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SUSTAINABLE TOURISM: THE CASE OF CROATIA

THE ROLE OF RESORT MORPHOLOGY

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Sustainable Tourism: The case of Croatia

The Role of Resort Morphology

ABSTRACT

The trickle-down effect of the tourism industry is by no means an automatic process in terms of generating development, not to say–sustainable development. Hence, the main research question this project seeks to answer is: What does sustainable tourism mean with regard to the three classic dimensions of sustainability (social, economic, and environmental)? And, as corollaries: What are the consequences of non-sustainable tourism? And what role does tourism infrastructure play in supporting more sustainable tourism development?

The thesis will deal with these questions by examining the case of tourism development in Dalmatia a region in Croatia, formerly part of Yugoslavia, with special attention paid to the evolution of the open type tourism resort which is specific for the region in question. The study will utilize spatial statistics to test the hypothesis that touristic infrastructure (the spatial models) can help mediate the host-tourist conflicts by imposing a specific order with the physical form. The study of spatial hierarchy could give additional insight into why certain policy outcomes are enabled or restricted in performing efficiently and with respect to conflicting groups of actors. In order to gather empirical evidence on the role played by spatial models in supporting (or not) an equitable and sustainable tourism development of communities over time, a two-phase sequential mixed methods study is carried out on the case of tourism development in former Yugoslavia in comparison to Croatia. The findings of the study will offer guidelines to help enforce a more embedded community-based practice by enhancing local wealth, social cohesion while promoting environmental justice by proposing a normative model of tourism planning, which requires cooperation between all stakeholders in the tourism industry—various administrative levels of government, non-governmental agencies, and public and private sectors.

L'effetto a cascata dell'industria del turismo non è affatto un processo automatico in termini di generazione di sviluppo, per non dire sviluppo sostenibile. Quindi, la principale domanda cui questo progetto cerca di rispondere è: che cosa significa turismo sostenibile in relazione alle tre dimensioni classiche della sostenibilità (sociale, economica e ambientale)? E, come corollari: quali sono le conseguenze del turismo non sostenibile? E quale ruolo svolgono le infrastrutture turistiche nel sostenere uno sviluppo turistico più sostenibile?

La tesi affronterà lo studio dello sviluppo turistico in Croazia e nella regione Dalmazia, in origine parte della Jugoslavia, con particolare attenzione all'evoluzione della località turistica di tipo aperto che è caratteristica della regione in questione. Per lo studio verranno impiegate statistiche spaziali per verificare l'ipotesi che le infrastrutture turistiche (i modelli spaziali) possano favorire la mediazione tra albergatore e turista imponendo un ordine specifico attraverso la morfologia fisica. Lo studio della gerarchia spaziale potrebbe fornire ulteriori informazioni sul perché determinati risultati delle politiche siano limitati nell'esecuzione efficiente e nel rispetto di gruppi di attori in conflitto. Al fine di raccogliere prove empiriche sul ruolo svolto dai modelli spaziali nel sostenere (o meno) uno sviluppo turistico equo e sostenibile delle comunità nel tempo, viene condotto uno studio sequenziale a due fasi su metodi misti sul caso dello sviluppo turistico nell'ex Jugoslavia rispetto alla Croazia. I risultati dello studio offriranno linee guida per aiutare a far rispettare una pratica basata sulla comunità più integrata migliorando la ricchezza locale, la coesione sociale promuovendo al contempo la giustizia ambientale proponendo un modello normativo di pianificazione turistica, che richiede cooperazione tra tutte le parti interessate nel settore turistico - vari livelli amministrativi di governo, agenzie non governative e settori pubblici e private.

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Finally, I would like to dedicate this doctoral thesis to my younger self: You did it.

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INTRODUCTION

The trickle-down effect of the tourism industry is by no means an automatic process in terms of generating development, not to say–sustainable development. Hence, the main research questions this project seeks to answer is: What does sustainable tourism mean with regard to the three classic dimensions of sustainability (social, economic and environmental)? What are the consequences of non-sustainable tourism? And what role does tourism infrastructure play in supporting more sustainable tourism development? (to solve this problem, I turned to 3 questions without presupposed hierarchy.)

