

Branding Post-conflict Destinations: Recreating Montenegro after the Disintegration of Yugoslavia

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Abstract

This paper examines the challenges and opportunities of promoting Montenegro as a destination for sustainable tourism in the post-civil war era of the former Yugoslavia, given the country's unique status as the world's only self-proclaimed "ecological state." There is no denying the recent history of ethnic violence and turmoil that divided the Balkans in the 1990s. Consequently, the incremental return of foreign and domestic visitors to Montenegro, as well as Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina, represents a significant return to stability almost ten years after the fighting stopped. And the particular interest of many tourists in the biology and cultural geography of the region makes clear the potential usefulness of "green" branding for Montenegro to distinguish itself from its competitors in the Mediterranean, and to resurrect the country's political image and visitor appeal through targeted environmental practices and promotions.

The ability to embellish its "eco" credentials and image through complementary partnerships and policies that sustain both tourism and the nation's economy would allow Montenegro to strategically and successfully position itself in the Adriatic travel market over the long term. Collaborative management and branding of World Heritage sites and transboundary parks for sustainable tourism will also enable Montenegro, and its former allies and foes, to restore the social and biological integrity and connectivity of a shared landscape severely degraded by a decade of war. In this manner, tourism can be a critical catalyst in overcoming the negative imagery and distrust which still impedes the Balkan's ability to achieve greater political integration and prosperity in an increasingly unified Europe.

Introduction

Among the many roles that tourism plays, perhaps the most important are the opportunity for visitors to experience significant change in their beliefs as a result of direct interaction with people from other places and cultures, and the ability to effectuate meaningful societal change, by de-constructing social stereotypes that often mislead residents and visitors. Whether these

transitions occur – and the extent to which they are meaningful for participants – depends on a number of factors applied by tourists when selecting a destination, including the range of available entertainment and leisure activities; the comfort and quality of existing accommodations and transportation; the adequacy of the visual scenery and the authenticity of local cultural practices and history; the level of personal risk from disease or threats of terrorism; and the accuracy of information provided visitors beforehand.

In spite of the probable challenges, or perhaps because of them, tourism has reputedly become one of the world's largest – and perhaps the most significant – industries in the post-World War II period, in terms of total employment, land use, and socioeconomic spending. Spurred by increases in personal income levels, more flexible working hours and greater leisure time, along with greater access to affordable transportation and information technology options (such as budget airlines, multi-country train passes, and the Internet), more people now travel both domestically and internationally. Credited by its proponents with poverty alleviation and long-term job creation, an ever-growing list of countries and communities now market themselves worldwide as tourist destinations in hopes of sharing in the profits of global travel, while offering a growing array of options for the travel consumer in activities and facilities (Louillet, 2005).

To help the visitor choose from among the many recreational choices, destination branding has become a strategic marketing component with considerable importance in promoting the (re)discovery of tourism destinations severely impacted by global crises, including war, genocide, ethnic and political conflict, disease, poverty, and international terrorism in the post-9/11 world. In these communities, it is a critical tool in resurrecting international travel to countries who seek social security and economic recovery through tourism, and must rely upon a uniquely identifiable brand attraction and targeted visitor niche in the initial stages of market development and recovery.

The importance of this marketing tool is especially apparent to the former republics of the Soviet Union and those of Yugoslavia (Figure 1). While significant challenges admittedly confront the foreign traveler in any newly independent state, perhaps the most pervasive – and disruptive to tourism's revival in the Balkan states – are the dated, and often inaccurate, misperceptions and images of the civil wars and ethnic barriers that prevailed throughout the 1980's and early 1990's, yet still define the region for many international visitors and tour operators (Prentice, 2003).

Positive brand images have helped several economies boost their exports and attract investments, businesses, factories, visitors, residents and talented people. On the other hand, an uncountable number of places are unfamiliar to consumers or suffer image problems that impair their ability to compete in the marketplace. In some cases, these images are based on inaccurate information or widespread stereotypes recurrently reinforced by the media and the entertainment industry. In other instances, these images are founded on past episodes of political unrest, natural disasters, violence, and economic downturns. Place images may be clouded by these occurrences much longer than it would take to overcome or correct the problems. Brand management seems to be particularly challenging for emerging, newly industrialized, and transitional nations, including those that have shifted from socialist to free market economic systems. Unfortunately, these experiences are pervasive and afflict myriad places spanning the various regions of the world, such as Latin America, Eastern Europe, Africa, and Asia.

