INTERPRETING MEDIA CONTENT POST-CONFLICT: COMMUNICATIONS OF 'TRAVEL' AND 'BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA' IN U.S. NEWSPAPERS, 20 YEARS POST-DAYTON

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This study looks at the role the media plays in how a destination is communicated over time post-conflict – by considering how discourses longitudinally brand a destination. Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) was the centre of a violent conflict in the early 1990s. The war ended with the signing of the Dayton Agreement. Much of the conflict, and especially the siege of Sarajevo, was captured by the media. The representation of the Bosnian War established a negative imagination of the new country, resulting initially in a hesitancy to travel to a war-torn destination. This paper suggests place repression, fading memory and destination redefining as a framework to analyse media content and brand a post-conflict destination. In the years following the agreement, there was no discussion promoting travel to BiH. After 2000, travel was still advised against but the narrative began to change and promote the destination by discussing the past and present situation. Post--2000 content reduced significantly but stories promoting travel increased after 2003 with more extended narratives promoting travel and new opportunities for branding the destination.

Keywords: media, travel, destination brand, image, Bosnia and Herzegovina

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INTRODUCTION

War and conflict cast burdening images of fear about a place to viewers around the world, which disrupt the promotion of visitor attractions and also impact tourism infrastructures (Ashworth & Hartmann 2005). Negative associations also burden a destination when the destination marketers and managers try to develop a brand that will define a place. The media contributes to shaping and creating representations of places (Dittmer, 2010; Wise, 2011); however, these representations can change over time altering how places are imagined and consumed by outside audiences (Wise & Mulec, 2012). There has been much research outlining conceptualisations of destination image (e.g. Beerli & Martín, 2004; Baloglu & McCleary, 1999; Kim & Perdue, 2011; Lai & Li, 2015) and branding (Keller, 2003; Larsen, 2014; Morgan et al., 2010; Vitic & Ringer, 2007), but more research focusing on interpreting changing narratives and content longitudinally is necessary in post-conflict destinations. Such analyses can help direct new understandings of how places are consumed, which helps build place/destination brands.

Gover (2011, p. 227) argues that destination branding "should be about creating an overarching brand strategy or competitive identity that reflects a particular nation's, city's or region's history" (see also, Baker, 2012; Dinnie, 2015). With this, more research is needed to conduct focused longitudinal analyses in an attempt to recognise a place's history, unique identity or new developments. Therefore, the focus of this paper is to analyse how newspaper content focusing on travel and Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) changed over time – focusing specifically on content presented in newspapers from the United States (U.S.). This paper also contributes a framework for interpreting media content longitudinally. When the media content puts emphasis on something travel-related, or blends discussions of conflict and war into the travel narrative, this presents insight into how the media brands the destination.

In the early 1990s the media followed the war in Yugoslavia as the country split into independent states (see Rogel, 2004). Up to the Dayton Peace Accords, communications of Bosnia covered war, conflict and tragedy. This paper is concerned with how BiH has been communicated as a travel destination in the 20 years following the drafting of the Dayton Peace Accords. This paper seeks to understand: How long did it take until narratives of BiH changed to discuss leisurely travel opportunities? How is BiH communicated as a tourism destination? Is BiH regularly discussed in the shadow of conflict and tragedy, or is the discourse changing how we perceive

the destination? To answer these questions, this paper will first highlight longitudinally observations and content change from 1995–2015 in 29 newspapers and 176 articles analysed. As noted, the contribution of this paper is the framework for analysis, where longitudinal content can be analysed based on: 1. Place Repression; 2. Fading Memory; and 3. Destination Redefining.

DESTINATION BRANDING (MARKETING AND DEVELOPING PLACES)