The thesis will deal with these questions by examining the case of tourism development in Dalmatia a region in Croatia, formerly part of Yugoslavia, with special attention paid to the evolution of the open type tourism resort which is specific for the region in question. The reason for focusing on Dalmatia is the specific context within which the tourist sector was initially shaped and the different context within which it continues to develop today. The change of the state regime and the new socio-political and politico-institutional context played an important role in the perception and instrumentalization of the tourist industry, which at the time of Yugoslavia focused on developing the underdeveloped region of Dalmatia, unlike today where the main role of tourism is to boost the national GDP with little attention for the betterment of coastal settlements.

Small traditional settlements occupy an important part in European history as territories with cultural and social institutions, which underscores their importance in continued research in territorial regeneration and resilience. Many of these settlements are facing decline, and those situated in peripheral regions even more so. They face social and cultural challenges due to a continuous loss of inhabitants and in-migration which introduces new social habits often in conflict with the indigenous. Furthermore, economical and functional challenges, such as closing down local production industries and branch-plants, lead to redundancy and deterioration of large parts of the built environment. The rise of service industries (Martinelli, 1991) and coupled with a lack of investment in renewal processes directed at other industries steered the attention of state and private actors to capital inflows generated by the tourism industry.

The growing interest in the tourism sector is not unexpected considering current global trends. The latest available data from United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, 2017) shows the business volume of tourism as equal or even surpassing that of oil exports, food products or automobiles. Consequently, interest in utilizing tourism as a tool for economic and urban development has grown dramatically. The premise that tourism can deliver socio-economic progress in developing areas, peripheral regions, and small islands has also been promoted by world organizations, such as UNWTO and the World Bank (Perrottet and Garcia, 2016). In addition, the literature on spatial development resonates the idea of tourism as a developmental force by focusing on development spillovers from globalization dynamics (Read, 2004).

For the greater part of the 20th century, the predominant regime under which tourism demand and supply evolved was a Fordist/Keynesian model of production and consumption. This delivered some characteristic forms of tourism development based on mass consumption and a marked greatly defined by the producer rather than the consumer (Ioannides and Debbage, 1997). Since the 1980s the Fordist/Keynesian model has gradually yielded its power to a new more flexible and diversified pattern of production making use of JIT (just-in-time) and zero stock principles, economies of scope, new information technologies and cheaper transportation options. This model is commonly referred to as post-Fordist model (Moulaert et al., 1988; Milne and Ateljevic, 2001). But despite this new shift in the market structure of the economy, economic growth and mass production remain the key criteria of 'development', not the least so in tourism. In the process of destination branding and marketing, the emphasis is placed on volume rather than the value each visitor represents to the local economy. The net result is that places are often victims of their own success. And while tourism's beneficial impact on the fostering country's national economic growth and the developmental force tourism generates is undeniable (Schubert et al., 2011; Richards, 2001), a large-scale influx of visitors presents a destabilizing factor in a socio-economic and environmental sense for the destination itself. Tourists tend to arrive in increasing numbers and flock to the same locations. This results in overcrowding, cultural homogenization and commodification, increased pressure on public services and infrastructure, and growing dissatisfaction from local residents.

This form of non-sustainable tourism development can ultimately result in uneven growth and development patterns causing the dispersal of the local population and subsequently affect endogenous social, economic and cultural development (Hadjimichalis, 1987). If no control mechanism is established, with regard to the carrying capacity, the ripple effect can result in

what is known as the ‘tourism paradox’, by which, simply put, the tourism industry destroys natural and cultural assets that constitute the very tourism product upon which the tourism industry is based. And while research on cultural and social aspects has fallen short in comparison to environmental and economic aspects (Parra and Moulaert, 2010), social sustainability has recently gained momentum as historic cities have begun to rebel against the uncontrollable inflow of visitors. Thus, the question arises: how do we work towards large scale neo-Fordist tourism? And, importantly, how should we analyze the sustainability of tourism today?

