campaign available at the start of data collection were selected to be used in this research. In total 5 images were used.

Overall this campaign was fairly small in terms of the numbers of images produced. It is difficult to determine whether the small size of the campaign has any negative impact on the findings for this research. However, it was useful to have a limited number of images in the interview process since too many images would have made the interview too long. Additionally, the small amount of images in the campaign is reflective of the campaign's aims. This was the first promotion of its kind in Croatia to use social media and it was only intended to be used for a few months during the summer to test its reception. This campaign has since created an effective base which the following summer's advertising campaign has built on. Another reason for having so few images is because the intended purpose of the campaign was to get tourists to produce and post their own images. These images were then used on social media sites as additional advertising and they were compiled to make a promotional film of Croatia.

The "Visit Croatia. Share Croatia." film was also used in this research. During my meeting with the tourism board and the agency that designed the campaign, the film was seen as the highlight of the campaign, therefore I felt it was important to include. The film was simply a combination of video clips and images set to music, however the footage was all taken from content that tourists shared online to the Croatian tourist board's various social media pages. The video was promoted through various international stations such as BBC, CNN, and ESPN. However the tourism board focused mostly on its promotion through online avenues. The video was posted on YouTube and then shared on all of the tourism board's various social media sites. There was a short version (23 seconds)[1] and a long version (59 seconds)[2] of the video. The longer version had the same content as the short version plus 36 seconds more of footage at the end from tourists. The longer version of the video was used in this research to show the entire range of images used to represent Croatia. As of November 2016 the short video had 2,870,212 views and the longer video had only 11,289 views. Overall the tourism board claims that the campaign was very successful (CNTB Nov 2014). Though they were unable to provide any numbers to quantify this success, they seemed very happy with the number of views their video received.

The second campaign used in this research is "Croatia 365"(see Appen-

[1] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jk_VtCXq3wU
[2] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tSSTjpIgMMI

dix 2). It is the first Croatian campaign specifically for offseason tourism and intended as a move away from the sun and sea image of Croatia. Launched in September 2014, "Croatia 365" was created for the pre/post season between September and the end of spring 2015. It was designed by the Zagreb office of the international advertising agency Grey. In an interview with the tourism board, I was assured that most of the advertising for this campaign has switched to focus primarily towards online markets (CNTB Nov 2014). Therefore I sourced the images directly from official tourism board sites. In addition to online materials, the tourism board supplemented what I had with a pamphlet made for use in conferences, trade shows, and as advertising in select markets. This pamphlet showed the campaign's concept more succinctly than individual images taken from the Internet advertisements. Therefore this pamphlet was used in addition to the online materials, even though it was not as widely distributed.

The "Croatia 365" campaign is separated into 6 categories, representing 6 different offers of Croatian tourism: culture; outdoor; wine and gastronomy; biking; health and wellness; and meetings and incentives. I initially tried to get an even representation of all the categories in the campaign; my target goal was two images for each category. However this proved very difficult since some categories were more commonly advertised than others. For example, I could only find one image for culture, meetings and incentives, and health and wellness. However after some consideration, I thought the prominence of some categories over others was an important factor in the campaign. Therefore, instead of getting a fair representation of all the categories, I included all the images I could find of the campaign. This search for images included official websites of the tourism board, social media pages of the tourism board, the website of the design agency, press releases, and packaged holiday sites promoted by the Croatian tourism board. However these were stand-alone images, where the image could be taken out of context and still understood. Many of the images on the official website could not be taken out of context and understood. Therefore I included screenshots from the website. In total I used one pamphlet, one image of the logo, 9 stand alone images of the campaign, and two images of the website.

It is important to note that there was a significantly larger promotion of this campaign than the previous "Visit Croatia. Share Croatia." campaign. Again the effects of the campaign size on my findings are unclear. The campaign was, however, marketed outside of Croatia and most participants were seeing this campaign for the first time in the interview regardless of how heavily promoted it was internationally. Participants were fairly unaware that one campaign was more highly promoted than the other. Therefore the scope of the campaign didn't seem to have much effect on the interviews with members of the nation. However

it is possible that in the interviews with designers there was more attention paid to the "365" campaign as it was seen to be more important.

The larger scope of the "365" campaign in comparison to the "Share Croatia" campaign, is reflective of the government's aims. The minister of tourism promoted the "365" campaign in almost all of the press interviews and it was meant as a more radical shift in focus for the tourism board that was promoted with the goal of vastly improving Croatia's pre- and post-season tourist arrivals. The campaign also lasted much longer and is still running. That means that this research is just a snapshot of an ongoing promotion. The images used in this campaign were the ones that existed when the campaign was first launched. Since then there have been more images added, the website has been updated, and the names of the categories have changed slightly.

Researching the Site of Production

Gillian Rose (2016: 27) identifies the site of production of the image as including not only those who created the image, but also all the circumstances surrounding the image's production, including questions of why the image was made, where it was made, and the technologies of how it was made. The site of production in this case refers to more than which agency made the advertisement, but rather the process of how the image was made, the background information informing the reasons why the image was made in a specific way, the economic processes surrounding its production, and the limitations of the industry. All of these components shape both what the image will look like and what the image ends up communicating. Therefore in order to understand the image and deconstruct its function, I explored the surroundings of its production. This research, while focusing more on the image itself and the interviews with the Croatian public, also acknowledges the social structures, technologies, and norms of the industry that produced these images. In order to research the production of the image, interviews were conducted with key individuals working in the organizations responsible for creating the images. In addition, I conducted interviews with other design agencies and prominent figures in Croatian tourism advertising in order to gain insight into the wider industry as it influences the creation of these tourism advertisements.

Table 3.1 shows the organizations and individuals interviewed as part of the site of production. I first interviewed the Acting Director of the "Brand 'Croatia' Division" of the Croatian National Tourist Board. Since the tourism board contracts these design firms to design the advertisements, and they develop the design briefs, they are the starting point for the creation of the advertisement.

Table 3.1
List of interviews conducted with the site of production.

INTERVIEW	DATE	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION
Hrvatska turistička zajednica (HTZ) (Croatian National Tourism Board - CNTB)	Nov 2014	Zagreb	Interview with the Acting Director of Brand "Croatia" Division
Zagreb Tourist Board	Nov 2014	Zagreb	Interviewed head of Promotions Department
BBDO Zagreb	Nov 2014	Zagreb	Design firm that created "Visit Croatia. Share Croatia." Interviewed the Head of Planning and the Account Planner. Email interview with the principal designer of the campaign.
Grey Zagreb	Feb 2015	Zagreb	Design firm that created the Croatia 365 campaign. Interviewed the Account Director.
Studio International/ Boris Ljubičić	Nov 2014	Zagreb	Internationally recognized Croatian designer that designed the Croatian tourism logo.
Studio Sonda	Feb 2015	Zagreb	Independent design firm in Croatia. Interviewed both directors.
Bruketa&Žinić OM	Oct 2014	Email interview	Chain of marketing and advertising agencies founded in Zagreb. Interviewed founder and CEO
Institut za turizam (Institute for Tourism)	March 2015	Zagreb	Public research institute specializing in tourism research and consultancy. Interviewed the Research Associate and Expert Assistant.
Sveučilište u Zagrebu (University of Zagreb)	Feb 2015	Zagreb	Professor of social design

The interview provided important details about the campaigns studied in this research. Additionally, the Head of Promotion Department from the Zagreb Tourist Board was interviewed. Although the Zagreb tourism board is regional and not national, Zagreb is the capital of Croatia with many people and cultural influences from all the different regions. Therefore Zagreb's tourism branding attempt to represent the whole of Croatia, all the regional diversities of the nation in one place. However, Zagreb is in central Croatia and does not have a coast to attract tourists. Since Croatian tourism advertisements are generally focused on summer seaside tourism, Zagreb has to use other elements of Croatian identity to draw tourists. I interviewed the Zagreb tourism board to gain more information on the alternative way in which Zagreb is attempting to advertise Croatia.

I then interviewed individuals from the two design firms that were hired to create the two tourism campaigns that I researched. The design firm that created "Visit Croatia. Share Croatia." is BBDO Zagreb. I met with both the Head of Planning and the Account Planner within BBDO and was only able to conduct an email interview with the principal designer of the campaign since that was her request. The agency that designed "Croatia 365" is Grey Advertising Zagreb. I in-

terviewed the Account Director from Grey. However, even though I was only able to interview one person in the firm, the interview was very informative, productive, and lengthy, whereas the interviews with BBDO were reluctant to share information. Both BBDO and Grey are large international firms with offices around the world and the head office in the US.

In addition to the interviews with the agencies that designed the campaigns I also met with local design studios and other individuals within the industry. I was only able to have an email interview with the agency Bruketa&Žinić as they are very well known and busy. However, I did interview in person the two co-founders and directors of the agency Studio Sonda, an independent advertising agency in Croatia that is well respected and also designs tourism materials. Sonda has more local focus compared to the agencies that designed the campaigns. Their mission as an agency is to promote great international design but by doing so in their local regional town. I chose to speak with Studio Sonda because they possess a different perspective of the role of design and advertising than BBDO and Grey. They were also one of the agencies short-listed on the Big Idea brief for the rebranding of Croatian tourism (along with BBDO and Grey). Additionally, I met with the designer Boris Ljubičić of his small two-man design agency, Studio international. Boris Ljubičić is one of the most famous graphic designers in Croatia and is well known for his designs that emphasize national iconography. Ljubičić designed the tourism board logo and many other national logos. I met with both Ljubičić and his colleague. His colleague translated the interview as Ljubičić did not speak English, however, the interview was recorded and my interpreter also translated the interview for consistency. I additionally met with the Institute for Tourism in Zagreb that researches tourism and is loosely affiliated to the national government. Finally, I met with a professor of social design in the department of Graphic Arts at the University of Zagreb.

The interviews I conducted with those working in the tourism and design industries in Croatia would fit under the category of semi-structured or non-standardized interviews. These interviews were semi-structured in the sense that they were 'guided conversations' with a set of aims but no set of questions asked the same for each respondent (Fielding and Thomas 2008). The goal of the semi-structured interview was to identify the motivations behind design decisions and the opinions of the designers. The fluid structure of non-standardized interviews allows for gaining larger depth into questions of motivation and opinion by asking or probing participants to elaborate and explain in more detail (ibid).

Each interview, while semi-structured, had a different aim. For each designer, I had different questions that needed to be asked. For example when meeting with the Account Director of Grey advertising I had many questions specifically

about their design of the "365" campaign. However while each interview had different focuses there was also an overarching goal in each interview of determining how these design experts see the nation and what role design plays within the representation of national identity. So there were overlapping questions for each interview within the design industry.

These interviews within the site of production could also be categorized as elite interviews. I will borrow McDowell's (1998) term "professional elites" to describe the interviews with individuals working in the industry. While some academics have argued against assuming professional titles denote social status (Harvey 2011), the interviews with individuals working in the tourism and advertising industries are distinct from the interviews with the general public. The practitioners interviewed play a different role within the interview and hold a larger amount of expertise on the topic than the more conventional interviews with everyday members of the nation. In this sense, while the interviewer may not be of an elite social status, in comparison to the interviews with the general public, their professional position places them in a separate and more elite role. As McDowell (1998: 2135) states the "emphasis therefore is not on what might be termed 'the real elite'" but instead the participant's specific professional position within the context of the research gives them elite status.

Elite interviewing has its own set of methodological considerations different from those of a more conventional interview structure and I came across some separate methodological issues when interviewing the 'professional elites' that I did not encounter when conducting interviews with the general public. Just like in the interviews with the general public, I phrased all my questions as open-ended questions, allowing the respondents to take the question in a variety of directions. It was apparent from the beginning of this research that interviews with practitioners meant that the interviewee would be speaking from their professional position offering description and explanation, but unlikely to offer much critique. Therefore I felt that the open-ended nature of the questions I asked allowed the opportunity for critical reflection of the industry without forcing individuals that did not feel like they could openly critique their industry to do so. It was common for participants to openly acknowledge that they did not want to divulge information about the work they have done with the national tourism board. The tourism board is a client of many of the advertising agencies interviewed and therefore they were careful not to say anything that could jeopardize future opportunities with the tourism board.

The tourism board was also very reluctant to give out information that was not public knowledge. It took many attempts at emailing, calling, and visiting in person to even get an interview. Any follow-up questions I asked were also not

answered. While the interview with the tourism board was very friendly and helpful, it was rushed and the information I received was not much more informative than a press release. Working to get more interviews and information about the motivations and opinions of the tourism board did not seem like it would be possible nor did I feel it would be a practical use of time. Therefore I only conducted one interview with the tourism board. However, my experience with the tourism board is consistent with many researchers interviewing individuals representing their corporation or organization who find participants to be relatively unforthcoming about topics that are not covered by the official message (Harvey 2011).

The tourism board, along with many of the 'professional elites' interviewed, did not allow me to record the interview. As a researcher, I prefer to record interviews so that I can focus more on the conversation and less on taking notes. However, the tourism and advertising experts I interviewed were being interviewed in a professional capacity and were understandably wary of their responses being recorded. Within elite interviews there is "a balance between recording which provides a more detailed record of the interview, but is weaker because of the interviewee's discretion, and writing which provides a weaker description of the interview but potentially more detailed off-the-record information" (Harvey 2011: 437). I started out asking if it would be acceptable for me to record the interview, but since most said no, it was always an awkward conversation to start the interview. I eventually stopped asking out of respect for the position the participants were in and so that the interview would start more comfortably.

Even though many of these elite interviews were not as fruitful as I had initially hoped, they still added value to the overall findings of this research. Regardless of the limitations, the interviews with practitioners in the industry produced valuable data with honest reflections on the industry and its motivations. In the end, the interviews at the site of production accomplished the goal of informing how and why the tourism advertisements were created along with the restrictions of the industry and the economic processes surrounding the production of these images.

Analyzing the Image

I myself could be considered as belonging tangentially to a similar professional group as the 'professional elites' interviewed in this research. I have been working as a freelance graphic designer for 8 years and have intimate knowledge of how advertisements like the ones in this research are designed. It is this experience that initially prompted my research interests in national imagery. It is also this experience and specialist knowledge, along with my sociological training,

that I draw on when analyzing images. Just as the site of production is important to understanding the image, it is important to acknowledge in visual research the actual image itself and what messages it is communicating. I therefore treated these advertisements as data themselves and attempted to create a systematic way of analyzing their content and possible interpretation of their meanings. But there is no one set method for analyzing images and interpreting an image's meaning. Methods literature covers analyzing images, however there seems to be no applicable and standardized way of approaching the analysis.

The analysis of the visual within society has not always been of great importance to social researchers despite claims, like those of Sturken and Cartwright (2001), of society becoming more dependent on visual forms of communication. However, the field of visual research has been rapidly increasing and advancing in recent years. This explosion of both a visual society and the field of visual research has caused an increased discussion of methods by which to analyze the visual. This is seen both in the expansion of traditional methods of visual analysis (such as content analysis and semiotics) and methods that were not traditionally image based (such as discourse analysis).

I find that academic literature is practical and constructive when discussing criteria two and three of Alexander's (2001: 344) explanation of visual methods:

> 2. The use of visual materials to generate data (e.g. showing photos to an individual during an interview or a film to a focus group).
> 3. Creating visual data to analyse (e.g. filming children on the playground to learn about their social interaction).

However, academic literature on analyzing images themselves, while profuse, tends to lack in applicability (Rose 2016). For example semiology does not provide a method for which to analyze images but rather a highly elaborate analytical theory that is dense with contradictory terminology and does not actually present a clear method. Additionally, authors will often mention that they used methods like semiology however they rarely explain how they apply this analytical framework. Therefore in this research I reject the idea that there is a purely analytical way of practically examining images. It is important to acknowledge the inapplicability of a strict analytical framework and the inherent interpretivist nature of analyzing images. For my analysis of images I follow the position that Stuart Hall takes regarding interpreting images:

> It is worth emphasizing that there is no single or 'correct' answer to the question, 'What does this image mean?' or 'What is this ad saying?' Since there is no law which can guarantee that things will have 'one true meaning', or that meanings won't change over time, work in this area is bound to be interpretive – a debate between, not who is 'right' and who is 'wrong', but between equally plausible, though sometimes competing

> and contesting, meanings and interpretations. The best way to 'settle' such contested readings is to look again at the concrete example and try to justify one's 'reading' in detail in relation to the actual practices and forms of signification used, and what meanings they seem to you to be producing. (Hall 1997: 9 quoted in Rose 2016: xxi)

There is no one way in which to interpret an image. Images, like the advertisements in this research, communicate multiple meanings and different meanings to different people. Therefore I analyze the images in this research for multiple meanings based on different elements in the image and their possible social signifiers.

In order to analyze an image for multiple meanings I conducted a series of 're-readings' where the text was intentionally read for certain themes. I borrow the term 're-reading' from feminist literary criticism that argues a text should be read multiple times from positions that counter the original text (Dampier 2008). In her research on testimonies of Boer women in the Mafeking camp, Dampier (2008) found new data in these texts through the process of re-reading by reading the testimonies for different contexts, reading the original transcripts in relation to other related texts, and reading the text through a critical revisionist lens. I apply the process of re-reading to the images in this research by visually reading each image multiple times and various ways "subject to ongoing re-interpretation and re-evaluation" (ibid: 375). Re-reading stresses the importance of contextual information surrounding the document and multiple readings for multiple meanings.

In order to systematically implement the practice of re-reading to the images in this research I created a toolkit to guide my readings. I drew on multiple approaches to document analysis to create the 'toolkit' (Wilkinson 2000, Brownlie 2014) in which to read the visual documents (Appendix 3: Toolkit). This toolkit can be seen as an analytical sequence rather than a methodology. It is a way of reading the images relatively consistently every time so as to create more dependability, accuracy, and an overall systematic approach. We see advertisements daily and we all already know how to read them to some extent. The visual analysis of advertisements in this research then must be conscious of how we are reading these images by reflectively acknowledging how the image is being interpreted, why it can be interpreted that way, and what the image is doing beyond your interpretation. The toolkit helps to accomplish this by separating the reading into two main groups.

First the context of the image is explored, questioning the function of the image, the actors involved in creating the image, the location of the image, etc. Within this section there is also a description of the denotative meaning, or the most literal meaning that the image is communicating. The second section of the

toolkit is concerned with the connotative meaning, or what each element in the image may communicate beyond the primary meaning. This section explores different signifiers in the image, how different elements in the image work together, and what social structures are being drawn on in order to make the interpretation. The toolkit draws on a combination of documentary analysis (Plummer 2001, Prior 2001, Fairclough 2003), semiotics (Barthes 1968, 1972; Williamson 1978), and iconography (van Leeuwen 2001, Brink 2000). Using a combination of these methods combined with my previous knowledge of graphic design, I was able to systematically read what is being portrayed, how it is recognized, and what values or ideas are associated with what is being portrayed in the image. The toolkit also employed re-readings for different framings such as national identity and European references. Additionally the re-reading included placing each image in contrast to the other images of both campaigns giving the readings meaning in comparison to the surrounding images of each campaign explored in this research.

My toolkit analysis of these images was not only informed by my experience as a graphic designer but also with the conversations I had with participants. Post-modern theorists argue that mass produced images such as advertisements are worthy of academic critique just as much as high art in addition to the belief that art can be interpreted by anyone and is constantly interpreted by everyone. I follow on this idea in the next section where, in my interviews with the general public, I ask them to reflect and interpret the images themselves. Since we are all exposed to advertising and different forms of visual communication in our daily lives, we are constantly analyzing and interpreting the meaning of the images we see. The participants interviewed were interpreting the images from a different perspective, making the analysis of images a three-way collaboration between the toolkit analysis informed by sociological methodology, my personal knowledge as a graphic designer, and the reflections of participants. It would be impossible to separate my interpretation of the images from that of the participants since their interpretation has come to influence the way I see the images. Therefore the following chapters will present the data from this analysis not as separate findings of what I have found using my toolkit and what participants have said about the images, but rather this research presents the visual analysis as this co-construction. My interpretation that I arrived at using this toolkit and the conversations I have had with participants about the images are both forms of expert knowledge that come together to create a more grounded view of what these images are actually doing.

Interviewing Participants

As discussed above, the interviews I conducted with participants were highly integrated within the discussion of the images themselves. These interviews were conducted with members of the nation, or the Croatian general public. In this case they are what Rose (2016) terms the 'site of audiencing'. While Croatians are not the intended audience for these images, they are an audience. Many established academic traditions in media studies such as the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory, which included theorists such as Herbert Marcuse (1972) and Theodor Adorno (1991), often viewed the audience and consumers of media as passive. In this media literature the audience is not seen as actively engaging with the material, they are not perceived to be questioning interpretations, and the audience is often reduced to one cohesive unit with similar thoughts that cannot resist media propaganda. However, in this research I actively seek to acknowledge the audience's views. The audience is not passive and the Croatian public is often removed from discussions of nation branding and tourism advertising. The Croatian public therefore may not be the intended audience of these advertising campaigns but they are, in a way, experts on Croatia and they can be viewed as being part of the subject of these advertisements. Therefore this research attempts to turn the conversation to this group that is often pushed out of the conversation, and it does this by making them the audience.

The interview data was gathered on a series of three trips to Croatia, the first in October 2014, the second in February 2015, and the third in May/April 2015 for a total of approximately 3 months. Interviewees were selected based on two main criteria: they had to identify as Croatian and be currently living in Croatia. Initially I maintained the criteria that interviewees could not be working directly in tourism at the time of the interview. This was because I didn't want the reflection of the advertisements and opinion on the images to be coming from tourism experts; I wanted participants' views and opinions as Croatians not as tourism industry workers. This was more difficult once I began doing interviews in Split where almost everyone had some tie to tourism in the area. Therefore in Split I made sure no one was working with the national or regional tourism boards or any organization that produced tourism advertisements.

There were three main variables that I identified as needing important consideration when choosing participants. Age was the first consideration. Due to the recent war and break up of Yugoslavia in the 1990s there are generations that remember more clearly the socialist government, the Yugoslav war, and the post-independence nationalist government. However, younger generations may have experienced a vastly different Croatia and therefore visualize a different nation.

I planned on gaining an even number of respondents from different age groups. My intention was to interview participants with a wide range of ages, occupations, genders, and education level. However I ran into some limitations and difficulty in acquiring a wide range of ages, this is an issue that will be discussed later in the section on limitations.

In addition to age, class and socioeconomic status were also important variables to consider when choosing respondents due to Croatia's comparatively large disparity of wealth. It was therefore important to have respondents from a variety of social classes since this could cause a different imagining of the nation. Different socio-economic classes may have different relationships to the nation, the things they need from the government and their expectations of the government tend to be different, different social classes have a diversity of cultural capital that could be reflected in the responses to national imagery, and therefore they may visualize the nation in different ways. To determine social class I asked standardized questions of education, employment, and even asked about the careers of the participant's parents. Geography was the third variable that I felt could have an impact on the data. The difference between urban and rural in Croatia is also related to class, however when considering tourism advertisements draw largely on images of landscape, different regions could visually imagine Croatia differently. This is another reason why I began conducting interviews in Zagreb: I was able to find participants that were originally from many different geographic areas of Croatia without having to travel to multiple regions. Additionally, since much of the advertising of Croatia is focused on the coast doing interviews in Dalmatia, Split also helped to gain a variety of respondents.

Table 3.2 shows the number of participants I interviewed and their demographic information. Each interview was approximately an hour. Interviewees were sourced through a process called snowballing where I initially interviewed acquaintances and friends of acquaintances and from there I was given names of more individuals who I could interview (Berg 2004). Interviews were conducted mostly in coffee shops and cafes, as it is customary for people in Croatia to do business in cafes. Some additional interviews were done in the offices of the participants. The location was always left up to wherever the participant felt most comfortable meeting.

These interviews served to do two things: as already discussed, these interviews had participants analyze and interpret the images, however they also aimed at exploring how members of the nation see Croatia. The portion of the interview that asked participants to reflect on the advertisements was done through a visual methodological tool called photo-elicitation. The data on how individuals see or visualize Croatia was gathered through more conventional semi-standardized

INTERVIEW	LOCATION	AGE	MALE	FEMALE
001a	Zagreb	27	X	
001b	Zagreb	28		X
002	Zagreb	26		X
003	Zagreb	34		X
004	Zagreb	60	X	
005a	Zagreb	32	X	
005b	Zagreb	34	X	
006	Split	25	X	
007	Split	24		X
008	Split	23		X
009	Split	23	X	
010	Split	35	X	
011	Zagreb	32	X	
012	Zagreb	25	X	
013	Zagreb	38	X	
014	Zagreb	19	X	
015	Zagreb	53		X
016	Zagreb	44	X	
017	Zagreb	29	X	
018	Zagreb	48	X	
019	Zagreb	43		X
020	Split	25	X	
021a	Split	28		X
021b	Split	24		X
021c	Split	25	X	
22	Split	24		X
23	Split	30		X

Table 3.2
List of interview participants.

interviews (Fielding and Thomas 2008). However the process of describing an imagined nation, or relating an internal and mental process of image construction, is itself creating an image. Though this image is not tangible it is an image that I am using as data. There is a gap in methodological literature on how to research visualizations or images that are conceptual and not actually realized. Initially I considered implementing participatory visual approaches that engage the participants and ask them to create their own images of their experience (Mitchell 2011). However, I decided against complicating the methodology by adding an additional element and instead I asked participants to communicate verbally what sorts of images they were visualizing.

The first half of the interviews were on this topic of national identity and visualizing the nation. They were asked about the way they identify with the nation and the way they 'construct' their image of Croatia. This 'constructionist' view of research is concerned with "how social realities are produced, assembled, and maintained" rather than a naturalist approach that asks 'what's going on?' (Holstein and Gubrium 2008: 374). The constructivist approach is more aligned

with the aims of this research that is interested more in asking 'how' the nation is visualized rather than 'what' is being visualized. Identity, like national identity, is also not fixed and presents itself in different ways in many different situations. Therefore national identity is not a topic that exists in a way that researchers can simply find one answer to. Holstein and Gubrium (2004) believe that an interview is not the process of "extraction" of data already existing; instead it is an active construction. This 'active' interviewing that Holstein and Gubrium (2004) identify explains that the interview itself is a collaboration and a creation. Identity is being presented by participants for the purpose of the interview topic in a particular way. This way identity is actively being constructed in the context of the interview. Therefore, I approach these interviews within this constructivist theoretical framework, not as an attempt to find Croatian identity and how it is visualized, but rather to ask how participants are using identity within this context in order to visualize the nation.

The second half of the interview incorporated a visual methodological practice called photo elicitation (Grady 2006, Mitchell 2011). Photo elicitation interviews are when the researcher 'inserts' a photograph into the research process (Harper 2002). The image is then discussed in the interview ultimately aiding the interview process. This method is often said to help participants remember things they would have forgotten in a conventional interview (ibid). Photo elicitation can also help give less confident participants a point of focus easing some of the more awkward aspects of being interviewed by a stranger (Beilin 2005). Using photo-elicitation was particularly effective for this research where I was able to show the advertisements to the participants to begin a discussion about tourism advertising and the visualization of Croatia.

The interview script, that can be found in Appendix 4, was divided into four main categories of questions: 1. Demographic questions, 2. Questions about the nation, 3. Asking participants to create their own advertisements, 4. Photo elicitation with the two advertising campaigns. Below is a description of the aims of each of the four types of questions and the rationale behind their construction.

1. Demographic Questions:

In this section of the interview I asked the participants questions like age, place of birth, and where they grew up to determine what generation, and geographic area they fall into. Then to determine social class I asked about their highest education level, current occupation, parents' occupation, if they have ever lived or studied abroad, and how often they travel abroad. The last two questions concerning international experience are also important in how they visual-

ize their country and if they visualize it in relation to their experience abroad. These demographic questions are also important to have at the beginning of the interview so that the participant and I can start to feel comfortable in the conversation with these easy questions helping to build up confidence and comfort for both the researcher and the participant.

2. The Nation:

After demographic questions I asked participants the very broad question of "What is Croatia?" This question was intentionally broad, however it was the question which produced the most detailed responses and engaged with the difficult concept of nations and national identity. Because it is so broad it also leaves it completely up to the participant as how they want to describe Croatia. Putting this question before any other discussion of Croatia also helps to eliminate some element of interpreting the question based on the other questions asked about Croatia. For example, this question is put before any discussion of tourism as to eliminate a biased response in the way participants will visualize the nation in the next question. Next I asked the participants to describe the images that came up in their mind when they were answering the previous "What is Croatia?" question. The intent of these two questions combined is to get participants to focus on what they feel defines their nation both descriptively and visually.

The Institute for Tourism in Zagreb (Miličević et. al. 2012) criticized the tourism board in a presentation saying that the tourism board failed to create a competitive image of Croatia and argued that Croatia needs to ask the questions: 'What makes Croatia unique?', 'What can Croatia offer the world?', and 'Where is Croatia heading?' These questions are reflected in nation branding literature as well. Since these are the main questions that the marketers and tourism advertisers are asking, it seemed logical that they would be important to include in my research as well. While I felt that they were very good questions to ask, I also felt as though they needed to be improved slightly in order to answer the aims of my research. So I took these questions and added a few more, plus two questions about the EU.

First I asked "What makes Croatia unique?" This question is very effective when attempting to create a national image for profit because you must try to convince others that tourists will have an experience here that they cannot get anywhere else. It is also useful for my research because it helps describe Croatian identity in different terms than simply asking the question 'What is Croatia?' However, much of the academic criticism of tourism advertising in Croatia, such as Rivera's (2008) research on Croatian tourism brochures, has argued that tour-

ism images focus too much on how Croatia is the same as other surrounding European countries and not enough on its individuality. So I followed this question up by asking "How is Croatia the same as other countries?" in an attempt to understand the way in which the nation is visualized and whether or not it is common to visualize Croatia in terms of similarities to other nations. These two questions worked to elaborate on the "What is Croatia?" question but also to see how the views of the general public match up to what the tourism board has on offer that identifies Croatia as unique from other tourist destinations.

I then mentioned that Croatia has recently joined the EU and asked what that means. This question was an attempt at bringing in the theoretical concepts of European Union discussed in the previous chapter that argue newer European nations, particularly those of former Yugoslavia, are attempting to sell their more western European qualities in order to gain acceptance into the EU (Volcic 2008). After this question I asked: "Has joining the EU changed the image of Croatia?" This question pays attention to the potential for respondents to reflect on whether there has been a conscious shift in Croatia's global image since joining the EU. The next two questions ask "What can Croatia offer the world?" and "What does the future of Croatia look like?" These questions ask participants not to visualize the nation as it is in the present or appeared in the past, but rather how the future is imagined.

In this section, many respondents spoke about the wide diversity of the nation geographically, culturally, and historically. This diversity is something that participants felt helped define the identity of the nation. But diversity has been and is lacking within Croatian tourism advertisements, which was something that participants tended to notice. In this section on the nation many participants focused so much on this diversity that I would add to the questions I have outlined above by asking participants about what binds Croatia together in the midst of all this diversity. It is not a question I have asked everyone, but I asked it whenever it came up since participants that focused on this diversity tended to describe it in a way that it seemed difficult to imagine Croatia having any coherent national image at all.

3. Make your own Advertisements:

After those general questions about the nation I then asked the participants to imagine they were tasked with the responsibility of making a national tourism advertisement and 'What would the advertisement look like?' Based on how they answered I had participants expand on multiple elements of the advertisement like the concept, the images that would be used, the aesthetic style, the text, etc.

I see this question as the visual equivalent to the "What is Croatia?" question. However, while both questions are difficult and made the participants think for a while, this question, because of its visual nature, made participants feel as though they were unqualified to answer this question. While most eventually did come up with some sort of answer, the question was not very useful as a means of eliciting data. Participants felt they were not qualified or creative enough for this question and it made them uncomfortable to answer. I could have instead asked something like 'What elements are essential to have in tourism advertisement?' A question phrased in this way would have similarly answered the question but it would have placed less of an emphasis on the design element of the question therefore making it easier to answer for participants who feel unqualified to respond to the question I asked. This question also did more than just visually ask "What is Croatia?", it also helped to explore how participants saw the role of design and advertising as outside of their expertise and an area they were not qualified to give their opinion about.

4. Reflecting on Advertisements (photo elicitation):

After participants constructed their own advertisements I brought out the images from the two campaigns to conduct photo elicitation interviews. The images for each campaign were placed in two separate bound folders one for each campaign. I presented each campaign one at a time. Participants flipped through the different advertisements at their own pace. Some participants commented as they flipped through and others did not. We then began to have a discussion around each campaign.

Visit Croatia. Share Croatia: Since this campaign also included a video, I showed them the video after they had flipped through the images. After the video I asked participants what they thought of the campaign as a whole and what their initial reactions were. Most participants began talking about the advertisements and aspects of the video without any prompting or questioning. But when a participant needed more questions I asked them what they liked, what they didn't like. I pointed out different elements of the advertisement and had them comment on each element separately starting with the images, then I asked about the smaller sub-image with people, the locations chosen, the concept overall, and the text. After that I moved on to the video and did the same thing. I finished by asking two main questions: "What does this campaign say about Croatia?" and "Is this in your opinion an accurate reflection of the way you see Croatia?"

Croatia 365: I had a pamphlet from this campaign and printouts of images but there was no video for this campaign. I had participants look at the pamphlet

first as it presents a more concise and straightforward description of the relatively complex campaign. After they looked through the pamphlet, they then flipped through the rest of the advertisements just as above. Then I asked the exact same questions as the previous campaign. However since this campaign contained categories and a logo I asked additional questions about these elements.

After the participants went through both campaigns, I asked them to compare both campaigns and elaborate on the weakness and strengths of both. I asked which one was more attractive to them and why. Participants were asked to elaborate on what the goal of tourism advertisements should be and to speak about the role of tourism advertisements in general. I finished by asking some brief questions about the old tourism slogan and the new one that came out just as I started interviewing. At that time the tourism slogan was very controversial so many participants wanted to discuss it and everyone seemed to have strong opinions about it. In addition to a new slogan, Croatia will receive a new logo so I asked how participants felt about the current logo, which is full of national symbols and has been used for over 15 years. I then asked what elements they would like to have in the new logo. This question is not directly about the campaigns but it is another way people speak about visual identity. To finish up I invited participants to share about anything else they would like to add on this topic.

Interview Analysis

The first step I took towards data analysis was to become familiar with my data. According to Fielding and Thomas (2008: 259) knowing your data is "key to successful qualitative analysis". I became familiar with my data by both listening back to all the interviews multiple times and transcribing interviews. The interview recordings in English were transcribed by myself and the Croatian ones were done by my translator. After multiple listens to the interviews I compiled groups of themes and concepts from the interviews that I then used to create a diagram (see Appendix 5). The structure of the diagram was built off of the interview structure. Then the interviews were coded in Nvivo based on this structure of the diagram.

When analyzing interview data it is common to interpret the interview responses with a 'realist' perspective. This is where interview data is interpreted as "describing some external reality (e.g. facts, events) or internal experience (e.g. feelings, meanings)" (Silverman 2013: 238). Silverman (2013) calls this approach "naturalism". The opposite of the naturalist approach would be the postmodern perspective that feels that interview data "has no bearing on reality" and that researchers do not have "any privileged insight into the meanings of interview

response" (Fielding and Thomas 2008: 264). Neither of these approaches to data analysis were suited to interview data that I collected in this research nor are they appropriate for my research aims. Therefore I continued with the constructionist approach to research as described by Silverman (2013: 238):

> This approach claims that, by abandoning the attempt to treat respondents' accounts as potentially 'true' pictures of 'reality', we open up for analysis the culturally rich methods through which interviewers and interviewees, in concert, generate plausible accounts of the world.

The constructionist approach doesn't take participants' accounts as a reflection of reality and predictive of future action. Instead it is interested in the way in which respondents construct their accounts.

This constructionist approach is particularly useful in the portions of my interviews where participants are describing matters of national identity and the politics of tourism as either "glibly recycle[d] conventional cultural stories" or in contrast to these cultural stories (Silverman 2004: 156). These are 'cultural stories' that are standard national narratives that participants either regurgitate or frame a new story that intentionally resists the cultural narrative. The constructionist approach acknowledges that these statements can be factual and true reflections of reality, however it is also concerned with how these narratives are constructed and what purpose they serve.

Limitations

One of the main limitations of this research is the limited age range. As was briefly mentioned earlier, I attempted to gain a wide age range of participants however I ended up struggling to find many participants over the age of 50 (see the interview table in the previous section). When I asked interviewees to refer me to someone over 50 I could interview, they all confirmed that getting interviewees over 50 would be difficult. Some interviewees speculated that the large cultural divide between generations was a factor in this, but whatever the reasoning they all acknowledged that the older generation would not be as comfortable doing an interview even with an interpreter present. While I had lined up three additional interviews with individuals over 70, they never actually happened because of unforeseen circumstances such as bad weather and illness. Therefore I acknowledge that my data is skewed towards a younger age range than I was aiming for.

An additional limitation within the interviews with the general public was the size of my interviews. I initially intended to do mostly one-on-one interviews. However through the interview process I found that doing interviews with two

or three participants at the same time proved to be more fruitful. The one-on-one interviews at times felt like market research interviewing. We discussed the likes and dislikes of the images but I had trouble getting participants to reflect on sociological themes related to images of Croatia. However when conducting interviews with two or three people the interview turned into more of a discussion around national images and tourism advertising giving responses with more depth. These interviews produced sociological data rather than responses that felt like marketing insights. For me, the perfect interview number seemed to be three participants who were acquaintances previously. Of course this would not be achievable for every interview, however given the chance to do this research again, I would work at interviewing small groups of friends or family rather than focusing on individuals.

As was briefly acknowledged in the earlier discussion in this chapter on elite interviewing I had additional issues getting participants within the design industry and the national tourism board to agree to be interviewed. I had to settle for just emailing questions to some participants rather than meeting in person. Additionally, I was only able to meet with one person from the tourism board. I had to email multiple people within the tourism board before I got a response. Once I did get a response their communication was so slow that I was not able to confirm a meeting. Therefore I ended up simply showing up to their main office to request an interview. While I was able to get an interview through this method, I was not willing to do this for every person within the tourism board I would have liked to speak with. Additionally, I used this method to meet with someone in the agency BBDO as they would not respond to emails. This poor communication also meant that after these meetings any follow up questions that I emailed did not get a reply. There are admittedly facts about the BBDO campaign and the tourism board's process that I do not know because my emails and phone calls were never answered. All of the design agencies and tourism board were also very cautious about what information they were willing divulge to me. The tourism board was in a hurry, would not let me record the interviews, and would only provide me with prearranged answers. The design agencies also did not want me to record them and they were very wary about saying anything negative about the tourism board and other design agencies that were competing for the same jobs.