While a few places have succeeded in overcoming their image problems and enhancing the equity of their brand names, others still struggle to do so (Gertner, n.d.: 1).

Whether the newly independent countries of the Balkans will effectively move beyond their histories of violence and succeed in establishing successful, sustainable tourism industries, depends greatly on the degree to which all participants are fully and collaboratively engaged in the branding process – an option that remains problematic for economies and political systems still in transition from socialism and the terrorism of war to tourism. Nonetheless, the Republic of Montenegro has made tourism its priority for social and economic recovery in the post-conflict period, and a strong destination brand is critical if Montenegro is to successfully reposition itself in the world travel market (Ringer, 2004).

Destination Branding: Theory and Practice in the Balkans

Simply defined, a brand is “a name, term, sign, symbol, or design, or combination of them intended to identify the goods and services of one seller or group of sellers and to differentiate them from those of the competition” (Kotler and Gertner, 2002: 4-5). When applied to a geographic place, a destination brand may therefore comprise a specific recreational image intended to influence visitor perceptions, and an identity that arguably reflects the prevailing views and values of local users and inhabitants. Whatever its individual features, a destination brand is considered one of the most important tools in international travel when differentiating locally available tourism products and services – and a process increasingly complicated by globalization and the Internet (Graburn, 1995; Anholt, 2006).

The proliferation and intensity of these promotional efforts at the local and national levels, as well as the dissimilar results witnessed by competing attractions in visitor totals and investments in the necessary infrastructure and training, reflect the influential role that destination branding can play in differentiating – and profiting – select emergent tourism venues. No longer only an option for local businesses to consider as they search for a global market and recognizable identity, it is now a fundamental requirement for countries who seek to move beyond the conflicts of previous decades through improved communication, trade, and the promotion of international travel.

The creation of a national icon is particularly useful in reinforcing legitimate social practices in the state, and in fostering support for targeted investment policies, such as the establishment of appropriate markets, partners, services, and standards for tourism. In this context, a destination brand is intended to generate greater visitation in terms of numbers or specific visitor segments by highlighting proximate leisure activities through descriptive themes and identities. By so doing, adjacent tourist locations are distinguished through social construction and recognition of each place, its people, and its associated attractions.

The development of themed (or branded) environments . . . generally goes beyond [the] de-differentiation of spaces, functions, styles and symbolisms and the deliberate blurring of the real with the artificial and the imaginary. It rests on the effectiveness of the idea of ‘invented’ landscapes and places and aims at creating contemporary wonderlands of selective nostalgia and pseudo-idealistic visionary (Terkenli, 2006: 11).

Thus, the U.S. state of Hawai'i aggressively promotes itself as a tropical "paradise" for Pacific tourists willing to incur the additional expense to fly to the islands, while Ireland emphasizes its reputation as a "country of honest people" for visitors concerned about crime and terror threats elsewhere in Europe. Even Bosnia-Herzegovina promotes the sale of souvenirs from the Yugoslavian civil war to capitalize on its own history of ethnic conflict (Kotler & Armstrong, 2001). Through similar brand identities, destinations worldwide seek to reassure consumers that they will experience the promised quality, value, and security, should they select the preferred facility or location.

The equity of this brand – blending a country's traditions, history, and physiography – is perhaps best determined, however, by the extent to which travelers are cognizant of the trademark and share a sense of loyalty, and a willingness to financially support their preferred attractions through travel. This degree of motivation depends, in part, on access to specific recreational resources. But perhaps more critical for newly (re)developing destinations, these personal choices are deeply affected by the recommendations and preferences of family and friends, and by social perceptions and stereotypes that may be more "dispositional rather than situational" (Renwick and Renwick, 1991: 167). When the images and advice are erroneous or simplistic, they form the basis of inappropriate visitor behavior and attitudes, and remain overly difficult to correct.