Since the potential of the tourism industry is conditioned by the quality of the tourist product use value, as seen in the works of Burkhart and Medilk (1974), Mitchell (1979), Sinclair (1998) and Smith (1994), the destinations are under pressure to make themselves more appealing to a general audience (Batta, 2000). This often includes boosting hitherto established stereotypies about the destination in question resulting in almost exclusively, negative outcomes. Common to those destinations with valuable historical and cultural heritage is the tendency to preserve a site as a ‘picture postcard’ or through Unescofication, unintentionally inducing urbanocide by stopping all vital functions of an urban system which in turn results into ghost towns offseason. An additional phenomenon associated with providing a fictional and nostalgic identity to public spaces is known as Disneyfication of space (Ferrell, 2001). The effect of this specialization in economic activity is the 'dequalification' of the labor force which prevents people from developing other skills and which makes it harder for any other industry to take off. This phenomenon, also known as the ‘Beach Disease’ (Holzner, 2011), can result is lower quality human capital, as more people will get a formal education in professions with a lesser added value.

Tourism can be seen as ‘extractive’ industry– a capitalist practice aimed at sustaining itself, it often fights for the same resources as the community which results in a conflict of interest between the industry as it is developing now and the local communities that seek more sustainable development. In recent years, as a remedy offered to mitigate these problems, new forms of sustainable tourism have been presented through various public policies and with support from the WTO, the World Bank, and the UN. But their success has yet to be established.

The aim of the project is to explore the potential of the tourism industry in triggering sustainable community development in small coastal towns. Through literature analysis, data research, case

studies of tourism models and their manifestation in space (their typology) in Dalmatia, Croatia. The findings will be useful in formulating a conceptual framework and innovative strategies for the development of sustainable and alternative tourism models.

This PhD thesis will therefore firstly (Chapter 1) provide a literature review of development theories, tourism development, and sustainable development. It will thereafter reflect on the theoretical contradictions of the traditional conceptualization of the notion of development and sustainable tourism development with regards to the three categories of sustainability (economic, social and environmental), and elaborate how this theoretical discrepancy facilitates the conflict in destination areas. To illustrate this issue interesting cases will be provided from tourist destinations currently under pressure from tourism. Chapter 2 will provide a historical overview of tourism morphology and highlight the gap in knowledge of the role spatial models play in mitigating the conflict between the tourists and locals.

Subsequently, the study will shift the focus onto the case of Dalmatia. A historical analysis of tourism development in Dalmatia will be conducted. In Chapter 3 the study will show what role spatial models play and how they were instrumentalized in different state regime periods through a mixed-method approach and an embedded quantitative analysis conducted through GIS which will be presented in Chapter 4. Till today the role of physical models in promoting spatial justice and equitable spatial development has been neglected in the literature on tourism development. This gap in knowledge prevents us from fully understanding the impact the tourism industry has on the physical space that surrounds us and promotes further privatization of public spaces. The study will utilize spatial statistics to test the hypothesis that touristic infrastructure (the spatial models) can help mediate the host-tourist conflicts by imposing a specific order with the physical form. The study of spatial hierarchy could give additional insight into why certain policy outcomes are enabled or restricted in performing efficiently and with respect to conflicting groups of actors. In order to gather empirical evidence on the role played by spatial models in supporting (or not) an equitable and sustainable tourism development of communities over time, a two-phase sequential mixed methods study is carried out on the case of tourism development in former Yugoslavia in comparison to Croatia. The first phase implies a literature review, archival research and data mapping. This qualitative exploration will focus on institutional analysis of tourism developments from Yugoslavia and the concept of open type resorts at the case study level, from the policy standpoint; accordingly, by analyzing regulation policies, and strategic and development plans. The role of tourism in these developments will be prioritized. Additionally, an anthropologic and ethnographic study