In addition to the difficulty in getting access to these individuals and also getting honest and straightforward information, there were design agencies and individuals that I was not able to interview. There was an agency named Super Studio 24 that designed popular bags with sayings like "Between YU and EU" and "Far from Russia, close to Italy" that mock Croatian tourism campaigns. I was very eager to do an interview with this design agency however they were

extremely difficult to contact. They did not answer emails or phone calls and the multiple times I showed up at their studio, there was no one there. Through large amounts of research on this agency I found that Super Studio 24 was transitioning into the Croatian Design Super Store and this large effort to build a new studio was why they were impossible to contact. When I eventually tracked down the email of the director she was too busy with the launch of the new studio to meet with me before I left Zagreb. This story is not unique, there were other organizations that were simply unreachable. I was also unable to meet with a photographer that shot some of the images for the Croatia 365 campaign and anyone from the Croatian Design Center.

Overall this research fills gaps within research on national identity and nation branding. These findings could be applied to other tourism branding initiatives in other countries and it informs literature on nations and nationalism. However the research findings are limited. This research focuses on only two campaigns within one country. It does not consider institutional branding efforts, it does not consider other forms of tourism promotion such as regional tourism advertising and independent tourism providers, it does not compare national image construction in Croatia to other countries, and it does not include other political and economic initiatives that visualize the nation. The scope of this research is narrow, but it is intentionally narrow, aimed at answering the research questions to the best possible effect. However limited the research may be, it does not discount its potential to produce data that speaks to broader sociological debates. Regardless of the limitations of this research, its findings actively challenge or support existing theories of national identity and visual sociology.

Cross-Cultural Limitations and Using a Translator

Though still researching within Europe, this research had the potential for issues of cultural differences in the research process. As Fielding and Thomas (2008: 262) have stated "Cross-cultural research is especially susceptible to problems in interpreting interview responses." Though issues of cultural differences are cause for limitation at every stage of the research Fielding and Thomas (2008) argue that it is when interpreting interview data that cross-cultural issues are the most pronounced. When I was not using a translator I was conducting interviews in English with participants whose first language was not English. While some participants had very advanced English skills, others were not as comfortable with English. Interpreting meaning in interviews with mixed level English speakers means that not everything may have come across the exact way that the participant intended.

All the participants had the option of using a translator therefore those that declined a translator had sufficient English skills to complete the interview. However it is still the case that some participants struggled to find certain words or took longer to get their point across due to English not being their primary language. This also added a small amount of stress and discomfort to the interview process. There were participants that constantly apologized for not having better English skills. This discomfort could have affected the participants and could have contributed slightly to the outcome of the interview. However, I rarely had any issues understanding what a participant was trying to say, and when I did I asked for clarification and I was quickly able to make sense of what they were saying. Additionally, since I am not exploring discourse in this research, there is less stress on the exact wording that participants used.

There were three interviews that used an interpreter and one additional interview where the participant had a relatively good grasp of the English language but still needed the interpreter to be present. The interpreter was also used in some instances of transcription, when I was not able to understand a Croatian term or name that a participant was using. Outside of the interviews the interpreter translated the research information sheet and contact information (Appendix 6). Using interpreters within interviews can positively impact research by gaining unique data that was previously unknown and increasing the reflexivity of the researcher (Crane et. al. 2009). However, using an interpreter does add some limitations that need to be acknowledged before discussing findings. While there were not very many interviews that utilized the interpreter, it is still important to acknowledge the role that the interpreter played within the research and limitations of using an interpreter in the research process.

Many researchers have argued that language proficiency is needed to understand the culture of the participants and to acquire adequate data (Veeck 2001, Watson 2004). However, it was not feasible for me to obtain sufficient language proficiency before conducting interviews in the field and, therefore, translators and interpreters were necessary. I used a translator/interpreter that I met through other PhD researchers at the University of Edinburgh. She is Croatian with a degree in social sciences that was conducted in English and was applying to PhD positions in sociology in the UK. Therefore I felt she had adequate knowledge of both English and qualitative interviewing.

It may seem like a trivial and obvious observation but researchers often forget to acknowledge the role and changing dynamics of adding an additional person to the interview (Squires 2009). Andrews (2013) claims that the interpreter is so much a part of the construction of the interview that they should be seen as co-constructors with the researcher, both equally molding and forming

the interview. However, I believe that Brämberg and Dahlberg (2013), in their research on immigrant patients in Sweden, more accurately stated that using an interpreter in an interview creates a 'three-way coconstruction' of the interview data between the researcher, the interpreter, and the participant.

Putsch (1985) describes needing to find a "linguistic equivalency" between certain terminologies in the interview that may be difficult to translate in the respondent's native language. In social science research however, rather than focusing on the terms that need to be translated correctly it may be more useful to focus on the meaning that needs to be interpreted (Crane et. al. 2009). Therefore I met with the interpreter before conducting any interviews to prepare and discuss the terms and concepts that were used in the interview. We went over the purpose of each question and the meaning of terminology that was integral to the research topic. For the most part there were no major issues of translation that we came across and all the interviews using the interpreter went very smoothly. Before beginning the research we discussed the confidentiality of these interviews and how any information the respondent gives remains confidential, furthermore the confidentiality of the interpreter was also protected.

Because interpreters are often employees or paid by the interviewer they feel a sense of responsibility to give them what they feel is the correct answer, however at the same time the interpreter may also feel some allegiance to the interviewee especially if they are of the same cultural/national community (Putsch 1985). Therefore, while much attention is paid to the comfort level of the interviewee, the argument that Putsch makes here points to shifting the concern on to the interpreter and the struggle they may face to be completely impartial and unaligned. While the topic being researched here does not inherently touch on issues that might put the translator in a position where she felt uneasy, I did try to make sure that she was comfortable in each interview by giving us time to reflect on the interview afterwards. After each interpreted interview we met to casually discuss the interview to insure no issues arose that affected the interview or that could affect subsequent interviews.

The large amount of attention given to the difficulties and barriers of doing cross-cultural research and using an interpreter when conducting interviews does not mean that the data collected from these interviews is insignificant or flawed. It simply means that additional precautions and considerations need to be implemented in order to reduce methodological weaknesses. Therefore to mitigate these methodological issues I fully acknowledge the interpreter's influence on the interview process, I met with the interpreter beforehand to discuss the research process, and we met regularly to discuss current interpretation issues or questions ensuring an open and confidential line of communication between

us. I additionally used the interpreter as a resource for the interviews conducted in English in order to clarify cultural references and other moments that needed linguistic or cultural explaining.

Researcher Positionality and Reflexivity

If visual research is inherently subjective and (as stated previously) if the approach to research interviewing I take here argues that the interview process is a co-construction between the participants and the researcher, then I am a part of this construction of data and my position should be known to the reader. As Denzin (2001: 32) stated "Interpretive research begins and ends with the biography and the self of the researcher." Therefore in this section I will attempt to situate knowledge production of my research since, according to Harraway (1991), all knowledge is subjected to the point of view of its producer.

My identity, employment experience, and position within a societal context all influence my view of how I believe the social world should be fairly represented. Some background on my own position is, therefore, useful contextual information into the analysis and conclusions drawn in this thesis. Much of my social positioning (for example being female, hispanic, a member of the LGBT+ community, immigrant, economic precariat) has colored my conception of the role images play in society and who these images ultimately benefit. I do not feel my experience and the experiences of others within my social world are included or represented fairly within the visual social sphere. I am passionate about and personally engaged in activities that advocate for better visual representation of minority, disadvantaged, and underrepresented social groups. My identity is then combined with my experience as a graphic designer to influence the way I interpret images within this research.

As far as my national identity is concerned, I am not Croatian nor have I lived in Croatia. I am half American and half Spanish. I came to be interested in researching Croatia after spending some time backpacking in the country. Croatia reminded me of Spain many years ago and many of the same debates surrounding tourism that took place in Spain were emerging in Croatia. Additionally my family comes from a national minority in Spain, a country that is one of the most cited cases of successful nation branding but that famously does not represent many of the national minorities within this brand, in some cases actively excluding elements that define the national minority of which I belong. My ethnic and national background made me begin to question how Croatia was representing itself within tourism branding.

My positionality lends insight into how I approach this research, however

it could also impact the research I conducted. Coming from a university in the UK with an obviously Spanish name and background frames me in a Western European context. As stated in the previous chapter, Croatia has been advertised as Western European intentionally ignoring its Eastern European and Balkan influences. This brings up questions of whether my position as 'western' played any role in the responses of the respondents. I am not able to fully know the extent to which my background influenced these interviews as reflexivity is limited (Rose 1997). I can predict that since participants continuously argued for more of a balance between representing both Croatia's western and eastern influences, instead of arguing for one over the other, that the outcome would not be vastly different if I was an Eastern European. However, I cannot fully predict how this influenced my research. This uncertainty was argued by Rose (1997: 319) as not only out of our control but also an opportunity to acknowledge that, as researchers, we are not all-knowing nor are we the sole source of knowledge production.

> We cannot know everything, nor can we survey power as if we can fully understand, control or redistribute it. What we may be able to do is something rather more modest but, perhaps, rather more radical: to inscribe into our research practices some absences and fallibilities while recognizing that the significance of this does not rest entirely in our own hands (Rose 1997: 319).

Ethical Considerations

When using visual methods, as opposed to other qualitative data, distinct ethical issues arise due to the use of images. Ethical issues specific to visual research include issues of image ownership, image confidentiality, the uncontrolled spread of digital images produced, and improper image interpretation (Marion and Crowder 2013). Since this research does not include participant generated images, it removes many of the standard ethical issues surrounding images. However, there are both ethical and legal issues to consider when using images already produced and publicized by an organization like the tourism advertisements used in this research. These images, however, are not being reproduced in this thesis for monetary gain and most images reproduced in this thesis were given to me to use in my research by permission of the organizations and individuals who own them. I also do not alter the images in any way. Therefore legally I am allowed to reproduce them for the purpose of this thesis, however I additionally cite each image and credit the author as an additional measure of ethical practice. Since the images specifically used as data in this research were created as advertisements to be publicized worldwide, I work under the assumption that the individuals

present in the advertisements have consented to their image being reproduced.

Due to the sensitive nature of Croatia's recent history, additional ethical issues such as confidentiality and participant vulnerability must be addressed. While the research topic does not directly ask about the Yugoslav war, these topics have arisen due to its effect on national representations and cultural memory of the nation. To minimize these concerns I insured that respondents were fully aware of the research aims, goals, and how the data will be used. The respondents were thoroughly informed before our interview verbally, through presenting research flyers, and an informational webpage (all of which were provided in English and Croatian). Each participant was presented with these materials along with information on how to contact me if any issues arose after the interview (see Research Information Sheet in Appendix 6). The forms outlined the participant's rights, how the data will be used, and that participants have the right to recall consent at any time. I reminded the participants that their responses were completely anonymous with any identifying details removed. Data was kept confidential and stored in a secure location that can only be accessed by the researcher. The research information form and all of the ethical considerations were in accordance with the Statement of Ethical Practice for the British Sociological Association Visual Sociology Group and the International Visual Sociology Association.

In the case that any issues arose in the interview I reminded participants that they could stop the interview at any time. At no point in the interview did any of the participants seem upset or irritated. No participant needed to stop the interview and sensitive topics did not arise. When political issues or topics related to the war arose they were never prompted by me but they were brought up by the participant. The discussion of these topics was minimal and did not become an issue of ethical concern.

4. NOT OF CROATIA

THE PASSIVE REPRESENTATION OF CROATIA IN TOURISM ADVERTISEMENTS

This chapter presents the first of three findings chapters. Broadly these next three chapters will discuss three main aspects of the visual and interview data analyzed: (1) the images, (2) the site of production of the images, and (3) reception of the images. This first chapter will go into detail on the findings of the images analyzed to answer the broader research question asking how the nation is visualized within the two campaigns studied in this research.

These two campaigns, "Visit Croatia. Share Croatia." and "Croatia 365", are purposefully very different. The Share Croatia campaign was intended to promote summer tourism while the 365 campaign is aimed at increasing pre-and post-season (spring and fall) arrivals. The "Visit Croatia" campaign was short and only lasted one season while 365 is still ongoing and was launched with a lot of media attention. The "Visit Croatia" campaign uses both social media and emotion to sell tourists on visiting Croatia while the "365" campaign focuses heavily on different tourism offers and activities. However, despite all their differences these two campaigns reflect consistencies and trends within the way the tourism board visually represents Croatia. While these two campaigns serve different purposes for the tourism board they both expose the tourism board's position on the role that Croatia and Croatian identity plays within these representations. Ultimately these two campaigns answer the question of how Croatia is visualized.

In this chapter I will argue that Croatian identity plays a very little role

within the selling of tourism in Croatia. By using Goffman's (1979) *Gender Advertisements* I will show that Croatia is being represented passively through representations of landscape and culture, and in contrast to the image of the active modern tourist. Through analyzing these images in this way it then becomes clear that Croatia is not what is being sold but rather the experience of tourism is what is being promoted, meaning that the location of these advertisements is not important as they could be almost anywhere. Ultimately the tourism advertisements are 'not of Croatia' making them unable to construct a productive image of the nation in an international economic field and influencing the way that the participants interviewed in this research imagine Croatia's future.

Landscape as a Marker of National Identity

Croatia, as described by the participants in the interviews I conducted with members of the nation, was commonly defined by three main distinguishable components: the beautiful and diverse landscape, the well preserved and diverse cultural influences, and finally the tumultuous political and economic state. While the other two components will be discussed later on, this section will focus on the Croatian landscape, which is one of the main and universal points of national identification for the respondents interviewed in this research. The 'beautiful' and 'diverse' nature was described by participants as a defining element of what made Croatia unique. However before unpacking the way that landscape is presented in these tourism advertisements, I will briefly explain the motivations behind why landscape was so commonly a source of pride for respondents. This begins with a brief discussion of nationalism in Croatia.

Nationalism

Due to Croatia's recent history of strong nationalist movements such as the war of independence in the 90s and the subsequent years of Tuđjman's top down driven nationalist government, participants were carefully walking a line between describing Croatia proudly and in a positive way but without sounding nationalistic and overly political. They acknowledged the existence of this sort of nationalism however everyone was quick to point out that they weren't one of these nationalists. As participant 011 stated: "we have a really strong nationalism so we are always, I'm not saying about myself, I, I'm not nationalist".

Participants expressed how overt patriotism made them uncomfortable.

For example participant 013 made a clear statement against open displays of nationalism, however he was unable to identify that there was anything inherently wrong with nationalistic pride. Additionally he credits this nationalism to a lower-class un-educated population, further discrediting nationalism.

> When I saw what you were doing, I thought it would be a little bit more, turned to, you know, what, what we just spoke in the last couple of minutes about national colors present in to, and that's why, as I've told you, I, I'm not, I'm in the least bit for the, you know, pushing those, that stuff into people's faces, or pointing with, with stuff like that, […] when you see people trying to force the image of country, the image of, of their national pride or, or, national, I don't know, feeling upon others. […] In general when you have people like that it tend, they tend to be, a lower class people, less education, or you know, just proud of being the citizens of a certain country of a certain place, you know, we're this, we're uber Mediterraneans, we're from the south, we're Croatians, you know, we're Dalmatians, we're this, we're. It gets on my nerves, I don't like it. I mean, it's, I guess it's fair, because, you know, in general, I, they have every right to do that, but personally I don't like it. […] but, when it happens, when I see that happening I'm just sort of inclined to, you know, just let it go, please, don't, don't force your culture upon me, you know.

This participant (013) spoke at length about nationalist demonstrations, however he encouraged me not to include these sorts of nationalist displays in my research:

> don't ignore it, don't pretend it doesn't exist, but don't dwell upon it, you know. Just, you can mention it, I mean, if you want to, you have to mention it just, don't dwell on it because there's been, I think there's been more, it's a sort of in your eye, in your, I'd say, thing that happens, that would... have more people interested in that sort of thing than what you're doing. So please stick to what you're doing because, you know, it's good to have different point of view, different sort of view on, on, on the same thing in this.

To participant 013 these displays of nationalism do not define the Croatian experience and too much attention has been given to Croatian nationalism. Outbursts of right wing nationalism and even overt fascism still occur and are especially prominent with media coverage on Croatian football. Though every participant interviewed felt that these nationalists were fringe actors, in a small country that is rarely ever present in mainstream English speaking news, these news stories of fascist football fans holds much more weight than it would in many other European countries. Therefore as participant 013 suggests, I should not focus on these sorts of nationalist outbursts, not because they aren't relevant, but because it is too dominant a theme within mainstream media. It is as if these participants are attempting to create new narratives within the interview, ones that ignore the claim that Croatia is home to volatile nationalists.

Mainstream media as a whole has not always been very sympathetic to Croatia. During the war in the 90s Croatia's only international image was through mainstream media portrayals of violence. Most people only knew Croatia in that context. While tourism helped to change international opinion of Croatia after the 90s (Miličević et. al. 2012) when not reporting on Croatian tourism, international media still reflects a biased opinion of Croatia left over from the war. A recent article published in *The Economist* (2016) on the resigning of the head of the majority political party HDZ described Croatia as a "Balkan problem child unable to stop squabbling" using disrespectful adjectives like "basket-case" to describe the economic and political situation. Just to illustrate this point, in response to this article one of the online commentators pointed out that this language would not be appropriate for many other European countries having even greater political and economic issues at the moment:

> Unbelievable that you would call Croatia a 'balkan problem child.'
> When Italians, or the British squabble about an issue - no one dares to be so insulting.
> To me, Brexit is a bunch of nationalists who dream of how it used to be (unaware what that is) and people that have economic greed on their side.
> Who is the real problem child? (guest-ajjimijs 2016)

Therefore when participants urged me not to focus on debates about the right wing nationalist fringe, it is largely coming from a desire to have alternative descriptions of their nation other than tourism and fringe nationalist groups. There is much more nuance to the Croatian experience than these news stories that continually comment on this loud fringe group seem to convey and therefore focusing on other aspects of Croatia balances out the tired narrative of Croatian right-wing nationalists and political instability.

Participants were, therefore, very quick to point out that they were not nationalist. However, they were also very quick to equate patriotism with violent forms of nationalism with stories like participant 020:

> I read on Reddit once that a guy was beaten on the Marjan hill because he was wearing an eagle on the back. Like four eagles, and four eagles are some kind of contextual symbol of Serbia. And that comes back to the war, that comes back to the nationalism, that comes back to the integrity, and that xenophobia and the mass fear, you know, and the still strong nationalist, you know. […] That is…extreme nationalism is fringe, really fringe. It's like, it's almost, you know, a thing to laugh at. But, like, righteous, right-ish nationalism, you know, like, patriotism and stuff like that, it's still pretty strong in many, many, many, many, many people here. […] I would say even a majority. You know what, having your country and defending it is, is basically, you know, a good thing, you know, but, um, suffocating your industry, your tourism and

> other countries and other people and using it as an excuse for, I don't know, violence, for irrational behavior, it's just, you know, not good, you know. […] It's like, you know, you can contribute to your country because you love it by tourism. You can contribute with, by accepting, you know, people, by not beating people because they have an animal for God's sake, you know.

This quote shows how participants discredit nationalistic sentiments and actions, however the line between national pride and this kind of overt and xenophobic nationalism does not really exist. Participants see national pride as the gateway to this sort of racist and violent behavior. Therefore the interviewees were careful not to show much national pride and patriotic sentiments.

More 'extreme' nationalism in Croatia is seen as a divisive political stance. However it is one that is also dividing the past and the future. Overt nationalism is considered to be Croatia's past, something that older generations are still holding on to. However, according to participants Croatian youth is moving away from overt forms of national representation. They see this shift as a good thing and one that promotes progress, modernization, and democracy.

> Younger people are ok, you know, younger people are getting better and better, they're becoming, they're becoming more aware and they're becoming you know, less nationalistic, they've become, you know. They remember war but they, you know, they don't refer to it as much. They are rather looking to the future. And I think that the main point, the main thing that needs to change in order for Croatia to change is that people should start worrying about the future, and that people should start working for the future. (020)

These examples show how carefully participants navigate topics of nationalism when speaking about Croatia. They do not want to sound like what they refer to as nationalist, so they are careful not to seem too proud or not inject too much politics. They do this in a way that reflects Bauman's (1997: 18) claim that postmodern (or liquid modern) identities are "biodegradable" able to be changed, multiple, and individual. Within the interview discussions of Croatia, participants were positive about their nation; however, the Croatian landscape was a universally optimistic topic. Landscape was something participants could be proud of because it was something seen as neutral and apolitical.

Landscape

The apolitical nature of landscape meant showing pride and enthusiasm for the Croatian landscape was acceptable, as it did not hold the same weight of right-wing nationalistic politics that other points of national identification did. Participants could be overtly proud of the Croatian landscape without being

confused as having fringe extreme ethnic nationalist views. In fact, the Croatian landscape was one of the only moments of positive and enthusiastic reflection of the nation for many I spoke with. Participants described the nation as "the most beautiful country you can find on earth" (005a) and "Just uh once you see it you, you fall in love." (016).

In their study of the Swedish middle class in the early 1900s Fryman and Löfgren (1983) describe how national identity became tied to the landscape. However, this national identity "stood in contrast to the conservative patriotism of earlier generations who dreamed about a heroic and martial past" (ibid: 57). This was a "nationalism of progressive liberals" where "nature and nation were united in patriotism that defined itself as progressive and forward-looking, in contrast to conservative jingoism" (ibid: 57-58). In my research landscape was used a marker for national pride in similar ways to the Swedish case. While participants rejected a nationalism that was conservative and reconstructed narratives of the war, landscape offered an opportunity to be patriotic without conservative nationalism. While not exactly liberal as in the Swedish case, pride in national landscape did not go against a more progressive ideology of Croatia. Landscape was seen as neutral, apolitical, and universal and therefore something participants could speak proudly about.

Landscape itself is a social construction where the concept of wilderness is a human creation that is packed "with moral values and cultural symbols" (Cronon 1995: 72). We can attribute our modern day social construction of landscape to the late 19th and early 20th century romantics who described nature as being sublime and a frontier, but also referred to the landscape as national (ibid). Landscape is "ideologically loaded" with national symbolic meaning (Edensor 2002: 45). There are the Scottish Highlands, the fjords of Norway, the Swiss Alps, the Egyptian Nile, etc. Nations are often visualized by idealized landscapes, and landscape is actively constructed as national. Edensor (2002: 40) argues that since the rise of modern industrialism and emergence of the modern nation happened simultaneously, nations are "clothed in this rhetoric of the rural, a rural which most frequently encapsulates the *genus loci* of the nation, the place from which we have sprung, where our essential national spirit resides." Therefore landscape often serves as origin story of the nation, the ultimate and most pure form of national description.

In my interviews outwardly expressed pride in something Croatian was normally only expressed in relation to the landscape. Even the participant I interviewed with the most pessimistic view of Croatia described Croatia's landscape positively. This participant was in the process of moving away from Croatia because of poor job prospects and the lack of opportunities for young professionals

in Croatia. Her outlook on Croatia's present and future were extraordinarily bleak citing not only the economy but also lack of progressive attitudes and the feeling that Croatian society was permanently stuck as a conservative religious nation with a bleak history and was not open to change. However, even with this pessimistic view of Croatia the participant identified positively with the landscape:

> I am negative about Croatia so I'm gonna say it's a shit land. It's a god-forsaken place. It's a small beautiful country, uh, with crazy people who hate everybody. Um, lots of negativity. We have nothing, we can't do anything, we're stupid. But the, the land is good. (002)

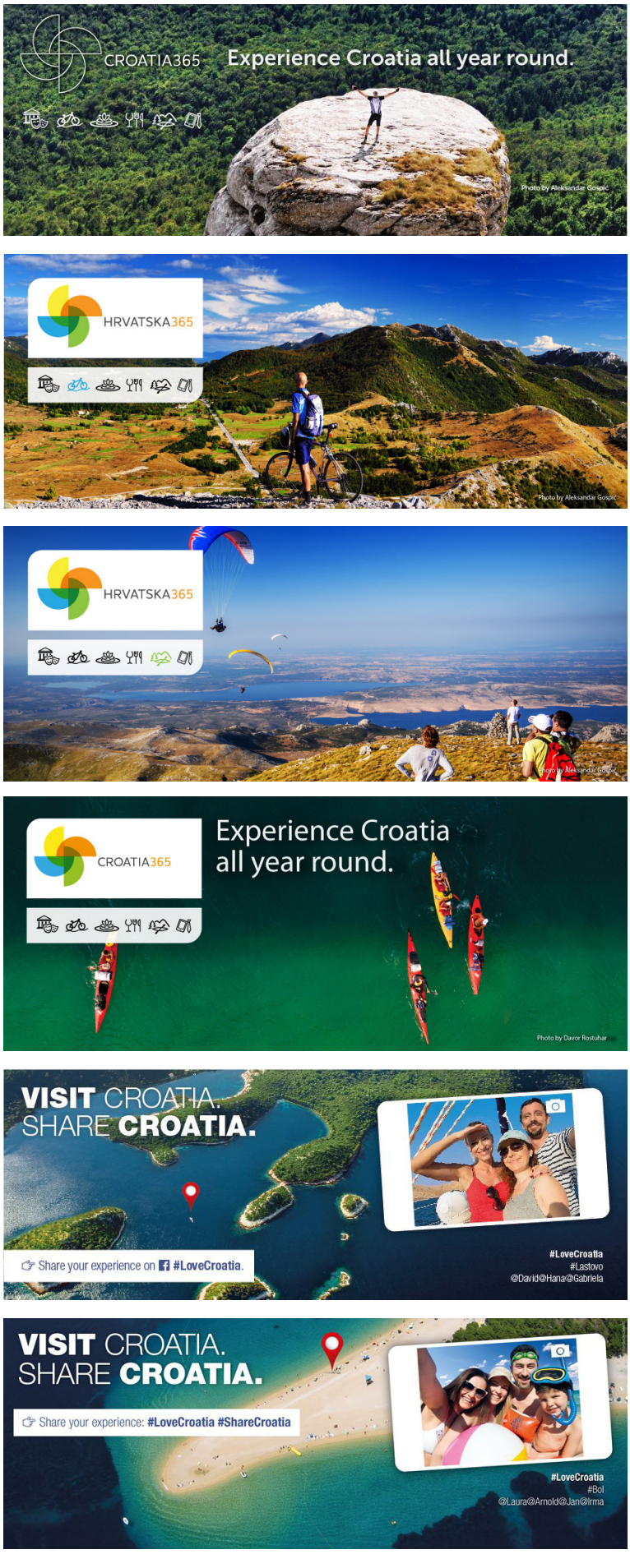
Beautiful landscape and the diversity of the landscape within a small country were two narratives that I was continuously told over and over again by each participant. In every interview they were told in similar ways and unanimously positive. This is an example of the 'cultural stories' described in the previous chapter. The answers were so similarly stated in every interview that they began to seem scripted. They were part of a common narrative of Croatia. This narrative is constructed through nationalist materials such as patriotic songs and the national anthem of Croatia.

> There is a song once I heard from a good Croatia musician […] the lyrics go something like: 'Croatia is the piece of land that God kept from himself, but gave to us instead'. So that is something we treasure everything we have […] [E]very country thinks that [they], that [they] are the, the most beautiful country, [they] are the best, [they] are that, so that's why I think every country maybe has something like that in the song. But our national anthem is, the lyrics are completely how our land is beautiful. No war, no things like that, it's named 'O Beautiful'. (014)

This participant is explaining that there are national songs that brag about the nation's natural beauties and, while many other nations have similar songs, Croatia's entire national anthem is only about how the country is beautiful. To this participant this proves that Croatia is not only beautiful but it is also institutionally defined by its natural beauty. It is this institutionalization of landscape as national that participants are restating and reinforcing in the interviews.

Therefore the environment plays a large role in the way Croatia is defined and also how it is visualized. The images in Figure 4.1 show just some of the advertisements in the campaign that portray landscape. Looking at these tourism advertisements you can see that outdoor activities and landscape are well represented and the main focus of much of these two campaigns. The Croatian identification with the beautiful pristine landscape is reflected in the large focus on the outdoors within these two campaigns. Nationalized landscapes "form the basis of tourism campaigns to foreign visitors" (Edensor 2002: 40). The land then is not only nationalized but valued in economic terms and protected. The landscape

Figure 4.1
Examples of representations of landscape.



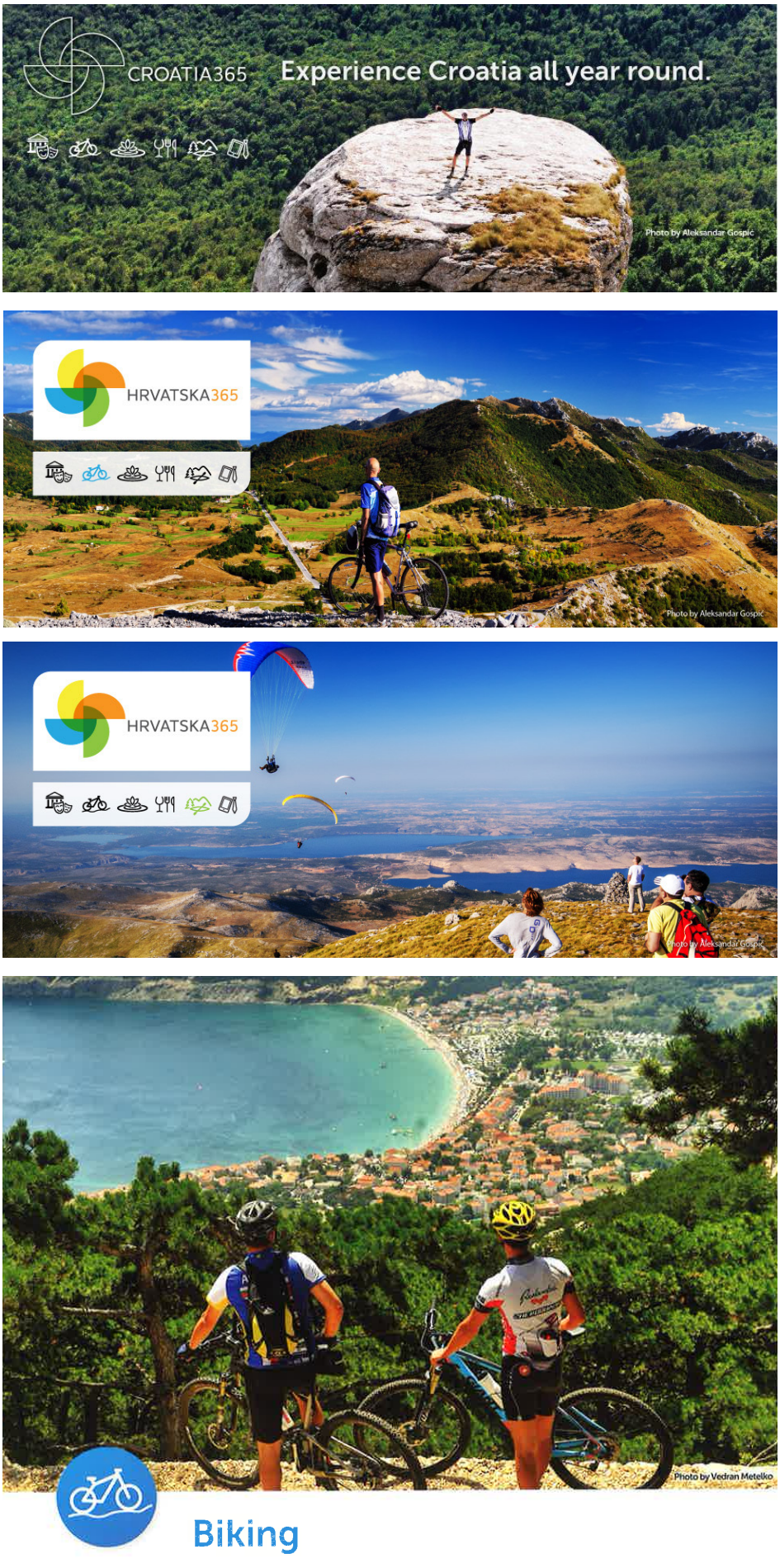
becomes a destination that presents the nation globally. In *Scotland - The Brand,* McCrone et. al. demonstrates how Scotland is romanticized by its rural landscape stating that "Guidebooks and travel memoirs highlighted three themes: the wild grandeur of the landscape, remoteness and peace, with a dash of romantic (preferably tragic) history"(1995: 203). This combination of rural landscape with romanticized history make up the main themes of the tourism advertisements in this research. Both the participants interviewed in this research and the tourism advertisements focused on landscape and natural beauty to describe the nation. However I will argue within the next section that the way in which Croatian landscape is portrayed is not only at odds with the ways in which participants visualize the landscape but that these campaigns represent the landscape so passively that they fail to construct any meaningful image of the nation.

Gender Advertisements and Croatian Landscape

It can be argued that Erving Goffman's influential work, *Gender Advertisements* (1979), was one of the first published works of visual sociological research. Goffman set out to study the way gender norms and politics are communicated visually within mainstream magazine advertisements. He did not focus on the discourse of the text or the actual activity being portrayed in the images, but rather, where Goffman's work was so innovative, was the way in which he unpacked the "physical grammar of subordination" (Harper 2012: 120). *Gender Advertisements* focused on the detailed ritual communication of subordination in advertisements. While there were methodological controversies within his study (Harper 2012), Goffman effectively demonstrated both a pattern of physical interaction that indicated gender differences and provided an example for analyzing images as a form of physical communication. Goffman argued that this physical grammar between men and women in advertisements communicated power imbalances such as the relative size difference between men and women in addition to women being pictured in low physical spaces such as lying down and the difference between the utilitarian touch of men and the ritualistic touch of women. Overall Goffman argued that this 'physical grammar' portrayed women as more delicate, deferential, and childlike, while men were pictured as having authority, expertise, and confidence.

I argue that in these Croatian advertising campaigns the land is advertised similar to traditional representations of the female within society as both are to be admired as beautiful and constructed as passive. The Croatian landscape in

Figure 4.2
View from above.



these campaigns has become the canvas that tourism activities are being sold on and in the process Croatia is portrayed as beautiful, docile, and tame but also dominated. This creates such a passive image of the nation that it no longer becomes important where the tourism advertisement is located. The construction of Croatia as passive is done in these two campaigns in three visible ways: the view from above, adventure activities, and park tourism.

The View From Above

Figure 4.2 shows four images in which the perspective of the photograph is around the same height as the tourist. However the tourist has reached a high point in the photograph and is overlooking the landscape. While the tourists in these photos are taking a prominent front and central position, they are for the most part not posing for the photo but looking over the landscape. The viewer's eye then either follows the gaze of the tourist overlooking the landscape as well or focuses on the triumphs of the tourist's activity. These images not only show the tourist prominently but they also show the tourists as active and dominant, making the landscape something that has been conquered. The dominant position of the tourist in contrast makes the landscape seem passive and submissive. This can be compared to Goffman's (1979) category of 'physical grammar' that he calls "relative size". Larger size and looking down on someone in photos communicates "social weight – power, authority, rank office, renown" (Goffman 1979: 28). Within Goffman's research he found that while women were more likely to be represented in an inferior position by their size, this was also a tactic used to demonstrate other forms of subordination such as class and race. "Indeed, so thoroughly is it assumed that differences in size will correlate with differences in social weight that relative size can be routinely used as a means of ensuring that the picture's story will be understandable" (ibid). Additionally, Goffman (1979) argues that not only being larger but also being presented in a lower position in the image is a way of demonstrating power dynamics and is part of what he calls the 'ritualization of subordination'. Both women and children tend to be positioned lower within an image and Goffman argues that it communicates subordination, passivity, and lower social power. In the tourism images in Figure 4.2 the same dominant 'physical grammar' of relative size and ritualized subordination that Goffman defined communicates that the tourist is in a position of power looking down on the land and also looking over the land.

In the next set of images, Figure 4.3 shows a different type of view from above. Here the aerial shot is used instead of looking at the view from above through the tourist. The aerial view acts as a representation of power and domi-

Figure 4.3
Aerial view.

nance by both demonstrating the ability to overlook landscape, but also to represent the land in a romantic way as an expansive frontier, untouched, vast, pristine, and virgin waiting to be discovered emphasizing its purity and establishing its role as something to be admired for its socially constructed beauty. Just as the previous images showed the tourist overlooking the land, the aerial shots show a similar power relation. These aerial shots express social status, dominance, and power over the land by inferring a divine perspective. The aerial view will not be experienced by the tourists that visit these places, nor will the vast majority of the members of the nation see the land in this way. These aerial photos show an unattainable view from the sky, a view that in the west has been historically used to represent the perspective of God (Dorrian and Pousin 2013). The divine perspective of the aerial photograph shows the viewer an omnipotent perspective of power. This powerful perspective also constructs a landscape that is able to be dominated, it is vast but conquerable and functions to represent the land as freedom. This perspective signifies freedom from constraints of time and space (Warner 2013). The land comes to represent the vast romanticized idealistic vision of wilderness in which to escape from modernity to a place where adventure awaits and where real men are made (Cronon 1995).

The aerial view romanticizes and anonymizes the land as a place with untouched beauty showing Croatian landscapes as unaffected by industry, development, and the negative consequences of modernity's progress. These aerial images lack humans and if tourists are present they are normally small, situated within the vast expanse of wilderness or photographed at a different distance to show a separation of nature and tourist. This sort of landscape imagery is reminiscent of American landscape paintings of the late 19th century such as those that came out of the Hudson River School of Painting. In these landscape paintings "their work minimized human presence either by dwarfing the humans by natural objects or by eliminating humans completely from the frame" (Papson 1991: 6). The point of this absence of human interaction with nature was to depict nature as a world separate from society. The bourgeoisie of that era began to view nature as an escape from the repressive social world that modernity had created and these landscape paintings reflected this view of nature (Papson 1991). Nature was seen not only as an escape from the stresses of modern society, but it was romanticized as peaceful and safe with the possibility of adventure. These aerial photos are also shot to portray an expanse of nature, untouched and vast.

The effect of representing Croatia in a way that separates it from modern society will be discussed later in this chapter, however it should be noted here that this representation replicates uneven power dynamics. Croatia is presented as underdeveloped, a place for the more developed tourist to escape to, present-

ing the tourist in the position of the powerful modernized west. Additionally, the aerial view creates a passive image because creating a romantic view of the Croatian wilderness is a form of domination and conquering. This, in contrast, makes the landscape the thing that is conquered and dominated.