Research on destination branding is well-established in the tourism marketing (e.g. Baker, 2012; Beritelli & Laesser, 2016; Kladou, Kavaratzis, Rigopoulou, & Salonika, 2016; Pawaskar & Goel, 2014) and destination development literature (e.g. Bassols, 2016; Dinnie, 2015; Zenker & Jacobsen, 2015). This paper is concerned with bringing these approaches together because branding a destination contributes to place marketing and promotion (Govers & Go, 2009; Kozak & Baloglu, 2011; Morgan, Pritchard, & Pride, 2010). Destination branding and destination image are two conceptually different areas of research, despite there being some clear links and associations (see Govers, 2011; Qu, Kim & Im, 2011). The notion of branding differs from image, because destination image is a situational condition that is important to assess when considering how a destination is perceived – and is important when considering communication, consumer demand and ability to attract visitors (Dwyer & Kim, 2003; Govers, 2011). Psychologically, brands and images are associations, framing associations with places, particular events or points in history (Bassols, 2016; Fakeye & Crompton, 1991; Frew, 2014; Kim & Perdue, 2011; Lai & Li, 2015; Morgan, Pritchard, & Pride, 2010; Wise & Mulec, 2012). Destination branding is tied to destination marketing and promotion, to inform the place/destination offer (Çakmak & Issac, 2012; Govers, Go, & Kumar, 2007; Khododadi, 2013; Kozak & Baloglu, 2011; Richards & Wilson, 2007). Similarly, corporations use branding to attract customers using recognizable logos. Destination branding therefore, according to Kladou et al. (2016), refers to naming or developing recognizable logos or taglines. Beritelli and Laesser (2016) add that particular logos can help detail particular experiences to help visitors identify a destination.

Destination images alternatively comprise of numerous components, including popular attractions, accessibility, facilities, infrastructure and price (Beerli & Martín, 2004; Larsen, 2014). Baloglu and McCleary (1999) note that establishing an image involves personal factors (i.e. values, age, particular mo-

tivations/interests) and stimulus factors (i.e. information sources, previous experiences), whereas branding is promoting 'consumption' factors (product, appeal, marketing). Factors offer working knowledge of who travels to particular destinations, and disseminated experiences encourage people to go out and create their own experiences (Camprubí, Guia, & Comas, 2013), and part of the appeal is promoted through branding. A destination's brand and associated experiences are promoted via a range of different discourses, including newspapers and television and the increasing presence of on-line sites and social media today (see Beritelli & Laesser, 2016; Govers, Zenker, & Jacobsen, 2015).

There exists research assessing negative place imaging and branding resulting from tragic events (e.g. Henderson, 2000; Vitic & Ringer, 2007; Volcic, Erjavec, & Peak, 2014; Winter, 2008; Wise, 2011; Wise & Mulec, 2012). While negative associations can limit a destination's development, this paper argues that media can create (new) place representations to establish positive affiliations moving beyond (previous) negative associations. This is commonly associated with 'dark tourism' destinations. Referring back to Beritelli and Laesser's (2016) point above about logos and experience, the tragedy of death and disaster that occurred in a place's past has led to visitors wanting to inquire about these dark or post-conflict histories (see, for example, Bassols, 2016; Krisjanous, 2016; Light, 2017). Branding the logo 'dark tourism' promotes a sense of intrigue, and reinforces how place marketing goes along with destination development, as noted above. This relates to Hennessey, Yun, MacDonald, and MacEachern (2010, pp. 218-219), who note, "given the ever-expanding number of tourism destinations and the increased supply of products and services, the competition for visitors is intense and bound to become more so in the future." This mentioned, while negative associations are thought to disadvantage a city, region or country, when appropriate destination branding techniques are applied accordingly to highlight (and brand) dark tourism, tragic and post-conflict destinations, this can increase place/destination appeal (Alsarayreh, Jawabreh, & Helalat, 2010; Ashworth & Hartmann, 2005). Bassols (2016) furthers this point highlighting that conflict-ridden destinations need more unique conceptual frameworks to help position current images that associate the past, but also position a contemporary destination brand (post-conflict).

Baloglu and McCleary (1999) note that affiliations with destinations are often assumed, despite people not experiencing a destination – specific to the focus of this article, which

interprets how branding can emerge through newspaper content. Wise (2011, p. 7) adds, "the media directs images of war--torn landscapes and a society of people attempting to restore order and rebuild to viewers around the world." Therefore, the media, then, becomes the intermediary helping generate (or promote) a destination's brand to outside audiences, helping force new narratives (especially important for post-conflict destinations). Different frameworks have been used by scholars to understand destinations following tragic events or war/conflict (see Bassols, 2016; Foote, 2003; Wise, 2011), and as this paper presents below, a three-fold conceptual framework offering new typologies for positioning and interpreting content longitudinally.

METHOD AND CONTENT

Qualitative content analyses attempt to seek meanings and determine conceptualisations to understanding of how places are represented through media narratives (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2002; Frew, 2014; Wise & Mulec, 2015). Newspaper content, when analysed longitudinally, communicates details of places in time, linked to associated events, conflicts or transitions (see Dittmer, 2010; Hennessey, Yun, MacDonald, & MacEachern, 2010; Wise & Mulec, 2012). Journalists report primary information, alongside personal (subjective) insight from site visits based on their encounters, observations or interviews. Hammett (2014) argues scripting (re)produces discourses that inform consumer decisions. Therefore, such texts (i.e. newspaper articles) represent important sources of information that create (or re-create) particular associations (Khododadi, 2013; Wise & Mulec, 2012, 2015), useful for interpreting place/destination brands. Discourse is about dispersion, and linking narratives and understanding across the content identified for the analysis. In this case, content was assessed longitudinally and coded based on transitions in the narrative presented and applied to a three-fold conceptual framework typology.