will be conducted by interviewing privileged witnesses and actors, respectively. The reason for exploring actors' opinions and experience of tourism relies on the need to reveal the scale and level of adaptation to the specific context in the design and implementation phase of the tourism development in destination areas. Findings from the first phase are explored still further in a second quantitative phase which will put to the test the previously stated hypothesis on the role of the spatial models. The extent of the quantitative phase will be to utilize a GIS analysis to understand the connections between public and private space and how these connections have been influenced by tourism development. Hence, a set of measurable indicators are defined in order to evaluate the achievements of the tourism development strategies against integration criteria, as this allows the key practice outcomes to be measured. In this regard, the theory of spatial syntax (Hillier, 1996) and mapping of spatial statistics provides a significant contribution of indicators as a means of measuring the performance of the tourism-led development practice, by going beyond mere economic signals and capturing a fuller sense of spatial democracy and sustainability. It is argued that architectural decisions about built form and spatial organization can have social consequences and skew the outcome of public policies. The Space syntax theory emerged from a need to create a way to describe, relate, and compare the differences between spatial patterns and generate descriptions of architectural and urban space in a way which is internally derived, rather than externally imposed avoiding the tradition of describing cities utilizing simplified concepts drawn from natural language. As criticized by Christopher Alexander (1965), these traditionally utilized linguistic concepts empathized with regular geometries, clear hierarchies, and differentiation of parts from wholes, failing to depict the less than orderly complexity of cities. Hence, a theory was formed with an attempt to overcome the problem of naïve descriptions of the city by arriving at descriptions without, or with minimum dependence on language. The theory of space syntax, based on the book The Social Logic of Space (Hillier, 1984) and Space is the machine (Hillier, 2007), puts forward a key concept: 'spatial configuration', referring to the relations which take into account other relations in a complex system.

By giving form to our material world, architecture structures the systems of space in which we move and live, thereby, providing the preconditions for patterns of movement, and potential for encounter or avoidance– which shape social relations. This perception of space and the role it plays in structuring social life laid out the foundation for the development of a theory that views space as fundamentally configurational and presents space in graphic form to facilitate the reading of spatial qualities.

Space syntax brings to light urban forms as a foreground network of linked centers at all scales set into a background network of mixed-use space, and which seems to already be created by the interaction of social and economic factors, spatially distributed in a way which minimizes the level of energy required for movement through the creation of what is recognized in space syntax theory as general accessibility, that is, the accessibility of all points in any given urban system to and from all other points.

An approach based on the space syntax theory reveals key statistics of space syntax measures uncovering the universality of the city creation mechanism. In other words, it visualizes certain spatial patterns that have been shown to have a high level of integration, which is one way to calculate accessibility. This is important because space syntax studies have shown a consistent correlation between integration and pedestrian movement (Jiang, Claramunt and Klarqvist, 2000). This has an interesting scientific implication: if the street pattern plays a role in generating movement, then perhaps there is a possibility to design urban space in a way that supports social and economic sustainability.

As previously stated, space syntax offers a different perspective of space. From an analytical point of view, it is based on a graph-oriented representation of geographical space that models the open space of an urban system. The implementation of analytical space syntax tools into GIS results in an analytical model that facilitates a morphological analysis. By focusing on a geographical area of a small coastal town, Bol, located on the island of Brač, the thesis provides a comparative analysis of several morphologically different types of resorts located in that coastal town. In order to conduct the morphological analysis, a range of spatial property parameters derived from the connectivity map is applied: total depth, movement choice and metric step (distance). The thesis will show that the morphology of the open type resort is comparatively more integrated in a visual setting and offers higher movement choice. These results coupled with the qualitative study, most importantly the anthropologic and ethnographic portion of the study, reaffirm the quality of the structurally dense model of the open type resort with its complex network of open spaces and passages, as a more sustainable model which promotes spatial democracy. Almost all open type resort projects discussed in the thesis display spaces grading from public to semipublic, from semiprivate to private. Considering the fact that the resort areas were neither separated nor isolated, as is the case of almost all hotel resorts of today, they were also not erased from the collective memory of public space. When beach resorts appropriate land, the social interaction between the domicile population and the built tourist area is disrupted. Since the coastal territory was considered a common good in

Yugoslavia and a link to the sea—which is a common-pool resource, privatizing was not favorable. However, this practice had other positive consequences, namely it mediated the pressure of visitors on the historical centers simultaneously being of welcoming syntactical spatial attributes and offering additional services and programmes to the local residents without discrimination. These findings are indeed in line with other studies presented in 1997 and 1999 during the first two Space Syntax Symposia (Hillier, 1997; Holanda, 1999). The research showes interesting relations between spatial configurations of buildings and urban structures on the one hand, and social aspects on the other. One study by Shu (1999) demonstrated that people are safer in more integrated spaces, that offer a higher movement choice and with higher connectivity within a visual field. Another study suggests that syntactic properties of layouts determine the way in which we explore and cities (Peponis, Zimring and Choi, 1990).