Once an image or stereotype of a culture, country, foreign nationals, or their products have been developed, these beliefs will partially determine an individual's affective orientation and may be the main determinant of intended and subsequent behaviors (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975, cited in Renwick and Renwick, 1991: 168).

The successful resurrection of Montenegro's tourism industry, whose government proclaimed it the nation's highest priority in late 2005, therefore depends largely on its ability to reshape the beliefs of international visitors (especially North American), who have yet to clearly distinguish the Balkan's history of conflict from the serenity of Montenegro. The former Yugoslavia was a popular destination for visitors from Europe and the U.S. prior to its dissolution in 1991, when Montenegro was promoted as a cheap destination for mass tourism and Hollywood film stars who flocked to the privacy and privileges of resorts, such as Sveti Stefan (once an island village). Others traveled to the Balkans for therapeutic medical treatments and physical exercise at facilities specializing in health, wellness, and medical tourism, such as the renown Igalo spa in Montenegro. Yet, foreign visitors and their economic contributions declined dramatically during the civil war, when much of Yugoslavia's recreational landscape and infrastructure were decimated, and tourists avoided the area (Figure 2).

The ethnic cleansing and social disruption that ensued also left the new countries, upon independence, with few national traditions or symbols to reunite their remaining populations. Nevertheless, Yugoslavians everywhere expressed a strong desire to disconnect from the post-socialistic images that had defined their communal behavior and beliefs since the end of World War II. As a result, after a decade of armed conflict and geopolitical isolation, the former republics of Yugoslavia now find themselves competing with each other for their place in the global tourism market, not with guns and militias, but with newly created brands that recall the pre-war attractions and ambiance, as well as the wider range of educational and volunteer opportunities available for today's independent, eco-oriented traveler (Antunac, Mihovilović, and Navratil, 1979; Jordan, 2000; Hall, 2002; Martinović, 2002).

“Wild Beauty” – Visit Crna Gora

A creative and effective marketing campaign requires an intimate knowledge of the destination, the highly personalized linkages and personal interactions that delineate its social landscape, and the product attributes as perceived by its potential users (including quality, availability, and affordability). This is particularly true in the Balkans, where a decade of civil war in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, the bombing of Serbia by the United Nations, and the ongoing strife in Kosovo continue to dominate visitors' opinions, and make the task of re-imaging and rebranding Montenegro as an “ecologically sustainable destination” especially challenging for national tourism authorities. Although more Europeans, particularly from Ireland and the United Kingdom, are attracted by Montenegro's ease of entry, affordable services, historic heritage, and proximity to the Adriatic coast, many tourists still choose competing destinations in nearby Croatia and Slovenia, which they erroneously perceive to be more secure from ethnic conflict than their neighbor (Morgan, Pritchard and Pride, 2003; Floyd and Pennington-Gray, 2004).

Efforts to rebuild Montenegro's international appeal have long been impeded by its political association with Serbia (which were finally dissolved with the union's breakup and Montenegro's independence in May 2006), and the country's lack of arable land or extractive natural resources. Nevertheless, Montenegro does possess considerable advantages for a resumption and expansion of tourism activities that respond to the growing worldwide demand for outdoor recreation and nature activities, visits to historic ruins and religious sites, and marine exploration.

The growing discontent with high costs and summer crowds in nearby Dubrovnik, and the proliferation of low-cost European and U.S. airline routes in the Mediterranean, further support Montenegro's efforts to position itself as a model destination for marine and mountain tourism in the Mediterranean. To succeed, however, the country must rely on the capacity of travel providers and operators to entice, and satisfactorily cater to, visitors drawn in spite of the challenges by the limited crowds and low travel costs which presently exist, and the richness of Montenegro's religious history and physical landscapes.

