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Culture and identity as tools for forging¹ Europeanization²

First draft

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Abstract

Cultural diplomacy is understood as an exchange of ideas, information, values, traditions and beliefs and this can include fields such as art, sport, literature, music, science and economy. Public, civil and private sector promote cultural diplomacy, with public sector promoting domestic values and culture, often with the influence from politics; civil society promotes national interests usually in the fields of academic exchange, protection of rights and tourism and private sector exchanges information on a personal basis. Tourism is however generally seen through the cultural clash between the hosts and the visitors and these clashes then create new identities. Croatia is best known for its sports and tourism and presents an interesting case of European oriented politics. Croatian national tourist offer largely falls within the scope of the 'cultural tourism' however, whereas normally the civil society promotes the tourism, in Croatia's case it's the state sector. For example, the tourist offer for the coastal counties is largely relying on, what is perceived to be, the culture. Therefore, the county of Zadar has a slogan 'Where Croatian culture starts', county of Šibenik is framed as a cultural Millennium town firstly mentioned in 1066, county of Split through the roman emperor Diocletian and his palace built in Split in year 305, old Salona as an architectural treasure, county of Dubrovnik through the protection of UNESCO, etc. The culture is however presented through the *la longue durée* policy proving the historical legacy of Croatian statehood and unquestionable Europeanism of Croatia. Drawing from the findings from FP7 IME project, this paper explores discourses surrounding the culture, the identity and the European in Croatian national tourist offer in an attempt to answer in what way the culture and the identity are understood in Croatia. The paper also seeks to answer the question whether Croatian policy in tourism and promotion of Croatia falls within nation branding or within cultural tourism, the latter being proposed by the Croatian Tourist Board itself.

Key words: culture, identity, tourism, Europeanization, Croatia

Introduction

Before debating the issue of intertwined nature of culture and identity and cultural diplomacy that is usually the means for enforcing identity and culturally oriented policies, one has to (or at least try to) determine what the culture is. When looking into academic literature, it is apparent that there is no wider agreement on what the culture is however, it can be said that:

“culture can be the glue that binds civil societies; it can provide for the common assumptions which undergird markets, laws and regulations. Conversely, cultural divisions can tear a society apart, and make its markets, laws and regulations unworkable, at least in part. Thus, the configuration and production of culture is a legitimate concern of public policy, for it comprises both public and private

¹ The term forged in the title is inspired with the book Mark Thompson wrote on the war in former Yugoslavia entitled 'Forging War: The Media in Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Luton: University of Luton Press, 1995 (Croatian translation).

² This paper is deriving from 'Identities and Modernities in Europe' project funded by the European Commission under the 7th Framework Programme (FP7). Research on national tourist offer in Croatia was conducted for a work package 5 (WP5) in May 2010 solely by the author of this paper and this paper is based on that part of the WP5 report. However, this part is an extended version of the part of the report on which it is based. Remaining part of the research for WP5 has been conducted by the author of this paper and two other researchers (S. Rodin and S. Vasiljević).

goods. Additionally, understanding the culture of other peoples and nations is essential to international cooperation and successful commerce in today's increasingly global markets" (Feigenbaum 2001, 7).

In this sense, it is obvious that culture is an issue on the agenda of public policy that is, indeed, often the case. In that sense, culture and cultural policies are enforced by the cultural diplomacy.

Cultural diplomacy is understood as an exchange of ideas, information, values, traditions and beliefs and this can include fields such as art, sport, literature, music, science and economy and the goal is fostering mutual understanding (see e. g. Milton 2003). Public, civil and private sector promote cultural diplomacy, with public sector promoting domestic values and culture, often with the influence from politics; civil society promotes national interests usually in the fields of academic exchange, protection of rights and tourism and private sector exchanges information on a personal basis.

Cultural diplomacy is also often understood through nation branding³ and cultural tourism. But, when it comes to the notion of nation branding and public diplomacy these two activities are usually used in the same context although these two concepts are not identical to each other (Szondi 2008, 1). Public diplomacy is thus something attached to the United States public policy (Laqueur 1994; Szondi 2008) while nation branding is something of British and European roots with Anholt and Olins being the champions of advocating the nation branding (Szondi 2008)⁴.

Public diplomacy is thus a policy that can serve as a means of influencing other countries but it is tightly intertwined with the nation branding. In a sense, nation branding has appeared as a policy through the "combination of the country-of-origin studies and from the interdisciplinary literature on national identity, which incorporates political, cultural, sociological and historical approaches to identity" (Szondi 2008, 4).