A similar point is made in ecofeminist theories such as those of Val Plumwood. In *Feminism and the Mastery of Nature* (1993) Plumwood describes how both women and nature have been subjected to a similar form of "mastery" or domination. There is a similar power imbalance between the dualisms of male/female and human/nature. By failing to recognize these similarities and the long connected history of dominating women and nature, Plumwood warns that we, as a society, will not advance until we break down these dualities. These imbalances in social power and the threat of irreversible environmental destruction will not disappear unless the dominant social group dismantles their relationships of "mastery" or dominance.

Another effect of the aerial view is that it distances the viewer from the image and landscape. The aerial view is a "third person point of view" that creates a sense of detachment (Warner 2013: 12). This aerial view is something that the participants interviewed voiced dissatisfaction with since it tended to anonymize the nation; for example:

> 001a: This like air photo is not doing justice.
>
> 004: What does this picture from the air mean? I don't know, it's completely uninventive. […] you can't tell what it is, what it actually represents.
>
> 011: I think this city can offer probably a better perspective or something. It's really nice from the air but I think it's more interesting from inside. 'Cause here you don't see any information about what is inside.

The view from above removes all context and meaning, making the landscape more generalized, less recognizable, and secondary to the activity. The tourist and the tourist activity becomes recognizable and primary while the land is passive and its identity is removed.

Adventure Activities

Adventure activities are another example of the 'physical grammar' of subordination present within these advertisements. Seen in Figure 4.4, the adventure activities, just as in the aerial photos, emphasize the frontier element of the Croatian landscape. These activities present the land as a place to explore the unknown and to tame, both an act of dominating nature and admiring its sublime beauty. Through adventure activities the land becomes an object with something

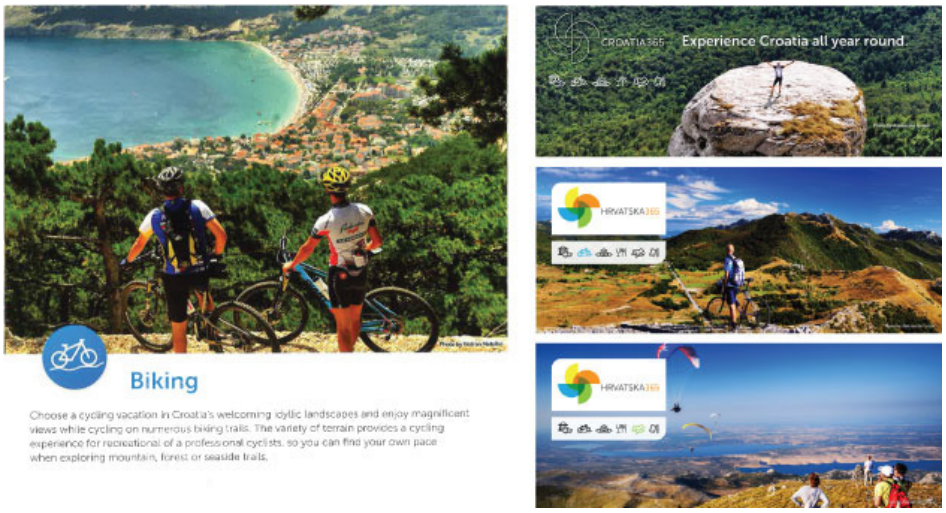


Figure 4.4
Adventure activities.

being done to it, and the tourist is the 'doer' making the land passive and subordinate, while the tourist is active and dominant. The adventure activities can be interpreted here similarly to the way in which Goffman (1979) described 'function ranking' within gender advertisements. Function raking is explained as a person pictured in an advertisement that is performing the "executive role" (ibid). It is an activity that communicates the person's social power (Goffman 1979: 32). In advertisements, Goffman argues that it is men that are often the ones that are performing the executive role, while woman are often passively present.

Figure 4.5, shows examples of function ranking where men are the 'doers' with executive roles and women are inferior in their function. Additionally Goffman found that when men are pictured as doing something to women such as assisting them, there tends to be no collaboration of activity. For example, in Figure 4.6 the women are shown as being fed, the action is being done to them, rather than the man passing the woman the food and her feeding herself. This sort of lack of collaborative action is something that is seen in advertisements as only happening one way, male acting on the female, rather than the other way around. It infers a sort of childlike competence representing women in the position of dependency and inferiority in comparison to the man. The lack of collaborative action is what is happening within these images of adventure activities. The tourist is presented as acting on the land and simultaneously as doing the 'executive function'. The tourist is presented with power in these activities dominating the land and also acting on the land.

The romantic view of landscape and adventure "mirrors a masculine cult of asceticism, achievement, and individuality" (Frykman and Löfgren 1987). The images of adventure activities in these advertisements of Croatia are consistent with this view of the natural world as an escape from modern society, a search for the aesthetic, masculine accomplishment, and individualism. They are presented for the tourist's internalized experience, for accomplishment, for self growth but

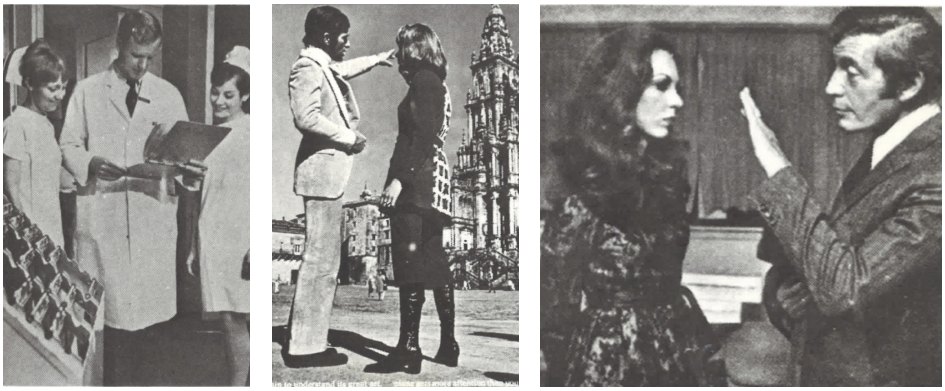


Figure 4.5
Two examples of Function ranking (Goffman 1979).

they are not intended to experience Croatia. Croatia is inconsequential to this scenario.

Overall, the land is presented as passive, safe, and inactive. Croatian landscape is displayed as beautiful but lacking identifying features, and it therefore becomes simply a canvas for advertising these tourist activities. It may seem overly critical and excessive to criticize adventure activities for being presented in a way that can be interpreted as dominating the landscape. However, Croatia is being increasingly presented as a land, pristine and devoid of humans, where tourists can do many of these tourist activities. The problem with this sort of representation comes when there is no 'collaborative action' on the part of the tourist. A tourist that goes to Croatia for these activities can easily leave Croatia with only having done these activities and without ever experiencing anything truly Croatian. This repetitive focus in these advertisements on the tourist experience is a one-way action rather than a mutually beneficial experience. The lack of collaborative action presents Croatia itself as virtually non-existent and only there to offer good weather and undeveloped land. Additionally by using Goffman's category of 'function ranking' the conclusion can be made that the one doing the activity, in this case the adventure activity, has more power within the advertisements and is therefore the ultimate focus of these images. The main point of these advertisements becomes the activity rather than the place.

Park Tourism

The final way in which the Croatian landscape is being presented passively is through images of park tourism. The best example of this is the picture of Plitvička lakes in Figure 4.7. In park tourism photos like this one of Plitvička the image of the landscape is solely intended for admiration. The tourists do not interact with the landscape but are intended to just gaze upon it and appreciate its beauty. This is landscape as spectacle. By making landscape a spectacle it becomes a representation of hegemonic power (Ley and Olds 1988). This argument

Figure 4.6
No collaborative action
(Goffman 1979)

that landscape as spectacle perpetuates power imbalances is based on the notion that the landscape only exists to be looked at by tourists. Though not explicitly a category of Goffman's *Gender Advertisements* (1979), this theme of passive presence exists in many of Goffman's images. The images presented in his research are of women whose function is less important, whose status is less significant, and whose worth is less substantial making their universal purpose in the advertisements simply to be present. The women are the backdrop for the product, just there to situate the product in an easily recognizable life circumstance. Goffman's analysis focuses on their body language but his entire thesis infers how the women in his advertisements are present not just to look recognizable, but also to be looked at. This is in contrast to photos of men who are pictured as doing something, whose action communicates something important to the viewer. Landscape is presented similarly in these photos as something that is simply to be looked at, a spectacle.

The action of being looked at or gazed upon is having something done to you. As was discussed in the previous section on the lack of collaborative action in adventure activities, the tourists in the park tourism photos are similarly doing an action on the landscape, in this case the action is the act of looking. The tourist is not only simply doing the viewing, but the main role of designating landscape as a nature park is for this purpose of being viewed by tourists. The act of making the landscape itself a large tourist destination removes it from its context as a place within a nation. People come because it is a tourist destination, they come to gaze upon it because that is what tourists are meant to do, removed from any national meaning. This makes it impossible to see what you are looking at outside the context of tourism. It is an experience that has nothing to do with Croatia as a nation, but rather an image of a tourist activity. This concept was expressed in the novel, *White Noise*, by Don Delillo (1986: 12-13) when the characters in the novel visited 'the most photographed barn in America':

> We counted five signs before we reached the site. There were forty cars and a tour bus in the makeshift lot. We walked along a cowpath to the slightly elevated spot set aside for viewing and photographing. All

Figure 4.7
Park tourism.

> the people had cameras; some had tripods, telephoto lenses, filter kits. A man in a booth sold postcards and slides – pictures of the barn taken from the elevated spot. We stood near a grove of trees and watched the photographers. Murray maintained a prolonged silence, occasionally scrawling some notes in a little book.
>
> "No one sees the barn," he said finally.
>
> A long silence followed.
>
> "Once you've seen the signs about the barn it becomes impossible to see the barn."
>
> He fell silent once more. People with cameras left the elevated site, replaced at once by others.
>
> "We're not here to capture an image, we're here to maintain one. Every photograph reinforces the aura. Can you feel it, Jack? And accumulation of nameless energies."
>
> There was an extended silence. The man in the booth sold postcards and slides.
>
> "Being here is a kind of spiritual surrender. We see only what the others see. Thousands who were here in the past, those who will come in the future. We've agreed to be part of a collective perception. This laterally colors our vision. A religious experience in a way, like all tourism." […] "What was the barn like before it was photographed?" he said. "What did it look like, how was it different from other barns, how was it similar to other barns? We can't answer these questions because we've read the signs, seen the people snapping the pictures. We can't get outside the aura. We're part of the aura. We're here, we're now."

These park tourism images picture the landscape in a way that removes it from its context, from Croatia. Instead these images are part of this 'collective perception' of tourism stated in the quote above. It has become more of a tourist destination than an iconic Croatian landscape. The tourist sees the landscape spectacle as a UNESCO world heritage site rather than as part of the imagined Croatian landscape and nation. As McCrone et. al. (1995: 207) explains the "Spectacle has replaced meaning, and sensation overpowers value." Park tourism is an example of the "depthlessness" of the postmodern image (Jameson 1991). The nation is not the meaning of the park tourism, there is no defined meaning. The destination is valued because it is a destination, not because it is Croatian. The landscapes become "valued because people pay to see them. They pay to see them because they

are valued" (McCrone et. al. 1995: 206). This removes Croatia from the meaning of these tourist locations and it is another way of passively representing Croatia. It is true that Croatia is present in these photos, however Croatia is also absent.

The Inaccuracy and Consequence of Passive Landscape

In these examples of park tourism, adventure activities, and viewing landscape from above parallels could be made between the findings in Goffman's *Gender Advertisements* (1979) and the representation of Croatian landscape. This connection can be made most strongly in Goffman's noted behaviors of relative size difference (as demonstrated in the view from above), function ranking (seen in adventure activities and park tourism), and licensed withdrawal or where a subject withdraws from the frame seen in the discussion of the tourist (as the main focal point rather than Croatia). Overall, drawing this parallel between gender and landscape within the Croatian tourism campaigns makes the passivity with which Croatia is presented more visible. These three examples repetitively showed how the tourist is presented in a position of power over the land, they are dominant making the landscape passive. There is no collaborative action, or interaction with the land but rather command over the land. By putting the tourists in this position of power, they become the main focus of the image rather than Croatia. The passive representation of the landscape turns Croatia into an anonymous backdrop for these tourist adventures. This anonymity overall strips Croatia of an identity, ultimately communicating a message of tourism in general rather than communicating anything constructive about Croatia.

Gillian Rose, in her book *Feminism and Geography: the limits of geographical knowledge* (2013), describes how geography as a discipline has been constructed through the male lens. One of the effects of this, she argues, is continuing this conflation of woman and landscape. The argument that I am making (that landscape is portrayed similarly to advertisements of women and power dynamics of gender) could be criticized by stating the opposite argument to the point I have been making is more relevant: i.e. that women in Goffman's advertisements are represented and demeaned by being reduced to visual metaphors related to wilderness, landscape, and nature. However what Gillian Rose (2013) and ecofeminist authors such as Val Plumwood (1993) suggest is that both arguments are true, women and landscape are conflated in both directions. "The female figure represents landscape, and landscape a female torso, visually in part through their pose: paintings of women and nature often share the same topography of passivity and stillness." (Rose 2013: 167). This shared representation of women and nature together increase the power imbalances that benefit what Donna Haraway

(1991) terms the 'master subject', or the privileged and powerful members of society.

As ecofeminists suggest, this view of a passive and dominated wilderness is the norm in our society however this is not the inherent reality. Just as women are not inferior even though they are presented that way, the Croatian landscape is not seen by members of the nation in this extreme of an image of passivity. It is obvious that Croatians do not visualize their nation only as a place of tourist activities, however they also do not see the land in terms of the same polarizing power dynamics presented in these advertisements. When asked what they would make had they been tasked with creating an advertising campaign participants tended to create images that focus on the natural beauty but show it in a way that does not valorize the tourist over the land. It is a more egalitarian perspective focusing on the diversity of the landscape and what the land can do and offer rather than what the tourist can take. For example, the sun and sea image of coastal Croatia was important to participants however it was paired with culture, both historical and modern. The beach was also not solely focused on the tourist but instead images of Croatians in cafes and bars on the beaches rather than just tourists on secluded beaches. In fact the presence of locals in natural settings were common in the way participants would 'advertise' the nation, instead of the tourism campaigns that present the Croatian landscape as devoid of any Croatian people. The beautiful mountains and inland plains were also present in the advertisements that participants created as well. These mountains were not just for hiking but there were also small towns, locals, local produce, and regional delicacies. These advertisements also contained images of cities with modern attractions and heritage sites alongside the image of pristine nature.

Throughout the photo elicitation interviews, it became evident that there is an inconsistency between the passivity in which the land is being represented and the ways in which participants visualize the nation. Participants, while they identified strongly with landscape as a marker of Croatian identity, did not see the land only in terms of tourism and tourist activities. They also described the land in terms of productivity and potential. Landscape was continuously visualized as not simply beautiful and something to explore, but also as a place that produces great wine and olive oil, a place that has been free from harmful industrial pollution so that it could offer ecotourism with potential for investment and development along the lines of environmental protection and sustainable technology. Participants also connected the landscape to potential growth in agriculture and the possibility of selling Croatia's clean water. Pristine landscape is not just visualized as beautiful but it also represents future economic potential and growth.

Representing Croatia as visually passive within these two campaigns is not

Figure 4.8 (left)
The historic old town of Grožnjan.

Figure 4.9 (right)
The historic old town of Rovinj.

Figure 4.10
Seafood (left) and St. Mark's Cathedral in Zagreb (right) in the Visit "Croatia. Share Croatia." video.

unique to the portrayal of landscape. Though outdoor activities were the most common images of these campaigns, images of culture and history were also present and continued to passively represent Croatia in similar ways. The next section explores this same passive representation of Croatia within images of history and culture.

Historic Croatia and the Modern Tourist

Together both campaigns can be divided into three sorts of images: 1. images of landscape which were just discussed earlier in this chapter; 2. images of historic places or cultural activities; and 3. images of tourists. Both the images of nature and the images of historic places/activities act as representations of Croatia. The images of tourists demonstrates how the tourist and outsider is intended to interact with Croatia. At times all three of these representations can exist in one image. For example in Figure 4.8 the small historic town of Grožnjan is presented within a vast expanse of wilderness and with tourists biking. Some images represent just one or two of these elements. In this section the contrast between the representations of the tourist and images of historic places and cultural activities within both the campaigns will be examined before bringing all three elements together in the next section.

Figure 4.11
Images of culture and history in the "Croatia 365" campaign.

Historic Sites and Cultural Activities

History and culture within the two campaigns are presented as images of old towns, Croatians in historic dress, and food. Within the advertisements of the "Visit Croatia. Share Croatia." campaign, history and culture are only presented as images of the historic small town. This is represented in images of Grožnjan (Figure 4.8) and Rovinj (Figure 4.9). However the video contains one image of food and a short shot of St. Marks Cathedral in Zagreb (Figure 4.10), along with many shots of Dubrovnik and Split. However none of the names of the locations were present in the video, making them only recognizable to people who had visited. The "Croatia 365" campaign represents history and culture very differently. Within their category on culture there are only images of Croatians in traditional dress, there are no images of iconic historic buildings or old towns (Figure 4.11). The "365" campaign also depicts images of food removed of people and place

(Figure 4.11).

Apart from food, history and culture are presented as the small historic town in the "Share Croatia" campaign and the historic events of the "365" campaign. These are images of folk dances and traditional dress (Figure 4.11). These images are of a specific time in history and of a specific cultural influence that is highly connected to a shared European past and conveniently omits Croatia's ties to the east, the country's recent socialist history, or its difficult past (for example the breakup of Yugoslavia). This is consistent with research on Croatian tourism brochures by Rivera (2008) which explored how these promotional materials emphasized Croatia's connection to Western Europe while eliminating all references to its ties with the east. While it makes sense that an advertisement for national tourism will highlight the positives and not its difficult past, these advertisements make a clear statement that Croatia is not aligned with its Turkish and Slavic identifying neighbors, omitting a reality that exists within the diverse cultural make up of Croatia. While this thesis does not intend to investigate the historical accuracy of the tourism board's claims, it is important to note that it is at odds with the way in which participants view the nation.

At the beginning of this chapter I laid out three ways in which participants most commonly and universally described Croatia. The first was the landscape which was discussed in detail in the previous two sections of this chapter, the second was well preserved and diverse cultural influences, with the third being Croatia's economic and political situation. Participants themselves defined the diversity of cultural and historical influences as an important marker of Croatian identity. Some consider Croatia to be Eastern Europe, some participants call it Mediterranean, and others consider it Central Europe, however most participants agree that it is the diversity of all of these influences that makes Croatia unique:

> it's kind of on the crossroads between Western and Eastern Europe, so you can actually, when you come here, see that, because some cities just seem really advanced and westernized, but if you go into villages and usually parts the tourists don't venture into, then you see the part that I would define as more, like, a part of the Balkans or Eastern Europe. So, it's a culturally historically pretty interesting area and country. If you look at contemporary history, ancient history, we've been under a lot of different regimes and a lot of part, parts of different kingdoms. So, um... yeah, just an interesting, the Balkan area in general, melting pot of different cultures, different cuisines, different languages, religions. (023)

This is not to say that the tourism board is wrong to equate Croatia with Western Europe. As one participant described it Croatia is "somewhat western-like" (009) because the country does share many similarities to the west, but also to the east. To ignore either of those influences is to ignore part of what participants describe makes Croatia unique. However, to constantly describe Croatia visually in these

advertisements as similar to the west is to define Croatia passively. It is presented this way in order to present the country as safe, familiar, and docile. It removes many of Croatia's identifying features, again anonymizing the nation making it similar to the rest.

Within this historical representation of Croatian culture and urban landscape, it is evident that there is also a lack of images depicting anything modern within Croatia. Just like in the representations of Croatia's natural beauty, these historical representations of Croatian life show the nation as untouched by modernity's destruction. Marion Markwick's (2001) study of postcards in Malta demonstrates that many tourist images will focus on this pre-modern era in which old traditions are still alive and small Maltese towns were more connected to nature. These traditional towns are pictured on the coast and surrounded by nature. In these Croatian advertisements, culture is presented with traditional dress and reenactments. Food is described as local, natural, and set against the backdrop of traditional buildings. Just like the tourist images of Malta, these images situate Croatia in a pre-modern romanticized era, trapping the country to a specific western European identity. Croatia is presented as the "rural idyll" that sits "in opposition to representations of the city as polluted and depraved" (Rose 2013: 165). During the start of these campaigns, Croatia's slogan was "the Mediterranean as it once was". Even though the slogan changed part way through my research, these advertisements and the ones still being produced continue to convey that message of Croatia as a place of the past, untouched by modernity.

Markwick's (2001) study demonstrates how the bright colors of sun, sea, and even amplified greens contrast the grey of Malta's target northern European markets. This is one example of the way tourism advertising creates a tension between being different from the target markets but also having some familiarity since too different can be seen as unsafe. Croatia uses weather and geography to communicate this difference from the monotonous grey of many of the target countries. The tourism activities and portrayals of joyful emotions contrast the restrictions of work life at home communicating that Croatia is an escape. However it plays off of the idea of a familiar escape. The geography is different but familiar. Croatia's history is also caught in this similar but different balance. The culture and history is made to seem familiar and safe by emphasizing its European heritage. There are images of 19th century Austrian architecture and roman ruins. However, it is different from what exists everywhere else because it is untouched. This "timelessness" is explained by Markwick as "collapsing the past and the present into one." (2001: 427). It is not so much that Croatia is stuck in time but that it is stuck in timelessness. It is stuck in a romanticized vision of Europe and the Mediterranean. This romantic view emphasizes the weather and

the connection to nature along with the lack of technological irritants, industrial development, and modern social constraints. Tourism images emphasize that the nostalgic beauty of Europe's past is still alive and continues in the present Croatia. Therefore, Croatia is similar to Western Europe in its shared history but similarity doesn't draw tourists. Croatia attracts tourists by presenting itself as unique and it does so by showing that it is a nation where the nostalgia of the past and a simpler time is still alive.

Rojek (1993) describes this concept of 'timelessness' in terms of the postmodernity of the tourist experience. In postmodern society change is the only constant, nothing is permanent and everything is temporary. However heritage tourism is attempting to sell the past as a constant, as something preserved and unchanged.

> Preserving the past in order to escape into it is therefore seen as impossible. For merely to define something as unchangeable alters our relationship to it. Literary landscapes and, for that matter, heritage sites, do not preserve the past, they represent it. [...] The staging, design and context of the preserved object becomes crucial in establishing its 'reality' for us. (Rojek 1993: 160)

These tourism advertisements therefore are not preserving a Croatia of the past, they are representing the nostalgic desires of the tourist. History and culture are not being visualized as a static vision of the past but rather they are a constantly changing image of a the way the past is constructed by the tourist in the present, as a romanticized Mediterranean landscape.

Croatian tourism research has emphasized the positives of this premodern and western constructed image by referencing the increase of visits, entrance into the EU, and being perceived as safe (Miličević et.al. 2012). Again the accuracy of the claims the tourism board is making are not what is up for debate, what is being examined here are the limitations that this sort of representation can cause. This passivity of this representation that denies Croatia of much of the nation's identity is dismissive to those that live this identity. Croatia is being defined in terms of touristic nostalgia, therefore just as the images of landscape, these representations of history and culture are saying more about the tourist than Croatia. This passive and under-developed pre-modern image of Croatia becomes much more apparent against the stark contrast of the modern tourist.

The Image of the Modern Tourist

The "Visit Croatia. Share Croatia." campaign is intended to get tourists to share their photos on the tourism board's various social media sites. The advertisements are set up so that there are two images in each advertisement: the first

Figure 4.12
Footage of the tourists jumping into the water in "Visit Croatia. Share Croatia." video.

image is a wide shot of a destination in Croatia with a location marker similar to that of Google Maps, the second image in the corner and placed in the foreground is the image of tourists taking a 'selfie' at the location. The image of the tourist is set within a white frame that is mimicking the outline of an iPhone. Within the context of the advertisement it is made clear to the viewer that the people in the advertisements are meant to be tourists taking selfies and sharing photos on social media. They are all doing an activity that is normally associated with summer tourism such as going to the beach, sailing, biking, hiking, and eating outdoors. There is also no visible diversity of race/ethnicity and a very young age range present in these images.

The video that accompanied this campaign was composed of only footage that was taken by tourists and shared through social media. The footage was mostly shot on GoPro cameras, a small waterproof portable camera geared towards taking outdoor footage that became very popular for tourists at the time of this campaign. The video, while still communicating the same visit and share Croatia message, is less focused on the location than the print advertisements. It is focused on the tourist not the location and is only intended to share the experiences of other tourists in a video format. The video is made up of images of tourists taken by tourists. The tourists in this video footage are of an even younger age range than the print and online advertising. There are many action shots of outdoor activities, however because they are so close up and the clips change so quickly it is difficult to see what exactly is happening and where it is happening. What does come across to the viewer in a very short amount of time is the emotion. The joy and excitement of traveling is seen on the tourists' faces.

The "Croatia 365" campaign is not concerned with communicating the location, but instead it is focused on the activity. Therefore representations of tourists are based along the lines of the active tourist. Since this campaign doesn't separate the image of the tourist from the wide view of the location like the "Share Croatia" campaign does, the tourist is more actively involved in the location. The tourists are seen on bikes, mountain climbing, paragliding, kayaking, and swimming; many of these activities are costly and some require previous experience. The categories that depict tourists (biking, wellness, and outdoors) are very active and highly focused on the activity rather than the destination. Since the location of the images is not stated anywhere in the advertisements, the viewer then gets a sense of the experience and the activity rather than the destination. The tourist is presented in these images with less detail than the "Share Croatia" campaign, however it still communicates an image of a young active tourist, with no obvious diversity.

The use of technology, the age of the tourist, and the activities represent the tourist as young, technologically confident, modern, and active. The tourist is doing many things, however the main activity represented is interaction with the outdoors. There are images of biking, swimming, hiking, sailing, climbing, kayaking, paragliding, sunbathing, and more. The tourists in these images have smart phones and active social media accounts. The tourists are young and have both money and skills to participate in modern adventure tourist activities. For example the "Share Croatia" campaign video has repetitive shots of tourists jumping in the water (Figure 4.12). These images are a good example of the advertisement's focus on the young, technologically confident tourist, rather than Croatia. They are series of close up shots of young tourists, mostly men, showing excitement, doing energetic activities, with waterproof cameras (like GoPros), and very little is seen of Croatia. One participant criticized this series of footage that shows tourists constantly jumping into the water: "But [at the end] it's him holding the GoPro and he's jumping all the time, jump, jump, jump, jump and I don't think that Croatia is all about jumping" (005a). A lot of the video is taken up by this sort of footage, images of tourists doing an activity that doesn't actually show very much of Croatia.

In these two campaigns, this modern and active tourist is set against the backdrop of a sleepy Croatia that is represented as having untouched natural beauty and old historic towns. The tourist is seen as young, active, modern; the complete opposite to Croatia's old and undeveloped image. Western Europe is the main target audience for these advertisements and the tourists in these images fit this purpose. These tourists represent the young modern western European, while Croatia is presented as Europe's nostalgic pre-modern past. Croatia is rural,

Figure 4.13
Conference tourism in the "365" campaign.

pre-industrial, and traditional; the tourist has technological skills, money, and experience. Croatia then becomes the counterpart to the modernized west. This again presents Croatia in a position of less social power with the tourist being dominant. Croatia is presented in a passive role where the tourist and the tourist experience is the focus and Croatia is the backdrop.

The "Share Croatia" campaign is not advertising Croatia but instead it advertises the nation as a place that is 'share-able' online and that can make your online self look good. It is not focused on the tourist experience, but rather the 'share-able' potential. This frames the tourist as being highly involved with social media and having the technological skills to do so. However, against Croatia's traditional image this campaign makes Croatia even more of a spectacle. Croatia is presented as a place that is not modern and this is subject to the power dynamics of the modern western 'tourist gaze' (Urry 2011) both in real life and online. Encouraging this dissemination of Croatia's tourist image online is encouraging even more dominating gaze making Croatia that much more passive.

This Could Be Anywhere: Advertisements Focused on Tourism Not Croatia

This chapter has used gender to show the ways in which the landscape is being passively represented and has demonstrated how the representation of history and culture in contrast to the image of the tourists is additionally creating a passive image of the nation. Throughout, this chapter has repetitively shown how this passivity has in multiple ways changed the focus of the tourism advertisements from being about Croatia to representing the tourist and the tourist experience. Croatia itself is not the focus of these advertisements, but rather tourism is what is being sold. These images focus on the experience of the tourist, positioning the tourist in a way that valorizes their experience over the representation of Croatia. The advertisements end up communicating more about the tourist

Figure 4.14
An image from "Croatia 365" campaign in an unknown location.

and tourist activities than it does about Croatia. There is a lack of interaction with elements of Croatian identity and instead there is a large focus on the activity and the tourist. Just as a model that is selling clothing in a magazine advertisement, the Croatian landscape has become the model for tourism, selling an experience of tourism rather than selling Croatia. What happens when Croatia is represented so passively is that there becomes an anonymization and removal of identity within the representation of Croatia that is similar to the female model.

Croatian identity became so difficult to find within these representations of the nation that participants got excited when, in Figure 4.13, they thought they saw Klapa, the well-known traditional Croatian all male *a cappella* singing groups. Most participants assumed that Figure 4.13 was an image of this traditional activity and found this sort of representation of Croatia very refreshing amongst all the vague and passive images of Croatian identity. One participant (009) said that this image finally represented "an aspect of culture". Most participants didn't even question that the image could be anything else saying: "this is our national group of people singing it's called Klapa it's our traditional singing. […] And they are really popular because they are signing *a cappella* and traditional music, uh traditional songs." (007). However Figure 4.13 is actually an image of conference tourism that is intended to encourage businesses to come to Croatia to use their hotel venues for meetings and conferences.

Participants did not look at either of these advertising campaigns and immediately dismiss them, because they are not incorrect or misleading. However they did not look at them and immediately identify with them either because while it is true they are not saying anything incorrect, they are also not really saying much at all about Croatia. Instead this passive representation of the nation, where landscape is seen as vast and generic and history is associated with other nations, makes these advertisements so generic that participants felt that they could be anywhere.

> 004: I mean, this is in fact, this here can represent Toscana and Provence and everything, nothing makes it Croatia, except that it says Visit Croatia […] what does this picture from the air mean? I don't know, it's

> completely uninventive. […] you can't tell what it is, what it actually represents.
>
> 017: this can represent almost any country in the world, it's nothing unique for Croatia.
>
> 020: you know it's like nice pictures, it's really- That is Rovinj right? Yeah. I mean…but you can, you can see these things you know like, you can see something like this in, basically, I don't know, Germany. You can see the previous picture in Italy somewhere, you know. It looks Italian, right? And basically that's it. You, you don't differentiate your country well enough, you know.

In these advertisements it seems like it doesn't matter where the tourist activity is taking place as long as it looks good, because what is being sold is tourism, not Croatia. There are no identifying images of things that are uniquely Croatian like the Klapa singers.

While the images of the "Share Croatia" campaign list the location of the images and use locations that are iconic Croatian tourist destinations, the "Croatia 365" campaign does not. The images of the Croatia 365 campaign categorize each activity but do not give information on the location, making the activity recognizable but the location unrecognizable. These locations were not known even to the participants interviewed and they criticized the tourism board for not creating a consistent recognizable image of Croatia. For example, when participants in each interview got to Figure 4.14 most participants would ask me where the location was, so much so that I began to expect it in every interview. The location is not present in Figure 4.14 or any of the images of the "365" campaign and the location is also not iconic or even recognizable. That is because, for the purpose of these advertisements, the location doesn't matter, the focus is on the activities. This is an example of Croatia simply selling tourism rather than representing the nation. In Chapter 2 we saw that Croatia has a pattern of prioritizing 'selling' to tourists and lacks an awareness of any impact this image can have on the representation of the nation both internationally and nationally. Any image of Croatia, even if it is intended only for tourists, contributes to Croatia's brand and makes a statement to the world about who Croatia is and wants to become. What then does a campaign without distinguishable or recognizable locations and sites say about Croatia?

While the "Visit Croatia. Share Croatia." campaign did add the location to their advertisements, the video, just like the "365" campaign, did not include the location. Participants found this "Share Croatia" campaign to be dated. They felt like using social media was overdone and that they had also seen these types of overly stylized beach photographs of Croatia before. One participant stated "I would like that, if, I'm, I'm just sound incredibly rude now, but I'm going to like

it if it were 2011. You know?" (020). This participant is referring to the fact that social media has become, as he put it, "cliché" and "cheesy". It is not original, it is just another way that Croatia is copying other trends. The photos of the campaign were seen as more of the same generic photos of islands and beaches that didn't actively communicate much about Croatia. So while they at least recognized the images of the campaign they were still unimpressed by the way in which Croatia was presented. One participant (011) described the video for the "Share Croatia" campaign like this: "They are always having fun, fun, fun, and but then you don't see a lot of Croatia here actually just more of them than Croatia. It's not that bad but I think considering what it is it should be much much better." Not only is this participant recognizing that the advertisement is more about the tourist than Croatia, he is also expressing a feeling of ambivalence and disappointment about these advertisements that was common among participants. Participant 'A' in interview 021 shows this ambivalence while explaining how these images aren't saying very much and could be of any location, but there is nothing outwardly wrong with them:

> Its 'oh me and my friends are having a great time at the beach', 'oh me and my girlfriend we are having a great time at the waterfalls' 'oh me and my older husband are walking around and kissing' I can do that anywhere.
> […]
> It's just a bait. It's just a bait for attracting certain kind of people and telling them what they should do here. I mean it serves its purpose but I don't know. You can look at those touristic ads all day and not just from Croatia you can mix uh all those tourist uh ads pictures like this and they will look all the same. I mean honestly it just doesn't, for me it doesn't work but I understand that a lot of people will say, "oh this is so beautiful and because I saw this picture I will go here". It it's not a lie but it uh the purpose of this picture is very obvious and yeah that's it. (021a)

The passive communication of Croatia is inoffensive making the participants fairly ambivalent about how it looks. These advertisements don't lie but they also don't say very much.

Passive Representation and Croatia's Future

In Chapter 2 Graan's (2013) research on the rebranding of Macedonia was discussed. Graan argued that Macedonia was creating an image of the nation that was, like Croatia, focused on a fabricated nostalgic past that emphasized

its connection to Europe and did not actively communicate the reality of Macedonian identity. Ultimately Graan (2013) argued that nation branding is a form of neoliberal nationalism and that this national image production is a way of communicating economic competitiveness on a global scale. When applied here it can be argued that Croatia is not presenting itself in "value producing ways" (Graan 2013: 176). Croatia is advertising tourism instead of actively communicating what makes Croatia unique and, against the modern tourist represented in both campaigns, Croatia becomes seen as underdeveloped and backwards. These are not qualities that make the nation recognizable as a country that can compete internationally. It rejects the potential for Croatia to become a nation that is modern and industrialized or has anything more to offer than a place for modern western Europeans to escape. If "national representation is thus increasingly realized as an economic function" (Graan 2013: 175) then Croatia's continual failure to create a realistic vision of the nation can cause unintended harm. This passive image of Croatia makes it very difficult to view Croatia as a nation that can compete in a competitive and modern global economy. Therefore national representation not only effects the possibility of economic growth but it also has an effect on the potential of Croatia's imagined future.

When asked about what the future of Croatia looked like, participants gave a bleak response. Some were hopeful that things would get better, but that this could only happen if Croatia changed their attitude towards tourism. The economy and the financial state were worrying to some, however many viewed it as a symptom of a system that is focused on increasing numbers rather than focusing on long term goals and the possible political potential of creating a positive brand. These advertisements are geared towards increasing tourist arrivals not building a recognizable image of the nation. This focus on building up tourism numbers is criticized by the participants interviewed. These participants do not want Croatia to turn into a mass tourist destination like Spain or Italy. Even a participant who owns a business that serves tourists is at odds with moving in the direction of mass tourism and is hoping instead that tourist numbers decrease.

> I mean, as a, as a tourism worker and someone whose income depends on it, of course I'm, you know, very happy to see all the tourists, but I think, I'm hoping that it's decreasing. I mean I've been doing this for about 8 years, I think it stayed about the same. I hope it decreases, I hope Croatian people can open up too, but I also hope that tourists are, you know, a bit more respectful about it. So yeah, hopefully decreasing. (023)

Participants visualized the current Croatia in terms of natural beauties and diverse history, however their visualization of the future was highly affected by the fear of mass tourism. Participants found it difficult to reconcile having pristine

natural surroundings as a unique and identifying marker of Croatia with the rise in mass tourism. This passive representation of Croatia in these advertisements reinforces this fear that mass tourism is destroying the pristine natural resources that make Croatia unique.

> 013: It's going in the same direction as Italy, as Spain as all the touristy places that are in the world […] they're planning to build hotels, they're planning to just build the same tourist infrastructure that exists anywhere else, you know. They're not trying, I don't think they're using the potential of being not developed […]. In tourism, you, you gotta have something that makes you unique. […] They're just not using the, the unspoiled beauty that we have. They can't build, you know, all sorts of, I don't know, hotels or, or apartments to rent, or stuff like that, it just makes mass tourism. And in the end, I don't know, in ten years or so it'll just gonna be another Italy or another coast of Spain. Picture, you know, another coast of France.

> 010: If, if we, if we build a, a mass tourism destination, we're gonna lose what Croatia was, what Croatia is or was in the beginning. So, by that, I believe we would, we would lose our future in tourism. That's what I, that's what I believe.

Croatia is seen by participants as vulnerable. It is politically, economically, culturally, and environmentally vulnerable. The future is not visualized positively because of this vulnerability. This vulnerability stems from the way that Croatia is represented as passive. Gillian Rose (2013: 167) argues that both land and women are associated "with reproduction, fertility and sexuality, free from the constraints of Culture. Incorporating all of these associations, both Woman and Nature are vulnerable to the desires of men." This vulnerability that Rose suggests is present within, not only the discourse of Croatian landscape, but also the representation of history and culture. Croatia is sold as an untouched wilderness, a virgin landscape, well-preserved history, and a land filled with roman ruins and folk heritage; it is 'the Mediterranean as it once was'. The reality of this representation aside, it characterizes Croatia as place that has yet to fall into the ill fate of modern development and is yet to be destroyed. It is depicting Croatia as a place that is vulnerable to development and industrialization, a place that you should visit before it is gone. Therefore it is understandable that this vulnerable representation of Croatia along with the industry's move towards mass tourism makes participants worry about what Croatia will look like in the future. The passive representation of Croatia could potentially affect the nation's economic competitiveness internationally along with the sustainability of Croatia's untouched resources and preserved cultural heritage.