Already, political and community leaders in Montenegro are reaching out to all affected stakeholders, including private and non-governmental agencies, learning institutions, and social organizations, to develop a consensus on the preferred direction and discourse of tourism development in the country. With the input provided from this participatory process, authorities plan to designate core themes or “eco-brands” that best highlight the diverse nature, culture, history, and industry available in Montenegro. They also hope to identify specific market segments for each set of attractions, and to dramatize these niches for specific audiences, with specialized itineraries and promotional events constructed around cultural performances, accommodations, transportation networks, and entertainment and leisure alternatives (Ritchie & Crouch, 2000).

As part of the process, the Montenegro Ministry of Tourism recently released its updated destination brand, “Wild Beauty” (Figure 3). Part of a newly developed marketing and management strategy to replace its previous logo, “Enjoy Difference” (which lacked specificity), the new brand includes an identifying logo, official website (www.visit-montenegro.com), and participating venues for potential visitors and investors. Each unit of the brand is designed to reflect and reinforce for viewers Montenegro's:

1. geographic location in the Mediterranean region and the physiographic diversity it offers tourists, from rugged mountains and canyons in the interior to the sandy beaches and headlands of the coast;
2. relative safety and low level of personal risk for tourists from crime, terrorism, or disease; and the
3. education, skills, and professional capabilities of Montenegro's tourism industry for greater numbers of visitors.

In thematically embracing Montenegro's natural scenery and rugged environment, the brand makes three implicit promises to visitors. First, it offers a sense of discovery, in a manner that is simultaneously wild, romantic, and personally challenging, yet simple. Second is the experience of entering a country slowly reopening to outside visitors, where residents still outnumber foreign tourists. The third assures each participant of the personal enrichment and learning environment that only travel provides. Though admittedly vague, these symbolic promises help define visitor expectations and beliefs about Montenegro as a safe and attractive alternative to other locations in the eastern Mediterranean (Graburn, 1995).

Montenegro's local tour operators were initially reluctant to join in the branding process, widely believing until recently that the country's natural geography and human history were too complex to define through slogans or icons, a challenge compounded by the number of involved stakeholders and sites, and the lack of agreement in interpreting and promoting the country's diverse attractions to foreign visitors. However, growing numbers of government officials and providers now acknowledge that distinctive brands can be a strategic management and marketing tool to successfully promote Montenegro's attractions and visitor services.

To assist the national government in inventorying and marketing its visitor attractions, the Investment and Development Company (DEG), a German company specializing in long-term project and corporate financing, prepared a master tourism plan in collaboration with MOT. The *Tourism Master Plan for Montenegro* outlines specific steps to be undertaken in support of the priority role assigned nature-based tourism in the country by the government through the year 2020.

As part of the assessment, a SWOT analysis (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, threats), was prepared, which identified a number of advantages for Montenegro in pursuing visitors who were environmentally and culturally aware. Among the more significant strengths named were the country's biological diversity (despite its relatively small size), the moderate climate, and the physical terrain, stretching from sandy beaches along the Adriatic to Skadar Lake in central Montenegro (an internationally protected, migratory bird stopover), and the mountains and deep ravines of the north. Indeed, these physiographic features inspired the "Wild Beauty" brand. Also ranked as "visitor worthy" was the cultural heritage evident in the numerous castles, military forts, and Orthodox monasteries dating to the Roman Empire, and found throughout Montenegro.

Equally positive in Montenegro's desire to gain more visitors were the country's experience with international tourists prior to the 1991 civil war, its proximity and direct flights to the main European travel markets, the adoption of the Euro as the national currency, the availability and ease of obtaining no-cost tourist visas upon arrival, and the diverse outdoor recreation options available for ecotourists and "extreme" adventure travelers, such as SCUBA diving, snow skiing,

mountain climbing, and whitewater rafting. At the same time, visitors to Montenegro are plagued by antiquated transport systems and inadequate accommodations, the absence of low-cost airlines at the country's two international airports, Podgorica and Tivat (as well as the lack of critical communications and radar facilities at Tivat), and a sense that other destinations in the former Yugoslavia offer better "value for the money."