Texts are information sources that can act as intermediaries where researchers need to make valid interpretations based on the content and context (Lehtonen, 2000), based on how the analysed content might deter or promote travel (Baloglu & McCleary, 1999). Likewise, Hsieh, and Shannon (2005) describe that summative content analyses involve linking comparisons based on related content (by linking what is dispersed), and then grouping content based on an existing or proposed conceptual framework to interpret the underlying context. In this paper, expressions presented through newspapers shape

perceptions given the specific search parameters (discussed below) as part of the discourse of place (see Doel, 2016; Lehtonen, 2000; Wise & Mulec, 2015).

Data for this study were collected using LexisNexis Academic (which provides full source newspaper texts from the last 30 years). Since this paper is concerned with the 20 years following the Dayton Peace Accords (finalised at the Wright Airforce Base in Dayton, Ohio on 21 November 1995 and signed in Paris on 14 December 1995), the search for articles included the keywords for 'Bosnia' and 'Travel' and the date range for content was set from 21 November 1995 to 21 November 2015 (marking 20 years post-Dayton). The earliest article included appeared on 21 November 1995 and the most recent article appeared 9 September 2014, showing the last 14 months of the search dates yielding no content results based on the keyword search. An explanation for this is that a less detailed content appeared moving away from the Dayton agreement. In terms of narrowing the scope, this paper analyses only U.S. newspaper content, given the significance of the conference held for three weeks in Dayton, Ohio in November 1995 that led to the initialled agreement. To justify the search criteria, 'Travel' was used as a keyword because it suggests mobility and leisure, and discussions of travel can either deter or encourage visitation to a place. 29 different newspapers with a total of 176 articles appeared in the search results to conduct this study (see Appendix 1). Example content from all sources could not be presented in the analysis, in some instances because reporting was consistently unanimous, so only content that reinforces the three-fold typology and themes emerged is presented (as quotes).

ANALYSIS

The analysis is split into three sections each presenting a framework for interpretation supported with content (and context) from the newspapers. Table 1 presents the 20 years considered in this study, and summarises how the content fits the conceptual framework longitudinally, showcasing wider content and narrative shifts from 1995 to 2015. Each section offers a discussion of each framework followed by content and interpretations to reinforce each section.

Looking at the distribution of data, over half the content based on the search criteria appears from 1995–1997. There was a conceptual change based on wider narrative shifts post-2000. Data from 2000 to 2014 included discussions that linked to fading memory and destination redefining. Discussions of the past and BiH's tragic history remained a central part of narra-

↻ TABLE 1
Articles published each
year, key discussions
and interpretation
used in the analysis

tives until 2010. From 2011, especially, a post post-conflict phase emerged, and much of this content is interpreted as redefining BiH as a destination, based on the opening of new leisure travel opportunities.

Year	Articles	Discussion of BiH and Travel	% Content	Interpretation
1995	17	No discussion or promotion of travel to BiH,	52.8	Place Repression
1996	55	discussions of travel involved military and		
1997	21	diplomatic visits.		
1998	8	Early discussion of travel, clear travel international	11.4	Place Repression
1999	12	warnings observed.		
2000	5	Beginning to hear reports of opportunities to travel and	6.3	Place Repression
2001	2	the opening of BiH. Stories covering aid and assistance		& Fading Memory
2002	4	visits start to emerge in articles.		
2003	6	Beginning to see more articles promoting travel.	6.8	Fading Memory
2004	3	Focus on affordable travel for those interested in		
2005	3	visiting. BiH promoted as a new destination.		
2006	10	An emerging destination, discussions of niche forms	17	Fading Memory
2007	6	of tourism promoted. Continued focus on affordable		& Destination
2008	5	travel and increased connectivity to other destinations		Redefining
2009	5	in Europe. More emphasis on tours and detailed		
2010	4	travel information and promotion.		
2011	1	Post post-conflict phase. Discussions of a unique	5.7	Fading Memory
2012	1	destination. Proposed travel itineraries and travel-break		& Destination
2013	5	options. Very limited to no discussion of past negative		Redefining
2014	3	associations/conflict in BiH.		
2015	0	No results yielded based on the search criteria in the final year.		