Conclusion: Not Visualizing the Nation

This chapter has argued that Croatia is represented passively within tourism advertisements through the representation of landscape, culture, and history. By applying gender in advertising to landscape and comparing the representation of the modern tourist to the traditional image of Croatia, it becomes apparent that these advertisements both create and reinforce power dynamics that characterize Croatia as passive. This passivity in turn makes the tourist and the tourist activity the main focus of the campaigns. Instead of advertising Croatia, these campaigns are advertising the experience of tourism, making the location of the advertisements less important. This constructed representation of the nation is so passive and Croatia becomes so distant from the purpose of the campaign that these images could arguably have been photographed almost anywhere. Overall this passive representation of Croatia turns Croatia into an anonymous "model" for tourism, stripping it of its identity and making it indistinguishable from other nations. In the broader context this passive representation of Croatia that sells tourism instead of Croatia can have an effect on Croatia's international competitiveness and even the way in which Croatia's future is visualized. However this chapter can also be connected more broadly to the role of images and the construction of the imagined national community.

Visual researchers emphasize that images are not only about what is visible but that what is not visible is just as important (Rose 2016). In these tourism advertisements depictions of landscape are most visible followed by historical towns and images of culture. Landscape was used most often to define Croatian identity and its beauty was described with pride by the interviewees in this research. However, the depictions of landscape in these tourism advertisements removed the iconic, the cultural, and the national from these images. What then becomes visible is landscape without people and without the iconic imagery that constructs the landscape as Croatian. Landscape, history, and heritage are visible in these advertisement through tourism, the rural idyllic, the romanticized European past, and virgin land untouched by modernity. While none of these visual claims being made are overtly false, they have made a point of only making visible specific points of touristic interest.

But what is invisible are Croatians and Croatia. The nation is not very visible in these tourism advertisements and therefore the advertisements are not visualizing the nation. In the moments when Croatia is visible, the nation is represented as passive and vulnerable. These images are effectively 'not of Croatia', they are instead visualizing tourism. Croatia has a long embedded history of

tourism as an important economic industry. While tourism has certainly shaped the nation, this image of Croatia as defined only by tourism is not complete. It is reducing Croatia to a tourist destination rather than representing it as a nation that tourists can visit.

This selling tourism to the tourists is consistent with MacCannell's (1992) description of images in a postmodern society. MacCannell argues that postmodern images are like mirrors meant to reflect the viewer back to itself. These images are superficial, idealized, and lack depth. Together postmodern images are "both transparent and reflective" (MacCannell 1992: 189). In terms of tourism advertisements, they are reflective in that the advertisements are not visualized as a representation of the nation, but rather they reflect the tourist, the tourist experience, and the tourist's desires. The advertisements are transparent because they lack depth, meaning, and presents a superficial idealized version of Croatia through the tourist experience. According to MacCannell (1992: 188) this idealized version of the nation for the tourist may seem "innocent" but in reality "its valorization of the surface, and the superficial, ultimately advances conservative individualistic ideology with its promotion of the Center and the Interior". MacCannell's argument about postmodernism is overly focused on the individual and pessimistic without any tangible explanation of why a postmodern society is worse off. Nevertheless, applied to the Croatian tourism advertisements in this research MacCannell's statements about the image show that these advertisements are creating a system in which the image of Croatia is superficially reflecting the tourist. The point that MacCannell makes about individualism can be applied here to argue that these tourism advertisements are valuing the individual tourist. The tourist benefits from these advertisements while Croatia becomes reduced to an idealized tourist destination. It is a form of exploitation of Croatia's landscape, culture, and history and repurposed for the gain of the tourist.

These images may be a reflection of the tourist, however, they are disseminated globally and will present themselves as a representation of the nation. These images do not just advertise tourism, they have agency and "perform a social function" (Rose 2016: 46). Images "say something about who we are and how we want to be seen" (ibid). Images form part of how we define the social world and construct identities (Sturken and Cartwright 2001). These images of Croatian tourism advertisements are not immune to the agency of images. Whether intending to or not, the tourism images will inevitably construct a message about who Croatia is and what Croatia wants to become. Therefore "the relevant question now becomes not how images 'look' but what they can 'do'" (Pinney 2004: 8). Literature on nation branding argues that these tourism images will construct an image of the nation globally beyond the tourism market (Olins 2003). Anderson

(1991: 207) describes the nation's "undivorcible marriage to internationalism" arguing that the nation and the international community are linked. Billig (1995: 61) also makes the claim that the nation is constantly "outward looking" meaning in this context that the nation in the international sphere is just as imagined. Therefore, what these images are 'doing' is building the imagined nation internationally. This brings up questions on what sort of nation is being imagined with this passive construction of the nation.

Chapter 6 will continue in more detail on the effect of these tourism advertisements and their democratic role, however in order to analyze the reception of these images, it is necessary to examine the context in which they were created. The next chapter focuses on the site of production and will explore the industry that created these images along with the participants' interpretation of the industry in order to better understand the ways in which this passive representation was created and the outcomes of this representation.

5. NOT FOR CROATIA

THE SITE OF PRODUCTION AND THE ROLE OF TOURISM ADVERTISEMENTS

The previous chapter presented some of the criticisms participants had about both of the tourism campaigns. For example they critiqued the lack of any modern representation of Croatia, the exclusion of non-western European influences, the representation of Croatia as only offering natural beauties, the continuation of the even more narrow representation of Croatia as just offering sun and sea, the focus on the tourist rather than Croatia, the inability to recognize Croatia in these advertisements, and the fear of what mass tourism will do to Croatia's future image. All of these criticisms stemmed from the passive and safe interpretation of Croatia that the advertisements created. However to understand these criticisms and explore some of the motivations behind this passive representation, it is necessary to examine the site of production. This chapter will provide support to the research aims by showing how the passive image of Croatia is constructed and why. I will address the question of who is constructing these images.

The industries that created these advertisements voiced many of the same critiques identified by participants. Designers criticized the lack of a consistent image, they felt that Croatia needed to be more present within these advertisements, and they worried about the sustainability of both the Croatian brand and the tourism industry. However a designer's job is to please the client, in this case the tourism board, and the tourism board is concerned with market research

data and increasing arrivals. At first glance it is easy to summarize the issues with these tourism images into a case of designers being on one side fighting for their design ideas and better representation of Croatia while the tourism board is on the other side with money, design briefs, and market driven goals. While this dynamic does play out to some extent within the site of production of these images, in reality the way these design decisions are made is much more complex. There are many ways in which designers find themselves limited, motivated by commercial aims, and simultaneously holding conflicting ideas about the role of tourism images. As discussed in Chapter 1, advertising is a high stakes process. There is a lot of money being invested in promoting Croatian tourism and ambitious goals set around tourism numbers. Therefore, there are many individuals from differing departments and industries that are all working to create a successful advertising campaign. Much of the time, however, these stakeholders do not always see eye to eye and many promising campaign ideas must be compromised. There are many different agents involved in creating these advertisements and "the different agents involved have different agendas" (Ståhlberg and Bolin 2016: 284). The designers are creating the campaigns to the specification of the tourism board, however the final product is, in the end, a combination of these competing motives rather than a process that is either purely concerned with the designer's interest or purely concerned with the tourism board's goals.

This chapter is separated into two main aims. First it demonstrates how the motivations and goals of the tourism board and the designers produced the passive representation of Croatia and placing commercial aims central to the representation of identity. Secondly, this chapter argues that since the site of production treats Croatian identity as a product, the process of product branding for Croatia creates a reductive, superficial version of the nation lacking depth of significance to the nation. This chapter will achieve these two aims by starting with an exploration of the motivations and aims of the tourism board. I then present detailed description of the different industries interviewed as the site of production before moving to analyze the industry's critique of tourism in Croatia and an exploration of the motivations of these industries. After I have demonstrated how the site of production has created tourism campaigns that are not intended to represent Croatia, I theorize on the visualization of national identity as a product using the examples of the tourism logos, the use of fonts in the tourism campaigns, and the red checkered symbol of Croatia.

Overall I argue that the site of production creates these tourism images 'not for Croatia' but rather for commercial interests. The representation of the nation does not play a role in the creation of these advertisements. This process of creating commercialized branded images of the nation turns national symbols into

depthless reproducible logos. This values only aspects of national identity that are marketable, transforming identity into a superficial image that lacks content and is based instead on appearance and profit.

The Tourism Board: Full of Life

The two main direct contributors to the design of the tourism campaigns were the national tourism board and the design/advertising agencies hired for the job. The Croatian National Tourism Board (or Hrvatska turistička zajednica, HTZ) is a governmental organization in charge of promoting national tourism. The tourism board created design briefs for each of the two campaigns and hired a design firm based on their initial concept. The design firm BBDO Zagreb created the campaign "Visit Croatia. Share Croatia.", while "Croatia 365" was designed by Grey Advertising Croatia. This section will explore the aims of the tourism board for each campaign. However, due to the tourism board's lack of transparency there is a limited amount of information on these two campaigns. Therefore, the second half of this section will cover the new rebranding campaign to give additional evidence that the tourism board's visualizations of the nation are intended for profit, aimed at tourists, and unconcerned with national identity.

The Croatian tourism board is the client for these designs. However, Croatia, or rather Croatian tourism, is the product. The tourism board's job is to 'sell' Croatia and they do this as most businesses would, with a large focus on numbers. In an interview with the tourism board they identified three main target goals for tourism branding: "1. Increase brand awareness by 50%, 2. Extend the season by 1 million more visitors, 3. Improve expenditure of guests." (CNTB Nov 2014). These are three very tangible goals with measurable success rates. However, these goals are outward facing with pull factors focusing on the tourist, the mindset of potential customers, and the economic impact of their visit rather than focusing on the representation of Croatia. There seems to be no push factor coming from within the Croatian public that is concerned with the representation of collective identity internationally. The tourism board is less concerned with building a recognizable image internationally and only has interest in the long-term message that these advertisements construct about Croatia as it relates to economic interests.

The intent of the "Croatia 365" campaign was to show that Croatia is more than sun and sea, not because the tourism board felt that this was a more accurate and sustainable message, but because they are intending to improve both pre- and post- season arrivals. By extending the season into colder months tourism board needs to show that tourists can do more than just enjoy the beach. So they

Figure 5.1
New "Croatia Full of Life" rebrand (Croatia Week 2015).

claimed the campaign shows "everything but sun and sea" (CNTB Nov 2014).

The "Share Croatia" campaign on the other hand was intended as the first move away from representing Croatia with a "beautiful picture" as "safe" and demonstrating "the virginity of nature" and moving towards presenting the "experience of tourists" (CNTB Nov 2014). However as seen in the previous chapter both of these campaigns still relied heavily on images of beautiful untouched nature. Additionally, the interview with the tourism board reiterated that the point of the "Share Croatia" campaign was to "see the real experience" through sharing tourists' images online (CNTB Nov 2014). As was demonstrated in Chapter 4, the participants interviewed saw this use of tourism images to sell Croatia as the same images that the tourism board continually used to sell summer tourism. They referred to the campaign as cheap, cliché, and uninventive; this is far from referring to the campaign as the 'real experience'. This 'real experience' that the tourism board was attempting to create also illustrates the tourism board's continual focus on the tourist experience rather than creating a sustainable image of Croatia with implications for the future.

Due to the tourism board's reliance on marketing data and visitor experience (rather than public approval or concern with an accurate representation of Croatia) it is therefore not surprising that these tourism advertisements would reflect the external Croatian tourism board's view of Croatia rather than facing internally to represent Croatian identity. It puts into perspective the passive representation of Croatia and the reason the focus of these advertisements is so highly skewed towards the tourist experience and image. During the data collection process for this research the tourism board announced the winner of their "Big Idea" tenure and unveiled the new "Full of Life" slogan. This moment placed a great amount public attention on tourism advertising topics that are generally

Figure 5.2
Images from the Croatia "Full of Life" campaign. (Croatia Week 2015).

not at the forefront of Croatian media. The discussion of the new campaign and the tourism board brought to light these same issues asking questions about the role and purpose of tourism advertising.

Full of Life

The new "Full of Life" slogan and subsequent images (Figure 5.1) quickly made Croatian news with a huge backlash from the Croatian public. The issue was not that the slogan was changed, but rather it was a critique of the unoriginality and dishonesty of the new slogan coupled with its expensive 2.5 million Kuna price (approximately £280,000). The slogan is intended to be used similarly to the popular tourism slogan for New Zealand, "100% Pure", where the word 'pure' is replaced with different tourism offers and elements of New Zealand identity. For example "100% relaxation, 100% welcome, 100% adrenalin, and 100% pure you" and even "100% Middle-earth" (Tourism New Zealand 2015). The New Zealand campaign was launched in 1999 and is an icon within the tourism branding industry (ibid). Rarely do campaigns last this long and still maintain a new and contemporary look and feel. The 100% Pure campaign is so iconic that there is

even an interactive website that informs the visitor of the history of the campaign[1]. "Full of life" follows a similar concept of the "100% Pure" campaign where the word 'life' in 'full of life' is replaced with tourism experiences. For example, Figure 5.2 shows images of the rebranding with advertisements stating "Croatia full of flavours", "Croatia full of love", and "Croatia full of fun".

The main criticisms of this new "Full of Life" slogan were claims of it being misleading. With the economic recession in Croatia an increasing number of young Croatians have had to leave to look for work and argue that Croatia is not 'full of life', but rather that it is the complete opposite. In addition, the seaside destinations that are so popular and overcapacity in the summertime are completely empty in the winter, many shops and restaurants closed with absolutely no life. Participants also explained that the Croatians on the coast and many places inland are known for their laid back attitude verging on laziness, a characteristic they are proud of but that is not consistent with a slogan entitled 'Full of Life'. The choice of this campaign slogan seemed to many to be not only inaccurate but also indifferent to the reality of much of Croatian life and identity. This begs the question, for whom is Croatia 'full of life'? The new slogan with its focus on the tourist is describing the nation as full of life, not for Croatians, but only for tourists.

Quickly the "Full of Life" slogan became satirized by disappointed Croatians with slogans like 'Croatia, full of corruption' and 'Croatia, full of debt'. Participants universally disliked the new slogan because it was too generic and said nothing about Croatia in addition to it being misleading and copying other campaigns. The phenomenon surrounding this whole 'full of life' backlash is summed up well within interview 021 where the three participants discussed the debate:

> P2: Yeah then Internet was uh full of uh uh I don't know uh, 'Croatia full of Shit', 'Croatia full of …', I don't know what else was there. People were making fun of it
> *I: Yeah. Do you guys like full of life?*
> P2: No
> P3: No
> P1: It's very generic, it doesn't mean anything
> *I: Yeah. Is Mediterranean as it once was better?*
> P2: Um yes
> P1: Yeah maybe because it's more specific, it does tell you what can you expect here. I mean they rely mostly on heritage to develop tourism so yeah it was better.
> P2: Well there was one a while ago, a fine slogan uh, 'Croatia where seas is clearer than the people's minds'.
> P1: [laughs]
> […]
> P1: Full of like is like uh what I said before it's very generic it doesn't

[1] http://10yearsyoung.tourismnewzealand.com

mean anything and and it doesn't have anything to do with Croatia, I mean yeah it's full of, I mean, It's full of life ok it's not like it's uh

P2: Full of debt

P1: Yeah [laughs] I mean it's also full of debt, it's just the way you look at it. It it's just stupid, it doesn't mean anything.

The conversation with these participants reflects themes discussed in the previous chapter of tourism advertising being generic and not communicating anything meaningful about Croatia. These participants reflect a lot of the same sentiments that others expressed with their disappointment in the new slogan and its focus on the profits rather than on representing Croatia. These sentiments are not wrong. When referring to the actual tender for the "Big Idea" its goals are purely concerned with the recognizability of its brand identity and increasing tourism.

The overall aim of the "Big Idea" is to make the tourist season longer, make the brand more identifiable, and increase the amount of money that tourists spend in Croatia (CNTB 2014). The tourism board intends to achieve these goals by "trying to reposition the mindset of potential customers" (CNTB Nov 2014). Just like the two campaigns in this research, the entire "Big Idea" plan is externally focused. The tender outlines in detail who the target consumers are and how to market to them, but it is not concerned with what Croatia is and how to represent it. This slogan together with the two campaigns in this research show that the tourism board is not concerned with representing the nation but rather selling tourism. What they are representing are the emotions of the tourist experience. The tourism offers in the new "Full of Life" images are now "flavours", "fun", and "love". In the previous chapter the campaigns were criticized for representing Croatia passively with tourism offers that were about tourist activities more than Croatia. However this "Full of Life" campaign goes even further away from the representation of Croatia. The campaign is not even promoting Croatian tourist activities, but emotions. Nothing being sold in these advertisements is unique to Croatia.

In fact the "Big Idea" and its new "Full of Life" slogan are so generic that they have been accused of copying other campaigns. As already mentioned the new slogan was related to the New Zealand "100% Pure" campaign in its concept. This New Zealand campaign was mentioned by most of the designers interviewed. It is a campaign that many of them used to base their designs on. Not only does this campaign resemble New Zealand's but it was also highly criticized in the media for replicating other slogans such as the Chevrolet Spark which used the same slogan in a TV commercial, Johnson and Johnson who trademarked the slogan, and it was even used for a tourism campaign for Victoria, British Columbia (Bradbury 2015a).

While there is nothing wrong with taking inspiration from a successful

campaign, Croatia has had many incidences where they were accused of copying other tourism campaigns. In addition to the unoriginal "Full of Life" campaign, the "Croatia 365" campaign studied in this research was also allegedly copied. The Croatian journalist Paul Bradbury (2015b) argued that Croatia's "365" campaign was too similar to the "365" campaign prototype launched by Punta Del Este in Uruguay to be a coincidence. The journalist (Bradbury 2015b: np) even pointed out the similarities between not only the concept and name but also the way the campaign was separated into categories:

> Croatia 365 - gastronomy, meetings and incentives, wellness, biking, outdoor and culture. (August 2014)
>
> Punta del Este 365 - gastronomy, meetings and incentives, wellness, sports and technology. (May 2014)

The Croatian National Tourism Board responded to Bradbury's claims by arguing that this and all the other similar campaigns he mentioned were not national campaigns, therefore "Croatia 365" was still original (Bradbury 2015c). While Bradbury's claims unveil yet another controversy with the tourism board's propensity for copying other nations, his attack on the tourism board was slightly unwarranted. Launching a completely original campaign is impossible. However, the problem is not with there being other similar campaigns, the problem is that these advertisements, which have already been criticized as not visually representing Croatia, are now copying how other nations are visually representing themselves.

The problem is not that they are copying other designs, but rather that Croatia is being represented so generically similar to other campaigns and design styles that the end result no longer represents Croatia as a nation. Overall replicating other nations is revealing of a nation that is outward looking, focusing more on what other nations do and think than their own internal identity. The tourism board is not focused on representations of internal identity of the nation; instead they are appropriating successful campaigns from other nations. This is because tourism advertising is approached by the tourism board not as a representation of collective identity and not as a nation building project, but rather as promoting an important sector of the economy and increasing international revenue.

This "Big Idea" is the "tourism vision of Croatia" (CNTB 2014). It is not intended to articulate national identity. These advertisements are all aimed to increase tourism's profitability, not to accurately represent the nation abroad. However, as discussed in the last chapter, these images have agency and they will be consumed abroad as representations of national identity. Nation branding defines how others will define the nation internationally (Aronczyk 2013).

Therefore this marketing image of the nation is not representing the nation and is not defining the nation, however it is being presented as a representation and visual definition of the nation. These images will articulate the nation whether or not the tourism board intends them to.

The tourism board is not concerned that the image they create will act to define the nation internationally. They are selling Croatia, not representing Croatia. They are branding Croatia not as a government attempting to represent its people, but instead they are branding Croatia in the same way a corporation would brand a product, an object. The book *Branding the Nation* (Aronczyk 2013) was a study of the site of production of nation branding. In this research Aronczyk was told by practitioners that branding a nation was different from branding an object. A nation is made up of individuals that define the nation in a multitude of very complex ways. However with an object, "you do not have to ask the beans in the can how they feel about the label" (Aronczyk 2013: 81). This quote shows the distinction between branding an object and branding a nation, but it also shows the assumption that the opinion of the nation matters in the creation of these advertisements. In this section, I have outlined the aims and motivations of the tourism board in the creation of these images of the nation, however the opinions of Croatians was not once mentioned by the tourism board. There is a notable difference between branding a nation and branding an object, however the tourism board is branding Croatia as though there is no distinction. They are not constructing an image of the nation that is concerned with the representation of the nation, however they are also not asking the nation "how they feel about the label". Ultimately what the tourism board is creating is a label. They are labeling Croatia based on tourist desires and interests.

Branding and labeling an object in this way is a process that uses identity for commercial gain. Branding combines the product being sold with an emotion and identity allowing people to "define themselves by means of their object" (Baudrillard 2005 [1968]: 208). These branded objects therefore reflect a "range of stereotyped personalities" (ibid).

> But let there be no mistake: objects work as *categories of objects* which, in the most tyrannical fashion, define *categories of people* - they police social meaning, and the significations they engender are rigidly controlled. (Baudrillard 2005 [1968]: 209, emphasis original)

Croatia is being advertised by the tourism board as an object, essentially defining and categorizing both Croatia and Croatians. This nation branding turns the nation into a strict, controlled, and narrow category. However, Baudrillard warns that in doing so those that identify with a branded object and the identity that the branded object represents become pigeonholed and the relationship between

them "can only become even more impoverished" (ibid: 208). Baudrillard is arguing that by branding an identity the relationship weakens between the object, the identity, and the individual. This brings up questions about the effect of branding the nation in this way. Does nation branding categorize and pigeonhole nations? Does using identity in this way break down the strength of national ties? The question of the exact effect of nation branding on Croatia cannot be fully answered by the data from this research. However, this research illuminates the need for these questions to be asked, not after the nation is branded, but during the branding process. It should start here, with the tourism board.

Baudrillard is not alone in his distrust of branding, scholars of nation branding have brought up similar points about the democratic role of nation branding and its potential side effects (Jansen 2008, Browning 2015, Ståhlberg and Bolin 2016). While the phenomenon of nation branding and its reception by Croatians interviewed will be explored in more detail in the next chapter, it is important to note here that while academics are concerned with nation branding's unintended consequences, those in the tourism board and the design industry are unable to view this tourism constructed image as significant in any broader context. For the tourism board and for the advertisers, these tourism images were largely just for tourists, they were inconsequential and my research was seen as unnecessary. When interviewing the advertising firm BBDO Zagreb in 2014, a few months before it was announced that they won the "Big Idea" bid, I was told that my research project put too much thought into tourism advertisements. In their mind, these were just images to increase tourism. There was no acknowledgement that these advertisements are representing the entire nation internationally, that these images affect the way the nation is perceived outside of its tourism offers, or even that these images could influence the way individuals identify with the nation. This idea that these advertisements are unimportant and just for tourism was also common among participants. Just like the tourism board, participants reduced the role of tourism advertisements to economic terms. The next section will show how participants viewed the role of tourism advertisements not as a place for articulating national identity but, just as the tourism board, a place for selling Croatia.

"Selling" Croatia: the Role of Tourism Advertising

The participants in interview 021 see the role of tourism advertisements as just for 'selling' Croatia, not for representing the nation and not as part of a national image that will influence other aspects of Croatian politics, economy, and identity.

P2: And it also depends on what kind of tourist do you want to attract. I mean if I want to attract, I don't know, an American who has a lot of money and wants to spend it on city girls I'll do some kind of ad that has something to do with it. [...]
P1: Yeah or sports uh for sports tourists like active vacation, whatever.
I: So what is the role of a tourist advertising? Is it to only sell to tourists or is it to show Croatia representatively?
P1: Sell definitely. No there's no point in making videos that will just uh serve as uh for pride. [...] It doesn't serve, nobody will profit from it so nobody will spend money to film it. It has to be like
P2: It has to sell something
P1: Yeah
P2: Because you will learn eventually where Croatia is or you will never learn where it is. But you want to see the ad as, "Oh I don't know this place but I want to go there". In my opinion.
P3: But but now it's it's just selling.
P2: Just selling yeah
P3: look at this we have this come here and
P2: Spend
P3: leave your money here
P2: And go away as quickly as
P3: As quickly as possible
P2: Next summer

In this conversation it is easy to determine that for these participants tourism is about the money that tourists bring. Croatian tourism in its current state is not about representing the nation it is about attracting consumers.

Participants often viewed tourism advertisements in that way. Tourism advertisements were for tourists and were intended to make money. Even though most participants were unable to see the wider importance and implications of tourism advertisements, they still criticized them for creating representations of Croatia that are limiting. Participant 006 expresses these two conflicting ideas:

> I think this is a shortcut basically. But I think we [are] better off with some more complex ideas, maybe to represent some other fields of life and art and work besides this consumeristic comments and common spent propaganda, you know. […] If that's the best they did like also they, it's lacking in some other aspects of, in our life here. But Croatia as a vacation haven it's ok it's represented accordingly in this part. But there's there's more to Croatia than that so. But I guess we cant expect that they will always represent the whole image because when you make an advertisement it's it's there for a reason to, intent for the people to see it and to come here and basically money is changing everything and it moves everything. That's the, I guess that that's the the sole truth of it. Yeah. (006)

For participant 006, these advertisements are "lacking", they do not accurately or fully reflect Croatia. But at the same time, participant 006 acknowledges that

they are just tourism advertisements and their intention is to make money not to accurately represent Croatia. He discredits the role of tourism advertising and the tourism industry ultimately stating that they are just to make money. This sort of contradictory statement is present within most interviews. Participants see that these advertisements are not presenting Croatia anywhere near its full potential, but at the same time they don't see the potential that better tourism images can have.

Even the earlier participants in interview 021, that stated tourism advertising is just to sell tourism, argue for a more accurate and meaningful representation of Croatia:

> P2: Or I don't know this could be Montenegro but 'cause I don't recognize those pictures. None of them, actually.
> P1: Yeah there's no guarantee they were taken in Croatia.
> P2: in Croatia. But maybe I don't know?
> *I: Does that matter?*
> P2: Yes it matters if this is not Croatia.
> P1: [laughs] yeah
> P3: False advertising.
> P2: Then it's a lie.
> P2: Yeah it's against the law.
> P3: But these these are not realistic. In my opinion.
> *I: Visit Croatia, Share Croatia? What what's not realistic about it?*
> P3: I think it's cropped.
> P1: Yeah it's a good word
> P3: like here it's it's empty factory or something ugly or something like that and probably here is also something
> P1: Junkyard or something
> [...]
> P3: It's the first picture that uh people see when they get off a plane. So [they're] expecting something like this and they just get a bunch of concrete and nothing pretty.
> P2: old factories and such.
> [...]
> *I: How would you create a tourism advertising with real images?*
> P1: Yeah. [Laughs]
> P3: It would be hard [laughs] uh that's uh I don't know.
> P1: I mean you can't include something ugly if you want to sell something of course but I think uh we can't [...] I mean you can't represent something that's not representative but you can focus on other things that are good like this because Croatia is not only this.

Within this quote the participants were shocked when I asked if it mattered whether or not the photos were taken in Croatia. The question seemed absurd because they want these advertisements to accurately represent Croatia. They even felt that the tourism advertisements were only showing specific parts of Croatia that would attract tourists and images that tourists would want to see

in an advertisement of this nature. The participants felt that they were deceptive because they didn't include the factories and old communist buildings nearby. They struggled with figuring out how to incorporate more realistic images while also attracting tourists, and ultimately argued that even if that was not achievable these advertisements could at least show something more than just beautiful nature. This second quote feels at odds with the first one that discounted the role and function of tourism advertisements. They didn't seem to think they were very important and only saw tourism advertisements as something to make money from.

Participants would often argue that tourism advertisements are not for them, their opinion doesn't matter, and the role of tourism advertisements does not extend beyond attracting tourists. However at the same time the participants criticize tourism advertising in ways that contradict their views on the role and significance of these tourism campaigns. Participants felt that these images were not fully representative of Croatia, they were truthful but do not adequately represent the nation. However, they argued that maybe it didn't matter because these were just for tourists and tourism advertisements did not need to articulate national identity. Participants showed a similar disconnect between the global perception of Croatia and tourism branding that the tourism board demonstrated. Though I have demonstrated that tourism advertising and branding is highly influential to the way the nation is imagined globally, for these participants and the tourism board tourism advertisements are not intended to communicate the nation. This distinction between tourism branding and national identity will be explored later in this chapter, however first I will demonstrate how the tourism and advertising industries that are part of the construction of these tourism advertisements also fail to see that tourism advertisements have the potential to articulate national identity. Just as with the participants of this research, interviews with members of the industry also criticized the tourism created image of Croatia while simultaneously discounting the significance of tourism advertising. The following section will introduce the organizations interviewed as part of the industry before exploring the ways in which these organizations criticized the tourism created image of Croatia.

The Industry

The tourism board perceives tourism advertisements as mechanisms for monetary gain rather than as a tool of identity construction. However, while the tourism board is the initiator of these campaigns, they are not the ones designing these advertisements. The advertisements are a collaboration between the tour-

ism board and the advertisers. It is true that the tourism board has the ultimate say, however they do listen to the designer's expertise and all the designers interviewed described working with the tourism board as a collaboration rather than a mandate. These two actors, the tourism board and designers, are by no means the only industries influencing the final design. For example the tourism board makes much of its decisions based on market research data and hire marketing consultants such as THR, 'tourism advisors' from Barcelona (THR n.d.). However, since the tourism board was restrictive about the information they would provide, all marketing data and many other involved institutions were not accessible for this research. Therefore, in order to gain a larger picture of the industry as a whole I interviewed other design organizations, influential designers, academics, a tourism research organization, and a regional tourism board (Chapter 3 diagrams all the organizations interviewed for this research). The next section will briefly describe each of these actors and their position.

BBDO Zagreb

BBDO Zagreb is the agency that created the "Visit Croatia. Share Croatia." campaign. The agency is part of the international design firm BBDO Worldwide with offices all over the world in 81 countries (BBDO n.d.). BBDO Zagreb's views on tourism branding seemed the most in line with the goals of the tourism board. In an interview with the project management team (Nov 2014) they referred to the "Share Croatia" campaign as having a "contemporary" perspective and they felt this campaign represented a "clean break" from the way Croatia had been advertised previously. This was the same description the tourism board gave me of the campaign, however, as stated in the previous chapter, participants interviewed believed the campaign to be the complete opposite: dated, unoriginal, and predictable. Just like the tourism board, the entire interview with BBDO was focused on the tourist and their experience. Not once did Croatian identity seem to be considered when creating the campaign.

Another way in which the agency was similar to the tourism board was in their reliance on tourism statistics and marketing data. In an online interview with the designer of the campaign, their satisfaction with the outcome of the campaign was defined in terms of the statistical success of the campaign:

> According to the minister of tourism himself the inbound traffic rose by 4,9% and the number of nights spent at tourist accommodation establishments increased by 2,3%, both in comparison to the first eight months of 2013. (BBDO Feb 2015)

Therefore BBDO Zagreb's view on the function and goal of tourism advertise-

ments seemed to be matched closely to that of tourism board in their definition of the purpose of the campaign, their focus on the tourist rather than Croatia, and their concern with tourism numbers.

BBDO was also the agency that was most reluctant to give an opinion, to speak about the tourism board, and to discuss anything other than concrete facts about the campaign. They were also the only agency where the interview was conducted in their offices, this could have accounted for their reluctance to speak freely. More likely an explanation could be that when I interviewed them they were in the process of being considered for the "Big Idea", the large re-branding project that the tourism board was in the process of hiring a design agency for. All design agencies interviewed, not just BBDO, were reluctant to speak against the tourism board's views and decisions because they would like to have the tourism board as a client in the future. Tourism is Croatia's main industry and the tourism board sits at the top of the industry, therefore, in Croatia, the tourism board is a very important client for these agencies.

Grey Advertising Zagreb

Grey Advertising Zagreb designed the "Croatia 365" campaign and were also shortlisted for the "Big Idea" tender. Similar to BBDO, Grey is a large organization with 96 offices worldwide (Grey 2016). However, the project manager from Grey was much more critical of the tourism board's strategy of branding than BBDO. The agency was more open to producing an alternative narrative of Croatia within their creation of a campaign that doesn't have any images of the coastline. However, they are part of a large chain of design firms and their take on design tends to be very commercial, which means that their design choices are safe and their images tend to look more manufactured and corporate. The graphical elements of the campaign are designed very similarly to a corporate logo, clean and simple but also generic and lacking symbolic meaning. This generic representation is evidence of the sort of corporate and muted design deficient of much national reference that Grey Advertising tends to create within their campaigns.

Studio Sonda

Studio Sonda is an advertising and design firm located in the Istria region of Croatia. This agency was also shortlisted for the "Big Idea" rebrand, however they did not design any of the campaigns used in this research. Sonda is included here because they represent a different type of design agency within the industry.

BBDO and Grey are both part of a network of large international chains and they work closely with their international partners to create these campaigns. For example BBDO Zagreb teamed up with BBDO UK and BBDO Spain for the "Big idea" bid, and Grey Croatia teamed up with Grey EMEA (Europe, Middle East and Africa) (Croatia Week 2014). However, Sonda is a local agency working in Croatia and applying for these design jobs individually. The studio's locality is part of their mission: "local, intuitive, and sincere" (Sonda Feb 2015). They are located in a small village in Istria and believe that this allows them to "think local and effect globally" (Sonda Feb 2015). For them it is a symbiotic relationship where their location helps them to design more authentic original campaign ideas and their international clientele helps stimulate the local economy. Their many designs related to tourism helped to build a large part of the regional image in Istria. As a Croatian based design firm owned by two Croatians, they believe "tourism is in our blood" (Sonda Feb 2015). As will be expanded on more in the next chapter, tourism to them is part of the national identity of Croatia and therefore tourism advertising is inherently a national product.

Zagreb Tourist Board

The Zagreb tourist board is the regional tourism board for the Croatian capital city of Zagreb. The Zagreb Tourist Board is slightly different than other regional tourism boards. Both Zagreb and Istria are regions that stand out with their tourism promotion. Istria is known to have a very strong regional identity and their tourist offers are much more developed than the other regions. Zagreb on the other hand does not focus on regional identity. Zagreb is the capital of Croatia and therefore the tourism board feels that it is "a place where you can feel the whole country in one place" (Zagreb Tourist Board Nov 2014). There are a mix of people and culture from all regions of Croatia in Zagreb and the tourist board would like to reflect that within their tourism offers and campaigns. While Zagreb might have all the influences of Croatia's many regions within one area, it does not have the coast to fall back on when creating an image. Therefore interviewing the promotion department within the Zagreb Tourist Board was, in a way, like interviewing another national tourism board. But the Zagreb tourism board represents a different way of advertising Croatia and an alternative view of the role of tourism within Croatia. Zagreb shows there is more than just three months of summer, sun, and beach tourism that Croatia can offer. The Zagreb Tourist Board (Nov 2014) stated that "Zagreb is the real 365 destination". Zagreb also offers, through their campaigns, the cultural (both past and present) side of Croatia that the national tourism board has neglected.

Institute for Tourism

The institute for tourism (IZTZG) is a public tourism research/consultancy agency located in Zagreb. Though they receive governmental funding and work with the national tourism board as a client, the Institute for Tourism is not connected to the Ministry of Tourism. The institute is a strong proponent of Croatia needing a comprehensive national brand identity. They are against the national tourism board's rebranding arguing that it is "not time for a new brand, we should do a national brand first" (IZTZG Mar 2015). For the Institute, "powerful tourism" only happens with a national brand consistent through all levels of government. As consultants to the tourism board their job is to give advice backed up by research data on topics such as tourism advertising and rebranding, therefore they are very open about how they feel the tourism board should improve. Additionally the advice that the institute has for the tourism board supports many of the criticisms that the other designers have about the image constructed by Croatian tourism advertisements. While the Institute for Tourism is critical of the tourism board, in many ways they hold the same business minded view of tourism branding as the tourism board. In fact, the Institute for Tourism feels that to successfully brand Croatia you must treat Croatia as a company. For the institute there is no difference between branding a country and a product and claims that even though national identity is "more complex, it is still a product" (IZTZG Mar 2015). This national brand, according to the Institute for Tourism, should include feedback from members of the nation but it should be implemented as a top down policy that needs to be managed and controlled like a corporate brand.

Boris Ljubičić

Ljubičić is one of the most well known designers in Croatia. I interviewed him in his small two-man studio in Zagreb called Studio International. While much of this interview focused on Croatia's flag and new EU member status, which will be discussed in the next chapter, we did discuss at length his design of the logo for the national tourism board and the topic of the red square symbol of Croatia. Ljubičić is known for incorporating the Croatian red square checkered board design into almost all of the brand identities he creates. These red squares are also present within the logo for the national tourism board.