Given the current propensity for tourism-led development, the significance of the study lies in showing the degree to which a specific type of spatial model can help achieve the pre-established policy outcomes and boost economic benefits while promoting sustainable community development. This study will provide an alternative framework to rethink the role of spatial models in tourism planning on the basis of the principles of social justice, equity, spatial democracy, and sustainability, and propose steps for collective action.

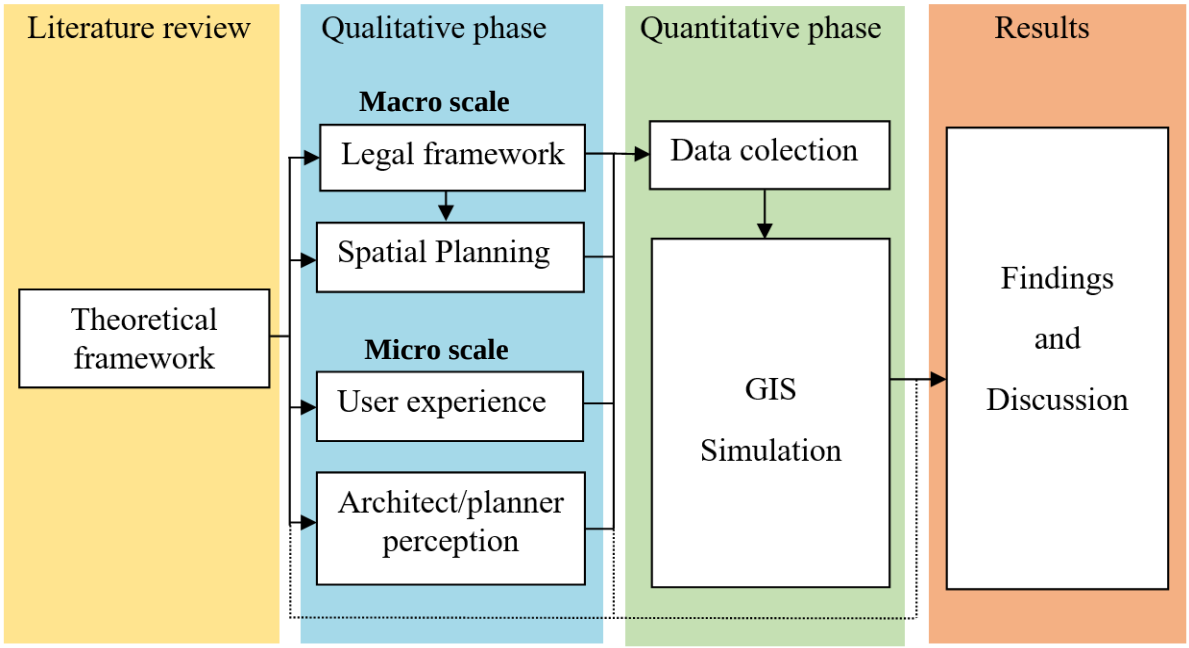

Figure 1. *Diagram of Research Methodology* (Source: Author)

The findings of the study will offer guidelines to help enforce a more embedded community-based practice by enhancing local wealth, social cohesion while promoting environmental

justice by proposing a normative model of tourism planning, which requires cooperation between all stakeholders in the tourism industry—various administrative levels of government, non-governmental agencies, and public and private sectors. The GIS analysis will show the difference in the level of integration and openness between an open resort from the Yugoslavian period as opposed to a contemporary closed resort. It will be argued that this difference in spatial configuration, expressed through a higher level of movement choices, supports sustainable tourism development (i) socially by ensuring a higher level of spatial democracy and dispersing tourists thereby lessening congestion problems; (ii) economically by preventing spatial monopolies and ensuring an equitable distribution of economic opportunities; and (iii) environmentally by integrating a dense network of open green spaces.

The thesis consists of the following chapters:

Chapter 1 presents a literature survey dealing with the theoretical, political and empirical accounts of tourism which makes a significant contribution to the understanding of the topic: (i) a historical overview of tourism development; (ii) the literature on development theory, sustainable development, and sustainable tourism development; (iii) an exploration of the theoretical gap between the nature of the tourism industry and sustainable development; (iv) and what are the negative consequences of non-sustainable tourism development with regards to the three dimensions of sustainable development: social, economic and environmental.