Dinnie (2008) adds that public diplomacy and nation branding interact in the field of economic globalisation and this then results with homogenisation of markets as well as with the increase in sentiments expressed towards the national identity. Another aspect of branding, as Szondi (2007) argues, is the destination branding that represents the most developed form of place branding and its primary goal is fostering tourism. Apparently, as Szondi (2007) argues, destination branding and nation branding are not synonyms because nation branding is a much broader concept remaining in the marketing sphere while the public diplomacy remains within the international relations and international communication sphere.

But, when it comes to theory and the practice, a question of the apparent dichotomy appears. Mark (2010) points out that because cultural diplomacy is not a common field of study in the academia therefore there is no clarity on what the practice entails. In this sense, cultural diplomacy is understood as a whole set of state practices such as "public diplomacy, international cultural relations, international cultural policy and a state's foreign cultural mission" (Mark 2010, 62-63). Cultural diplomacy, enforced in this way or another, seems to have a purpose to project national images (Sun 2008) or, more specifically, to serve for nation-branding and foreign cultural relations (Mellison 2005).

As Fox (1999) points out, whether the diplomacy mostly takes a public or cultural scope it always presents an "arm of diplomacy itself, the business of winning friends and influencing people" (Fox 1999, 3).

However, cultural diplomacy often has something to do with the identity and in particular national identity and, as outlined above, with branding of the national towards outside of the national borders. Or, we can also add that, "identity is relevant to any inquiry into cultural diplomacy because of the centrality of 'culture' in cultural diplomacy and what is perceived as an irrefutable, taken-for-granted link between culture and identity" (Ichijo 2011, 1).

As Ichijo (2011, 1-2) points out, cultural diplomacy is convenient for researching identity because diplomacy as such is:

³ Anholt (2004) states that nation branding is apparently happening whether we notice it or not and in this, the state has a particular role as well as tourism. He states: "Hardly a week goes by without a new story in the media about how a country's negative image is damaging its trade, how a city is launching a new campaign to attract investors, tourists or a major international sporting event or how a region is promoting its own separate identity from its parent country. And we are faced every day by tourism campaigns on television, on billboards and in magazines, advertisements in the business press which glorify the technological and industrial achievements of countries and regions, advertorials listing the prestigious multinationals which have built new factories there, websites extolling the favourable tax environments and skilled workforces and so on" (Anholt 2004, 4).

⁴ Public diplomacy is something immanent to the US policies. In that, the US primarily advertised itself towards the European Communist countries and then, after the collapse of Communism the diplomacy declined whereas it increased again after the tragic events of 9/11 (Szondi 2008, 2-3).

“about promoting and securing national interests and national identity plays an important role in defining what constitute national interest for a particular nation-state. Secondly, synonyms for cultural diplomacy include nation branding and the projection of the nation’s image, both of which serve as a stage where national identity is constructed, contested and maintained by various parties involved. Thirdly, cultural diplomacy as a sub-unit of public diplomacy presupposes involvement of non-state actors, which suggests that in the context of cultural diplomacy, competing visions of the nations – official and non-official – are presented”.

Croatia is best known for its sports and tourism and thus presents an interesting case of the European oriented politics. Croatian national tourist offer largely falls within the scope of the ‘cultural tourism’ however, whereas normally the civil society promotes the tourism, in Croatia’s case it is the state sector that manages that activity. The policy Croatia is leading can also fall within the nation branding however, this relates to the nation branding in terms of its identity and not what nation branding usually entails⁵. However, since nation branding is also often understood through the identity creation process therefore this concept has to be discussed within the Croatian tourism discussion⁶.

Nonetheless, Croatia frames its tourist offer by calling it a ‘cultural tourism’ and this particularly applies to the coastal counties where the tourist offer is largely relying on, what is perceived to be, the culture.

The culture is however presented through the *la longue durée* policy proving the historical legacy of Croatian statehood and unquestionable Europeanism of Croatia.

This paper therefore explores discourses surrounding culture, identity and the European in Croatian national tourist offer in an attempt to answer in what way the culture and the identity are understood in Croatia. The paper also seeks to answer the question whether Croatian policy in tourism and promotion of Croatia falls within nation branding or within cultural tourism, the latter being proposed by the Croatian Tourist Board itself.