When interviewing a professor of design at the University of Zagreb, she referred to Ljubičić as a conceptual artist and not a designer (Feb 2015). Many people have referred to his work as more conceptual, or more so than what people would normally consider for graphic design. Ljubičić himself states, "My designs are very complicated but they look very simple" (Nov 2014). Here he is referring

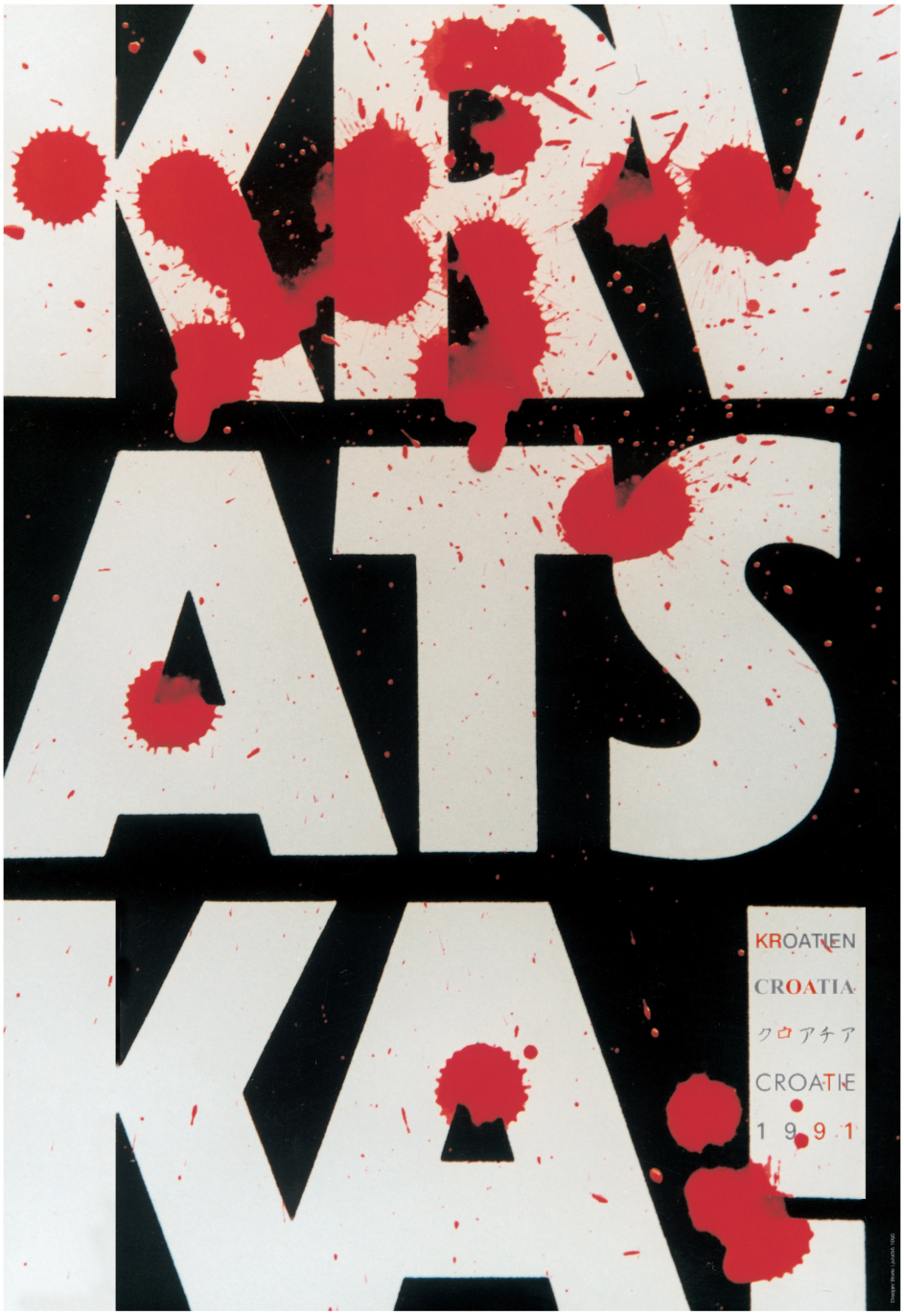


Figure 5.3
Poster protesting the violence of the 1991 war designed by Boris Ljubičić. The poster is a combination of the Croatian words Hrvatska, meaning Croatia, and krv, meaning blood to form the word krvatska.

to the fact that his designs are conceptually complex but visually and aesthetically very simple. In his designs, Ljubičić attempts to communicate meaning and messages, many of them political, beyond the conventional role of a graphic designer. The distinction between art and design has been, and continues to be, a large matter of debate, however it is evident that much of the design of these larger agencies hired by the tourism board tends to lack this sort of artistic conceptual motive behind the more obvious goal of crafting an effective brand identity.

Ljubičić's conceptual design in many instances, however, is not always well received. He is a controversial figure in Croatia, though his designs are fairly well accepted abroad. This controversial element in Ljubičić's designs goes back to the

discussion in the previous chapter about national identity and how being proud of national elements is seen negatively as dangerously nationalistic. Ljubičić's designs are overtly national. He pushes national symbols in almost all of the designs he does. He has done his own designs for political aims outside of his work for clients that are overt nationalist statements and designs that protest the war (Figure 5.3). When Ljubičić (Nov 2014) designs he sticks to five main parameters:

1. To be different
2. To be good (referring to quality)
3. To be beautiful
4. To be global by value
5. To be Croatian

Therefore no matter what Ljubičić is creating, he is importing national Croatian symbolic meaning into every design. He sees himself as a Croatian designer and all of his designs must reflect that. As noted in the previous chapter, however, for the participants interviewed, many forms of outspoken nationalism like this are often quickly equated to dangerous and violent forms of nationalism. Ljubičić and his nationalist approach to design is therefore controversial in Croatia.

While Ljubičić's design can be extremist and at times radical, his view on the role of design is consistent with the view that this thesis takes that design sends messages whether you put them there or not and therefore you must think of the messages and concepts that are being communicated in every design.

Bruketa&Žinić OM

Bruketa&Žinić OM is a large independent design agency. They are a Croatian company based in Zagreb with international offices in Vienna, Belgrade, and Baku. This agency, though independent, is one of the most prestigious agencies interviewed for this research winning hundreds of awards and being ranked as one of the top design agencies worldwide (Bruketa&Žinić 2016). Bruketa&Žinić is predominantly a design and marketing/advertising firm however their business extends into architecture, textiles, clothing design, exhibitions, workspace flow, and skincare. The agency is prominent and busy therefore they couldn't spend much time speaking with me and opted instead to answer questions over email.

Even though I was not able to get a full interview with this agency their input is still valuable for this chapter. Bruketa&Žinić represents another part of the industry with yet another perspective on design. Similar to Ljubičić, Bruketa&Žinić do incorporate conceptual elements into their design, however like BBDO, Grey, and most mainstream design agencies they are very client centered, concerned with first the satisfaction of the client and then the visual concept. Bruketa&Žinić

are an agency that clearly shows the constraint and pull between conceptual design that is concerned with creative but more accurate visual representation and constraints such as marketing data, business relationships, and corporate development that is seen within every individual interviewed in the industry. This chapter will explore this tension between design's powerful ability to communicate complex concepts and the more reductive capitalistic potential of design to sell products. Overall, I argue that treating national identity as a product within this system projects a one sided market driven view of the nation that, while easily communicable, disregards the nation and its people. First, however I lay out the criticisms of Croatia's representation present in the industry as a whole, which shows the potential to visualize the nation in alternative ways.

The Industry's Critiques of The Tourism Image

All of the interviewees within the industry, from designers to tourism researchers, have a very different take on tourism and design. For example the design agency Grey Croatia is a branch of a large international chain of agencies that approaches design with the client's needs, consumer insight, and marketing data. On the other hand, Studio Sonda is an independent Croatian design firm that values the local and Studio International believes designs should be conceptual and national regardless of the target market. However all of these design agencies expressed similar criticisms of the tourism created image of Croatia and the tourism board itself. This section will outline the industry's criticisms of the tourism created image of Croatia starting with a detailed account of a poster design project as an example that illustrates the sentiments of many of those working in the industry[2].

In 2013 the Croatian visual culture website, *Viz_Kultura*, launched with a poster design project called "PLAKATIRANJE" (roughly translated into POSTERIZING)[3]. This project was intended to promote the new website by featuring original posters made by up and coming Croatian designers and artists with socially and culturally oriented designs. A new poster was launched every week and the endeavor took off with more exhibitions of the posters. The project continues today, although with less regularity. One of the original 17 posters on

[2] BBDO Zagreb is not included in this account since, as described in the previous section, they were not forthcoming in the interview and did not express any opinion about either the tourism board or the representation of Croatian tourism.

[3] The poster from the project can be found in the archives here http://vizkultura.hr/kategorija/izdvojeno/plakatiranje/

Figure 5.4
Teran kakav je nekad bio ("Teran as it once was"). Poster designed by Studio Sonda (2013) for *Viz_Kultura*.

the site was created by Studio Sonda. The poster, seen in Figure 5.4, was posted in May 2013 with the title "Teran kakav je nekad bio" or "Teran as it once was". It is a design based on the tourism board's logo and slogan, "the Mediterranean as it once was". The poster is a play on words emphasizing the word 'Teran' in the tourism slogan's 'Medi*teran*', the Croatian word for Mediterranean. Teran is a local type of wine from Istria whose existence incurs a large amount of both regional and national pride. However because Slovenia had already trademarked the word Teran, Croatia was unable to continue calling their wine by the same name and once Croatia joined the EU they were banned from using the word 'Teran' when selling wine in Europe.

This poster (Figure 5.4) created by the Istrian based design firm, Sonda, was intended as a protest against this ruling on Croatian wine. The poster asks the question "how Croatia could be the Mediterranean without its Teran, referring to the importance of traditional customs and products, the protection of which is so easily understood, and without which the whole country loses its identity" (Sonda 2013). For Sonda, Teran is part of the Croatian land and part of the Croatian identity. They argue that you cannot advertise your country as Mediterranean and simultaneously erase one of the identifying elements of Croatian's Mediterranean culture and identity. The designers argued that not being able to call their wine by its name means "you are erasing history" but not just Croatian history, you are erasing "European history" (Sonda Feb 2015). In the removal of the word Teran from these wines, the designers are arguing that they are removing a shared political and cultural history with Slovenia and other nations in that region. Just because Slovenia entered the EU first does not mean that Teran was historically exclusively Slovenian. The makers of the poster are saying that, ironically, to become a European member state Croatia must renounce part of its European heritage. Sonda's poster ultimately poses the question "what does [it] mean for our identity if we can't use our own names of products?" (Sonda Feb 2015).

Sonda is protesting not only the use of the name but also the way that Croatia gives up elements of its identity to suit its political and economic aims. This is an argument that was made in the previous chapter when referring to the ways in which Croatia presented itself visually in these tourism campaigns. The previous chapter outlined how these campaigns created a specific passive and sterile image of Croatia that similarly removed and rejected elements of Croatian identity. Participants had the same critique saying these advertisements could be anywhere and they were not specific to Croatia. They argued for a representation that acknowledged the reality of elements of Croatian identity and included things such as the war and any modern representations.

For this *Viz_Kultura* project that the poster was created for, there were no parameters or criteria for the design. Designers and artists could do whatever they wanted. There were no briefs, no tenders, and no "Big Idea" contests. This poster is an example of a design that Sonda created without many of the same constraints of a client relationship. Sonda could do anything and this is what they chose to do. They chose a design of a political and national issue that they found important. This design is of course for a different purpose than designing something like tourism advertisements and therefore is conceptually very different. However there is something to be said for Sonda choosing a design that made a political statement by criticizing the tourism industry, the government, and the politics surrounding EU integration. This poster sends a message in a way that

is not too different from what many of the other members of the industry interviewed stated when criticizing the tourism-created image of Croatia.

Other designers and tourism workers interviewed also criticized tourism advertising for removing certain elements of Croatian identity, just as the participants did in the previous chapter. While they acknowledged that Croatia is Mediterranean and does have warm weather and beaches to offer, they also see Croatia as more than Mediterranean. These designers reflect the way the participants view Croatian geography as a unique mix of Central Europe and Mediterranean. Croatia is more than just sun and sea and while it is partially Mediterranean, it is different from other Mediterranean countries and the advertising campaigns of the tourism board need to reflect its uniqueness instead of its similarity to other Mediterranean countries. A common theme of all the interviews in this research was the desire to promote the nation's visible cultural diversity instead of what the tourism board has been doing which is only focusing on natural diversity and comparing Croatia's culture to other Mediterranean nations. "We would like other associations besides beauty, but it's better than nothing" (Institute for Tourism Nov 2014). Designers agree that Croatia is a beautiful country but it is more than just beautiful. Defining the country in terms of these passive and limiting factors of natural beauty and traditional Mediterranean culture makes designers concerned about the future of tourism.

As with participants in the previous chapter, the designers I spoke to felt that these advertisements are creating mass tourism. Grey Advertising (Feb 2015) even went so far as to say the tourism board is attracting "a lower class of tourists" within the sorts of campaigns the tourism board normally produces. The Zagreb Tourism Board specifically focuses on creating and advertising offers that are sustainable and attempt to avoid the long term problems of mass tourism. These include large events that are not specifically for tourists like the Advent Christmas market that is visited mainly by locals but is also an award winning tourist destination. They have also implemented projects that have design schools create souvenirs for the city and gear tourist offers like guided tours to locals as well as tourists. Like the participants in the previous chapter these designers and industry workers are concerned about what the future of Croatia will look like if the nation continues to create advertisements and policies that encourage mass tourism. Sonda warns that "A country without identity won't exist in the future" (Sonda Feb 2015) and this passive representation of Croatia that is promoting mass tourism, rather than the nation, would be avoided by incorporating references to Croatia into the campaigns.

These criticisms while focused a lot on what the tourism board has done in the past also extend to the new rebranding. They argue that the new brand is still

promoting the same limited 'sun and sea' image just with more modern advertising. Designers and tourism workers alike criticize the tourism board heavily for lacking consistency, especially visual consistency. They claim the tourism board has no long term strategy that they stick with other than relying on sun and sea.

In addition to criticizing the tourism board created image of Croatia, those within the industry also criticized the tourism board itself. Organizations interviewed complained that the tourism board is disorganized not only in their image but also in the way they work. Designers made many side comments about their campaigns being last minute, rushed, and not sufficiently planned out. This was noted in other research on nation branding stating that "Branding campaigns are notoriously difficult to coordinate and are rarely based in coherent ideas and strategies. […] Many of the campaigns are haphazard and most of the consequences unintended" (Ståhlberg and Bolin 2016: 284). Though framed by the industry workers as a criticism, it acts as a possible explanation for the incomplete representation of Croatia. The tourism board's lack of organization, short timeframe, and poor managerial strategies are partially responsible for the poor and passive representation of Croatia. Though considering that these tourism advertisements are still seen as a marketing tool for tourists with little importance beyond tourism, it is possible that if the tourism board had more time and better execution, they would still be promoting (intentionally or not) a passive image of Croatia.

The tourism board was also critiqued for being behind the trends and too safe. Designers argued that the tourism board needs to be faster and more daring with their campaigns in order to make them stand out and not look the same as other countries. This is highly related to the criticism that the tourism board is advertising similarly to other nations. They are not pushing the boundaries and revolutionizing the field because their aim is to be seen as similar to other nations. They are advertising their similarity to Western Europe not just in the content of the advertisements, but also by mimicking trends of other nations.

Overall this disorganization, lack of consistency, unoriginality, and focus on increasing tourism numbers makes much of what the tourism board produces lack emotion. It creates a commercialized image of the nation focused only on the consumer, not the product. It removes the emotional elements of the nation and corporatizes elements that are profitable. Those interviewed as part of the industry noticed this lack of emotion and believed that tourism advertising could be created with emotion. It is this emotional element of the nation that Renan (1882) referred to when he described the nation as having a spiritual component and the drive behind the strength of the nation's solidarity. Not only is Croatia not considered within the creation of these advertisements, but the essential com-

ponents of national identity are also removed. What is left instead is a reductive commodity version of the nation, not a representation of Croatia.

It is also important to note that with these criticisms there is no reflection on the existence of nation branding in general. Neither participants nor designers questioned whether or not nation branding should exist and whether Croatia should be comodified in this way. There is also no questioning if branding should be the role of government. The critiques of the tourism advertisements surround the way in which the images are created and the depiction of Croatia they create. This point was reflected in Grann's (2013) research on branding Macedonia's capital city, Skopje. The criticism "works not against brand, but through it" questioning the authenticity of the brand but not its necessity (Grann's 2013: 175).

It is unfair, however, to only blame the tourism board for this representation. They are not the only actors within the creation of this image and the designers and industry workers play a role in creating this tourism image. As Ståhlberg and Bolin (2016: 284) state, "each agent brings its own agenda to the project, which means that the 'governance perspective' seems rather limited." The tourism created image of Croatia is not only the perspective of the Croatian government and the next section will show the different constraints of the industry and their conflicting motivations. Ultimately these designers and industry workers are also responsible for creating this tourism image that is not about and not for Croatia. These tourism images are also created within the wider context of a society that treats both nationalism and design very distinctively.

National Identity is Not For Tourism: The Motivations and Constraints in the Industry

To begin with, designing advertisements in general has many unavoidable and inherent constraints. There are size specifications of the advertisements, technological limitations, copyright restrictions, formatting norms, conventions, good design 'manners,' and many other limitations that exist in all advertising designs and that do not always exist within other forms of visual representations. There are already constraints placed on the visual representation before taking into consideration the wishes of the client. These limitations aside, each design will start with a brief. This brief is presented by the client and gives the advertisers general background telling them essentially what they would like the campaign to look like. These are the guidelines that will determine the main shape of the tourism advertisements.

One of the most obvious constraints within the creation of advertising is the client. The desires and wishes of the client is the main goal for many of the designers interviewed. Designers must weigh what the client wants many times above what they themselves feel is best. In this case the client is the tourism board. The designers and those in charge of the design project must follow what the tourism board wants. The tourism board provides background information and marketing insights about tourists. Bruketa&Žinić (Oct 2014) stated that "this is what we expect from all of our clients – to give us a good brief, a good insight into product/service that we have to communicate. If this initial collaboration is good then usually the client is satisfied with the final design solution". The designer works off of the information from the tourism board in order to create a campaign that satisfies the tourism board, which is not the same as a campaign that accurately represents Croatia. This view was held by all designers except Ljubičić. Every other designer viewed their role as not to create a visual representation of Croatian identity, but to create what the client wanted in order to make them happy. The client in this case is, as described above, focused on numbers.

The tourism board is concerned with the tourist and increasing tourist numbers. They present market research data on the tourist and information about what each country likes. Sonda (Feb 2015) stated that when there are certain elements they do not want in the campaign but the tourism board does, then they will compromise on their own ideas and incorporate the requests of the tourism board. This is how some designers felt about using marketing data that is only concerned with the tourist and does not consider the opinion of Croatians, stating "We don't agree with asking tourists but it places the decision more on tourists and covers your ass" (Sonda Feb 2015). This is similar to the argument that the Institute for Tourism made when stating that Croatians must be involved to create an accurate image of the nation. But there is no direct discussion with the tourism board about Croatia, what would be best for Croatia's image, and what Croatians want the tourism brand to look like. In her study of nation branders, Melissa Aronczyk (2013) described how in some cases branding projects were able to spur a constructive conversation between citizens and government about who the nation was and who it wanted to be. However since the tourism board has failed to consult the public on branding they have missed opportunities for possible constructive public dialogue on the visualization of Croatian identity, the nation's past, and future aims.

As mentioned above, many designers did not speak specifically about and would not openly criticize the tourism board. Most of the time this was conscious and they explained that they could not divulge information because they wanted to work with the tourism board in the future. In a country where tourism is the

main industry, the tourism board is one of the most important Croatian clients to have. Therefore designers were not only constrained by the desire to satisfy the tourism board for the present design, but they were also concerned about future business the tourism board might bring. While the agencies in charge of designing these tourism products do follow the aims of the tourism board, they also have their own set of motivations that effect the outcome of the campaign.

These advertising organizations are not only concerned with future business the tourism board can offer but they are also concerned with their portfolio and bringing in other clients. These agencies compete for design awards and use their past designs to attract new clients. These agencies are therefore worried about following global trends in design and competing with other agencies in other countries. Design is a global industry and clients do not need to be, and are not always, located within Croatia. Therefore these agencies and designers are concerned and motivated by aesthetic standards to which their design must fit making risk taking more uncertain and constraining creativity.

When I asked a participant (011) what the two campaigns together said about Croatia, he responded: "That we have bad advertising. [laughs] Really really bad advertising". Participant 018 expressed a similar sentiment when stating "it's bad that we cannot show them that there are people in Croatia that can make better design and speak to them in a better manner". This was not the first or the last time that a participant said something along these lines. The design of the two tourism campaigns from an industry perspective look good, they are clean, good quality, and they follow design trends; they are on the surface overall very good. However, at the same time they are not very good. There is nothing new and creative about these advertisements, they say very little about Croatia, they just follow trends rather than push them forward, and they lack emotion. They are the product of large design agencies that have too many external considerations and stakeholders to take risks and be creative. They are also the product of a client that is focused on sales rather than the product itself.

Walking around Croatia you can tell that the country has a culture of design with a unique aesthetic. Zagreb itself has a new growing design district with stores promoting national design like the all red Croatian Design Superstore in Figure 5.5. However this is not reflected in tourism advertising and large advertising campaigns within Croatia in general. This phenomenon was explained by the design firm Bruketa&Žinić (Oct 2014):

> There has always been a lot of really good design in Croatia and that hasn't changed. For many years now, the most interesting things have been taking place not in the market sector but in the civil sector, on the so-called independent scene, due to the fact that Croatia is still building up its transition society and much effort must be put into the im-

Figure 5.5
Croatian Design Superstore. Photos: http://sonda.hr/en/croatian-design-superstore-2/

> provement of the shattered social relations. This is where the designers see more freedom, much clearer and better goals than those set out for communicators by market economy. It is the projects from this very sector that win the most international awards.

The "market sector" or the larger design campaigns like the tourism campaigns studied in this research is not where the 'good' Croatian design is located. The design that wins awards, that is innovative, that is new, and that is Croatian in its aesthetics is the more independent design. For participants these advertisements presented in this research are not only of low quality but they are not representative of the Croatian design that is considered valuable. Bruketa&Žinić credit the transitioning society for this split between good independent design and lower quality corporate and government designs. A professor of design at the Univer-

sity of Zagreb explained in an interview (Feb 2015) that because of Croatia's socialist roots advertising is not taught within design courses. Therefore students learn design in Croatia without linking design as an art form with its capitalist use in advertising.

This split between quality independent design and the "market sector" design is also reflected in the way Croatian identity is viewed. The agencies and designers interviewed felt the economic crisis in Croatia, while not hugely affecting the design industry, has increased nationalist tendencies. Individuals and politicians unearthing old nationalist rhetoric for political mobilization brings up images of Croatia from the war and define Croatia inconsistently with the tourist image that these designers are attempting to create. Just like the general public interviewed for this research, these designers do feel that there should be a way to incorporate Croatia's difficult past into tourism, especially for tourists that come to Croatia looking to learn about and contextualize the events surrounding the nation's independence in the 90s. However these interviews with designers explained how the government's consistent and continual reliance on narratives of the war dominate politics and news media, in contrast to the Croatia that the tourism board has created that ignores these specific moments of Croatian history and culture. For them, creating this image of Croatian culture that does not focus on the war is refreshing and liberating. It is a welcome change from the nationalist politics visualized in the media.

But by removing these moments of history and pushing away the nationalist sentiments that run through Croatian politics, which is what the tourism board has done for so many years, it makes these designers and those working in the industry unable to mediate these two polar extremes of Croatia. Designers are unable to incorporate Croatia's difficult past and they are unable to construct a positive association with national pride because it does not exist in this context. The political and governmental narrative of Croatia and the tourism narrative of Croatia contradict each other and exist separately. Therefore Croatian tourism does not mention the war and tourism advertisements lack reference to national symbols. National identity exists elsewhere, it is not for tourism. This sentiment was expressed earlier in this chapter with the discussion of tourism advertisements not being for Croatians or not being a place to articulate national identity. Here I am continuing this argument by stating that Croatian tourism is removed of all nationalism and national identity since these are things that exist in a negative and divisive way in politics and government. Therefore tourism designs do not draw much on national symbols and even culture, creating the passive image of Croatia that participants in the previous chapter argued could be anywhere.

This divisive image of Croatia as a country that is still rebuilding after the

war and still unable confront its difficult past was explained by participant 006:

> *I: When you described Croatia for me, when you said all that, what kind of images came up in your mind?*
> P: Division and like black white picture. It's an image of a country that needs to reconcile its holes. Um and it's basically an image of Croatia as a transitional country still even though it's 20 years now from the war and that big turning point from there was Yugoslavia before and there is Croatia now. So we are still searching ourselves and we are basically profiling ourselves in the world still. So every image of Croatia, real image of Croatia not the touristic image of Croatia, as it is only sea and sun and such activities, it's it's far more complex than that.

Croatia is still a relatively new country. Despite their claims to have existed since the Middle Ages, in its current form Croatia was reconceived as an independent nation after the dissolution of Yugoslavia. Croatia is still trying to establish who they are within this new context. It has only been 25 years and within that time they have made large scale political and national changes such as joining the EU. Participant 006 is also hinting at this division between the "real" Croatia and the tourism Croatia, where the real Croatia exists outside of the tourism created image of Croatia and is still unsure of what that looks like. Participant 010 also explains how Croatia's image is not yet developed:

> What is Croatia? Croatia, if you, if you, if you, if, if you look at Croatia as a, as a whole, as a country I believe Croatia is a new country. And it, it's, it's supposed to be looked at as a new country, in every, in every term. Tourism also. I believe that, why, why am I saying a new country. New country means that, that we're still learning and mostly, we're still learning to cope with the new, with new, situation now that, now that we're in the European Union, we're democratic country. People here are still not used to that. This is connected to all business and all, all branches of business, tourism, tourism included. (010)

When national identity is already complex, national identity within the Croatian context seems even more ill defined. But identity in general is ill defined and complex. Identities are never fixed and stable but constantly changing. Bauman (2000: 83) sees this instability of identities as a defining characteristic of 'liquid modernity' stating that "Identities seem fixed and solid only when seen, in a flash, from outside". The problem is that Croatian identity is not being observed 'in a flash', it is being examined and debated in politics and through branding processes. Bauman argues that since identity is never fixed it is always in the process of being made; it is future facing. National identity is no different, it is an identity that is always in the process of formation. Croatian identity may not yet be defined, but it is not really less defined than identities of other more established nations. Anthony Cohen (1996) describes personal aspects of nationalism

where the nation is not the only way individuals define themselves, individuals also define the nation in relation to themselves. This means that a nation is different things to different people and there is no cohesive and coherent narrative of the nation.

Overall national identity is not ever defined nor is it ever consistent. This is at odds with the task that designers have of creating a consistent and concise image of Croatia. According to the design agency Bruketa&Žinić, visual national identity is "still in the process of defining" (Oct 2014). The industry professionals interviewed in this research felt that Croatian identity is too incoherent to create a brand. That is because Croatia is a nation, and national identity is not the same as brand identity. Identity for products or companies can be controlled and consistent, therefore they can be branded. However, the identities of nations are more complex and do not lend themselves to easily digestible visual renderings. The next section will explore in more detail the question of whether or not national identities can be visualized as a brand without reducing the nation into a commodity.

The constraints and motivations outlined here and faced by the agencies tasked with creating these advertisements are not extensive. These are just some of the main and most impactful ways in which designers are involved in creating this passive image of Croatia. These advertisements are a product of the tourism board's focus on increasing tourism numbers and Croatia's culture of independent design that makes these 'market sector' advertisements less impactful and less representative of Croatia. The advertisements are the end product of multiple aims and stakeholders, none of which is Croatia. The views of the public do not influence marketing data or design decisions. This means Croatia does not get a say in how it is advertised. Additionally, these tourism designs are being created within a nation where national identity exists in a negative context. Designers and the tourism industry also face an impossible to solve paradox of the necessary role of images in contrast to the degrading effects of reducing something to an image.

Up to this point I have outlined the ways in which Croatia and Croatian identity is excluded from these advertisements equating the way Croatia is branded to the way an object is branded. The tourism brand reflects not the nation, but the desires of the target tourist market. These images mirror the tourist because they are produced only with the tourist in mind. The site of production overall saw Croatian identity as a product. But national identity is not a product. It is not clear, consistent, or concise. It carries with it an entire diverse group of people with a historical and cultural past. Additionally, Croatian identity does not exist only for the tourist. However the nation is treated as a tourist product

and branded as something permanent and succinct. But what happens when the nation is visualized and branded as a product? The following section will use the example of the red checkered squares symbol of Croatia along with other graphic elements in the design process to show what happens when images and design are used to quickly and effectively represent the complexity of national identity.

Images Flatten: What Happens When the Nation Becomes a Product

As already established, national identity is complex, inconsistent, and imagined. But brands are succinct, organized, and direct. Baudrillard (2005 [1968]: 205) describes branding and identity, specifically postmodern identity, as incompatible:

> It is a predetermined operation in which two strictly incompatible systems confront one another, one being the mobile, inconsistent individual, with his needs, his conflicts and his negativity; the other being the codified, classified, discontinuous and relatively consistent system of products in all their positivity.

Brands are intended to visually communicate identity clearly and quickly. All the emotion, history, complexity, and intangibility of the nation, therefore, is not going to be able to be summarized by a concise visual brand identity. As established in Chapter 1, nation branding is seen as a necessary undertaking for nations like Croatia that are not widely recognized internationally and whose economy is highly dependent on tourism. Therefore, designing a nation brand is a task that is faced with the unfeasibility of turning the complexity of a nation into a simplified product that can be easily branded. As seen both in this chapter and the previous, the tourism board has not succeeded at advertising Croatia, but rather they have been advertising tourism. The tourism board has focused on the tourist, advertising the activities and emotions of tourism. This section uses examples of some visual graphic identities of Croatia used in tourism advertising to expose the paradoxes involved with branding a nation ultimately asking the question of what happens to these complexities of identity when the nation is branded as a product.

This section will use three short examples in order to answer this question. First, it will explore the use of logos in the two tourism campaigns before briefly discussing the use of fonts which hold national meaning and contribute to the reductive design. Finally I will discuss what I term the 'red square debate' exploring

Figure 5.6
The logo for Croatian Tourist Board designed by Boris Ljubičić

the contradictory opinions surrounding the use of the red checkered square pattern and how it signifies a larger debate about the meaning of national symbols.

The Logos

The national tourism board's logo (Figure 5.6), as previously mentioned, was designed by Boris Ljubičić. The logo was created in 2003 and based on the design motif of the Croatian painter Ivan Rabuzin (Vukić 2012). The red square theme is present within the design of the logo with one of the checkers in blue. Blue is one of the national colors of Croatia and is one of the colors on the flag, however the blue square is also cleverly covering the letter "A" in Croatia to represent the blue of the Adriatic Sea. The horizontal line crossing the letter "A" is a wave that also represents the sea, with the waves of the second letter "A" depicted in blue. The letter "T" is crossed at the top in green to represent the trees of Croatia. All of these elements in the logo work to create an image that is intentionally packed with national symbols.

This logo has been around so long, and considering tourism is so ingrained within Croatian society, everyone knew the logo well. It has a strange hyperreal Baudrillard-like element to its significance since it is now a symbol of the nation. The logo draws on elements of national symbols in order to represent the nation, however the logo that was meant to symbolize national identity has itself become a national symbol. This logo then informs the experience of the nation, following Baudrillard's (1988) process of the simulacrum or simulated symbol of the nation. While it has become a very recognizable Croatian symbol for participants, unlike many other national symbols, it does not provoke much enthusiastic response. Participants recognize the logo, identify it as a symbol of Croatia, but they are fairly indifferent to it. It was met with comments like "it's alright" (013), "it's ok, it's nothing special. I'm not saying it's bad" (009), or "I haven't any particular feelings about it" (015).

As stated by Ståhlberg and Bolin (2016), nation brands do not create the same emotional responses as other national images. "Branding consultancies do

not produce sacred symbols" (Ståhlberg and Bolin 2016: 279). In fact one participant (019) that praised its implicit meanings and recognized its everyday banality also argued that the logo is not necessary stating, "for Croatians we do not need to have this symbol". It may have become part of the visual narrative of Croatia, but it serves no real function for Croatians. It doesn't produce the solidarity or build cohesive identity like other forms of national identity. It is a commercialized version of the nation, a product of capitalist advertising and a postmodern image construction. This follows the role of postmodern images in society where images have become increasingly superficial copies produced for their marketability and lacking depth (Jameson 1991).

MacCannell's (1992) description of images and symbols builds on Jameson's theories of postmodernism as depthless and helps to explain these tourism logos in this research. Participants identify with the logos but in a way that lacks depth. Bauman (1997) argues that postmodern identities are "bio-degradable" referring to their inconsistency and variability. However MacCannel (1992: 252) states that "Symbols are not bio-degradable". While identities and the way we identify with the nation changes and degrades, a symbol's existence remains consistent. Symbols are reused, redesigned, and re-appropriated. However the symbol's meaning becomes emptied and transparent, lacking depth. The issue is not so much that the symbols and logos of Croatia are depthless, but rather that it "claims to replace depth and thereby conjures up its opposite" (ibid: 188). The consequence of these depthless national symbols is therefore not the same as what Billig (1995) refers to as banal representations of the nation creating the solidarity that members of the nation source in moments of national mobilization. These logos may be banal images of the nation, but they do not inspire national sentiments, instead they create "an inflated nothingness, no matter what claims are made for it - a kind of mechanistic fascist authenticity" (MacCannell 1992: 188).

If participants demonstrated any emotion at all towards the logo it was to criticize it for looking too dated. Participant 20 described the aesthetics of the logo as urgently needing updating: "It's, it's way too complicated for a logotype and it has way too much colors and the font, like, it stabs you in the eyes, I don't know, it's horrible. It, it needs to be modernized as soon as possible." Participants liked the meaning behind the logo and even identified with the logo, however they criticized the logo for looking old. It is visually and stylistically reminiscent of the time in which it was created. Generally participants did not want to change the logo completely and argued for a more modern version instead of a completely new one. Therefore not changing the symbol entirely but updating it is allowing the symbol to change with Croatia and the aesthetic tastes of the time.

While the tourism board has not yet released a new logo for its redesign

Figure 5.7
Logo for "Croatia 365" Campaign.

it did produce a logo for the "Croatia 365" campaign (Figure 5.7). This logo had a very different reaction with participants, it was considered too modern. Participants criticized this aesthetic as looking too corporate. Participants enjoyed the photographs of the "365" campaign, describing them as a break from the usual areal shot of the beach. But they felt the graphical elements and logo of the "365" campaign looked like it was intended for a corporation not for a country: "it looks like a, like a Power Point presentation in some firm like a bank or something." (002), "I don't know. It looks a bit like you know the, the colors from Windows you know the that logo." (005b), "this is uh a bit like uh too official" (018), "It feels empty" (013). Overall the participants felt that the logo was more appropriate for a business than for a nation. The logo was too generic and didn't incorporate any elements that contain national symbolic meaning. Additionally, the logo didn't seem necessary to participants; Croatia already has a logo (Figure 5.6), so why does a campaign need a separate logo.

In the interview with Grey advertising, however, the project manager stated that the graphic elements were the strongest part of the campaign and more representative of the campaign's aims. The campaign was rushed and they did not have time to conduct their own photo shoot using images from Croatian photographers instead. Therefore, for the agency, these graphical elements were what the campaign design was really about. The graphics showed off the campaign's real aesthetic style. From a design perspective the logo is well made, it is clean, simple, it communicates the concept of the four seasons of the advertisement visually, and follows modern aesthetic trends. However, the logo is not about Croatia. It is a graphic representation of a windmill whose four blades are supposed to represent tourism in all four season. However windmills are not a Croatian symbol nor are the colors used in the logo. It does not draw on any previous national symbols. It has no meaning outside of the campaign and therefore does not communicate anything about Croatia.

This "365" logo does not contain the symbolic meaning that the national

Figure 5.8
Qatar logo. Tarek Atrissi Design, the Netherlands (Mattern 2008).

tourism logo has. The national tourism logo is representative of elements of Croatian identity, however it is bad design. The "365" logo is aesthetically well designed but conceptually unrelated to Croatia. But if good design constitutes more simplified and reduced elements and if one of the reasons the tourism board logo is disliked is because it is attempting to communicate too many elements, then how can you reconcile the need for a simple well designed image and the desire to create something representative? Mattern (2008: 494) argues that it is not possible, that designed nation branding is inherently a "simulacrum of a nation" and by simplifying the nation into a logo "we erase it and put in its place a multinational corporation". Mattern's argument comes from a discussion of fonts used in nation branding since many national logos are a stylized version of the name of the nation. The discussion of national fonts is related to this discussion of logos. For example the Croatian logo in Figure 5.6 is a hand illustrated script font of the word "Croatia". The next section will explore this argument made by Mattern in the context of the fonts used in the two Croatian tourism campaigns.

Fonts

While this research is focused on the visualization of the nation in tourism advertisements and not the written language of tourism advertisements, the images in the campaigns are accompanied by text. This text is stylized and designed, adding to the visualization of the nation. The design of fonts can communicate more than simply what is written. This is demonstrated by Shannon Mattern's (2008) study of the creation of the Qatar logo which appropriated Arabic calligraphy as the logo (Figure 5.8). This logo turns the traditional Arabic calligraphy into an abstract image that, just as the Croatian logo, is infused with national symbolism:

> The blue symbolizes hospitality and sea. The complementary gold and red are intended to represent the colors of the sun and the desert and present Qatar as a warm, welcoming, place. Brick red, furthermore, is Qatar's national color. (Mattern 2008: 485)

Figure 5.9
Examples of the use of the Helvetica typeface in "Visit Croatia. Share Croatia."

The logo is also meant to resemble abstract characters like waves, boats, and a smile. The abstract interpretation of Arabic reduces "Arabic history or culture to a 'flavor' – or to an 'ethnic motif'" (ibid: 484). The Qatar logo is intentionally abstract in order to make it inclusive to all identities but instead what it does is produce an image of homogeneity along the lines of western progressive values (ibid). By turning the nation into a font it reduces the identity of the nation into one uniform image ultimately representing the nation in the same way as a logo represents a corporation.

> The digital typeface obsolesces, or "disappears," the hand that once created the script, and the transformation of the script into an image — a smile or a boat, no less — has the potential to erase the social history of Arabic calligraphy. By reducing a script, a language, to a "taste," a "motif," we transform these political and aesthetic constructs into fetishes. By branding the nation, we erase it and put in its place a multinational corporation. (Mattern 2008: 494)

The sentiments expressed here by Mattern are reflected in the view participants had of the "365" logo in the previous section where they criticized the logo for looking corporate and not representing Croatia. However, parallels can also be made between the script of the tourism board logo and the Qatar logo. They are both based off of hand written styles and created with symbolic national references. They are also both removed from the national context in which they were created, removing the emotional attachment to their meaning, and turning them into a simulacrum. Mattern (2008: 494) states that "what is branded is a simulacrum of a nation. [...] And for this simulated nation we have a simulated typeface: one that is calculatedly cosmopolitan and selectively pluralistic." Both of these nations are turned into typefaces that reduce identity to something that no longer relates to collective identity but instead pushes economic agendas.

The typeface of the "Visit Croatia. Share Croatia." campaign is an example of this form of modernization of language into a codified identity. The font cho-

Figure 5.10 (left)
Image of three flags in Croatia: the Unofficial flag designed by Ljubičić (front), the EU flag (back left), and he Official Croatian flag (back right).
Photo provided by Ljubičić.