Chapter 2 puts forward regulation and French convention theory as an important form of intervention in spatial tourism development. The Chapter elaborates on the importance of consistency in modes of regulation in conjunction with integrated planning arguing that inconsistencies or a lack of which can cause negative effects and in severe cases endanger human lives. The chapter will also provide a historical overview of the touristic infrastructure and the development of spatial models, subsequently highlighting the gap in knowledge of the role spatial models play in this conflict of interest and how they boost the outcome of tourism led development processes.

Chapter3 presents the geographical area of research by firstly illustrating the development of the tourism sector at different spatial scales, with a focus on the case of Croatia (from the period of Yugoslavia). Secondly, an introduction to the evolution of the socio-political and political-institutional framework and how it conditioned the development of the tourism industry. Thirdly, an overview of institutional frameworks that have been relevant, that have been

respected or violated at the international, national and regional level. A visual overview of the periodization will be provided (historical time axe, multi-scalar map) to illustrate the space-time dynamics in Croatia as opposed to Yugoslavia with regard to tourism development within the sphere of spatial planning.

This Chapter will additionally offer an insight into current statistics and trends in the tourism sector in Croatia and the significance the industry has on to the state economics.

Chapter4 defines the specific geographical area of inquiry by contextualizing the chosen spatial models (an open type resort from Yugoslavian period, and a resort from Croatian period) at case study level with an overview of archival documents, plans, and spatial mapping with an aim to examine the ecological footprint, the potential to trigger social development, and economic development. The subsequent quantitative phase is based on the theory of Space Syntax and conducted computationally in GIS. The method is applied to illustrate the performance of the spatial models under investigation as well as to obtain an overall measure of how they perform in terms of physical integration in connection to the adjunct community by computationally capturing its quality as being comprehensible and easily navigable.

Finally, the *General conclusion* presents a visionary trajectory and a discussion on the findings based on the case studies. It sets out guidelines for policymakers and stakeholders. The scaling power of cooperative models in tourism will be discussed in an attempt to propose a more embedded community-based practice by promoting the three dimensions of sustainability. Additionally, how to work towards alternative sustainable tourism models and proliferate good practices will be discussed.

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CHAPTER 1

Tourism Development

1.1. Introduction

Tourism evolved from an experience once reserved for a very few people into a global practice enjoyed by many. The etymology of the word 'tourism' is considered to go back to the word 'tour', whereas modern tourism finds its origins in Grand Tour, a custom established during the 17th century. The Grand Tour was conceived as an educational trip for young man and women on the cusp of maturity from high standing families. The act consisted of traveling south, through France, Italy, and Croatia in search of art, culture and the roots of Western civilization (Chaney, 2000) and was reserved for the upper classes and aristocracy. Though the Grand Tour was primarily associated with the British nobility, similar trips were made by wealthy young men of other Protestant Northern European nations.

However, medically, religiously and educationally motivated travel existed far before the event of the Grand Tour in the classic world. The Greeks nourished the tradition of attending sporting events such as the Olympic games. They sought out oracles like Pythia in Delphi to seek guidance. And Japan nourished the tradition of bathing for medical purposes in hot springs, called *onsen*, some 2500 years before this practice picked up in Spa, a town in Belgium, after which the practice eventually took name.

The tradition of Grand Tour flourished from about 1660 until the advent of large-scale rail transport in the 1840s. The advent of rail marks the first milestone in tourism development subsequently making the act of travel easier and more accessible to larger groups of people. The evolution of the tourism industry owes much to the development of transit systems. In that, we can distinguish three main phases of tourism development in relation to advancements in the transportation sector. The development of rail systems was the first of these moments. The rise of the automobile industry was the second one. But it wasn't until the era of jet planes that the industry transcended into one of the world biggest industries. The jet travel era began in 1952 with the first commercial flight from London to Johannesburg. Although Britain was the first to initiate commercial flights, other countries followed soon.

1.2. History of tourism development

1.2.1. The business of travel

Before these innovations were made in the transportation sector the business of travel started out by catering to small groups or individuals. The first known travel agency was “Cox and Kings” founded in 1758 when Richard Cox became the official travel agent of the British Royal Armed Forces (Cox and Kings, 2019). Almost a century later in 1841, Thomas Cook introduced his first commercially operated tour by train (Thomas Cook, 2019). The late Thomas Cook standardized travel package, including travel tickets and accommodation, set the norm for the supply side of the tourism market and marked the very beginning of mass tourism.