Croatian context: the Interplay of national and European

National and European are inextricably linked in the Croatian context. In this, Croatia always used somewhat instrumental approach when it comes to the notion of European. Main discourses surrounding the notion of European in the Croatian context therefore relate to the notions of *antemurale christianitatis* according to which Croatia defended Christianity from the Ottoman Islam by serving as the outer wall for Europe; the notion of European betrayal because Europe never properly thanked Croatia for its efforts and the notion of unquestionable Europeanism of Croatia and, when necessary, the need to ‘return’ to Europe (Topić 2011; Topić 2011a; Topić 2011b; Topić 2011c; Topić and Vasiljević 2011; Topić and Vasiljević 2011a; Topić et al 2009; Žanić 2003). The latter was always enforced when Croatia was a member of a certain state union⁷ and it particularly got emphasized during the 1990s when Croatia gained independence.

During the 1990s, the ruling regime (Croatian Democrat Union⁸) led by the late F. Tuđman who became the first president of independent Croatia enforced a policy of necessary return to Europe and unquestionable belonging of Croatia to the European civilisation circle (Topić et al, 2009). However, policies enforced by the regime could have hardly be considered as European due to the enormous violations of human rights that occurred (female but of the national minorities as well) and due to the fact that the country got economically devastated (Bijelić 2006; Matić 2006; Topić et al 2009; Topić

⁵ Nation branding usually refers to the “broad set of efforts by country, regional and city governments, and by industry groups, aimed at marketing the places and sectors they represent. The intent of such efforts typically is to achieve one or more of four main objectives: enhance the place’s exports, protect its domestic businesses from ‘foreign’ competition (for sub-national places this may include those from other regions in the same country), attract or retain factors of development and generally position the place for advantage domestically and internationally in economic, political and social terms. The other is ‘product-country image’ (PCI, also commonly referred to as ‘country-of-origin’ image and used to include places other than countries), which can have significant effects on how the product is viewed by its intended target market and on the buyer’s willingness to consider it for purchase” (Papadopoulos 2004, 36).

⁶ Gudjonsson (2005, 285) argues that, “nation branding occurs when a government or a private company uses its power to persuade whoever has the ability to change a nation’s image. Nation branding uses the tools of branding to alter or change the behaviour, attitudes, identity or image of a nation in a positive way”.

⁷ The exception was period before creating the second Yugoslavia when a group of left-oriented intellectuals gathered around journal ‘Nova Evropa’ (New Europe) in Croatia sought Europeanization of a whole future Yugoslav federation that would be led by Croatia due to its unquestionable Europeanism (for more details see Roksandić 1989; Topić et al 2009).

⁸ ‘Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica’ in Croatian.

2009). The regime also flirted with Croatia's notorious Nazi regime from the WW II (see e.g. Pavlaković 2008). Traditional became the foundation of the society and its proposed development. This policy was presented through the so called 'return to tradition' that implied return to the Croatian tradition supposedly oppressed by the Yugoslav regime however, in practice this meant radicalization of traditionalism in both ethnical and gender sense. Women were placed on a position of those who are meant to give birth to ethnically cleansed nation whereas the newly established national minority corpus (primarily Serbs) found themselves in the position of 'other'. However, these policies were, paradoxically, framed as modernization and Europeanization of Croatia because Croatia was, as it was enforced, meant to return to its national tradition to be able to join the European community also consisted of diverse and nationally aware and sovereign member states (Bijelić 2006; Matic 2006; Topić et al 2009; Topić 2009). This attitude largely came from historical work of F. Tuđman (1969; 1981) who, in all of his work, advocated membership in the larger European community as a means of maintaining national sovereignty for small states and who enforced reconciliation process between partisans (who fought against Croatian Nazi regime in WW II) and the Ustasas (who were the leaders of Croatia's notorious WW II regime) and this reconciliation has been seen as unacceptable due to the fact it advocated rehabilitation of the Ustasha regime (see e.g. Pavlaković 2008).

When these policies did not meet approval in Europe that was in process of strengthening its unification process (on what is today 'Unity in diversity'), the regime shifted from 'Europhoria' to Euro-scepticism claiming Europe again betrayed Croatia (Topić et al 2009). At the same time, the regime kept seeking membership in the EU that became a representative for that envisaged Europe. All this confusion eventually resulted with present situation where large (the largest number of all candidate countries in any enlargement of the EU thus far) number of population opposes to membership in the EU (see e.g. Eurobarometer 75, 71).