Figure 5.11 (right)
Dutch flag (top) and flag of Croatia (bottom).

sen for this campaign was Helvetica (Figure 5.9). This is arguably the most recognized font of our time. It is also the font that is most recognized by its country of origin (Switzerland) than any other font in the world. It is modern, clean, and very versatile. It was chosen for this campaign because of its look and the wide diversity of languages supported by the font (BBDO Zagreb Feb 2015). While many viewers will not read so heavily into the origin and meaning of the font, its ubiquity acts as a symbolic representation to the viewer. Helvetica's universality can cause easy readability with limited connotative meaning. In other words, the font is bland, represents nothing other than the text that is written, and is subtly recognizable as a font used and reused in every aspect of daily life in the west. One participant (022) criticized the use of Helvetica arguing for something more unique like a Croatian designed font because not only do they exist but they are also good quality[4].

The use of Helvetica replicates the same dynamic of using a typeface to modernize an image, remove national identity, and reduce the nation to a branded product. It also demonstrates how the Croatian tourism image is generic, replicating trends internationally, and copying aesthetics of other nations. As Mattern (2008) states this sort of nation branding is not "benign" instead it acts to actively turn the nation into a "market-driven entity" and the nation becomes fetishized. Mattern's argument sees branding as incapable of creating an image that isn't reductive and simulated. So while there are Croatian fonts that can take the place of Helvetica, they would not communicate the branding goal of making the campaign appear modern and intertextually related to standardized advertisement aesthetics. Using Helvetica for these campaigns was not only intended for legibility it was intended to belong to a form of visual communication that is familiar in advertisements worldwide. Without Helvetica the campaign would not have the familiarity and symbolic meaning of generic commercial aesthetic

[4] This thesis incorporates a Croatian sans serif typeface used in the chapter titles, headings, subheadings, figure captions, and the page numbering.

Figure 5.12 (left) Historic stone carvings (top) and Ljubicic's flag (bottom).

Figure 5.13 (right) Croatia wearing the red squares in the opening ceremonies at the 2016 Rio Olympic Games.

trends, but with Helvetica the campaign is not signifying anything about Croatia. That is one of the paradoxes of branding design, these advertisements are intended to represent the nation but branding as a practice normalizes and anonymizes the nation. This debate surrounding the contradiction of nation branding and questions surrounding design's ability to represent the nation culminates within the discussion of the red square symbol of Croatia.

The Red Square Debate

As previously mentioned, Croatia's most cited and recognizable national symbol is the red checkered pattern. A stylized version of this was seen in the tourism board logo designed by Boris Ljubičić (Figure 5.6). Boris Ljubičić is famous within Croatia for putting red squares on many of the brand identities that he has created. He believes that these red checkered squares should be Croatia's national image so much that he created a new flag for the nation that incorporates these red squares, seen here in Figure 5.10. The current flag (back right flag in Figure 5.10) was a decision made by politicians, and he argues that the nation needs something designed; it needs something with visual purpose and meaning rather than just something that was the product of politics and politicians. Additionally, Ljubičić and other participants mentioned how the flag has the same color and three stripes as neighboring countries and these three stripes of the Croatian flag are in the exact same order as the flag of the Netherlands (Figure 5.11). Therefore Croatia and the Netherlands are two countries, both in Europe, with almost identical flags. This lack of a unique visual identity in Croatia is what Ljubičić is fighting against and, as seen previously in this chapter, is a critique that many designers voiced about the tourism board and the nation's brand as a whole.

Ljubičić's flag, though some people do use it, is not official but it shows how he believes that these red squares can create a comprehensive visual identity for

the nation. These checkers, according to Ljubičić (Nov 2014) were found carved in stone in an ancient Croatian church along with the first written example of the ancient Croatian language (Figure 5.12). This stone and the checkered pattern are part of the emblem or coat of arms for Croatia which is on the official flag (Figure 5.11), however Ljubičić argues that the tri-colors and the rest of the emblem of the flag have no meaning since they are not unique and were both decided and designed by politicians. The checkered pattern has become fairly recognizable and Bruketa&Žinić (Oct 2014) argue that Croatia has "succeeded in building the visual recognisability of our community: the red (and sometimes blue) checkers, inspired by Croatian coat of arms, are the unique visual identity of Croatia. This was not accomplished by any of the other countries that emerged in the 1990s."

For Ljubičić, the squares offer a clear, simple, modern, and easily recognizable identity for a country that is not well known around the world. The combination of simplicity and uniqueness is what Ljubičić and many others who support the red square identity feel is important to make Croatia stand out within a sea of nation brands. This is seen in sports like football where the red square jerseys have succeeded at becoming a unique design in comparison to other countries that rely mainly on solid colors. As Croatia becomes more and more competitive within the sport the image of the red squares increasingly sets them apart from other teams. This was also seen in the 2016 Olympic games where Croatia was the only country world wide to implement this motif (Figure 5.13), a task that is incredibly difficult considering the number of countries world wide that share a similar tri-colored flag with the colors red, white, and blue. This is the argument Ljubičić is making, that Croatia is a small country that is still fairly unknown by the rest of the world and it therefore needs a clear and easy to recognize symbol that is distinctive enough to set it apart but still simple enough for it to fit the aesthetics of the modernized west.

However, the red squares were a contested concept within the interviews. Designers both liked the checkered pattern and hated it. The checkered pattern demonstrated this internal conflict that is intrinsic to nation branding. The simplicity of the red squares that makes it easy to implement and quickly recognized is the goal of creating a brand identity. The red squares are good for branding, they get the message out quickly and simply. However this same simplicity that designers love, when applied to a nation, seems reductive. A design professor at the University of Zagreb (Feb 2015) argued, "We are more than just squares." The red checkered squares ultimately "don't say much" (Institute for Tourism Mar 2015). The image is recognizable and unique but it makes designers and participants uneasy to attach it to a nation because there is little to no symbolic meaning embedded into the red squares. An "image flattens" and Croatia does not "want

to be an image, it's degrading" (Professor of design, University of Zagreb, Feb 2015). As seen previously in this chapter, the complexity of national identity is impossible to fit into a brand, let alone a symbol. Designers feel this strain not only with the red squares but also when describing how to create a tourism image for Croatia. As one participant (015) pointed out, many countries have their iconic symbols and this one seems to be Croatia's.

> I mean, [the red squares are] good because they, they, make, like, for example, when you see green [clovers] then you, then you immediately remember Ireland, or when you see Union Jack then you immediately remember, stars and stripes you think of Unites States, Union Jack you think of England, or let's say, when you see those blue, I mean, the the one of Scotland. So, this red and white square are sort of very nice because in design they're easily remembered and they're part of our national coat of arms. So I think, I'm foun-, I think it's ok yeah. […]. So I think it's, yeah, I'm for, for those little squares, yeah. I think that's ok.

Mccrone et. al., in *Scotland - the Brand* (1995), demonstrated how tartan has become a symbol of Scotland. Just like the checkers in Croatia it is a pattern with historically disputed roots that is now being appropriated to represent the nation. But this is an outdated image of the nation that communicates very little other than a romanticized past that modern day Scots do not identify with (Mccrone et. al. 1995). These Croatian red squares are on their way to becoming equally as recognizable and equally as reductive as Scotland's tartan. Designers and participants see the value that these red squares have in becoming equally as unique. However, they are also ambivalent towards the red squares as a form of national identification.

Participant 007 is a good example of this ambivalence that participants demonstrated towards the red checkered motif:

I: Do you like the theme of the squares?
P: It's on our flag [laughs]. It's ok, I don't mind
I: Do you think that it should be a theme that continues to be used?
P: Yeah, I don't see why not. To me it's just a simple squares.

Participants appreciate the symbol for its uniqueness and recognizability but they are not attached to it, for them it works, it is ok, but they are just squares so they can only say so much about Croatia; images flatten. These images are superficial and depthless. An image is reductive and national identity is multifaceted. This is simply more apparent in Croatia because it is a country that is currently trying to define itself visually and a country that is still in political transition. The red square debate helps to highlight the inherent and impossible to solve contradictions within creating a national image. Designers are faced with the tension between creating tourism advertising that is quickly recognizable but reductive or

faced with the impossibility of creating tourism advertisements that are representative of the complexity of a nation. This sort of design might work for a product, but by treating national identity as a branded product you create an image of the nation with no depth an "inflated nothingness" (MacCannell 1992: 188). This is the nation being turned into aesthetics; marketable, packaged aesthetics.

Ljubičić praises the red squares for their abstract nature. He believes that abstract design can increase plurality, that with abstract symbols any meaning can be placed on them. But if any meaning can be placed on the red squares, then the red squares by themselves are not communicating anything and definitely not communicating anything meaningful about Croatia. This is what Mattern (2008) found with the Qatar logo, that in the process of turning Arabic letters into an abstract logo that can incorporate diversity, they instead ended up communicating a homogenous identity. The elements that make brands successful are fundamentally at odds with the reality of national identity.

Conclusion: For the Tourist, Not for Croatia

This chapter unpacks the different motivations within the site of production of the two campaigns studied in this research to demonstrate how the passive representation explored in the previous chapter is created. It demonstrates how the process of branding turns the nation into a commodity making this passive and degraded image of Croatia possible ultimately asking the question whether or not design can visualize the nation without flattening identity.

Participant 022 was disappointed in the two Croatian tourism campaigns because she felt like it was "just something that you would expect from a tourist campaign, just something that feels like it's made for tourists". This chapter argued that her assumptions are correct; these tourism campaigns were made for tourists without considering the representation of Croatia and how national identity is being communicated. More specifically they were made with the marketing goals of the tourism board in mind, with the main goal of increasing tourist arrivals and length of stay. The advertisements were also made by designers whose constraints meant that their focus was the tourism board, future business, and design trends while simultaneously designing for a country that has a culture of independent design and still considers both its society and identity to be in transition. Furthermore, specific images of Croatian identity and national symbols are associated with politics and radicalized nationalist views of the war, and therefore do not exist within the visual narrative of tourism advertising.

Croatian identity was seen as a product, one that is only meant to be marketed to tourists. This turns the tourism image not into a representation of Croatia but a representation of tourist desires. It creates an image of the nation that is not for Croatia or about Croatia, but rather it is about what tourists can do in (and to) Croatia. It disregards what Croatia is, what exists beyond its valued marketable characteristics, but also it disregards Croatians. The nation is presented as first and foremost for the tourist. Croatia is visualized not as a nation with a history, culture, and people but as a tourist destination. Croatians are disregarded and, in a way, exploited. The elements of Croatia that are deemed valuable by the target market (western Europeans) are exploited for commercial gain. This mirrors what Schiller (1976) spoke about with the term 'cultural imperialism' where the dominant more wealthy nations determine the content of media. Iordanova (2007) referred to this as 'self-exoticism'. Tourism studies have long been pointing to the exploitative nature of tourism, however this is arguably a new more accepted form of exploitation. MacCannell (1992: 179) describes how this form of exploitation is different and more subtle:

> In so far as White Culture extends its acceptance conditional upon the sub-community restricting itself to an 'authentic' image of itself, one is only doing with admiration what was done earlier. […] As the rhetoric of hostility towards minorities is replaced with a rhetoric of appreciation, the circle of their potential exploiters is dramatically expanded. Now with a clear conscience, even the Chinese can exploit the Chinese or 'promote Chinese culture'.

Though it may appear that Croatia is promoting Croatia, in reality they are simply promoting what tourists want Croatia to be.

This chapter additionally explores how this treatment of Croatia as a product to be branded is reflected in the design of national symbols. There is tension between recognizable design and reductive design within branding a nation and designing tourism advertisements. A brand should be simple, unique, and both easily and instantly recognizable. However in creating an effective brand the image becomes reductive, stripped of meaning, and flattened. This inherent paradox within branding and advertising tourism means that national symbols like the red checkered pattern are seen simultaneously as good branding and a degrading representation. This means that when creating these advertisements designers are also pulled between the desire to create a good, simple, and identifiable brand identity and the complexity of national identity.

The example of the red square debate, the tourism logos, and the use of fonts show that branding design is incapable of visualizing the nation. Products can be branded, but when national identity is treated as a product and branded, it becomes flat, superficial, and depthless. Croatian branding doesn't create na-

tional symbols that mobilize the nation and create a sense of solidarity. However, designed images can be powerful, future building, and mobilizing (Yelavich 2014). Images have been used both for manipulative political propaganda and to mobilize social change. Designed and branded images like the rainbow flag, the peace sign, and the raised fist are all iconic images that mobilized populations and helped to create a sense of solidarity. There are examples that design is not inherently reductive and superficial. This research is not able to answer the questions of how tourism branding can use design's capacity for identity building in order to create a more inclusive and representative image of Croatia. However, it does make a strong claim as to the effects of tourism campaigns arguing that more attention needs to be paid to the images being created.

The designer Victor Papanek (1971: ix), famous for his stance on social design, wrote:

> In an age of mass production when everything must be planned and designed, design has become the most powerful tool with which man shapes his tools and environments (and, by extension, society and himself). This demands high social and moral responsibility from the designer. It also demands greater understanding of the people by those who practise design and more insight into the design process by the public.

For Papanek, design is in everything. It is influential and has the ability to change society. These national symbols and tourism advertisements therefore have the ability to communicate beyond their intended function. Images matter, and that includes tourism images, no matter how short the campaign runs or how small the audience is. For both Ljubičić and Papanek, design has the power, more than any other art form or cultural product, to communicate with the public and create change. With respect to tourism and national identity, it means that these tourism campaigns are going to communicate something about the nation to a wide audience; therefore it is worth considering what they are communicating and how they can communicate a message that is consistent with the views and aims of the nation. Nation branding campaigns can be an opportunity to open a conversation about not only how the nation should be visualized, but who the nation is and wants to become (Aronczyk 2013).

With greater understanding of the effects of these designs, better design can be used to do more than create reductive and flat images. When branding the nation, images may always flatten, but by exploring the ways in which they do so and the effect that they have, we can begin to understand how to represent Croatia without turning it into a commercialized commodity. While their main intention is to advertise Croatia to the tourists, these advertisements are not only advertising tourism to tourists but they also have failed to realize the potential

tourism advertisements have to create an international image of Croatia for Croatia's benefit. As seen in Chapter 2 these tourism advertisements inform an international image of the nation that will both reverberate back to the nation and also influence other economic industries and international relations. However these advertisements are both created and framed as not being about Croatia and also not being for Croatia. The next chapter will explore the effects of these tourism images emphasizing their importance in order to move closer to an understanding of how design and national identity simultaneously influence each other.

6. NOT THE ONLY CROATIA

THE IMPACT OF TOURISM CAMPAIGNS AND THE
INSIGNIFICANCE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

Dina Iordanova (2007) researched the marketing of Transylvania to tourists showing that the Transylvanian government capitalized on the film industry created image of Dracula to attract tourists. This created two competing images of Transylvania, or a "split identity", the everyday lived Transylvanian experience and the western film industry stereotype of Transylvania consumed internationally by tourists (ibid). In the case of Croatia it could be argued that this split identity is created through tourism advertising since there is a noticeable difference between the tourism created image of Croatia and reality of the Croatian experience. However, what this chapter aims to demonstrate is that upon closer exploration, rather than creating a split identity, in Croatia, the touristic image becomes part of the way participants visualize the nation. Instead of two images existing separately, this chapter will argue that Croatian identity is more similar instead to du Gay's (1997) concept of the "circuit of culture" where the visualization of Croatia is a combination of multiple factors all influencing each other. Croatian tourism advertising is not splitting Croatia into two separate versions but rather it is contributing to an image of the nation that becomes a mix of multiple and often conflicting narratives.

The advertising firm Studio Sonda, from the previous chapter, stated that they all "grew up with tourism" and "tourism is in our blood" (Sonda Feb 2015). For them tourism forms part of the national identity of Croatia making these

tourism advertisements intrinsically national. Tourism is a very important industry for Croatia, it can be seen as one of their main 'products'. Croatia has a long history of tourism and it would be incorrect to separate completely the tourism image from the way participants visualize Croatia. This chapter will explore the interconnected way in which tourism advertising and national identity are both influential in visualizing Croatia.

Before demonstrating how tourism advertising and national identity affect each other, I will first reiterate the multifaceted and mutable state of postmodern identities in order to explore how national identity is complex and not visualized through everyday banal experiences of nationalism. While everyday forms of nationalism may be useful in creating the bonds of national identity, banal forms of nationalism are not used by participants to describe and visualize Croatian identity. Instead national identity is largely visualized by participants in relation to tourism advertisements. I draw on du Gay's (1997) concept of the 'circuit of culture' to show that tourism advertisements are simultaneously influenced by and influencing national identity.

This chapter additionally furthers these arguments by showing how Croatia is visualized through campaigns run by the national government, opening up debates surrounding the democratic function of nation branding. I relate how this new branding necessity of nations is contributing to redefining the role of the nation in a postmodern context. The chapter then goes on to consider Croatia's new position as a EU member, asking if this alters the image of Croatia and its relation to nation branding efforts. Participants do not see the EU as changing the image of Croatia, arguing instead that being part of the EU is unrelated to national identity. This chapter will finish by analyzing images created by Croatian designers imagining the future of the European Union. I argue that these participants and designers have a realistic vision of Europe's potential and the relationship they would like to continue with the European Union. Therefore asking how the EU is affecting Croatia's image is the wrong question to be asking; instead we should be asking how Croatians can influence the EU.

Not Everyday Nationalism

Michael Billig (1995) coined the term 'banal nationalism' arguing that nationalism is not simply created in times of crisis but it is a product of everyday national reminders that work to subtly create the imagined community. It is the banality of these daily representations of the nation that Billig argues allows for the internalization of a strong social cohesion and national identity. Tourism images, as will be discussed later, are banal images that help to visualize the imag-

ined community of the nation, however tourism images are not exactly part of the everyday. While they are banal, tourism images are rarely seen by members of the nation and do not make up the everyday nation that Billig references. More banal are images of Croatian branded items at the supermarket, the depictions of Croatia shown on national weather broadcasts, statues of notable Croatians throughout history placed around the city squares, and political imagery shown on the covers of newspapers. Billig argues that it is these banal and everyday representations of the nation that help to build a nation's sense of solidarity. While these everyday reminders of the nation may develop the imagined community, when visualizing the imagined community, participants interviewed in this research do not draw on everyday banal national images.

For participants the nation does not exist in the banality of the everyday. The nation is bigger than the events and images of everyday life. For example, when participant 010 was asked what images came up in his mind when he described Croatia, he reflected on how he did not imagine his banal everyday experience of Croatia, but instead he saw the summer and beach image of Croatia.

> Well... even though I work in, in different branches and different kind of things, when I, when you asked me about visualizing Croatia, I don't look at, I don't look at what I do and what I, what I see everyday. I always, when someone tells me, "Tell me what you see when, when you visualize Croatia", then I always, I always see the sea and the beach. That's, that's what I, that's what I look at. And now... which, which for me is, is, is, I don't know. I only now think about it when you ask me that. Immediately when you asked me, I saw the sea and the beach. Even though I, even though it's winter, even though it's not something that I, that I visit or, or go to everyday, or, work. I do completely something else.

For participants, the nation was also less tangible and more elusive than the everyday. It is seen as too large and all encompassing to be applied to daily life.

> *I: So, they're gonna redo this logo, this here, what do you think it should be?*
> P: I thought about this and I draw a blank, I have no idea.
> *I: Why do you think you're drawing a blank?*
> P: I'm not sure, I don't think I've given this enough thought.
> *I: If you were to design a logo for Split, would that be easier or more difficult?*
> P: It would be easier by all means. Croatia's a bit too general. I don't know the entire country, I know a lot, but not enough, whereas for Split I know all the ins and outs. So I have a different perspective and I get to feel Split a lot more being a local. So designing a logo for Split would be easier. For Croatia I have no idea. (009)

For this participant, Split is their everyday experience and while Split is part of Croatia, the image of Croatia is more than just Split. Croatia, as an identity, exists

on a higher level encompassing much more than the everyday. Participant 009 makes the claim that not only are they themselves Croatian, but they are also familiar with a lot of Croatia and are still not able to speak with confidence on what the new tourism logo could look like.

Participants felt the nation was also more important, significant, and grander then the elements that make up daily life.

> P1: When I think about Croatia I think about home, relaxation, long hours drinking coffee, and doing nothing.
> P2: Yeah but this is when I think of when I think about my home, my town. But when I think about the country in global somehow you have to think about I don't know politics and economics and that's like not very representative. So that's that's kind of two different things maybe in my mind. (021)

The everyday experience does exist to some extent for participants when they visualize the nation. However when speaking about the nation as a whole, the everyday experience is incomplete and insufficient to visualize the nation. Though Billig (1995) was not making the claim that the nation was only defined by banal moments of nationalism, everyday images are seen in these interviews as unimportant in the visualization of the imagined community. While the everyday experience is building and creating the imagined community that participants visualize, they feel as though the everyday experience is not significant enough. Therefore making the nation seem larger than the individual experience and intangible.

The struggle to visualize Croatia is, at its core, another form of defining the nation. As seen previously, identity is not fixed or consistent. Individuals will identify with the nation in very different ways. Other social identities such as gender and ethnicity will also affect the way an individual constructs the nation. It is not that national identity in Croatia is not yet defined, but that national identity is never defined. Participants reflect these ineffable qualities of the nation when attempting to visualize Croatia. An example of this is when participants described the nation by referencing its diversity, to show how there is no consistency in the Croatian experience, even referencing the lack of consistency of the Croatian language. However, participants were incapable of finding many commonalities between Croatians and throughout Croatia. Participants were unable to conceptualize what it meant to be Croatian and they were unable to define what made them Croatian beyond the political geography of the nation.

> P2: the only thing that connects us that is that we are Croats. So he's a Croat, I'm a Croat, yay!
> *I: What does that mean?*
> P2: What does that mean...
> P1: A sense of nationality. I don't know, I don't know how to explain that

P2: I really don't know
P1: We all have the same passport and then it says we are all Croats, yay! [laughs] (021)

The participants in interview 021, could not explain what it meant to be Croat, other than having a passport that says so. They could not explain why they are Croatian, they just are; they could not explain what Croatia is, it just is. But this confusion is not unique to Croatia. There has been a long ongoing debate about the definition and origins of the nation.

Most famously this discussion about the origins and definition of the nation occurred between Anthony Smith and Ernest Gellner. Before Benedict Anderson (1991) defined the nation as an imagined community, Ernest Gellner (1964) had argued the nation is a purely modern construct laying what would be the groundwork for other modernist theorists like Anderson to continue this discussion of definition and origins. However, Smith (1987) took a more primoridalist view of the nation's definition and origins arguing instead of the nation being a purely instrumentalist modern construction, nations are rooted in traditional, pre-modern culture or the 'ethnie'. So whether you believe that nations are modern constructs or are based on pre-modern elements, what both theorists argue is that nations are constructed. Whether they stem from pre-modern culture or not, nations are constructed not once but continuously. A nation viewed in this way is what Renan (1882) refers to as a 'daily plebiscite' where the nation is always being reimagined.

Gellner (1996) famously asked whether nations had navels in an attempt to explain the debate on the origins of nations and whether their origins even matter. He later stated, "Some nations have navels, some achieve navels, some have navels thrust upon them. Those possessed of genuine ones are probably in a minority, but it matters little. It is the need for navels engendered by modernity that matters" (Gellner 1997: 101). This research takes a similar approach to the origins of nations as Gellner. The origin, or navel, of Croatian identity matters very little and the definition of Croatian identity also has little importance to this research. What matters is the "need for navels" and definitions. What matters to this research is that these tourism advertisements create the need for a succinct and reproducible national identity, which is an impossible demand.

Within the academic debate between Smith and Gellner, they both agree that displays of national identity are intangible and inconsistent. This is one of the reasons why it is so difficult both to define the nation and for participants to describe what it means to be Croatian. This confusion that participants have around what it means to be a Croat is therefore not unique to Croatia and is not a new question. But what is less explored is how this is linked to the way the na-

tion is visualized. Questions about the nation are reflected in the way the nation is visualized. This research shows that, for these participants, it is not visualized in terms of lived experiences, but rather, as we will see in the next section, the nation is visualized by borrowing on already existing representations of the nation. Participants may recognize that they are Croatian because of banal everyday national imagery, but they do not visualize the nation in terms of the everyday. For participants, Croatia is intangible, indefinable, more than the everyday experience, and therefore confusing. This confusion around the concept of what is Croatia has caused participants to draw on prefabricated visual representations of the nation in order to visually define Croatian identity.

The Circuit of Identity: Visualizing Croatia in Terms of Tourism Advertisements

The nation has an ineffable quality making it visualized not through lived experiences but instead the nation is visually described by participants through other forms of imagery. Participant 007 is a good example of the way participants responded to this question of visualizing the nation:

> *I: Ok so when you were describing to me what Croatia is, um what kind of images came up in your mind?*
> P: You know when you look at those tourist ads, and commercials. [laughs] Something like that.

This participant immediately imagined tourism advertisements when she described Croatia. However, she didn't verbally describe Croatia solely in terms of tourism advertisements:

> It's a beautiful country with a lot of potential. We are not really exploiting that potential as we could, it has a really beautiful places, the nature is amazing, islands are amazing, the whole coast is just wonderful, and it's really great to live here but the biggest problem is unemployment so a lot of our young people are leaving this country for a better future.

This participant defined Croatia as beautiful with coastal nature, similar to tourism advertisements, but she also described Croatia in terms of the economic problems the country is encountering. However, she didn't imagine two Croatias, just one. There was no split-identity in the way this participant visualized Croatia. Instead she visualized Croatia in terms of tourism advertisements. This was not uncommon among participants.

It is possible that knowing my research was about tourism advertisements

encouraged participants to use these forms of imagery when asked about the way they visualized the nation. However, this question was, in most cases, introduced right at the beginning, before any discussion of tourism at all. It was followed by a broad question asking "What is Croatia?" Therefore it was not in immediate reference to any topics of tourism, it was instead in reference to a description and definition of Croatia. Additionally the "What is Croatia?" question was almost never answered with respect to tourism, while the images that came up when answering these questions were almost always in relation to tourism advertisements.

Other forms of existing visual imagery were also used when visualizing the nation such as images from news media and maps. Croatia is visualized in terms of images such as maps and political geography:

> I have a map of Croatia in my mind all the time so yeah. I look at like from above. (001a)

the conventional sun and sea image:

> mostly that stereotype of Croatia with more than thousand islands and the sea and all that, yeah. (015)

and the more dismal view of the nation through the eyes of news media:

> the economy the politics and all the troubles we have there. That was the first impression, the first thing that came to mind. (005)

Croatia, however, was overwhelmingly described in terms of tourism. Such as summer tourism:

> I mean it's sea, you know, for me it is like sea, beaches, and there's people sitting outside, you know, near a beach, laying back, you know, rubbing sunscreen on themselves, drinking some cheap beer, going outside, late at night, I don't know. It's, it's…I don't know, it's also the architecture, you know, lots of sun and lots of stone, you know. […] Basically, visually Croatia it's mostly, you know, sea, beaches, those, green forests around…donkeys. (020)

and marketed tourist locations:

> Usually the way it's marketed today, there, the coastline's the, the main image that I guess comes to everyone's mind. I mean because that, that's where I'm from, that's the main thing I think of as well, so islands, beach. But there, then there's also a lot of - cause we were under the Romans for so long so, things like Diocletian's palace, the walls in Dubrovnik, there's a lot of like medieval history, Roman history. (023)

When participants visualized the nation in more diverse ways, tourism was almost always the first image they jumped too:

> *I: So what kind of images come up in your mind when you just explained*

that to me?

P3: Sea, summer, islands, sun

P1: Yeah

P3: The beach

P1: Those beautiful pictures that you look at in some promo videos. But they're actually kind of kitsch and not true. I mean that's one part of ok it's beautiful it's wonderful its lalala, but you also have an other part that's they don't show and it's kind of stagnating, I don't know.

I: What is that an image of?

P1: Like social, social images. Like when you watch the news and there's a lot of, I don't know, poor people or something. I don't know specifically what images. Something like that maybe. (021)

While there were some participants like interview 021 that referenced other existing imagery, participants drew on elements of tourism imagery most often when visualizing the nation. Like the participants in 021 there was an acknowledgement that this visualization was not a reality, that the beautiful nature and sun were not fully representative of the nation. This is the same concept that was brought up in the previous section where participant 010 imagined the sun and beach even though it was not fully true or even something he regularly experienced in his daily life. In effect, many participants are visually defining the nation in terms of tourism advertisements. Most commonly and almost universally Croatia is visualized by the sun and sea image that one participant adeptly described as the image of Croatia that the tourism board created:

> I think [the campaigns] accurately represent what Croatian tourists association did for tourism in Croatia so we are stuck in this level of tourism which which is like I said for the people to come eat, drink, see the sunset you know, drive a scooter and stuff like that, and it, that's about it. (018)

Participant 018 argues that most Croatians will also have this superficial summer tourism view of Croatia, that the "average Croatian thinks that that way about the tourism, you know. We don't really have any other experience." I would argue that participant 018 is correct in assuming that most people think about tourism in this sun and sea tourism created image of the nation because tourism advertisements are one of very few visual representations of the nation. As a small country that is heavily reliant on tourism, Croatia as a nation is very commonly represented by tourism advertisements. Therefore this participant's argument can be extended to say that because there are very few visual representations of Croatia outside of this summer tourism image, that participants are more likely to draw on these images of tourism to inform their construction of the imagined community. Croatians both see tourism and Croatia in the way the tourism board has over the years constructed its passive summer image.

Images, such as advertisements, constructing social identities is not a new finding in social sciences. Goffman's (1979) *Gender Advertisements* made the claim that advertising images rely both on social norms or stereotypes, but that what makes them essential to research is their capacity to simultaneously reinforce and create new stereotypes and power relations. In the field of media studies, it is often argued that the viewer receives images in popular media as examples of social reality. The Frankfurt School media theorists (such as Herbert Marcuse 1972 or Theodor Adorno 1991) argued that the audience is passive, receiving information from the media, and replicating behaviors. However, this presents the audience as one homogenous group without the critical capacity to reflect on media, such as advertisements. Other media theorists criticized this view of the audience arguing that instead advertising is presented to an active audience that uses, avoids, or reacts to media (Stevenson 2002). The participants in this research are seen as actively using tourism advertisements to construct an image of the nation. The participants are not passively consuming the tourism advertisements as tourism advertisements, instead they are actively using these advertisements to supplement their visualization of the nation, while being able to simultaneously criticize the tourism constructed image of Croatia.

By visualizing Croatia in terms of tourism advertisements, participants are demonstrating that tourism advertisements are informing the national image. These tourism advertisements are not creating a split identity, which is what Iordanova (2007) found in her research on Transylvanian identity. Instead of two separate images of Croatia, a tourism image and an image of Croatia that is lived by members of the nation, I argue that the relationship between tourism imagery and national identity is more interconnected. It is fairly obvious that national identity and national imagery influences the message and appearance of tourism advertisements to some degree. However, the participants in this research are showing that tourism advertisements also influence national identity.

Instead of tourism advertisements creating a split identity, the relationship between tourism advertisements and national identities is more similar to the "circuit of culture" concept created by du Gay (1997). Figure 6.1 shows the circuit of culture where representation, identity, production, consumption, and regulation are the five cultural processes in the circuit. In order to study a cultural product, du Gay (1997: 3) argues that you must "at least explore how it is represented, what social identities are associated with it, how it is produced, and consumed, and what mechanisms regulate its distribution and use". The portion of du Gay's circuit of culture that is most relevant here are the arrows. Each boxed in cultural process in Figure 6.1 affects and is affected by the other cultural processes. The diagram clearly shows the non-linear and interconnected relation-

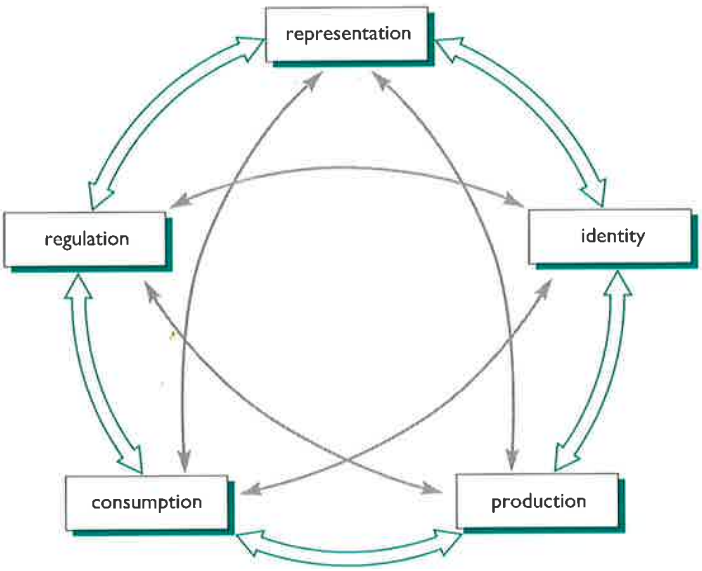


Figure 6.1
"The Circuit of Culture" (du Gay 1997).

ship between each process. In applying this diagram to the topic of this research, tourism advertisements would be the representation, Croatian identity would be the identity, the marketers and designers would drive the production, the tourism board would represent the regulators, and tourists are the consumers. Each of these processes not only affects the next but also affects every process in the circuit. These tourism images are caught up in a web of influences. The reality of representation is, however, less direct and cyclical than a circuit might suggest. It might therefore be more appropriate to incorporate Edensor's (2002) term 'matrix' here to emphasize the imbalances, irregularities, and multidirectionality of these processes. Whether a circuit or a matrix, Croatian identity influences the tourism advertisements (the representation), and the tourism advertisements influence Croatian identity. The entire process from production to consumption affects Croatian identity and is affected by Croatian identity. Croatian tourism is not creating two separate split identities of Croatia instead the entire process of tourism advertising is part of Croatian identity just as Croatian identity is part of the process.

This is not to say that tourism doesn't create a separate way of experiencing Croatia that is different from the Croatian experience. The tourism experience is different from the lived experience. What I am arguing is that the visual representation of tourism is influencing and changing the way the nation is visualized just like how Croatian identity influences and shapes the tourism image. The relationship between the process of tourism image construction and national imagination is not separate. The tourism created image of Croatia is not the only image of the nation but rather it is part of the image of the nation, creating at times a contradictory and fragmented image of the nation.

Benedict Anderson (1991) argues that print media made possible the formation of the imagined community. Communities were imagined through the

mass dissemination of printed materials to their members. The printing press and the print-capitalism that developed paved the way for a more vernacular form of communication across the nation. Print-capitalism then developed into newspapers and national media that created a sense of shared national experience. For Anderson, print-capitalism was one of the conditions of production in the creation of the imagined community and laid the groundwork for a national consciousness. Anderson additionally included in his argument the way in which images, such as the visualization of census data and the map, helped to lay the foundation for the creation of the modern nation. While Anderson's theory applies to Croatia, I argue that this theory needs to be expanded. Visual theorists argue that we are now in an era of increased visual communication therefore the nation is not only imagined by political maps, data, in newsprint, and through vernacular language, it is visually imagined in more varied and more banal ways. However, this visual imagination is produced in similar ways to Anderson's print-capitalism theory. Print media created the imagined community not through everyday experiences, but through widely dispersed cultural products created both inside and outside of the everyday. This visual imagination is similarly produced through multiple forms of media that are all influencing each other. For Croatia, tourism advertisements are highly influential in creating the visual imagined community. Just as Studio Sonda stated, "tourism is in our blood". Tourism advertising is engrained in the creation of the imagined community and is part of what it means to be Croatian.

Branding as a New Role of the Nation

The section above described how tourism advertising and national identity have an interconnected relationship where they both influence and change each other. Taking that concept a step further this section will argue that tourism advertising, as a form of nation branding, is altering not only national identity but it is also changing the role of nations. By showing that Croatian tourism advertisements affect the visualization of national identity, this research is making a stronger claim for the importance of research into tourism advertising and visualizations of the nation. Currently the impact of tourism advertising is not taken seriously by members of the nation and those involved in the production of these advertisements. The reason for concern is that there is a lack of awareness of the strength of state driven narratives on the creation of the national imagination that are largely putting the Croatian government in control of what Croatian

identity means. It is this top down driven identity that academics such as Jansen (2008) refer to when they argue that nation branding is undemocratic.

Nations have always had state manufactured images to represent their identity such as flags and emblems. However, Jansen (2008: 122) argues that "what distinguishes nation branding from these efforts is that the primary motivation, the raison d'ẽtre, of nation branding is commercial ambition." While other national visualizations were internally focused creating visuals that represented the nation and were intended for the nation (for example national seals, emblems, currency design, memorials, symbols of political mobilization, even propaganda), nation branding is not only outward looking but predominantly externally influenced and this external influence is solely for commercial gain (Ståhlberg and Bolin 2016). For example, in the previous chapter we saw that Croatian tourism advertisements are created based on external pull factors that are profit driven rather than creating a representation of Croatia driven by internal push factors. It is a focus on representing the nation based on economic aims that Jansen (2008:124) believes is undemocratic representing an overall "drift toward privatization of foreign policy".

> Democracy and capitalism each embody very different solutions to the problem of social order. Democracy opposes arbitrary, hierarchical, decision making by elites; whereas capitalism generally requires it. (Jansen 2008: 134)

Effective democratic decisions also require transparency, while corporations require confidentiality (ibid). Jansen additionally argues that brand identities require an amount of control that democratic governments cannot justify. Branding practitioners champion "tight, hierarchal, even totalitarian, control in implementing a nation's brand" this control and brand consistency is not "a desirable national goal" for democratic countries (ibid: 134-135).

Jansen's (2008) article might be considered extreme and does lack effective empirical evidence, however she is not alone in her view of branding as a threat to democratic values. Browning (2015: 212) argues that nation branding creates an image of the nation that is "in favor of a bland marketable homogeneity" promoting a narrow vision of 'good citizenship' and ultimately at odds with the ideals of "democratic pluralism." Mattern (2008: 492) makes a similar claim stating that through nation branding the state "marginalizes differences, masks inequalities, and promotes depoliticization. What is ultimately branded is a corporation-nation seeking to appeal to a clearly defined set of stakeholders." The criticisms of nation branding expressed by these authors can be applied to the Croatian tourism advertisements in this research.

If all the disadvantages of the Croatian advertisements identified by this

research are placed together, Jansen's (2008) theories become more validated. As a whole this research outlines and demonstrates how Croatian advertisements do not include the views of Croatians, visualizes the tourists rather than Croatians, tend to use external consultants to create the national brand, represent Croatian identity for political and economic purposes, avoid representing areas of Croatian cultural history that do not fit the intentionally produced image creating a passive representation where any reference to Croatians can be seen as a cultural stereotype, and removes the diversity of Croatian identity. All these elements fit Jansen's argument of a national representation created by organizations that are more concerned with the commercial aims of tourism advertisements rather than their role as a democratic government organization. Looking at the findings from this research on Croatian tourism advertisements, the academic critiques of the democratic nature of government branding efforts are given more justification.