Place Repression

Place repression refers to the prolonging of negative associations (i.e. tragic events) even after times of peace and signed agreements. During times of conflict it is difficult to identify a particular brand image, but the associations of the place are negative and travel to the destination is deterred. Therefore, repression deals with deterring something (i.e. travel). Kim and Perdue (2011) note cognitive affective perceptions are most prevalent concerning the appeal of a destination, and a place may not have much to offer if infrastructure and elements of heritage have been destroyed. While the articles included in this section suggest difficulty with forming or managing a brand based on associations linked to the negative images portrayed of BiH during this time, content focused solely on internal struggles and ongoing regional conflicts.

Referring back to Table 1 above, the first two years of content analysed in this study did not consider leisurely trav-

el to BiH as an option. In 1998, *USA Today* (23 January) listed BiH as a 'danger zone', and despite not elaborating too much on the negative connotations associated with 'danger', this would deter travel. Stories soon after still did not promote travel, but the narrative tones did change once reporters began entering BiH to report on the destination a few years after the conflict ended, but still clear travel warnings were made apparent, for instance:

> "The U.S. Embassy in Sarajevo advised Americans on Monday against unnecessary travel to Serb-ruled parts of Bosnia because 'the emotional tone of the political rhetoric' there is increasing" (*Saint Paul Pioneer Press*, 22 September 1998).

> "The American Embassy in Sarajevo warned Americans to avoid unnecessary travel in Serbian areas because of an operation supported by the Bosnian peacekeeping force" (*The New York Times*, 7 December 1999).

Such quotes disseminate fear, with such references observed regularly in articles from 1995–1999. Considering the timing of these articles, the destination would be branded as war-torn.

The Atlanta Journal and Constitution (15 June 1999) covered a story on refugees, noting: "Travel program gives refugees money to come to the United States." This story shows mobility at that current time was operating in one direction: from BiH to the U.S. While this story discussed the refugee crisis, other articles published in 1998 and 1999 covered the on-going regional conflicts in Kosovo and Serbia. There was little content in these articles about the previous war in BiH, but the continued association with war in the immediate region prolonged narratives of fear, with BiH often mentioned as a neighbouring state. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (18 December 1998) attempted to offer positive insight, but the narrative almost immediately referred back to uncertainty by describing BiH as a destination (still) in despair.

Referring back to Table 1, the vast majority of content before 2000 does not make reference to leisure-related travel. The timeliness of the conflict in BiH coming to an end meant that there was much to cover. How travel did appear in each of the articles was specific to military involvement and diplomatic visits. While this does narrate mobility to and from the region, what is portrayed in over half of the articles created a fearful discourse of a destination in dispute and struggling to cope in the years following war. Bassols (2016) outlined the importance of recognising the narrative of conflict and how a destination was consumed before building a destination brand. As memories of conflict begin to fade, destination marketers and managers can better frame the destination based on 'then

and now' (see Wise & Mulec, 2012) and then begin to forge a new destination brand.

Fading Memory

The concentration of newspaper articles greatly disperses after 2000. This is common because the media often focuses on negative accounts, so once the focus of attention is placed on other regions, the attention may begin to decay. This can have negative consequences on places attempting to emerge as destinations because they need the media to present the new (post-conflict) story, which does not always gain traction. This is observed based on the percentages of newspapers articles after 2000 in Table 1.

Communications of places through newspapers reinforces how we imagine a place, because negative associations deter travel (Alsarayreh, Jawabreh, & Helalat, 2010). For destinations, negative images can linger for some time and continue to deter people long after a conflict or tragic event (Wise & Mulec, 2012). Therefore, it can be argued that media discourses and content, based on the nature of the narrative, acts to market associations based on how it is communicated, thus contributing to the fading of negative memories and associations. In this case, information provided in the travel section of *The Washington Post* (16 June 2002) was one of the first articles providing details on inquiring about travel to BiH. Another article then brought BiH into new perspective: "In the 10 years since the signing of the Dayton Accords, Bosnia has achieved an imperfect peace" (*The Providence Journal*, 21 December 2005). Fading memory considers how representations of conflict are consumed by readers, framing transitions that both reflect on the past and offer nascent perspective. The notion of fading memory was adopted from Wise (2011), and supports observations in this study. Fading memory requires some time for conflict-ridden destinations to recover and the media plays a significant role in this process. Post-conflict, the media has the power to construct new images of destinations and create a new brand (see Alsarayreh, Jawabreh, & Helalat, 2010; Wise & Mulec, 2012) as negative memories begin to fade. There was no specific point in the data that suggested a clear transition point that led to the remaking of BiH's image, but there was a lot of content that started to fade immediate memories of conflict and began focusing on the opening of BiH as a travel destination, but the legacy of conflict does continue to maintain this association. In such cases, negative images presented during and in the years following conflict needed clear divisibility alongside more positive representations describing what appears to be a new place with new destination narratives. Sup-

porting this, *USA Today* (29 October 2004) covered a story about Bradt Travel Guides and writing six new titles to promote travel to the former-Yugoslavia.