Methodology

A set of large brochures from Croatian tourist board have been analyzed in order to point to some conclusions towards where Croatia stands in terms of identity creation process via tourist promotion of the country and what is the role of culture and how culture is projected. This is an important question concerning the growing number of tourists considering Croatia for their vacation destination. In this sense, it is reasonable to assume that potential tourists consult (at least certain) brochures.

The research has been made under the postmodernist epistemological assumption according to which all knowledge is a valid knowledge (Lyotard 1984; 1979) and therefore, it did not seek objective results that would be generalized on the population or any of the strict methodological requirements for conducting the research.

The analysis deployed qualitative approach and has been conducted using the critical discourse analysis (Wodak 1999) and critical discourse studies (Van Dijk 2007, 2009). In the latter a 'problem oriented' approach has been used to determine policies Croatia is enforcing while promoting Croatia across its borders⁹.

In analysis, a particular attention has been made towards historical context outlined above. In other words, a special attention has been paid towards: a) discourses on national versus European in shaping of the Croatian identity in tourist promotion of the country; b) depicting where brochures place Croatia in terms of civilization circles (e.g. Central European, Mediterranean, etc.); and c) a relationship of traditional versus modern identity and culture.

Tourism as a cultural diplomacy¹⁰

⁹ Van Dijk (2007) outlines (and this applies to the author of this paper as well) that critical discourse studies (CDS) are characterized not only as a method but also as a critical perspective that does not belong to one discipline only. CDS thus characterizes academics using the approach rather than their methods meaning that CDS academics are devoted to justice and to the corrections of wrongdoings and this particularly appears in their research where they formulate specific goals, select and construct theories and this particularly occurs in their studies of societal problems and political issues. CDS academics are in this sense particularly interested in how one group is abusing power over empowered groups.

¹⁰ This part is mostly deriving from the WP5 report. Although some parts of this part have been newly written some parts had to remain the same as in the actual report due to impossibility of changing them so that the original analysis would not be distorted. Analysis in this paper relies on a set of tourist brochures published by the Croatian Tourist Board in 2010 (that were the material for analysis for WP5 conducted during 2010) and the analysis is shortened due to the lack of space in both the report and this draft paper. Brochures published in 2011 will be a subject of the analysis in a longer and more detailed version of this paper and then in a book chapter that is being

Tourism is seen through culture where tourists meet locals and in their interaction, a cultural clash occurs. Cultural contacts in a global world create new identities seen through traditional roots along with new knowledge on different cultures (Jagić 2004; Jelinčić 2006; Božović 2009). In this sense, there is a growing importance of tourism and tourist offers for both tend to advance stereotyping if not managed properly. In this sense, “relationship between tourist and local inhabitant is temporary, unequal and any societal relation that is transitional, shallow and unequal represents a nest for cheating, exploitation, mistrust, unfairness and shaping of the stereotypes” (MacCannel 1984, 387-388 in Jelinčić 2006, 166). In this process, the impact of tourist view of the local host can be devastating for it attributes to the stereotyping upon returning to their countries of origin. This is why the tourist promotion of the country bears relevance for creating acceptable global identity of the host. Cultural tourism on the other hand is a “powerful force” and tourism is the largest employment sector (Lord 1999, 2). Lord (1999, 3) defines cultural tourism as:

“visits by persons from outside the host community motivated wholly or in part by interest in the historical, artistic, scientific or lifestyle/heritage offerings of a community, region, group or institution”¹¹.

This means, in Lord’s view that the cultural tourism can be all consuming and applicable to 15 per cent of tourists but it can also come up to 80 per cent. The impact of Internet is also significant due to the possibility of worldwide communication and the exchange of ideas. The emphasis also shifted towards meaning (Lord 1999, 7). However, a country’s promotion largely depends on the view of the authorities on how to present a country or, where they think that country belongs to and ultimately, what they think it should be enforced as a country’s identity. Tourism bears significant relevance in terms of its participation in Croatia’s GDP for it stands for more than 22 % of the total GDP¹². Apart from that, only in 2009, 10.934,474 tourists visited Croatia and out of that non-Croatian guests participated with 85 % (State Bureau for Statistics 2010; Ministry of tourism 2010).

Croatian tourist offer largely fits into ‘cultural tourism’ and this particularly applies to Dalmatia that Croatian tourist offer, general as well as cultural, heavily relies on¹³.