1.2.2. The tourism product

The potential of the tourism industry is conditioned by the quality of the tourist product as seen in the works of Burkart and Medilk (1974), Mitchell (1979), Sinclair (1998) and Smith (1994). Even though there are differences between the theories on the nature of the tourism product– whether goods or service products–the unanimous view is in favor of it being a service product. Burkart and Medlik (1974) take this notion a step further and go on to define the tourism product as consisting of elements of the trip of the tourist including what he/she does on the way to destination regions, following the transit region, and while staying at the destination region, thus highlighting the wider spatial dimension of the tourist industry. They believe that the tourism product, at the destination, may even be developed intentionally in order to make it more appealing to a general audience (see “The Tourist Gaze” by Urry,1990) and oftentimes without any strategic planning (Batta, 2000).

The tourism product is, hence, consisted of the following fundamental elements:

1. Spatial Dynamics.

The element refers to the physical movement of people from their place of permanent residency to a place of temporary residency. The Spatial element can be broken into three sub-elements which are implied in Gunn’s (1972) “Tourism environment”, Neil Leiper’s (1979) “The framework of tourism” and are stated in various models, for example the Mariot Model, of tourist flows developed by European geographers (Matley, 1976). The spatial element thus includes:

a) Origin and features of the area from which the tourist travels and returns to (Tourist Generating Region)

b) Locations which become tourist destinations, regions or host areas due to the attraction of visitors (Tourist Destination Regions)

c) The transit region or route through which the visitor will have to travel, and which connects the origin of travel and final destination (Transit Route)

2. Activity/Program.

Tourists at their tourist destinations are offered and/or demand a range of programs and activities, experiences and facilities.

3. Social.

Tourists enter into a complex system of interactions motivated by the needs and overall motivations of the visit which results in both positive and negative experiences

4. Economic.

The production and consumption patterns which define what is commodified for the sake of economic profit

1.2.3. The production and consumption patterns in tourism

The economy side of the tourism industry is conditioned by the consumption and production of a bundle of services, goods and ultimately experiences which make up the tourism product. The patterns of production and consumption have changed throughout history, affecting the tourism industry, and in that, we can differentiate three different stages:

Pre-Fordism can be defined as the artisan stage of the tourism industry. The production side was mostly associated with small-scale businesses, often independently owned by families. Therefore, they were usually weakly managed and reliant on family labor. Long hours were combined with flexible working wages and the technology was mostly low.

Fordism is still seen as the predominant model and is closely related to mass tourism. It brought forth a type of production associated with large hotel chains, airlines, tour companies, and cruise ships, which promote a standardized undiversified supply of products. The accumulation of

capital as a result of economic gain is often concentrated in a small group of individuals. This model largely benefits from economies of scale. It is characterized by concentration, and horizontal and vertical integration (Ioannides and Debbage, 1998).

Post-Fordism is argued to be the new system of economic production, consumption since informational technologies, sharing economies (e.g. Uber and AirBnB) and low-cost air travel has alerted the way the industry is shaped in a way that supposedly gives more power to the consumer. This gives way to more flexible holidays, including the growth of shorter breaks and more specialized holidays. However, this flexibility is also being built into package holidays, with shifts from full board to room and breakfast only, and from serviced to self-catering accommodation. Therefore, it is somewhat debatable whether the latter actually indicates a shift to post-Fordism. Instead, Ritzer (1998) argues that tourists still want predictable, highly efficient (value for money), calculable in terms of cost, and controlled (in terms of risk, host encounters, etc.) holidays.