Other perceived negatives include the perceptions of political instability and ethnic conflict in the region, the absence of interpretative material in languages other than Montenegrin, and the inferior quality of Montenegro's tourist accommodations and infrastructure, after years of isolation and economic sanctions imposed for its alliance with Serbia. These problems were particularly acute along the coast, where water shortages in Kotor are a recurring issue in local hotels each summer during the height of the tourism season, due to aging pipes, growing populations, and little money for routine maintenance.

The country is further weakened by an exodus of university graduates in search of professional employment elsewhere, and rising competition from Croatia and Slovenia for European, Asian, and American visitors. Successful and sustainable tourism growth for Montenegro will, therefore, require the country to concentrate on a few key factors, or indicators, that are achievable. It will also entail the formation of key branding processes that help establish the desired quality and perceived value, and reassure potential customers that their experience will be satisfactory (Henley Centre, 1998; Roberts and Hall, 2001; MacNulty, 2002; Crouch, 2006; d'Hautesserre, 2006).

Conclusion

There is certainly greater emphasis in Montenegro today on promoting brands that highlight the multiple attractions which exist for leisure tourists and ecotourists, who view Montenegro as an undervisited or relatively undeveloped, yet highly complex and unique destination on the Mediterranean coast. Recent market analyses suggest that the ideal visitor is interested in summer bathing, and most likely from either Serbia, the Ukraine, Hungary, Ireland, Germany, or the United Kingdom. Health-oriented tourists and spa visitors are also considered a potentially lucrative market, given the therapeutic role that sanitariums and allegoric treatments have long played in eastern Europe, Russia, and the Balkans. And there is considerable potential for adventure and nature-based ecotourism (especially birdwatching), religious-themed tours, and heritage travel, given the heightened awareness exhibited by residents in the former Yugoslavian, post-communist countries of their evolving national identity (Figure 4).

The public-private sector processes and partnerships already underway in Montenegro will certainly play an important role in Montenegro's branding efforts, as they facilitate the gathering of critical data and viewpoints from every important stakeholder and thus, encourage broader acceptance and use of the national brand by the different users. Co-branding with Croatia and the other former Yugoslavian countries is also considered critical for the country's success. When properly coordinated, this marketing approach would allow the member states to articulate their common history and physiography to a broader audience, while simultaneously expounding upon their distinctive identities and abilities. For rural residents, co-branding may also prove beneficial in drawing attention to potential new attractions in the Balkan hinterlands, along with the tourism enterprises historically concentrated along the coast (Tomic, 2006).

Whether implemented alone or in partnership with its Balkan neighbors, these brands should build upon the legislature's proclamation of Montenegro as an ecological state. With more than 40% of all international visitors now self-labeled as ecotourists, it is apparent that more tourists worldwide now seek attractions that are environmentally sensitive and supportive of indigenous communities. Though their numbers may not yet constitute a majority of all travelers, their disproportionate impact is perhaps best illustrated in surveys undertaken by the World Wildlife Fund (2005). This data notes that tourists, for whom nature or culture are the primary motivators of their trip, spend approximately US\$ 143 per day on location, in contrast to the US\$ 117 in daily spending by tourists unconcerned with either.

As a result, an eco-destination may earn an equivalent income by focusing on the environmental quality of the visitor experience, rather than the quantity of visitors alone. Consequently, there is considerable potential for Montenegro to capture a larger share of this market and the related earnings, by constructing "green" facilities and implementing "eco-friendly" practices that reduce environmental degradation, pollution, and waste. In this manner, Montenegro can reinforce its legislated mantle as an environmental leader in the Mediterranean, and thereby further distinguish the country from similar destinations in the remainder of the Balkans (Weber and Teliman-Kosuta, 1991; Popesku and Maric, 2005; U.S. Agency for International Development, 2005; Stoddard, 2006).

Greater participation by tourism stakeholders in Montenegro is also needed in developing a core message that simultaneously satisfies the four dimensions of state branding (public diplomacy, tourism, export promotion, and FDI, or foreign development investments), and emphasizes anew the peace and tolerance that prevail in Montenegro, as well as its strategic location in the Mediterranean. In this sense, "Wild Beauty" may indeed aptly describe the diversity of attractions that currently await the visitor to Crna Gora ("Black Mountain" in Montenegrin). But the brand should not further construe as "wild," a country that has already experienced too much conflict amidst such beauty. To do so would only perpetuate the lack of appreciation expressed by many tourists for Montenegro's attractions and history, in a world that appears increasingly determined to benefit from travel to destinations for enjoyment and recreation, as well as conservation and education (Allcock and Counihan, 1989; Renwick and Renwick, 1991; Graburn, 1995; Terkenli, 2006).