A whole separate brochure discusses the origin of Marco Polo, born in the island of Korčula, Dalmatia, which was at that time the territory of Illyria. Marco Polo is framed as a great contributor to Europe as a whole and Croatia as a jewel of Europe, diverse with mixed and rich cultural inheritance.

Croatian tourist offer in general very heavily also relies on UNESCO’s protection of its monuments and places. With this, a cultural importance of Croatia is being particularly emphasized. Croatia is in general presented through its history and culture with a slogan ‘Treasury of impressive history’. In that the culture bears significant role. For example, the introductory part of one brochure reads:

“If you are interested in antics, start from glorious monuments of Roman Pula towards the largest researched forum on the eastern side of Adriatic in Zadar through glorious Diocletian palace in Split. Progressing through time, from pre-Roman Zadar’s Saint Donat from 9th century and walk in to the world of romance of the magnificent town-monument Trogir or the islands of Krk and Rab. After the chapter of gothic in Zagreb, Pazin or, for example, Ston on Pelješac, discover the Renaissance of Ocor on Cres, Šibenik’ cathedral, islands of Hvar and Korčula and then, finally, unforgettable and unique Dubrovnik. Baroque glow will be found in Varaždin, Bjelovar and Vukovar and inheritance of the 19th century in Rijeka, Osijek and unavoidable Zagreb. If you are, however, a fan of less exposed monuments and one of those who enjoys in wondering and discovering of the beauty of mystique places who, intimately, share their thousands year old history, walk in to the world of hundreds medieval churches (...) From world known medieval philosopher Herman Dalmatin native of Istria, world traveller and researcher Marco Polo born at Korčula, Croatian Michelangelo-miniaturist Julije Klović, the greatest physician, mathematician and astronomer of his time, native of Dubrovnik Ruder Bošković all the way towards Nikola Tesla, one of the most brilliant inventors of the world who is born in Lika, this is a space that proudly enjoys the

written inside this project and is contracted for publication in 2012 (international collective volume on cultural diplomacy, co-edited by M. Topić and S. Rodin).

¹¹ As Lord (1999, 3) himself points out, this definition is similar to the one of the Heritage Tourism Program’s that defines cultural tourism as “the practice of traveling to experience historic and cultural attractions to learn about a community’s heritage in an enjoyable and educational way”.

¹² Therefore, for the first nine (9) months in 2008, tourism participated in total GDP with 22 % (Croatian National Bank 2009; Ministry of tourism 2009).

¹³ Tourist brochures are framing Croatia through its culture and call Croatian tourism as cultural tourism. This is obviously different from the scholarly discussion on what culture and cultural tourism is and how to define them. In scholarly discussion there is still no consensus on what constitutes culture and cultural tourism.

reputation of a country of great history and great people” (Brochure ‘Croatia-Mediterranean as it once was’ 2010, 9).

Cultural tourism however starts with the county of Zadar whose sub-slogan is ‘Where Croatian culture starts’. Zadar, former Dalmatian capital, is framed as three thousand years old town with impressive history, culture and architecture. It is also noted that Zadar is the place where first University in Croatia was founded (1396) and where first Croatian novel and newspapers have been printed. For example the brochure with part on Zadar starts with a lead:

“With its centre in three thousand years old Zadar, city with the highest researched Roman forum on the eastern side of Adriatic and unforgettable Roman churches such as Saint Stošija and Saint Krševan, as well as the oldest Croatian royal city-nearby Nin proud of its smallest cathedral in the world (the Church of Saint Cross is only 36 steps long!), the area of the Zadar region will tell you, better than any book, a rich history of the foundation of Croatian cultural identity” (Brochure ‘Croatia-Mediterranean as it once was’ 2010, 29).

County of Šibenik is also framed through culture and thus through cultural inheritance of the ‘Millennium town’. It is also noted that Šibenik has been firstly mentioned in 1066 in documents of Croatian king Petar Krešimir and it also underlines that Šibenik has been, before more than a millennium, founded by Croats.

County of Split, also noted as the heart of Mediterranean, is framed through the Roman emperor Diocletian who in the year 305 built his palace in Split (lat. Aspalathos). It is also noted that Split is close to old Salona (today’s Solin) and its importance, history and culture are strongly underlined. In this particular emphasis is being placed on the UNESCO’s protection of the city centre and Roman palace of Diocletian as well as the smallest street in the world called ‘Let me pass’ (that in its Croatian version also represents a common Dalmatian slang for ‘Let me be’ used in many aspects of everyday life in Dalmatia. This term also represents a Dalmatian easygoing mentality and lifestyle). With Split, a small town of Trogir is also briefly mentioned because the town is under the UNESCO’ protection due to its cultural importance.