By shifting narratives and discussions that (clearly) present the past and the present, negative associations begin to fade in the discourse. For instance, a headline in the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* (29 August 2004) headlines: "Sarajevo rises from the ashes of war and welcomes tourists." Numerous newspapers offered narratives discussing negative associations of conflict and tragedy, but offered new insight on current situations, promoting a new opening of a destination:

> "Bosnia as an outdoor travel destination remains off the radar to many travelers outside Europe. British companies have been leading trips to the country for a few years, but most Americans still think of Bosnia as a war-torn place; during the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the multicultural city of Sarajevo was the site of an infamous siege that left it in ruins" (*The New York Times*, 20 April 2008).

> "Sarajevo was a living, disfigured monument to war. Men hobbled on one leg. Women walked with canes. No area seemed untouched. A memorial plaque and bouquet of flowers were mounted outside an upscale clothing store. I was stunned that burial spots were crammed everywhere in the city – underneath apartment balconies, across from bakeries, next to plots of farm land" (*The Orange County Register*, 12 April 2009).

> "In 1992, Bosnia-Herzegovina's capital went from a beacon of diversity to the site of a nearly four-year siege claiming more than 11,000 lives. But much has changed over the last decade or so. The creative spirit that Sarajevans fought to preserve is very much in evidence these days. Neighborhoods, cradled in this valley and ringing the foothills, are fertile entrepreneurial grounds and a testament to the epochs that came before. Cafes, theaters, boutiques and restaurants have sprouted among buildings in myriad styles, including Ottoman, Secessionist, Communist and modern. And locals and visitors alike are rediscovering the surrounding mountains on the slopes that hosted the 1984 Winter Olympic Games" (*The New York Times*, 13 October 2013).

Numerous newspapers presented narratives positioning past and present, with some presenting captivating headlines to intrigue readers. It is important that negative discussions of war, conflict and atrocities are clearly stated as 'over.' As observed, many journalists will create a new narrative to show the present situation, and then speak about the past to distinguish negative connotations. Negative associations of the past as a form of fading war/conflict from the discourse to emphasise more positive associations was observed:

"Highlights in Sarajevo include its mosques, churches, cathedrals and the Bascarsija bazaar. In Mostar, the Old Bridge, or Stari Most (above), which spans the Neretva River, is worth a visit; it was destroyed during the civil war and later rebuilt" (*The New York Times*, 27 February 2011).

Other sources offered more detailed narratives (through a journalist's experience) by offering unknown insight about BiH in order to inform potential travellers, as observed in *The Orange County Register* (12 April 2009):

"Scar tours; its war wounds scarcely healed, Bosnia offers a sobering yet little explored corner of Europe […] My sister and I were in Budapest and decided to take the train through Bosnia-Herzegovina to arrive in Dubrovnik. The only problem was that none of our travel books included the once war-torn nation."

Because BiH was not viewed as a (leisure) travel destination in the years following the peace agreement, a number of newspapers focused on international assistance trips or themed visits (e.g. singing camp):

"Maine to Bosnia: Kids helping kids; toys and clothes collected by Falmouth High students brighten some orphans' lives" (*Portland Press Herald*, 25 December 2000).

"A team of U.S. volunteers is headed to Bosnia to participate in a 3-year-old program that offers art therapy to children scarred by war" (*The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 14 August 2002).

"Every year, a group of dedicated Americans travels to offer help–and hope–to schoolchildren in Bosnia. […] Participants teach peace-making skills and provide music therapy and diversity training to children of all ethnic backgrounds" (*The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 16 March 2009).

Such stories promote interest in BiH by showcasing particular (volunteer) travel motives to generate exposure, showing people are not reluctant to travel. Such narratives represent fading memory because they alter the ordinary discourse. Beyond focusing solely on assistance and aid, journalists present journeys depicting a recovering and welcoming destination.