Governments, however, partake in nation branding because it is now essential. Nation branding practitioners argue that every nation must have a brand in order to compete (Olins 2003). A whole industry of nation brand consultants has been created around this need. In the last chapter we saw how designers are conflicted between needing a marketable image of Croatia and branding images being inherently reductive. Similar to this argument it is clear that governments feel they need a brand, or an image of the nation, but brands and national images are not only reductive they are largely undemocratic. However, nations have taken on this new role of brander and continue to construct these brands and national images without any widespread discussion of its possible consequences. Nation branding, therefore, is creating a new role that is redefining and changing nations. The nation is taking up similar functions to those of corporations in their need to create a manageable and marketable image. Other nation branding scholars (Aronczyk 2013, Kaneva 2011, Ståhlberg and Bolin 2016) have rightfully argued this point stating, "if previously the nation was constructed as a collective community in relation to political legitimacy and citizenship, it is today imagined as a competitive entity in a global economy" (Ståhlberg and Bolin 2016: 275). However I argue that the nation's role has changed even further, this new focus on the image, the aesthetic, is changing the nation from a modern construct to a postmodern brander.

Modernist theorists like Gellner (1983) saw the nation as a functional political unit that held within it certain roles that created a universal society. The nation itself is a solution to the large-scale economic society and labor force created by industrialization. Within this new context the nation homogenizes education and culture, standardized language, bureaucratizes societal regulations, and even participates in efforts to create a national identity (Gellner 1983). Gellner's view

of the roles of a nation are not in opposition to creating national imagery, however they do not include the new necessity of creating an internationally and commercially focused brand identity. Nations are moving from modernist roles and functions that were born out of industrialization to the postmodern role of branding and advertising more fit for the late-capitalist era we now occupy.

The postmodern qualities of the nation come into play because the Croatian government is involved in branding attempts that have largely become themselves simulacra. As was outlined in the previous chapter, tourism advertisements turn Croatian identity into a marketable product. Overall Croatia is being promoted and advertised increasingly as a brand, not a destination. The emotion and symbolic meaning of tourism is being sold in Croatia. Croatia is not being sold, the brand is being sold. The brand has become the product. This brand is created as a succinct, easily digestible, flat image of the nation in a country whose reality is an identity that is established on the basis that it is diverse, undefined, fragmented, and fraught with historical baggage. Existing forms of national imagery and identification do not inform the brand image and the brand often contradicts the reality. Nation branding and national identity are not the same thing, however nation branding is presented as the same. Ståhlberg and Bolin (2016: 288) describes how national identity is transformed by branding as "not a matter of pouring old wine into new bottles – rather it comes closer to the biblical expression of pouring new wine into old wine skins." This is the same argument made by Jameson (1991) when arguing that postmodern images are not only superficial, but their superficiality masquerades as depth. The superficial depthless brand identity presents itself as national identity within this postmodern/late-capitalist model, turning identity into a brand but also into a monetized superficial postmodern construct. As we have seen, this new branding function of the nation is democratically questionable and it is also simultaneously contributing to changing the role of the nation.

This argument that nation branding is evidence of the changing position of nations as a response to the rise in a postmodern or late-modern society has been made by critics of nation branding such as Browning (2015) and Mattern (2008). However, the next section takes these arguments a step further from the role of nations to the effect of globalization and supranational political unions on the visualization of nations within this context. As already discussed, nation branding is, in effect, simultaneously a globalizing force and legitimizes the nation within a global context. Therefore, the argument is not whether nations are legitimate within political unions, but rather what the relationship is between the supranational and national image. So does Croatia's recent accession into the European Union have an effect on Croatia's visualization?

Visualizing Croatia and The European Union

Tourism generated images of Croatia, for better or for worse, are part of the visual identity of the nation. However, Croatia as a nation has just gone through another recent political shift, becoming a EU member. If tourism advertisements and national identity are so interconnected in the 'circuit of identity', then it can be assumed that joining the European Union could potentially influence this circuit. Additionally, the nation is changing in its role by transforming into a commercial brander and also by becoming part of a political union. So this research posed the question of whether or not becoming an EU member has had any effect on the image of Croatia.

Participants were largely unimpressed by Croatia's membership in the European Union. There was no excitement over the nation's new status as European member state, but there was also no regret either. Joining the EU was described as "nothing special" (003) but generally a good thing: "There are pluses and minuses but uh I think there are more pluses" (006). Overall, nothing much has changed. There were, however, some immediately felt benefits to joining the EU such as freedom of movement within the EU, increased opportunities to work and study abroad, and the ability to purchase items from other EU countries. While these are new privileges that participants enjoyed, they are not internally changing the political, economic, or social status of Croatia.

If being part of the EU is going to change any image of Croatia it could possibly be helping Croatia's image outside of the EU by gaining a sense of legitimacy and perceived safety.

> As far, as far as the countries outside the European Union are concerned, it is definitely good, in terms of perception, that Croatia is in the European Union. It's actually a plus, because it includes certain standards of the European Union, which Croatia had to accept to get in. (004)

It is also a message to the world that the image of Croatia circulated worldwide in the 1990s during the Balkan wars is no longer a reality.

> I think you're, especially for foreigners, they feel more secure I guess when they arrive here 'cause we were like from Yugoslavia, ex-Yugoslavia state where the war was. And the European Union accepting us, I think that's a confirmation that it is now safe 'cause a lot of, especially Americans, they still think that here is like, I don't know, still fighting people. (023)

Ultimately, joining the EU is seen as a good thing. But it is not a very noticeable change, not yet at least. For now joining the EU has very little effect on

the daily lives of Croatians and on their overall national image. The concurrent emotions of indifference and positivity surrounding the EU are most effectively seen in interview 010:

> *I: So, Croatia just joined the EU. What does that mean?*
> P: […] If you ask the people walking around here they will say oh yeah, we're in the EU, yeah, I forgot all about that. So, nothing practically changed for us, nothing. Except for maybe some possibilities of going somewhere to study cheaper. That's it.
> *I: Yeah. Do you think it changed the image of Croatia?*
> P: I don't believe so. [...] In the beginning of our conversation I told you there's like a thousand hostels in Split, growing numbers of hotels in, in, whatever. And, and, and tourism booming in Croatia, I'd ask you a different question. Would it be different if we were not in the EU?
> *I: Would all those hostels still be there?*
> P: Yeah, definitely. Because everything that you see and the, that growing tourism was still happening before 2013. I don't believe a common Slovenian, Hungarian, German would even consider a question like is Croatia in the EU or not, they don't care about that. That's my opinion.
> *I: What do you think of outside of Europe? Does it...*
> P: Well maybe […]. An EU member only means open, open borders, no customs, no special taxes when you export. That's, that's what I think it really means. Nothing else. You can still get on a plane in London and come here, doesn't matter if we're in the EU or not.

Has being part of the EU changed Croatia very much? Not according to participants in this research, but they still view the EU as good thing.

Croatia is a small country and participants are aware of what this means on a geopolitical level. While there is to some degree a sense of disappointment that Croatia left one political union in the 1990s just to join another, this fear of political unions is outweighed by the knowledge that Croatia alone is an insignificant player internationally.

> Singapore for example, it's a small, a very small country that, you know, five million people, and in some respect similar to Croatia, but, you know, it's a small country. Ok, geopolitically maybe in a good position, in a good place. But that's still you know, you never ask anyone, anyone about, you know, what's Singapore's opinion in any global political issues. You'd never ask, "What's Singapore's opinion?" That's ever, not ever gonna happen for Croatia either, you know, you never ask what's Slovenia opinion on this, or, or Bosnia's, or just, you have, you have certain big players on global stage that are always gonna be the, the, the, the main, the main honchos. […] No, in general, you know, we're just a small country in the European Union, we're gonna get our share of small votes and that's about it. (013)

Because Croatia is a small country, like Singapore, with limited political power, joining the EU was inevitable and "an obvious choice" (015). For participant 009,

there was no other choice:

> *I: So, Croatia just entered the EU 2 years ago. What does that mean?*
> P: Nothing really. We haven't felt much of a change. We're not getting any better or any worse but we had to join the EU. For a small country like Croatia we have no choice really.

Croatia joined the EU in July 2013, these interviews were conducted in 2015, only 2 years after joining the EU. Many participants explain their lack of enthusiasm for the EU is a consequence of it still being too soon to tell whether or not being an EU member will have the promised benefits. They see the EU as an investment for the future, they are happy they did it but will not reap its benefits until many years down the road.

> So maybe we haven't been in the EU for long enough to actually feel some consequences or make up a way up or a way down. I mean, the question is what will happen to the EU in the next 5 to 10 years? Maybe the next 2 years? With all the talk about the, the Eurozone and some countries wanting to leave the EU, some countries wanting to leave only the Eurozone, it's pretty much all in the air right now. I mean the general idea is that everybody wants to grow, everybody wants to move up in the world, so the ideas are that the EU should bring better life to Croatian people, that the EU should bring a more brighter future for, maybe even us, but I don't think so, but for lets say now our children or our children's children. So it's sort of like a long-term investment. Will it work out? I hope so. (001b)

Overall participants do not feel that the European Union has changed Croatia in many ways, including the way they visualize the nation. That is because for these participants that is not the function of the EU. They joined the EU for economic reasons, for trade, for open borders, and for employment opportunities. Participants did not notice much of a change following EU membership, however they also do not believe that the EU is intended to change Croatia. The European Union was a tool for Croatia to participate in the wider European economy. They did not join the EU for purposes of identity, status, or any significant change to the way Croatia is visualized. One of the reasons for this is because participants already visualized Croatia as European, even before European accession.

Croatia is European, the EU is Where it Belongs

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Croatian tourism advertising has presented its heritage with a bias towards its shared European history. Research by Rivera (2008) on Croatia's promotional tourism materials during its transition to independence revealed that Croatia had removed references to Yugoslavia, Balkan, Ottoman, Turkish, and any Eastern influences. Instead Croatia was advertised

as similar to other Western European and Mediterranean countries. This shift in representation was seen as intentional and deliberate, it was intended to fit more with Croatia's political aims of becoming aligned with the west and possible EU integration. Therefore, long before Croatia became an EU member, it was already advertising itself as European and creating an image of the nation that would irrefutably fit nowhere else but Europe. For participants, Croatia belonged in the EU:

> Absolutely a good feeling, a good feeling, actually being in a collective space, in a collective space with European nations, with whom we actually share the same faith even before we entered. Croatia, actually, by entering the European Union didn't, she found herself in a space that belongs to her, so it's not like it's some kind of reward for Croatia and that we gained something special. No, I mean, as far as Croatia is concerned, she is completely, she is completely in her natural habitat. (004)

Not only did participants feel that Croatia belonged in the EU, but they felt that because it is already culturally European, joining the EU doesn't change Croatia's identity. To Croatians the EU is a symbol of political stability and an investment in future economic growth. The EU also represents freedom of mobility and access to international jobs. But the EU does not bring with it a sense of identity or cultural baggage. The EU does not change Croatia's image, it does not create another European narrative of Croatia because the European narrative already existed.

Croatia has been promoting its European heritage since its independence from Yugoslavia. However, since joining the EU the emphasis on a shared European heritage has waned. The tourism advertisements studied in this research were the first large scale tourism campaigns launched since Croatia's accession into the EU. This new image of Croatia lacks the same references to European heritage as before. While the imagery of coastal towns and traditional dress are an obvious reference to Croatia's Mediterranean culture, these two campaigns studied in this research have reduced images of Roman monuments and Venetian cultural heritage sites that were used to signify a direct connection to a shared Mediterranean culture. For example, within the design of the campaigns there are no images of the Roman city of Split, the medieval walls of Dubrovnik, or the Roman amphitheater of Pula that are normally used to advertise heritage tourism and signify Croatia's longstanding cultural connection with Western Europe. The tourism slogan was changed from "the Mediterranean as it once was" to "Full of Life" no longer outwardly suggesting that Croatia is a Mediterranean country. Though tourism advertisements in Croatia have not begun to include the diversity of its non-western cultural heritage, since joining the EU Croatia has become visibly less European in its advertisements. In sum, since Croatia

is seen as securely belonging to Western Europe and therefore belonging to the European Union as well, joining the EU so far has not been seen as impacting Croatia's image. In fact Croatia's representation has been less forceful in its image of its shared European characteristics. The next section will elaborate on the topic of visualizing both a European and Croatian identity by using examples of the way Croatian designers visualize the future of the European Union.

Europe 2020

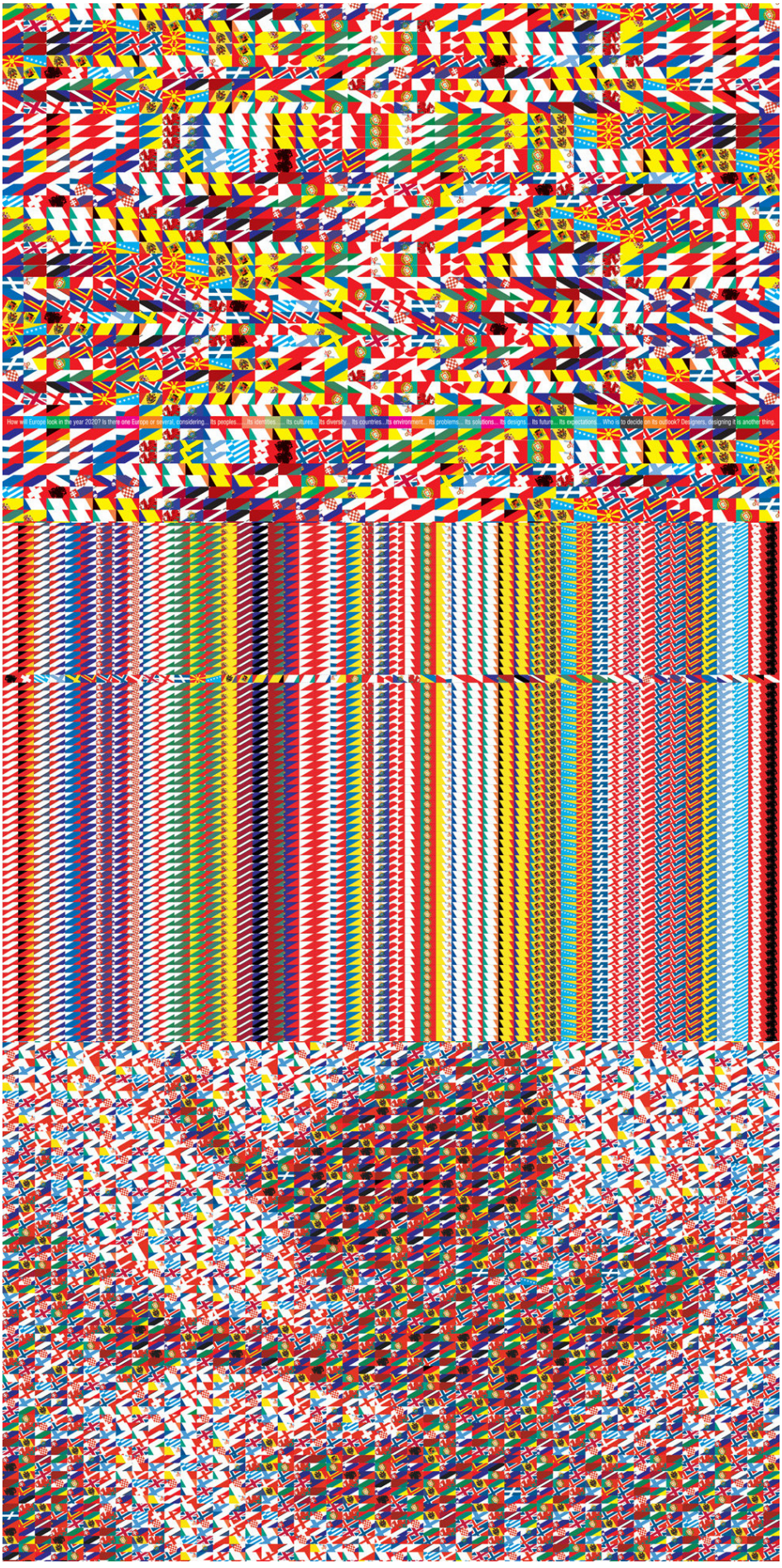
In 2002 the well known Croatian designer Boris Ljubičić created a project entitled *Europe 2020*, with the intention of creating a visual identity for Europe. Ljubičić felt that Europe as a whole, not just the EU, does not have an identity. If you were to unite all the flags of Europe "nothing would be recognizable" (Ljubičić Nov 2014). This confusing image of all the European flags is seen in Figure 6.2. In order to deal with Europe's identity problem he created the *Europe 2020* project where he invited designers from all over Europe to create visual solutions for Europe. The brief was presented like this:

> How will Europe look in the year 2020? Is there one Europe or several, considering… Its peoples… Its identities… Its cultures… Its diversity… Its countries… Its environment… Its problems… Its solutions… Its designs… Its future… its expectations… Who is to decide on its outlook? (Ljubičić 2002: 34)

Over a hundred designers from all over Europe sent in posters that were then displayed in multiple exhibitions in Croatia.

Ljubičić himself feels like the European flag contains little meaning. He believes the circle motif is borrowed from the Japanese flag and the stars from the US flag. For one of his contributions to the project Ljubičić created a new flag for Europe. This flag, seen in Figure 6.3, is the letter "E" with gaps between the lines so that they do not fully connect. These gaps are meant to symbolize the lack of closed boarders and the free movement of people. This freedom of movement was also one of the points participants brought up as an important benefit to their EU integration. For Ljubičić (Nov 2014) the flag is the most important image to create, because it informs all subsequent national designs arguing: "the flag is the key visual identity from which and by which a country is recognized". However, Ljubičić feels that the elements of the flag must not only be unique in comparison to other flags but also abstract. "It's very important actually that this, these elements of the flag are completely abstract. And that anyone can implement in it whatever they want" (Ljubičić Nov 2014). Ljubičić is stating that the flag needs to be abstract so that any meaning can be built into the flag. The modern simple

Figure 6.2
Flags of Europe without a visual identity: *Integrity/Identity* (top), *How will Europe look?* (middle), and *Welcome to Europe* (bottom) (Ljubičić 2002).



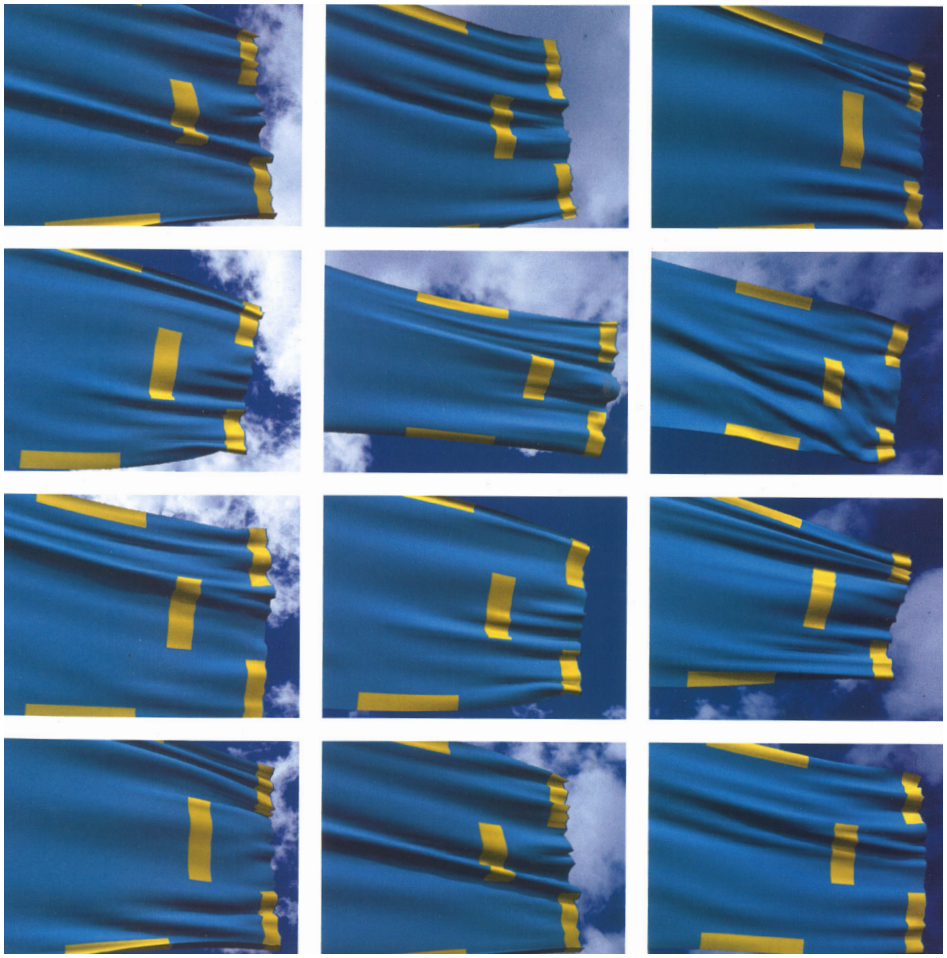


Figure 6.3
Visual Identity/Flag (Ljubičić 2002).

design is abstract and lacks a direct and recognizable meaning, however it is also egalitarian allowing the design to encompass the diversity of identities within the nation.

Just like the participants interviewed in this research, the Croatian designers that contributed to the *Europe 2020* project also rejected the idea that EU membership was at odds with Croatian identity. The posters by Croatian designers described the future of Europe as a place that is growing and expanding to incorporate new nations (Figure 6.4, Figure 6.5). As new nations integrate into the European project Croatian designers envisioned the dissolution of the East and West divide (Figure 6.6, Figure 6.7). Figure 6.6 blurs the relationship between right and left, east and west, arguing that a Europe of the future will break down divisive politics. Figure 6.7 (Ljubičić 2002: 115) makes a more direct stance on the division between east and west by stating the common currency will be the driver behind uniting Europe:

> TWONE carries a message about two Europes, the Eastern and the Western, which must become one. When [the] Euro becomes the unique currency in the whole area of the Continent the annoying political division between the East and the West will disappear, as well.

Europe is symbolized as incorporating Croatia into its fabric and identity, rather

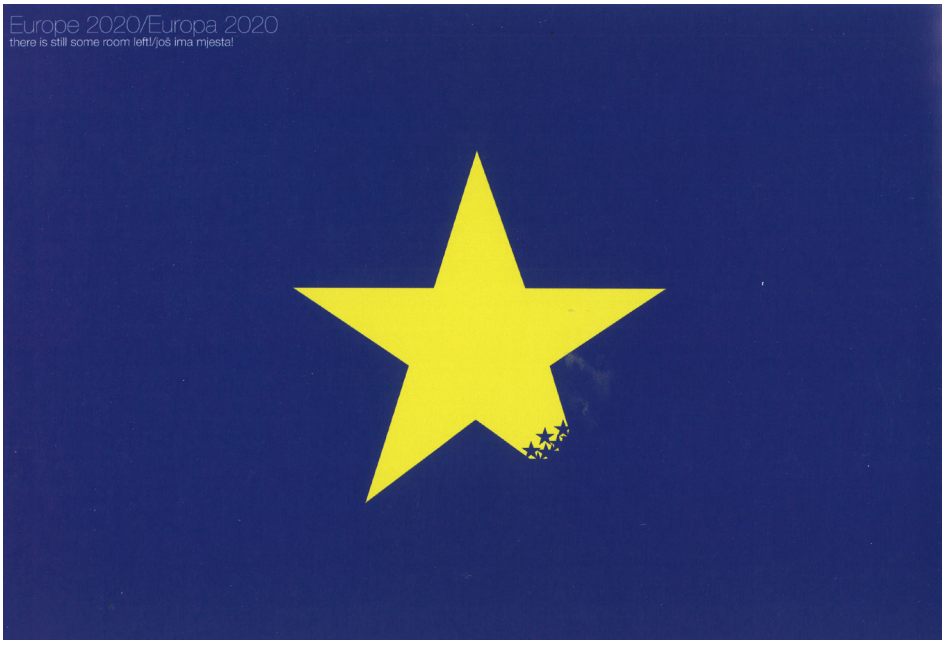
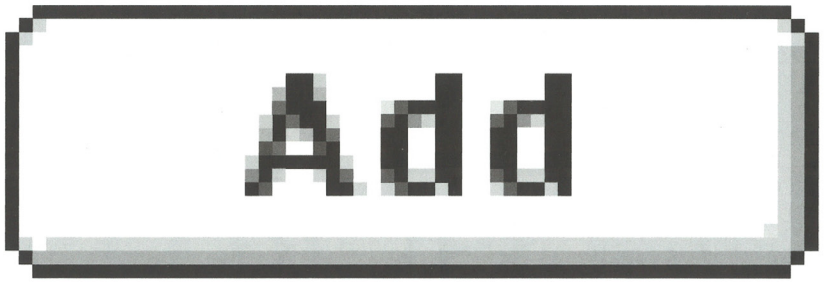


Figure 6.4
There is still some room left by Marko Koržinek (Ljubičić 2002).

Figure 6.5 (right)
Add by Ivana Ivanković (Ljubičić 2002).



Europe 2020

than Croatia having to change to fit Europe. This is seen most strongly in the visual argument that there needs to be more stars. As Europe changes so should its visual identity and if its visual identity is stars then the European flag must incorporate more stars all of which represent each EU member (Figure 6.4, Figure 6.8).

New stars are not added to the flag and academics have argued (Case 2009) that, in fact, the EU does not do an adequate job of expanding and redefining when integrating new EU states, but rather require new member states to make adjustments in order to fit. However, these images are a representation of what the Croatian designers would like the EU to be, not the reality of how the EU actually is. The *Europe 2020* project and the idealistic visions of Europe by Croatian designers supports the claim that Croatians do not view Europe as changing Croatia's image, positively or negatively. The EU is not seen as a threat to identity as participant 012 states:

> Although we are in the EU, Croatia still, we actually have national identity and... no one has, I've never heard, even in the news, anyone say "oh, we're submissive for entering the EU" or anything like that. If anything it's more been that it is, for the most, part been a step in the right direction.

In fact, the interviews with participants and designers about Croatia's accession into the EU says very little about Croatia and more about the EU itself. In general Croatia visualizes the EU as a place of open boarders and financial stability, the exact thing that is currently being challenged by recent political events in Europe. Therefore questioning how the nation is visualized within the European Union is the wrong question, instead researchers could be asking how the way nations visualize the EU can affect the future of Europe.

The *Europe 2020* project asks this question that researchers could be asking. Academic discussion on nations and national identity within the European Union have focused on what political unions like the EU are doing to the nation and how they effect national identity (Checkel and Katzenstein 2009). In researching European and national identities in Spain, Díez Medrando and Gutiérrez (2001) argued that a European identity is not in contrast to national identity but instead European identity is 'nested' within Spanish identity empowering and fortifying a sense of national identity. Risse (2010) makes a similar claim of European identity complimenting national identity, rather than challenging it. However these authors still focus on the impact of European identity on the nation, rather than the other way around.

In the wake of political uncertainty surrounding the future of the EU, researchers instead should focus attention on how national identity affects the EU. Researching Croatian opinions of the EU has highlighted that Croatians have

Figure 6.6
Right is wrong. Left is right by Dejan Kršić (Ljubičić 2002).

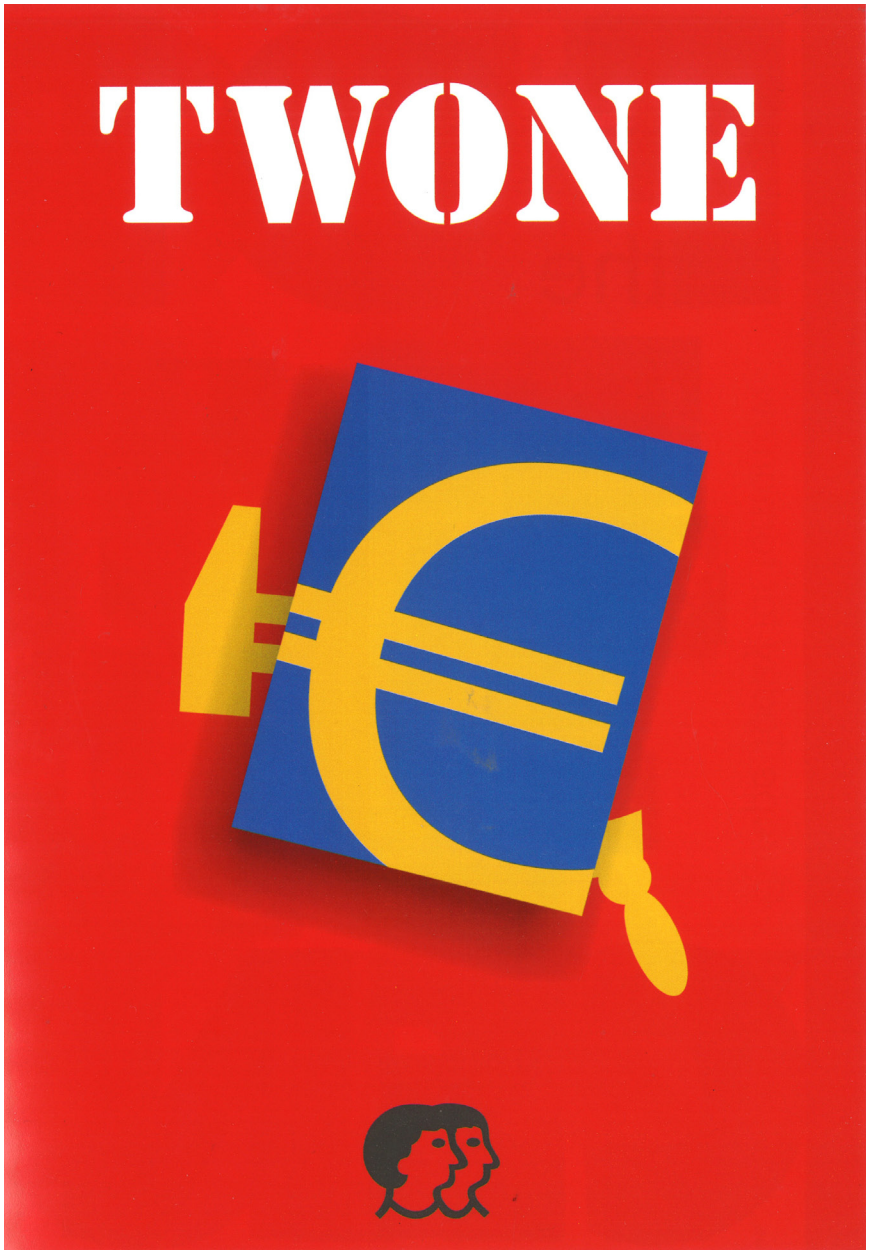


Figure 6.7
TWONE poster by Boris Ljubičić (Ljubičić 2002).

Figure 6.8
The Shiny stars of Europe by Bruketa&Žinić (Ljubičić 2002).

a clear idea of what they want the EU to be and how they would like the EU to function in the future. Boris Ljubičić argues that when facing questions of political uncertainty design is in a unique position to create change and envision an alternative future for Europe. This *Europe 2020* project can be seen as a resource in order to analyze how Croatians visualize and understand their place within the EU. An analysis of the *2020* project along with the tourism advertisements studied in this research show that while there is an uncertainty about visualizing the nation, the opposite is true when envisioning both Croatia's role within the EU and the imagined future possibilities of the EU. The future of the European Union is visualized clearly making it essential for future research on visualizing identity in the EU to ask questions of how design can make possible this imagined future.

Conclusion

This chapter focuses its attention from the representation of Croatia to the visualization of Croatia. It demonstrates that Croatia is visualized not with banal experiences of the nation, but rather the nation is seen by participants as distinct from experiences in daily life. For participants, the concept of Croatia is difficult to comprehend and describe let alone visualize. The confusion around what being Croatian means, along with there being very few images of Croatia produced outside of tourism, meant that participants tended to draw on the tourism created image of Croatia in order to inform the way they visualized the nation. This contradicts some research that argues tourism branding creates a split identity where the tourism image is separate from the lived identities. Instead what this

chapter demonstrates is that tourism advertisements and national identity are interconnected both influencing each other. Tourism advertisements are caught up in a "circuit of culture" (du Gay 1997) where representation, identity, regulation, production, and consumption are all interconnected with each node affecting the others. Therefore by expanding Benedict Anderson's (1991) theory of imagined communities, tourism advertisements, like the ones studied in this research, are one of the many conditions of production that help to form the imagined community of the nation.

The role of tourism advertisements in the formation and visualization of national identity demonstrated by this research also proves that tourism advertisements play a more important role than participants and practitioners recognize. Therefore, researchers need to begin to explore sociologically the function and consequences of tourism advertisements and nation branding. There have been very few sociological inquiries into nation branding, however those that do research this topic are equally as critical of its impact and purpose as this research. Critics have argued that the commercial aims of nation branding are creating a new undemocratic role that government is required to fulfill. This research supports this argument that nation branding is not consistent with the democratic functions making governmental responsibilities more similar to corporations than the traditional roles of government that require transparency, balance of power, and that strives for more egalitarian decision-making. I further this argument by stating that nation branding is moving nations from a modern construct built out of industrialization into a postmodern brander that is more consistent with the role of nations in the late-capitalist era that we are moving towards. Rather than nations being an outdated form of social order that globalization and supranational political unions will replace, nations are changing with society by taking on new roles such as nation branding.

This argument is also apparent when exploring how Croatia is visualized as a recent European Union member state. However, the designers and participants interviewed in this research see the EU as a political and economic union that does not affect Croatia's image or national identity. For participants the EU was not a threat to Croatia's sovereignty, in fact they barely noticed that Croatia was part of the EU at all. Unlike the theories of postnationalism that predicted the death of nations with the rise of supranational unions like the European Union (see for example Habermas 1992), this research argues that academics researching nations and national identity have been asking the wrong questions. Instead of asking how the EU will affect the role of nations and the need for national identification, researchers should be asking how nations can influence the European Union. Within these new questions, visual research will be paramount

to understanding the ways in which the future aims of the EU can be imagined, visualized, and ultimately realized. Design is a force of change whose possibilities for social progress and growth are being wasted by misguided governmental efforts of nation branding and tourism advertising. Instead of advertising Croatia as passive and reductive, Croatia has the opportunity, through design, to create an image of the nation that helps to achieve the imagined future of its members. Nation branding, no matter how undemocratic, is not going away. Nation branding is the way in which small nations like Croatia are legitimizing themselves within this new world order. The question now becomes how can Croatia use tourism advertising more democratically and effectively to not only fairly represent the nation but to create an image of Croatia as an EU member that helps to progress the imagined future that Croatia would like to be within the European Union.

CONCLUSION

In this research I began by asking two questions to address the topic of visualizing national identity:

1. How is the nation visualized in Croatia through tourism advertising and by whom?
2. How is this visualization received by members of the nation?

Within these two questions I engaged with topics of national identity, visual sociology, design, and the European Union. This chapter outlines these research aims by connecting them to the findings. Additionally, I will summarize how the findings relate to the relevant theory before discussing the limitations of this research. I will follow the theoretical discussion with a section that proposes some implications of this research and recommends possible areas of further research. This chapter will conclude with an appeal for more consideration of images within sociological research.

Research Aims and Questions

The aim of my study was to explore how the nation is visualized through tourism advertisements and how members of the nation both reflected on the

images and visually imagined the community. In order to achieve these research aims I focused on researching two tourism advertising campaigns in Croatia. Croatia was chosen as the research site because of its recent history, EU accession, economic dependence on tourism, and current rebranding efforts. The two tourism campaigns were chosen because they showed the transition between the old brand and the tourism board's new branding objectives.

The two research questions were approached with a variety of visual qualitative methods. The first methodological step was researching the site of production or the industry that produced these tourism advertisements. The site of production included tourism boards, advertising and design agencies, a tourism market research institute, and a Croatian academic in the field of design. Interviewing the general public was the second method used to answer these research questions. This stage consisted of semi-structured interviews with a constructivist approach. These interviews asked respondents questions concerning what Croatia is and how they visually describe the nation along with using the images of the two advertising campaigns as photo-elicitation. The third portion of the methodology was to analyze the advertisements. I created a toolkit (Appendix 3) in order to systematically read the images for various meanings. The analysis was also a co-construction with the responses of the participants informing the findings. With the three methods together I was able to answer the research questions and meet the research aims. This section will explore how each of the research questions was answered in this thesis.

1. How is the nation visualized in Croatia through tourism advertising and by whom?

This question was answered both in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. In Chapter 4 I deconstructed the way Croatia is being represented in the two tourism campaigns arguing that Croatia is not what is being advertised, but rather tourism and the tourist experience is being advertised. By using Goffman's (1979) *Gender Advertisements* as a starting point I was able to apply his argument to Croatian landscape, history, and culture. Goffman demonstrated that there was a gender bias in the way women were being portrayed in advertisements by deconstructing the 'physical grammar' of the images. Women were depicted as passive, the advertisements communicated that women had less social power than men, and they were often the backdrop of the advertisements not the focus. This was true with the Croatian landscape as well, where the images of Croatia in these tourism advertisements were less important than the tourist and served as the background to tourism activities. Croatian history and culture were rarely repre-

sented in these advertisements however when they were depicted they continued the representation of Croatia as having less social and economic power than the tourists. Overall, Croatia's representation was passive making Croatia simply the background or the model for the real focus of the tourism advertisements, tourism. This representation was so passive that participants argued the photographs could have been shot anywhere. There was nothing in these two campaigns that signified Croatia. By looking at these tourism campaigns we ultimately learn more about the tourist than we do about Croatia.

Chapter 5 expanded on the answer of how Croatia is being visualized by examining the site of production and offering an explanation for the passive representation of Croatia. The tourism board's focus is on the tourist. They commission these tourism advertisements in order to increase tourist arrivals, improve tourist expenditure, and expand the awareness of Croatia within the target markets. The aims of these tourism advertisements are not concerned with an accurate, fair, or meaningful representation of Croatia. Additionally, the tourism board is both unaware and indifferent to the effects of these advertisements outside of tourism market research data. The aims and motivations of the designer also contribute to tourism advertisements that are mainly focused on the tourist rather than on the representation of Croatia. National identity and nationalism in Croatia is a divisive topic that doesn't often exist in a positive context. In an effort to create a positive and safe image of Croatia the tourism industry visualized the nation without visual references to the nation, national symbols, or national icons. In the end the tourism board has created these tourism advertisements with no national imagery, intended only for the target markets, and without consideration for the representation of the nation.