County of Dubrovnik is framed through its beauty underlining that it is protected by UNESCO and through a slogan ‘Where words are not enough’ with heavy reliance to quotes from George Bernard Shaw who has written on Dubrovnik as well as Mediterranean references of the most southern point in Croatia. It is also noted that it was the Dubrovnik Republic to be the first to acknowledge the United States of America’s independence with which the brochures are underlining old Croatian statehood. Rich history of Dubrovnik as a small trade harbour with historical importance on Mediterranean coast is strongly emphasized as well as its rich cultural inheritance and monuments.

Unlikely for four Dalmatian counties, Slavonian counties are framed through belonging to the Pannonian circle. Slavonia is framed mostly through its tradition and agricultural importance and old folklore culture however Slavonian presentation does not heavily rely on culture and history as the Dalmatian one.

The same accounts to the Central Croatia that is framed through green fields, rivers and castles that are at the same time showing preserved nature as well as rich history of nobleness.

The capital of Zagreb is presented as the heart of Croatia although this attitude can hardly be found within the rest of Croatian population burdened with regional animosities and identity fragmentation that appeared because of it (Katunarić 2007; Topić et al 2009). Zagreb is framed through its history dating from 1094 and as a Central European city with the spirit of former Austria-Hungary state union. Zagreb is also mentioned through patents such as pen invented by Slavoljub Penkala who resided in Zagreb and, as the brochure suggest, perhaps found his inspiration while walking through Zagreb, also presented as an emerging sport destination on the European sports map.

Finally, Istria is, apart from multicultural mentality (shown in slogans outlining diversity), framed as the highest point of the Mediterranean with unique culture and preserved autochthonous architectural heritage that makes it a ‘magic land’. Kvarner, a bay between Istria and north of Dalmatia, often noted in language as ‘Istria and Kvarner’, is framed through its eco systems seen as truly European. Kvarner is framed as a region where Mediterranean and Central European meet and because of which Kvarner can thus be considered as a region of various contrasts in its culture as well as in its climate.

The region of Lika is framed through its stunning nature and placed in Pannonian Croatia seen as diverse and inhabited by ancestor’s warriors.

After going through brochures, it appears that Croatia largely enforces Europeanism and thus places Croatia in Europe and European cultural circle and inheritance. Croatia is described as a European

country belonging to three cultural and geographical entities: Pannonian, Central European and Mediterranean. The discourse is however heavily framing Croatia as being Mediterranean country whereas the other two are noted as additional. This is against the dominant political and academic mainstream insisting of Central European character of Croatia that somewhat oppresses Mediterranean character of southern regions of Croatia. But, this is apparently not the case when it comes to the Croatian tourist offer.

The tourist offer, when describing Croatian multiple identity, only briefly mentions Balkan in certain footnotes that are easily overseen by the reader and this goes in line with the dominant Croatian discourse to deny any connection with the Balkan and Croatia. The dominant Mediterranean discourse primarily appears in the main slogan of Croatian tourist offer, i.e. 'Mediterranean as it once was'. This slogan contains the main taught of Croatian tourist offer and thus Mediterranean discourse but also the preserved natural beauty and preservation of traditionalism which is enforced through out the tourist offer and promotion.

However, what appears is that the strength of national versus European is balanced in a sense that Croatia is framed as European and primarily Mediterranean country with its own specialty inside Europe. It seems as if Croatian tourist authorities do not worry for loosing national identity if being strongly favourable for Europe unlikely for the public opinion as public polls (e.g. Eurobarometer 75 and earlier) have shown.

Historical discourse is also present through out the offer for it heavily enforces thousand years old statehood of Croatia entirely denying history which reads slightly different story (e.g. that Dalmatia is integrated with Croatia only in 20th century and that Croatian national movement got its first victory in Split at the end of the 19th century) and thus it can be affirmed that Croatian tourist offer is for the most part Croato-centric and enforces Croatian statehood agenda. Additionally, brochures also enforce the *antemurale* attitude by pointing out to Croatia's Europeanism through out history.