Should these recommendations enable potential visitors to become better educated about the country's status, then tourism will have socially and economically profited both Montenegro and the Balkans, by affording greater access to investments in transboundary attractions, and in raising the perceived quality of the available tourism product through shared experiences and more meaningful social linkages between contiguous countries. Only in such a manner will visitors discover the Balkans in a manner that benefits both them personally and the region as well, as it recovers from the war. Though the long-term success of Montenegro's efforts to rebrand itself as a destination for conservation, rather than conflict, will ultimately be determined by regulatory practices and sustained levels of public awareness and acceptance, the authors hope that the analysis presented in this paper will stimulate additional efforts to reconnect the former Yugoslavia through travel attractions and brands that fully acknowledge their shared ecology, history, and politics.

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Figures

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2. Civil war and Yugoslavia: foreign visitors, 1990-1991 (Source: Montenegro Ministry of Tourism, 2006).
3. Current logo and slogan of Montenegro: "Wild Beauty" (Source: Montenegro Ministry of Tourism, 2006).
4. Primary Montenegro attractions for European visitors (Source: Greg Ringer and the Montenegro Ministry of Tourism, 2006).



Figure 1. Montenegro and the Balkans (Source: Greg Ringer, 2006).

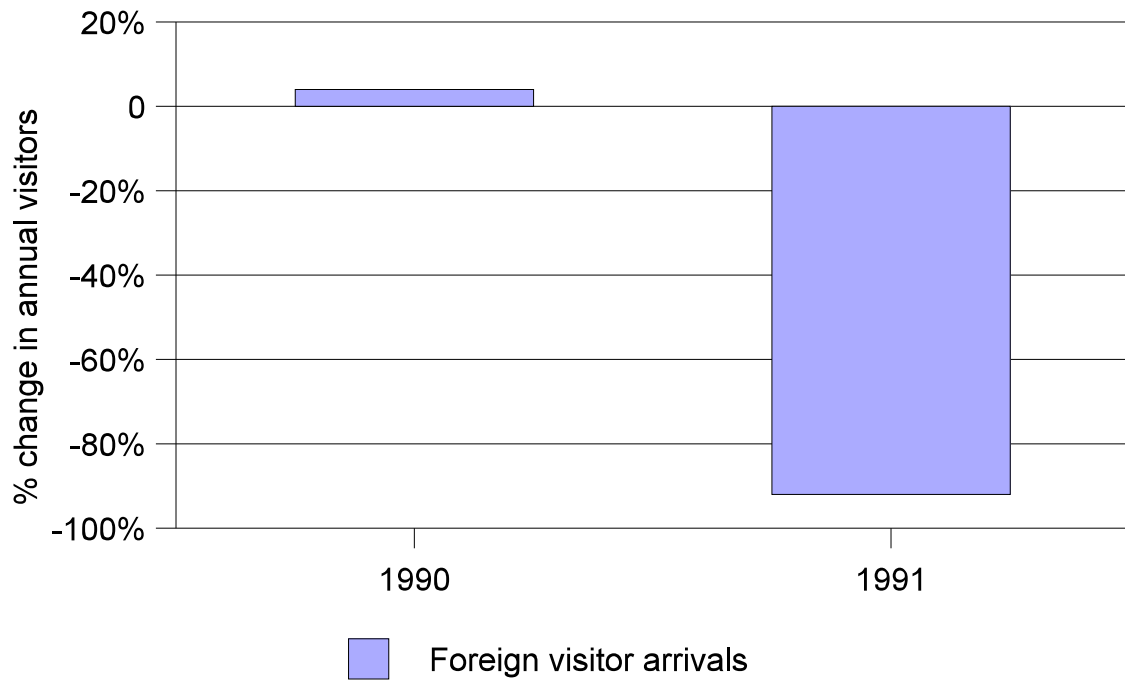


Figure 2. Civil war and Yugoslavia tourism, 1990 -1991 (Source: Montenegro Ministry of Tourism, 2006).