The tourism board, the industry, and the general public interviewed in this research all viewed tourism advertisements as insignificant and solely for the benefit of the tourists. For them, tourism advertisements were not a place to articulate national identity, they were a place to sell Croatia. The nation, therefore, is turned into a product that is branded and visualized passively with the focus on the tourist. However these branded images are reductive representing the focus on aesthetics and surface appearance that postmodern social theorists like Baudrillard and Jameson argued created a depthlessness that breaks down the relationship between identity and the individual. In other words, the process of nation branding is visualizing the nation as though it is a product. By treating Croatia as a product to be branded national identity is being visualized passively and reductively as an image that lacks the depth and complexity of identities.

The issue here is not that the tourism board is concerned with economic interests and not with national identity representation, but that they are uncon-

cerned with the agency these images have to construct the social world. Images inform how we define the social world and construct identities (Sturken and Cartwright 2001). Even though the tourism board is not intending to represent Croatia, these images will be consumed internationally as a representation of Croatian identity. If our reality is mediated by images as postmodern theorists suggest, then those branding the nation need to ask the question of what reality are these images creating. These depthless and reductive images of the nation that represent Croatia as passive, traditional, and old and the tourist as dominant, young, and modern will stand for the reality of Croatia. They may be commercially driven depthless postmodern representations of the nation however they are pretending to represent the depth of national identification.

2. How is this visualization received by members of the nation?

The second question asks how Croatians reflect on this tourism representation of the nation. The opinions and feedback of participants were presented in each chapter. For example in Chapter 4 participants criticized the passive representation of Croatia arguing instead for an image of the nation that is more specific to Croatia and represents a modern realistic version of the nation. In Chapter 5 participants reflected on the role of tourism advertisements and the desire to have better representation even if they see these advertisements as only for tourists. However, Chapter 6 was entirely focused on answering this question about the visualization of Croatia by participants and how tourism advertisements relate to this visualization.

By emphasizing the abstract and ineffable qualities of the nation, Chapter 6 shows that participants visualize the nation not with their own lived experiences but by drawing on already existing imagery. Tourism advertisements are most commonly cited as imagery used by participants to visualize the nation. While tourism advertisements are not the only visual influence constructing participants' image of the nation, they demonstrate that tourism advertisements are not creating a split identity and instead they are part of a 'circuit of identity'. Taken from du Gay's (1997) concept of the 'circuit of culture,' I argue that national identity influences tourism representation and tourism representations influence national identity. In fact every stage of production and consumption influences representation and identity. This chapter answers the research question by showing that national identity is influenced and altered by these tourism representations just as these tourism representations are affected by national identity.

Overall the way in which Croatia is both visualized and received by members of the nation reflects more broadly on concepts related to the state of nations

and national identity. Benedict Anderson (1991) famously defined the nation as an imagined community. Anderson argues that this imagined community was made possible through the rise of print capitalism. The community was imagined through access to mass-produced print culture and media such as literature and newspapers. He addresses images and visual representations of the nation when referring to maps, census data and even the institutionalization of the nation in museums. These three institutions - the census, map, and museum - built the foundation on which the postcolonial nation was born. In this thesis I agree with Anderson's theory that the nation is an imagined community, however we now live in a significantly more visual society than when our modern nations were emerging. I argue that the ubiquity of images in a postmodern context has changed our relationship to the way images construct the imagined community of the nation.

Our society is now, according to postmodern theorists, a visual society. In modernity our relationship with the visual, such as maps, was more direct. The territory of the colony or nation informed the map. However, our relationship to images has changed, images no longer represent truth, rationality, or even reality. The map now "engenders the territory" (Baudrillard 1988: 166), it has now become a "logo-map" (Anderson 1991: 175). But in Baudrillard's postmodern society images go beyond maps as logos and no longer mobilizes individuals in the same manner. According to Baudrillard, images do not have a direct relationship between their representation and reality. Images are simulations of reality, however since postmodern society is construed through images, then these simulations are constructing our reality. Therefore, we construct our social world through hyper-real images built on commercial aspirations and marketed identities.

These postmodern images are different from the institutions that Anderson argues contributed to the creation of the imagined community. While mass media, vernacular language, maps, census data, and the museum may have constructed the nation, the images of the nation explored in this research do not play the same role. These images fit more closely with Baudrillard's postmodern society where the nation is visualized as a commercialized brand that is proliferated regardless of the reality of the nation. This visualization of the nation is not creating imagery that mobilizes the nation. However these images do inform the way Croatia visualizes the nation. Tourism advertisements in the Croatian case studied here are influencing the way participants imagine the nation and thereby shaping the imagined community. These tourism advertisements are part of the imagined community, but this new imagined community is based on images that do not produce the same solidarity that Anderson references. Anderson (1991:

7) famously stated:

> the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings.

This thesis, however, has demonstrated that while the images in tourism advertising are helping construct the imagined community it is doing so with images that are passive, reductive, and superficial. These are images that are depthless not "deep" and they create ambivalence not "horizontal comradeship." Nation branding images do not create this fraternity that individuals are "willing to die" for. Nation branding, therefore is constructing a different imagined community than Anderson had theorized.

In general these modernist theories of nationalism, such as Anderson's, have lacked a significant acknowledgement to the visual forms of national identity. Billig (1995) does reference the flag and some national symbols, however it is only tangential to his main focus. Edensor (2002) focuses on popular culture in many forms arguing similarly that the nation's visual representations need further examination. Anderson's imagined communities and Billig's banal nationalism form a good starting point for the study of national identity, however they do not fully meet the needs of research on images of national identity in a late capitalist era. These theories fit within a modernist context however when researching the visualization of the nation through postmodern branding they fall short. With the rise of nation branding, nations are visually representing themselves based on commercial aims where the nation and its symbolic imagery has become repurposed and reused with increasing similarity to theories of postmodern images.

Academic studies criticizing nation branding have also argued that this new role of the nation is a form of legitimization of nations in a changing late-capitalist/postmodern context (Browning 2015). However, while the literature acknowledges the changing context of national identity it also argues that these nation branding efforts are undemocratic through their narrow representation of national identity that removes plurality of identities and controls the nation's image to fit economic aims (Jansen 2008, Mattern 2016). In this thesis I argue that the Croatian tourism advertisements support these critiques of nation branding. The image being branded in Croatian tourism advertisements is a passive representation of the nation that reduces Croatia to a narrow image of traditional Western European culture and places more value on the tourist than on Croatia.

Throughout this thesis I argue that national identity is complex, inconsistent, and indefinable. Nation branding on the other hand is concise, direct, and unified making any branded representation of the nation reductive and flat. The

essential components and aims of brand identities are ultimately at odds with the reality of national identities. While postmodern theories explain brand identities and modernist nationalism theories explain national identity, when nations are branded a new simulated version of the nation is created that is neither effective as a brand nor as a representation of the nation. Nation branding is therefore pushing national identity from modern constructs into the realm of the post-modern image.

Postnationalist theorists such as Habermas (1992) have also argued that the modernist construction of nations that emerged out of industrialization are no longer relevant. While I argue that national identity and the imagined community is changing and not disappearing, postnationalists have hinted at globalization and supranational powers such as the European Union delegitimizing the need for nations. However in this research I also explore Croatia's recent accession into the EU and argue the opposite. Through interviews with participants, I found that in this research the EU does not pose a challenge to national sovereignty and national identity. By combining interview data with an analysis of Croatian designers visualizing the future of the EU it is apparent that these designers have a clear idea of what they want from the EU and what they want the EU to become. Therefore I argue that academics are incorrectly focusing on how national identity will be affected by supranational powers and instead we need to be focusing on how nations visualize the EU ultimately shaping its future.

Limitations

While this research aimed to include multiple areas of image production, a range of participants, and systematic image analysis, it is still a limited study. As outlined in Chapter 3, I had limited access when researching the site of production. There are portions of the production of these advertisements that are unknown to me since the industry was not willing to fully divulge information. This limited access forced my research to focus more on the advertisements themselves than their production. However in doing so I was able to spend more time on cultivating a much greater depth of analysis of the images and interviewed others in the industry outside of those directly involved in the production of the campaigns.

I had additional trouble interviewing participants over 50. It is possible that had I been proficient in speaking the language I would have had better access to this generation of individuals. The diversity of age ranges could have been addressed with more time by visiting the research sites again focusing only on those over 50. However, I did not feel that having a limited age group impacted

the validity of my claims enough to warrant an extension of the data collection process. I found the amount of interview data I had was already substantial, however in the event of any future research on this topic I will now be better prepared to acquire a more balanced age range of participants.

The most obvious limitation is the scope of this research. This research design is focused on only two national tourism campaigns in Croatia. While there are many conclusions that can be drawn from these two campaigns they are not necessarily representative of other forms of visualizing Croatia and they cannot make claims about other nations. Even though this research was narrow, it brought up findings that in a much broader context point to the potential that additional and more general research in this subject area has to influence the field of nations and nationalism studies.

I make the argument that my research is consistent with literature that argues nation branding is undemocratic and I further this claim stating that through these tourism advertisements it becomes clear that nation branding is affecting nations, changing them from modern constructions to postmodern branders and marketers. However, the findings of my study do not imply that this is occurring everywhere nor does it imply that nations are postmodern. Instead it simply states that within this context there is evidence to suggest that nations are participating in an activity through nation branding that at times reflects a postmodern construction of the nation. I also argue that tourism advertisements are influencing the way the nation is being visualized, though unfortunately my data and narrow research focus cannot conclude why, how, and to what extent this is occurring. I cannot explain if it is only occurring because of the context of my research topic, I do not know if it is occurring with other forms of media as well, I am unable to predict the extent that this is occurring, and I cannot determine any effect that it may have on national identity or the imagined community. However, all of these claims that my research does not make can be seen as less of a limitation and more evidence that this area needs further research. Research into what images of the nation are actually doing, to what extent, and why is not the aim of this research however it suggests that my thesis makes a strong claim for recommending further research into these areas.

Implications and Recommendations

This research makes five broad conclusions about visualizing the nation:

1. Croatian tourism advertisements create a passive image of the nation where the focus is on the tourist and tourism experience and Croatia is

just the backdrop.

2. Tourism advertisements are not only influenced by national identity but they also influence national identity contributing to a "circuit of identity" where every stage of production and consumption influences each other. This evidence demonstrates that tourism advertisements contribute to the creation of the imagined community of the nation.

3. The complexity of national identity means that turning the nation into a product and branding it will always produce a reductive image creating national symbols that lack depth and emotion. This brings up questions about what sort of imagined community is being created with images that do not convey "deep, horizontal comradeship" (Anderson 1991: 7).

4. Tourism advertising as part of nation branding attempts are at odds with the democratic roles of governance and are moving the nation into the realm of postmodern identity construction.

5. The European Union is not a threat to national identity in Croatia and instead visualizing a EU identity by Croatians gives a clear direction as to the desired role of the European Union.

Overall this suggests that tourism advertising and the visualization of the nation as a whole are important but often overlooked components of the imagined community. Both practitioners and members of the nation need to begin to look closely at these images, consider the messages they are creating, and acknowledge the impact that these images will inevitably have on the nation. Those condemning the representation of Croatia in tourism advertisements should not just criticize the representation but examine the system as a whole questioning the role of nation branding, the aims of the branding process, and whose responsibility should it be to construct an image of the nation.

Beyond the more practical implications of this thesis, I argue that this research builds on sociological theories of nations/national identity and visual sociology. My research has reinforced Benedict Anderson's (1991) concept of the imagined community arguing that these tourism advertisements contribute to the creation of an imagined community. While Anderson focuses largely on print capitalism and other non-visual media constructions of the nation in order to make his claim that the nation is an imagined community, I extend this argument showing that images communicate similar messages about the national community. This research not only explores how Anderson's theories can be applied to imagery of the nation, but it also argues for a larger consideration of the visual aspects of the nation by academics. Edensor (2002) made a similar claim

about how nation scholars need to recognize the more 'performative' aspects of the imagined community. I follow this argument that Edensor makes but focus solely on the visual showing that national identity and the imagined community is influenced by these nation branding campaigns.

Anderson (1991) additionally argued that the census, map, and museum were three institutions that created the foundation for emergence of nations in the new world. This concept was built on by Pretes (2003) claiming that these three institutions are still creating the imagined community through tourism. Building on both Anderson and Pretes, I concur that tourism reinforces the imagined community both nationally and internationally. This research shows the influence that tourism advertisements have on the imagined community. To my knowledge this thesis is the only research to turn nation branding images towards the nation, asking the nation to reflect on the representations of Croatia. In designing my research this way I not only allowed Croatians to reflect on conversations about the nation that they are excluded from, but I was also able to demonstrate the importance that these narratives constructed through nation branding have on participants. The relevance of this finding to the theory suggests that the imagined community is being constructed in a variety of unintentional ways, including through nation branding. However it also suggests that we now must ask how the nation is being constructed and what sort of imagined community is being created.

This thesis additionally furthers claims of visual scholars that argue we live in an ocularcentric (Rose 2017) world where images communicate to us societal norms about the world (Sturken and Cartwright 2001). The images in this research communicate norms and stereotypes about the nation influencing national self perception and therefore constructing the social world. However, the nation branding images are constructing the nation for the tourists that are largely Western European reinforcing the exploitative power dynamics ingrained in tourism (MacCannell 1992). In this thesis I additionally explore visual theories about the reductive role of design and the depthlessness of post-modern images (Jameson 1991). I bring together nationalism theories about the construction of imagined communities, but use postmodern visual theories to argue that while the imagined community of the nation is being constructed through these tourism advertisements, these images are also constructing the nation in reductive post-modern depthless ways that do not create mobilizing images of solidarity.

Further research on nation branding efforts in other contexts would provide more answers to the questions raised in this research. Currently national images, nation branding, and tourism advertising are all areas that are under researched in sociology. National imagery and the visualization of the nation in

general is an area of academic research that has been neglected. With more data from other nations and other forms of visualization there will be greater understanding of how the nation is visualized, how external imagery influences this visualization, how images are used in a national context, and what this means for nations as a whole. Particular attention should be paid to more notable and sustained nation branding efforts and if possible in states with strong sub-state nationalist movements such as Spain and the UK. For example understanding the relationship between Spain's successful nation branding campaign that has historically portrayed a homogenized image of the country and the continual independence efforts of national minorities in Spain. More research in Croatia should explore the politics around tourism branding in Croatia along with other forms of visualization in popular culture, media, and politics with special attention to the divisive way that national identity is used and has been used in the political arena.

This research uses a combination of visual methods in order to understand how the nation is visualized, however this form of visual methodology is rare which suggest more academic literature on methods of visualizing identity is necessary. While there is growing literature on visual methods in social sciences there has yet to be literature that address researching images that are imagined and not materialized such as imagining what the nation looks like. Other techniques and strategies combined with some of the methods used in this research could provide a better approximation of how participants visualize identity.

Researching images in general still exists mainly on the periphery of sociological research. Taking on visual sociological projects is never direct or straightforward. Another visual scholar once described to me the frustration of visual research saying it is like trying to explain to someone what a frog is when you only have a bobcat as an example. This is to say that visual research can be daunting, confusing, and often clumsy. It is also not aided by the substantial lack of visual research in sociology. As a discipline visual sociology is still trying to figure out exactly what visual research can do. This thesis exists within this context of a discipline that is ill-defined and a medium that is challenging. Therefore it is no wonder that many other researchers either do not consider incorporating the visual in their research or find it too daunting. However I would like to conclude this thesis by encouraging more visual research because the benefits of visual research far outweigh its confusion and challenges.

As society becomes increasingly ocularcentric and images grow as a means of communication, the visual comes to shape the social world around us. The visual is engrained in the social world meaning visual research does not need to be relegated only to visual sociology. All subject areas of sociology can include

the visual and would benefit from doing so. While this thesis makes claims about the changing state of the nation and the exploitation of identity, I worry more about what it says concerning the importance of images on the construction of the nation. This leads me to wonder what we lose if we, as researchers, continue to sideline the visual.

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APPENDIX 1:
Visit Croatia. Share Croatia


VISIT CROATIA.
SHARE CROATIA.
#LoveCroatia
#Grožnjan
@Rafael@Federico
www.croatia.hr
KROATIEN
Det Kroatiske Turistråd


VISIT CROATIA.
SHARE CROATIA.
Share your experience: #LoveCroatia #ShareCroatia
#LoveCroatia
#Bol
@Laura@Arnold@Jan@Irma


VISIT CROATIA.
SHARE CROATIA.
Share your experience: #LoveCroatia #ShareCroatia
#LoveCroatia
#Plitvička jezera
@David@Hana


VISIT CROATIA.
SHARE CROATIA.
Share your experience on #LoveCroatia.
#LoveCroatia
#Lastovo
@David@Hana@Gabriela

APPENDIX 2:
Croatia 365

CROATIA365


HRVATSKA365
Photo by Dražen Bota


HRVATSKA365
Photo by Aleksandar Gospić


HRVATSKA365
Photo by Aleksandar Gospić


HRVATSKA365
Photo by Davor Rostuhar


HRVATSKA365
Photo by Aleksandar Gospic


CROATIA365
Experience Croatia
all year round.
Photo by Davor Rostuhar


Photo by Željko Koprolčec

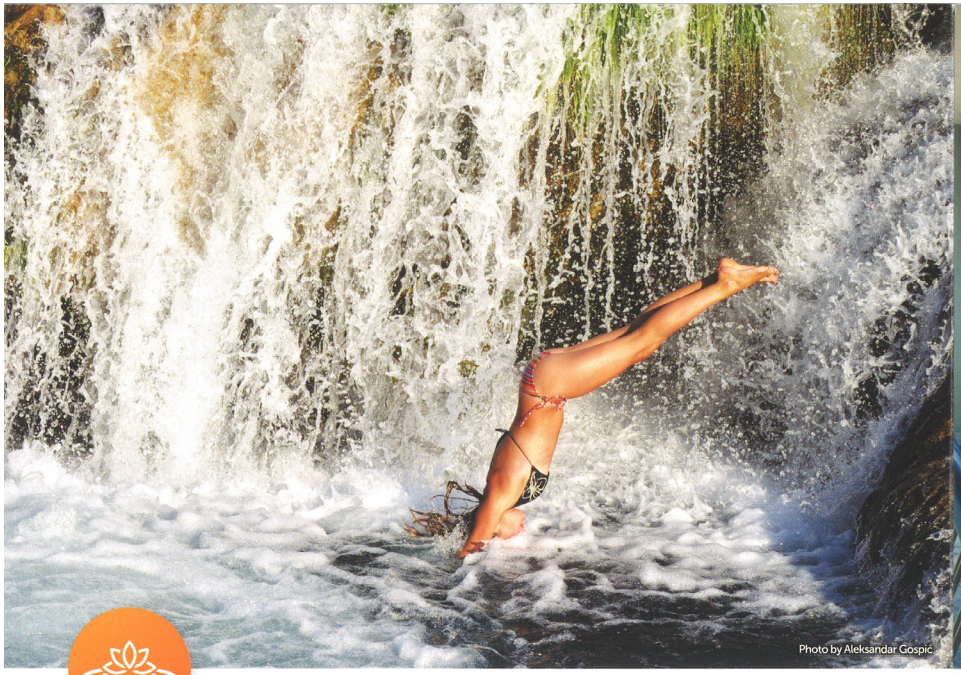
Wine & Gastronomy

Discover exquisite food and wine as diverse as Croatia's landscapes and treat your senses to an unforgettable gastronomic adventure. Delight yourself with first class Croatian wines, savor in traditional Mediterranean seafood specialties and enjoy the rustic continental cuisine, all made from fresh local ingredients.


Photo by Vedran Metelko

Biking

Choose a cycling vacation in Croatia's welcoming idyllic landscapes and enjoy magnificent views while cycling on numerous biking trails. The variety of terrain provides a cycling experience for recreational of a professional cyclists, so you can find your own pace when exploring mountain, forest or seaside trails.



Health & Wellness

Balance your mind, spirit and body in one of Croatia's wellness centers. Relax in expert hands of therapists and experience the healing power of nature's revitalizing ingredients. Indulge yourself with soothing treatments, re-energize with thermal hot spring therapies and breathe in the clear sea air.

Meetings & Incentives

Combine business with pleasure and organize business meetings and conferences in impressive congress halls set in the relaxing environment of scenic nature. High capacities, state of the art audiovisual equipment and non-stop technical service guarantee to make your business event both successful and pleasurable.

Culture

Experience the rich Croatian history in its majestic monuments and feel the captivating spirit of its lasting cultural traditions. Get to know the exceptional cultural diversity shaped by the Roman, Ottoman and Byzantine Empire influence and relive past times by visiting the pieces of history they left behind.

Outdoor

Make your vacation an adrenaline adventure to remember and try out a new activity in the stunning Croatian outdoors. Dive into the Mediterranean to explore the underwater world and sea life, try out sailing, kayaking or rafting. If you enjoy breathtaking panoramic views, take on rock climbing, paragliding or hiking.

Holiday tailor-made for you at any time

Exceptionally rich in natural beauty and well-preserved cultural heritage, specifically by its diversity, Croatia offers innumerable opportunities to enjoy magical nature in the fresh air.

Take a ride by bike on the trails where, long ago, Roman legions walked, plunge into the sea depths and enjoy the pristine underwater world. If the freshness of the clean air and cold spring waters tire you, clear your mind while enjoying the benefits of thermal waters and relaxing massage and afterwards, reward your palate by tasting traditional fresh dishes prepared by locals, along with excellent Croatian wines. If, after all this, you have to concentrate on your job in one of the top conference halls, we don't think that it would be a problem would it?

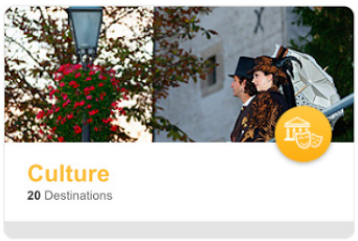
More info on **www.croatia365.eu**

CROATIA
Croatian National Tourist Board

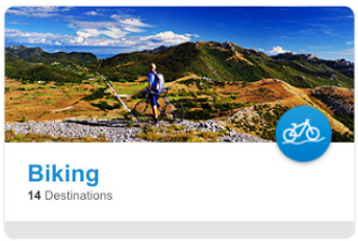
Croatian National Tourist Board, Iblerov trg 10/IV, 10000 Zagreb, Croatia
Tel: +385 (0)1 4699 333, Fax: +385 (0)1 4557 827, Email: info@htz.hr, www.croatia.hr

CROATIA365

Experience Croatia all year round.

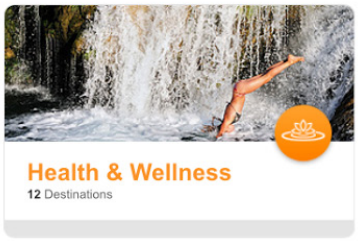


Culture
20 Destinations



Biking
14 Destinations

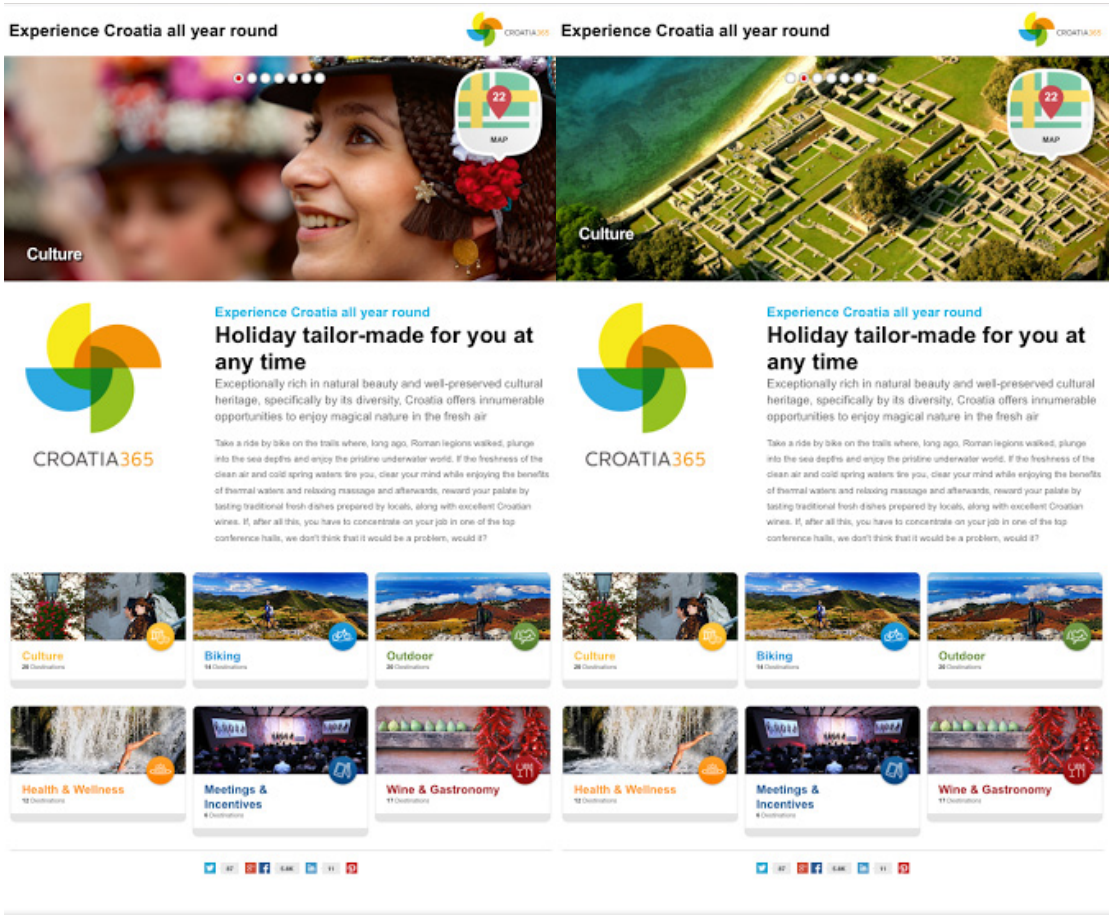
Outdoor
20 Destinations



Health & Wellness
12 Destinations

Meetings & Incentives
6 Destinations

Wine & Gastronomy
17 Destinations


Experience Croatia all year round
Culture
MAP
Experience Croatia all year round
Holiday tailor-made for you at any time
Exceptionally rich in natural beauty and well-preserved cultural heritage, specifically by its diversity, Croatia offers innumerable opportunities to enjoy magical nature in the fresh air
CROATIA365
Culture
Biking
Outdoor
Health & Wellness
Meetings & Incentives
Wine & Gastronomy

APPENDIX 3:
Toolkit

1. **Overview of Image and Denotative Meanings:**
    - Where is the advertisement located?
    - When was it made/published?
    - Who are the authors?
    - Who is the intended audience?
    - What is the literal purpose of the document?
    - Are there any related documents? Intertextualities?
    - What is needed in order understand the document?
    - What would the intended reader do with this document?
2. **Re/read images for connotative meanings:**
    - Organization and structure
    - Design techniques and technologies
    - Gaze
    - Positioning of viewer
    - Iconological, national, or canonical/iconic meaning
    - Authority
    - Is there text? If so, what does it say and what is its function?
    - Anything missing from the document?
3. **Place the visual document in a wider context:**
    - Does the document make any generalizations?
    - Does the document imply anything about the nation? Is this different for different viewers?
    - Can the image circulate beyond its current location?

APPENDIX 4:
Interview Script

Demographic Questions:

1. Ask about participants:
   - Age
   - Where they were born, grew up, and live now
   - Education level
   - Job
2. Ask about parents:
   - Where are parents from
   - Job
3. International experience
   - Travel abroad
   - Live abroad

National Identity:

1. What is Croatia?
2. What images came up in your mind when you described Croatia just now?
3. What distinguishes Croatia from other nations?
4. What makes Croatia unique?
5. What makes Croatia the same?
6. Croatia is now part of the EU, what does that mean?
7. Does joining the EU have any effect on the image of Croatia?
8. What can Croatia offer the world?
9. What do you think the future of Croatia looks like?

Make your own advertisement:

1. Imagine you were making a national tourism campaign for Croatia, what would it

look like?

2. What would you highlight/promote?
3. What would it look like?
    - Design theme, style, photographs, etc
    - Text
    - Format
4. Concept, location, and message it would communicate

Photo elicitation with advertisement:

1. Visit Croatia. Share Croatia.
2. Croatia 365

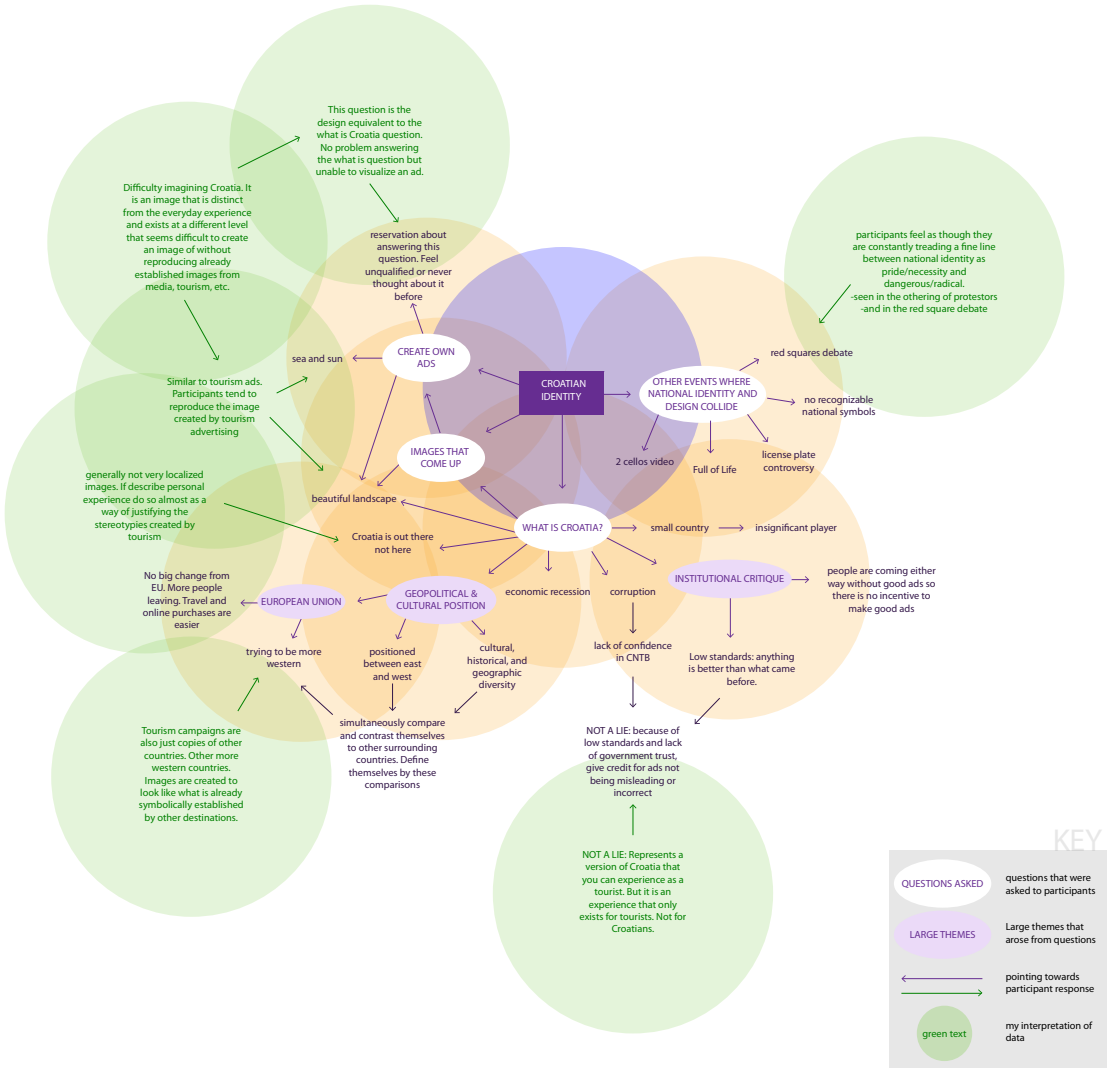
Ask same questions for each campaign:

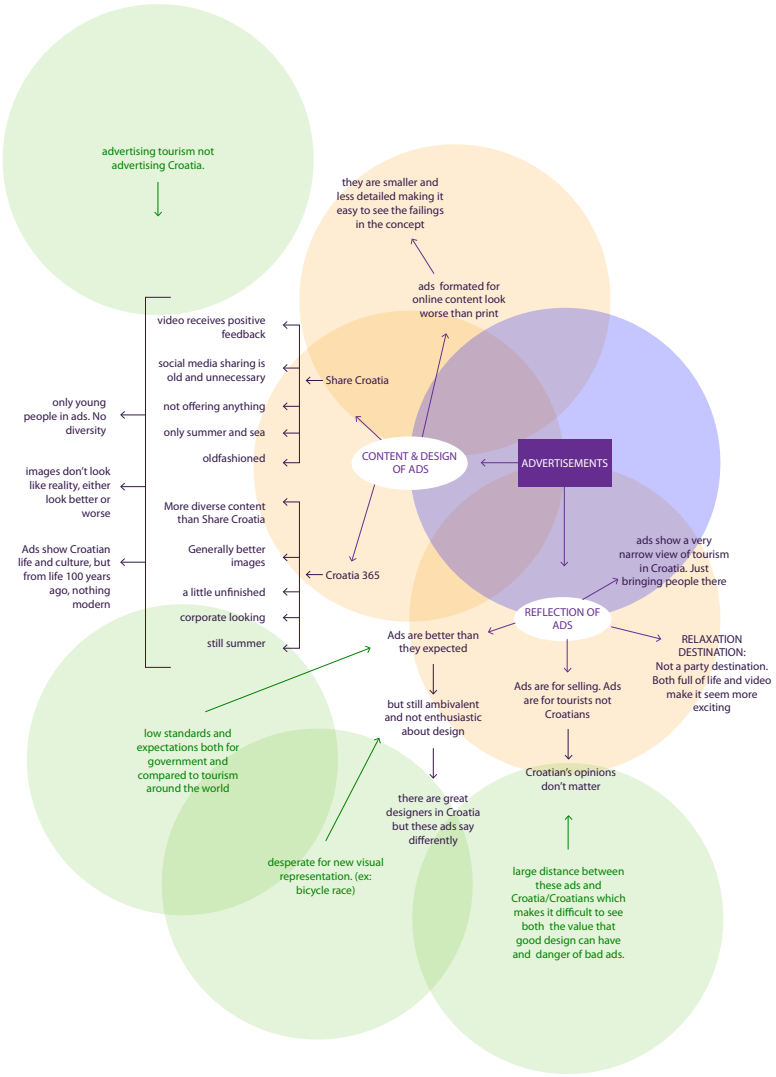
1. Are you familiar with this campaign?
2. Reflections on campaign
3. Likes, dislikes
4. What would change
5. Elements: Concept, format, strategy, technologies, photographs, logos, text, color, people, location, feel, emotion

Final Questions:

1. National tourism logo
2. New slogan and what should the new logo look like

APPENDIX 5:
Interview data diagram




advertising tourism not advertising Croatia.
they are smaller and less detailed making it easy to see the failings in the concept
ads formated for online content look worse than print
video receives positive feedback
social media sharing is old and unnecessary
Share Croatia
not offering anything
only young people in ads. No diversity
only summer and sea
oldfashioned
CONTENT & DESIGN OF ADS
ADVERTISEMENTS
images don't look like reality, either look better or worse
More diverse content than Share Croatia
Ads show Croatian life and culture, but from life 100 years ago, nothing modern
Generally better images
Croatia 365
a little unfinished
corporate looking
still summer
ads show a very narrow view of tourism in Croatia. Just bringing people there
REFLECTION OF ADS
Ads are better than they expected
RELAXATION DESTINATION: Not a party destination. Both full of life and video make it seem more exciting
Ads are for selling. Ads are for tourists not Croatians
but still ambivalent and not enthusiastic about design
low standards and expectations both for government and compared to tourism around the world
Croatian's opinions don't matter
there are great designers in Croatia but these ads say differently
desperate for new visual representation. (ex: bicycle race)
large distance between these ads and Croatia/Croatians which makes it difficult to see both the value that good design can have and danger of bad ads.

APPENDIX 6:
Participant information sheet

visualizing croatia:

THE UNIVERSITY of EDINBURGH
School of Social and Political Science
Department of Sociology

Research Information Sheet for Participants

I would like to formally invite you to participate in this original research project conducted at the University of Edinburgh as part of a doctoral research degree. Please only participate in this research if you would like to, there will be no disadvantages to not taking part nor any material benefits for taking part. However before you decide to take part it is important that you understand your role and rights as a participant. I would like to ask you to take some time to read through the following research information sheet. You are free to discuss this information with others and are welcome to ask me any additional questions you may have.

What is the purpose of the study?

I would like to research how Croatia is represented as a nation through official tourism advertising. This is particularly interesting at a time when Croatia has recently become a member of the EU.

Who will take part?

I will be speaking with people who work in advertising in the tourism sector but also members of the general public who live in the main tourism areas. Participants must be ages over 18 and be Croatian citizens.

What will participation involve?

This research requires an interview of approximately one hour and in a place of your choosing. The interview is intended as an opportunity for you to express your views on topics of national identity, tourism, and advertising. Therefore there is no wrong or right way to answer any of the questions and you are not required to answer any questions that you do not feel comfortable with. If you agree, the interview will be recorded and transcribed for use only within this research project and will not be use for any other purpose.

Who will be present?

The interview will consist of the researcher, myself, and a translator. The translator is fully qualified to interpret both my questions and your responses. If you would like the interview to be conducted in English the translator will be there to assist you should any language difficulties arise. However, if you prefer not to have the translator present please inform me before the scheduled interview.

Will my participation be kept confidential?

As part of the PhD dissertation and any other presentation of results, you may be quoted in text form. However, anything you say will be made anonymous and your identity will be kept confidential. All data will be kept

confidential and stored in a secure location that can only be accessed by me. You are also welcome to request a copy of the interview transcript to confirm its accuracy. Please note that you have the right to withdrawal consent at any point in time without giving a reason.

Who should I contact for further information?

If you have any questions or require more information about this study, please contact me using the following contact details:

Nichole M Fernández

N.M.Fernandez@sms.ed.ac.uk

University of Edinburgh
Crystal Macmillan Building, room 6.12
15a George Square
Edinburgh, EH8 9LD
United Kingdom

VisualizingCroatia.com

For additional concerns please feel free to email my supervisor Dr. Ross Bond at R.J.Bond@ed.ac.uk