In terms of the relationship between traditional and modern, large attention has been given to traditional and especially to history, historical habits, culture, food and wine. It seems that Croatia has never left the discourse largely implemented during 1990s when traditionalism became a means of enforcing so called modernization and Europeanization. However, tourist offer at the same time enforces multiculturalism in one of Croatian tourist regions, Istria, that is framed through multiculturalism, diversity and Mediterranean spirit as well as the spirit of Central Europe.

It is constantly noted through out brochures that Croatia scores high on the UNESCO's list of protected cultural objects with which it wants to be underlined that Croatia bears cultural significance for the world in general and Europe in particular.

General impression coming out from brochures is Europeanism and Mediterraneanism so to say, and then national specialty. In that sense, Croatian authorities, that are largely EU optimistic, enforce European discourse. Since this is externally oriented, the message that foreign visitors are meant to receive is that they are coming to an old, historically relevant, European state with preserved history, culture and cultural habits. The identity image of Croatia sent abroad is largely European, Mediterranean and then national.

However, with this discourse the state is apparently enforcing *la longue durée* policy as explained by ethnosymbolic theory of nationalism (see e.g. Smith, 2009)¹⁴. This means that the state is claiming its long statehood by underlining its long historical presence as a state (located unquestionably in Europe and belonging to the European civilisation circle) and legitimacy of that state (questioned during the war from the 1990s) as well as its unquestionable Europeanism.

It seems therefore that there is a certain dichotomy in the state policies in regard to the identity creation process. Therefore, when it comes to externally oriented identity creation processes such as tourism, the state enforces Europeanism as a dominant discourse (relying on national) whereas in internally oriented processes, such as for example secondary and primary education (Rodin et al 2010; Topić 2011c), the state largely influences nationally oriented policies masked under the Europeanization reform. Either way, Croatia is unquestionably forging Europeanization and legitimizes itself on the European map not only in geographical but also cultural sense through its unquestionable Europeanism and cultural and historical importance.

Concluding remarks

¹⁴ It has to be clearly noted that this does not mean that whole Croatian policies through out history fall within this theory of nationalism (see e. g. Matic 2006; Topić, 2009).

In what way the culture and the identity are understood in Croatia? Is Croatian policy in tourism and promotion of Croatia falling within nation branding or within cultural tourism, the latter being proposed by the Croatian Tourist Board itself?

Culture in Croatia is apparently understood as a historical treasure and history is seen as a legitimizing aspect of the Croatian statehood. A lot of emphasis has been placed on the historical statehood of Croatia however, a lot of emphasis has been placed on the unquestionable Europeanism of Croatia.

In the latter, a culture plays a crucial role too because Croatian culture is presented as a legitimizing aspect of the Croatian Europeanism and of necessity of Croatia's belonging to Europe and European civilisation circle.

However, what is interesting is that, unlikely for the internally oriented policies where Croatia is enforcing Europeanism but with a clear goal to actually preserve and enforce the national, when it comes to the tourist offer then Croatia is primarily enforcing Europeanism founded on the national. This is done through the exposition of the national (culture, history, inheritance) but the national is presented as uniquely European and necessary to Europe for its culture and inheritance.

In this sense, national is used as an instrument for the purpose of achieving the European and for the purpose of presenting Croatia as a European jewel. Additionally, this policy can be considered as similar to the one from the 1990s when Croatia enforced national tradition as a means for achieving Europeanization and modernization. In that the emphasis was clearly on the national. In this case, Croatia is apparently enforcing national history and culture as means for founding its unquestionable Europeanism just that in this case, the emphasis is on the European.

A quotation from Thomas Jefferson from 1785 demonstrates these policies quite well:

"You see I am an enthusiast on the subject of the arts. But it is an enthusiasm of which I am not ashamed, as its object is to improve the taste of my countrymen, to increase their reputation, to reconcile to them the respect of the world and procure them its praise" (Thomas Jefferson 1785 in: Schneider 2003, 1).

However, in the Croatian case, the state is actually forging Europeanism and this is not done only on the international but also on the national agenda and in that sense, increasing the reputation as in the above quotation is applying to this case but in a way of increasing the reputation of the existence of the (forged) Europeanism.