Figure 3. Current Montenegro tourism brand (Source: Montenegro Ministry of Tourism, 2006).

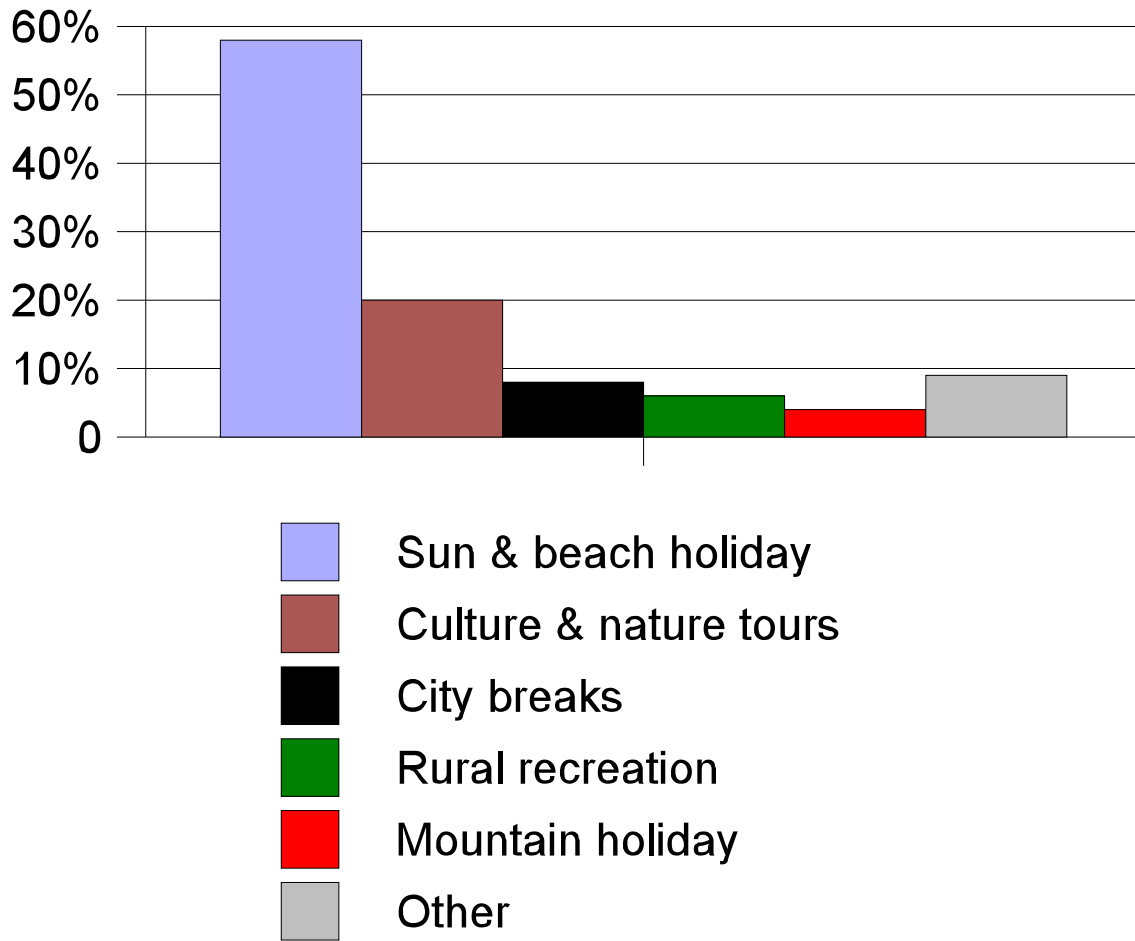


Figure 4. Primary Montenegro attractions for European visitors (Source: Greg Ringer and the Montenegro Ministry of Tourism, 2006).