Destination Redefining

Once a destination has been redefined based on how it is presented in the media, the destination can begin to build a new brand that future tourists can then create an association with (Henderson, 2000; Vitic & Ringer, 2007; Volcic, Erjavec, & Peak, 2014; Winter, 2008). When developing a destination brand in this case, some may speak about how other places have built

brands around post-conflict or dark tourism. However, the content analysed put emphasis on the present and future (at the time the article was published), which is important when redefining how a place is communicated. Highlighting "the contemporary art scene in Sarajevo" (*The New York Times*, 7 March 2010) and "enticing Western travelers with a promising mix of history, beauty and culture" (*The New York Times*, 8 September 2013) helps reinforce new understandings of a place many would not have considered. A particular focus helps promote new experiences portraying (new) stimulus factors (see Baloglu & McCleary, 1999). When discussions/memories of war are removed from the content, this changes the discourse, attempting to redefine a destination. Those who remember conflict and tragedy will remember the impact such events had on a destination. Arguably, those who are well-aware of negative events may rely more on fading memories as communicated by the media if they are to choose a destination. Destination redefining is a conceptual re-imagining of a place long after the negative events. Time is sometimes said to heal negative associations, replacing them with new associations. For younger generations and new travellers, destination redefining is a way to promote a place as it is today, and does not stress past conflict any longer because a younger generation of travellers might not automatically associate past negative memories. Wise (2011) discussed replacing memory in a previous study, but this perspective is limited because narratives remain and continue to redefine a destination.

The most recent article included in this analysis puts the re-imaging of BiH as a destination into perspective:

> "Despite the Bosnian capital's unsteady past, international tourism arrivals have tripled since 2004. […] see what makes Sarajevo a cultural crossroads and find out what makes the birthplace of World War I a popular vacation destination" (*Dayton Daily News*, 9 September 2014).

However, a 2006 article was the first to put new emphasis on destination BiH. The *Contra Costa Times* (17 September 2006) stated:

> "Scarred Bosnia heals into radiant city; […] Bosnia-Herzegovina has now become a genuine tourist destination, attracting the more intrepid traveler interested in outdoor activities and a mix of religions and nationalities that is simultaneously both Bosnia's nemesis and greatest treasure. And Sarajevo, the country's capital, is the epitome of this mix. […] In between, the scars of the recent war, the pock-marked buildings and 'Sarajevo roses' – the marks made on pavements by fallen grenades, filled with red wax in places where the victim count was especially high – recall the horrific three-year siege of the city. But look around

the lovely old Bascarsija bazaar, where souvenir copper coffeepots glitter in the sun and old men sit in nooks smoking and drinking steaming Turkish coffee, or walk down the busy, commercial Ferhadija Street, and you'll see that Sarajevo has moved on from the dark days of war and that visitors coming to this off-the-beaten-track destination can enjoy a great experience."

This quote shows the destination narrative moving beyond fading memory to becoming redefined, promoting new interest in BiH ten years following the peace agreement. Experience increasingly becomes the core component of such narratives, helping prospective travellers make a psychological connection based on a journalist's or travel writer's positive encounters/experiences. The quote from the *Dayton Daily News* makes reference to World War I opposed to tragedies of the early 1990s, representing a selective history. World War I is part of a wider historical narrative, now with 100 years of significant world history from 2014. The *San Jose Mercury News* (24 January 2010) added perspective and a photograph showing travellers in Mostar, BiH: "Rosemary and Sam Cipoletti of San Jose rest in front of the recently restored 16th-century Old Bridge in the city of Mostar, while touring the Adriatic Coast of the former Yugoslavia." A photograph was used to capture a couple in BiH and the use of 'restored' is open to interpretation to imply historical, but the emphasis was on a popular visitor attraction.

With conflict a distant memory, redefining BiH has come through highlighting the country as a new (global) destination:

"Top 10. Europe's Best Bargains. The most affordable European cities, from SmarterTravel.com: 9. Sarajevo, Bosnia" (*Daily News*, 30 April 2006).

"What's the next hot travel spot […] Sarajevo and Mostar in Bosnia" (*Contra Costa Times*, 5 June 2009).

"Lonely Planet's Best in Travel 2010" included BiH (*Star-News*, 3 January 2010).

"Frommers.com […] 14 global destinations that it considers the best places to visit this year" (*Richmond Times Dispatch*, 22 February 2014).

Most articles only vaguely referred to BiH – now with no or very minimal detail. Mentioning BiH as a top future destination promotes a sense of exploration and represents a point of promotion for younger travellers who may not have an immediate memory of past conflict. Moreover, simply noting BiH encourages people to look the destination up to read recent reviews or look at travel options or itineraries.