If looking into academic definitions of cultural tourism it appears that Croatia is indeed enforcing cultural tourism however it has a clear agenda of forging Europeanisation that is present in all of the Croatia's policies (e.g. education, see Rodin et al 2010). In this sense, tourism is just another instrument to enforce what is being enforced anyway just that the difference is in the intensity of enforcing Europeanism. In that, Europeanism is strongly enforced towards outside of the borders while inside the borders Europeanism serves as an instrument to foster the national and it is being used in accordance to the current need but inside the borders the national still bears more relevance (Rodin et al 2010; Topić and Vasiljević 2011; Topić and Vasiljević 2011a).

If looking into nation branding, Croatia does appear to make an attempt to brand itself as a European cultural jewel and as unquestionably European. However, since nation branding is usually attached to attracting investors, tourists or major international sporting events (Anholt, 2004) in this context Croatia does not fit in completely because it tries to attract the tourists via this tourist offer but not the others, e.g. investors. In this sense, to estimate whether and how Croatia brands itself one would have to conduct an in-depth analysis of all of these features. It is also notable to state that nation branding in this sense relates to the making of an image that is clearly not the case in the Croatian tourist offer analyzed in this paper.

Additionally, since nation branding is also often attached to economic globalisation and market-oriented policies, Croatia does not fit in either. Nation branding, as outlined above, is also sometimes connected with approaches to identity and particularly national identity however, in this sense Croatia is forging and enforcing its European identity through the notion of its national identity but in an entirely different way than the one recognized in the literature. This is because Croatia is using its national culture and history to legitimize its Europeanism and unquestionable belonging to Europe as well as importance of Croatia for that very same Europe.

On the account of identity related debates, it appears that Croatia is strongly building European identity towards outside of its borders and the culture and history serve in legitimizing process of this. On the other hand, in internally oriented policies Croatia strongly builds national and then European, the latter again mostly being an instrument for fostering the national. Croatia is therefore building its identity through the combination of diverse characteristics of three mentalities such as Central European, Mediterranean and Pannonian and diversity is one of the key factors that describe Croatia in the tourist offer. With this, Croatia is trying to project its identity towards outside of the borders as of country combining three European identities in one small landscape but all of the three identities being

unquestionably European. In this, Croatia is still treating Balkan as 'other' and denies any connection with it. With the way Croatia treats Balkan, it appears that Croatia does not consider Balkan and its mentality as European and therefore it is apparent that for Croatian state authorities Balkan does not mean Europe. If Balkan does not mean Europe then it is obvious that Europe in Croatia is seen through a specific mentality, identity, culture and history and not through geography or any other characteristic and Balkan, in Croatia's view does not fit in here.

Looking in sum, Croatia is constantly enforcing one same policy just that its shape and intensity are being different depending on the situation and the issue that is being in stake. In that, Europe and the European always serve as a reference point and the notion of European and its instrumental role has never left Croatian public discourse. *La longue durée* projection of the Croatian statehood and Europeanism is still a main discourse in Croatian public policy.

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Brochures from Croatian Tourist Board¹⁵:

Central Croatia: Castles with a view, 2010, Croatian Tourist Board
Croatia: Homeland of Marco Polo, 2010, Croatian Tourist Board
Croatian gastronomy, 2010, Croatian Tourist Board
Croatian cultural heritage, 2010, Croatian Tourist Board
Croatia-image catalogue, 2010, Croatian Tourist Board
Croatia: Mediterranean as it once was, 2010, Croatian Tourist Board
Croatian wines, 2010, Croatian Tourist Board
Slavonia: Glow on the horizon, 2010, Croatian Tourist Board
The Wondrous heritage of Croatia, 2010, Croatian Tourist Board
Tourist information 2009

¹⁵ All brochures are available in several languages and therefore, in this report, titles of brochures in English have been used.

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Martina Topić is a Research fellow and an Assistant lecturer (Introduction to Sociology) at the Faculty of Political science and a PhD candidate (ABD) in Sociology at the Faculty of Humanities and Social sciences, both at the University of Zagreb, Croatia. So far she has worked at several research projects including UNESCO's media system assessment (2008-2009) and FP7 Identities and modernities in Europe (2009-2012). She has extensively published in Croatia and abroad in the fields of media studies and identity and nationalism studies. Currently she is co-editing two international volumes: on cultural diplomacy and European identities (with S. Rodin, forthcoming in 2012) and on religion, identity and modernity (with S. Sremac, also contracted for 2012). Her research interests are centred on theories of nationalism, theories of modernity, identity studies, sociological theory, sociology of religion, Croatian liberal nationalism, Jewish studies and Dalmatia.