Another technique used was to promote the mobile accessibility and cheap prices upon arrival:

"Here are some things to know if you plan to visit Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina. Getting there: (list of airlines) have service to Sarajevo from various European cities. Visas are not required for U.S. citizens traveling to Bosnia for up to 90 days. […] Jahorina is also a 45-minute drive from Sarajevo. A ski pass is about $16" (*Richmond Times Dispatch*, 12 February 2006).

"... connecting flights from Washington Dulles to Sarajevo. The scenic train ride from Sarajevo to Mostar takes about three hours and costs roughly $6.50 one way" (*The Washington Post*, 17 March 2013).

Mobility and accessibility are crucial, and with airlines advertising (one-stop) connections, this now puts a destination once not considered within reach. A number of articles written after 2006 began offering travel recommendations, itineraries and more specific details. In 2003, stories began to discuss BiH as an affordable destination, but 2006 is the noticeable transition point in newspaper content, with redefined narratives emerging.

A final point worth noting in this section presents content from two newspapers that focused on pressing issues and nascent consumer demands for environmentally conscious tourism agendas. Eco-tourism and environmental protection creates a particular brand, but such was not consistent – only mentioned in a few newspapers, but within extended narratives:

"Bosnia-Herzegovina is pioneering an eco-tourism development plan in Central Europe with "green adventures" that promote environmental principles and support local businesses" (*The New York Times*, 22 January 2006).

"On the official Bosnia and Herzegovina tourism web site there is a section devoted to 'Eco-Adventure,' touting hiking, white-water rafting, mountain biking and fly-fishing as among the country's top attractions. […] Green Visions, a Sarajevo-based tourism and environmental protection company, began leading day trips into the mountains on the outskirts of the city. It proposed a long-term plan for environmentally responsible tourism development in Bosnia, since eco-tourism, its founders say, is one of the best ways to protect natural resources and aid local communities in the process." (*The New York Times*, 20 April 2008).

Wider narrative presented further discussion of environmental issues and preservation. However, these articles were written in 2006 and 2008, and once the narrative began to shift from negative to positive, new associations of BiH were created, seen as attempts to brand the destination as an environmental or natural destination. This will assist with attracting nature enthusiasts and the environmentally conscious trav-

eller, but it also shows the direction the destination is taking. Future directions require the development of a particular brand as the destination continues to develop, and eco-tourism is a form of niche tourism that may help define the destination from neighbouring countries. A focus on dark tourism or post-conflict tourism did not arise in the newspapers; while this is considered by a number of destinations to educate tourists about a tragic past, the natural features of BiH's landscapes with a focus on the future surpassed negative associations of war and conflict.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

As the *Contra Costa Times* (17 September 2006) noted "the past may have been a hard one, but you have to pick up the pieces, brush the dust off and move into a better future." Past associations change when new place narratives transition. Analysing media content over extended periods of time can result in several challenges and limitations. Foremost, when initially searching for content, several thousand results for 'Bosnia' appeared with very little focus on travel. By including 'travel' as a keyword this helped narrow the amount of content and helped frame the focus. The vast majority of articles included above spoke very little of leisurely travel to BiH, instead, the use of travel acted as a deterrent or to discuss mobility of diplomats and military personnel as noted in the place repression section of the analysis. Only 41 of the articles analysed spoke of leisurely travel or mobility that was not specific to diplomatic or military involvement. While articles discussing leisure-related travel were not published often, in early 1998 all non-essential travel was suggested against, by late 1999 early stories offering narratives of life and opportunities in BiH began to emerge. Half the articles written after 2000 included some discussion of travel; however, post-2000 articles only represented just over one-third of the yielded results. This shows that the focus on the destination was much more concerned with deterring visitation in the years following the conflict and peace agreement. As U.S. involvement in BiH began to lessen, we see the focus on travel and BiH also begin to lessen, with post-2000 content being very sporadic. Although the content was sporadic, the qualitative approach to interpreting data in this study, along with the framework used, supported conceptual critical interpretations allowing for themes to be positioned based on transitioning content in the newspaper data.

In analysing content in articles under the search result Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) and travel, many of the articles did not focus on leisurely consumer related travel – with

most sources stressing impact of war following the peace agreement. This puts the focus on the country, and how it has overcome its tragic past opposed to how BiH is presented based on travel in/to/from BiH. This should allow destination marketers and managers an opportunity to reflect on the past and the points of transition that are presented in this paper when identifying a particular brand for the future, and how to promote and brand the destination of BiH to the U.S. audience, marketers and managers; or they could build on more recent developments outlined in the 'destination redefining' section.

The three-fold conceptual framework presented in this paper can be applied to other destinations that have tragic pasts. The typology presents a longitudinal framework for identifying time of transition and how media narratives reflected differently on experiences and associations with a destination. Concerning destination branding, those who manage the promotion and development of places, can recognise these shifts and seek to brand their destination accordingly to both embrace a place's history and create a nascent appeal by associating the destination with particular naming or tagline techniques. Future research will use the framework outlined in this study to look at a much wider range of content. For this study, newspaper content was deemed most useful because online content and especially social media content was limited or in its infancy across the entire 20-year timeframe considered in this paper. Future work will focus on the role of social media and user-generated content, as it is expected that fading memory and destination redefining will be much more apparent as BiH further emerges as a destination. Those who produce more recent content are interested in educating people about a place's recent history but often put more emphasis on new opportunities or affordable travel. This framework is useful to consider when assessing different destinations that have been through recent conflict or conflicts that ended decades ago.

APPENDIX 1

Newspaper titles and number of articles yielded from search results

Newspaper	Articles	Years Published
The New York Times	45	1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2006, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2013
The Washington Post	27	1995, 1996, 1997, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2006, 2013
The Atlanta Journal-Constitution	16	1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2002
USA Today	15	1995, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2002, 2003, 2004
St. Louis Post-Dispatch	14	1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 2002, 2013

Newspaper	Articles	Years Published
San Jose Mercury News	8	1995, 1996, 1997, 1999, 2006, 2010
Contra Costa Times	5	2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010
The Philadelphia Inquirer	5	1996, 1997, 2009
Tampa Bay Times	5	1995, 1996, 1997
Daily News (New York)	4	1995, 1996, 1998, 2006
St. Paul Pioneer Press	4	1998, 2003
The Bismarck Tribune	3	1995, 1996
Dayton Daily News	3	2008, 2012, 2014
Portland Press Herald	3	1996, 1997, 2000
Brattleboro Reformer (Vermont)	2	2007
Providence Journal	2	2005, 2007
Richmond Times Dispatch	2	2014, 2006
Star-News (Wilmington, NC)	2	1997, 2010
The Capital Times (Madison, WI)	1	2007
Chicago Daily Herald	1	2004
The Denver Post	1	1996
News-Journal (Daytona Beach, FL)	1	2005
The Orange County Register	1	2009
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette	1	2004
Star Tribune (Minneapolis, MN)	1	2009
Telegram and Gazette	1	1999
Topeka Capital-Journal	1	2005
Tulsa World (Oklahoma)	1	2014
Wisconsin State Journal	1	2007
Total over 20 Years	176	

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Tumačenje medijskoga sadržaja nakon ratnih sukoba: priopćavanja o "putovanju" i "Bosni i Hercegovini" u američkim novinama 20 godina nakon Daytona

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Ovaj rad bavi se važnom ulogom medija u priopćavanju o nekom odredištu nakon ratnih sukoba – razmatrajući kako razni diskursi dugoročno brendiraju to odredište. Bosna i Hercegovina (BiH) bila je središte oružanoga sukoba na početku 1990-ih godina tijekom raspada bivše Jugoslavije, a bosanski rat završio je potpisivanjem Daytonskoga sporazuma u Parizu. Velik dio sukoba, posebno opsadu Sarajeva, pratili su mediji, čiji su novinari prenosili tada aktualno stanje zainteresiranima širom svijeta. Izvještavanje o bosanskom ratu stvorilo je negativnu sliku nove države, što je u početku odvraćalo ljude od putovanja u ratom pogođeno područje. Represija mjesta, nestanak sjećanja i redefiniranje odredišta predlažu se u radu kao okvir za analizu medijskoga sadržaja i brendiranje odredišta nakon

sukoba. Nakon sporazuma nije bilo razgovora o promicanju putovanja u BiH. Ni nakon 2000. putovati još nije bilo preporučljivo, ali se naracija počela mijenjati i tekstovi su postupno sve više promicali to područje, uspoređujući prošlo stanje s novijim stanjem. Nakon 2000. godine znatno je manje sadržaja na tu temu, ali je nakon 2003. godine tekstova koji promiču putovanja sve više, a priče su im opsežnije i nude nove mogućnosti brendiranja odredišta.

Ključne riječi: mediji, putovanje, brendiranje odredišta, slika, Bosna i Hercegovina