1.2.4. The economic geography of the tourism industry

Though the change from Fordism to post-Fordism did have an impact on the processes of production and accumulation, it influenced, even more, the economic geography in response to the changed circumstances. The availability of new technologies allowed for a technical restructuring of existing processes in traditional industries. By the 1970s the nation-grounded Fordist division of labor was challenged by new strategies based on a local-global interplay of demand and supply. In that sense, the problem of cost efficiency has been addressed by a combination of new technologies and geographical mobility of part of the production. This resulted in a new organizational tendency, namely the vertical disintegration which is a production process not organized by a single enterprise, but by multiple ones (Swyngdouw, 1987). Having bypassed the strategy of peripheral Fordism which resonates the Center-Periphery division of international and national territories, multinational capital now considers the world as a chessboard of locational sites and pursues global production strategies. The increasing footlessness of factories has led to high unemployment, with service industries becoming even more predominant in the industrial structure of regions and localities (Martinelli, 1991). This reduced the bargaining power of the labor force which in return initiated a period of social reversal, often in the form of deregulation, cuts in wages and social security, the deterioration of labor rights and the changing role of the state from a mediator between capital and labor to a disciplinarian of labor on behalf of capital (Moulaert et al.,1988).

Less developed countries have become sources of cheap labor for unskilled as well as skilled labor jobs for global firms. These processes influenced all industries, even those who are, above all, site-specific like tourism. Tourism is consumed in situ, and it is, therefore, strongly entangled with the making and remaking of local communities and nature. However, tourism enterprises now control only the final product. Activities which are not crucial for the finished product are sub-contracted, outsourced and imported. Consequently, we get a pyramidally organized enterprise, in which a network of small and medium small-sized enterprises supports the activities in the main enterprise (Moulaert et al.,1988). In its forward linkages the tourism system has a natural tendency to spatially cluster. The importance of these linkages will be further elaborated in the following paragraph dealing with expenditure leaks emphasized in literature on the economic benefits tourism has for the community.

Although the debate on post-Fordism hints at the demise of mass tourism there are many reasons to doubt this development (Shaw and Williams, 2002). The standardization of many aspects of local communities at the destinations – in terms of the types of restaurant, shops, etc. on offer – means that tourists have become less reliant on highly packaged holidays with inclusive services and more willing to eat outside their hotels. But their consumption retains its mass character. Mass tourism is still being extended to new markets, both socially (to lower-income social groups) and geographically (to the emerging market economies). Rather than interpreting the decline of mass tourism based on singular parameters, we should bear in mind the differentiation of production and new emerging modes of consumption making use of advanced information technologies accompanied by the concept of sharing economies in the industry like accommodation (Airbnb) and transportation services (Uber).

The official numbers provided by the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) support the global trend of continuous annual increase.

1.3. Tourism trends

The growth and the economic impact of tourism are hardly doubted by policymakers and stakeholders. This comes as no surprise and is confirmed by the plethora of studies showing or illustrating the positive economic impact on a country's GDP. Tourism has established itself as a key driver of socio-economic development through the creation of jobs and enterprises, export revenues, and infrastructure development.

Over the past six decades, tourism has experienced continued expansion and diversification to become one of the largest and fastest-growing economic sectors in the world (UNWTO, 2018). As a worldwide export category, international tourism represents 7% of the world's exports in goods and services, an increase with one percentage point from 6% in 2015 (UNWTO, 2017).

For long tourism has been a popular target in urban polices. As a sector, it is comparatively easy to promote because it requires little public investment apart from cosmetically fixing up urban spaces and an upgrade in city marketing (Colomb, 2011).

It is argued that tourism stimulates foreign exchange, revenues and taxes, creates jobs, and promotes investment in infrastructure and the provision of public services (UNWTO 2013); at the same time it is considered to be an incubator of innovation and technology by constantly working on boosting the positive experience of visitors (Terzibasoglu, 2016). It also contributes to the increased awareness of heritage and culture by stimulating interaction between people and their activities, consequently contributing to more tolerant societies (Brooks, 2016; Terzibasoglu, 2016). Such conclusions are supported by different studies (Mathieson and Wall 1982, 2006; Kim et al., 2013). A recent study on Copenhagen, Berlin, Munich, Amsterdam, Barcelona and Lisbon revealed that tourism is considered to have a positive impact on the vividness and international atmosphere of the area, while contributing to the protection and restoration of historical parts, both by raising awareness of the value and significance of heritage sites, and by real-estate investments made in the historic city centers (Koens and Postma, 2017). But tourism carries a Janus character. Apart from the hitherto highlighted positive effects, the recent antagonism towards tourism arising at some destinations hints at a more complex situation which is why sustainable tourism has gained momentum in the last few years. The negative consequences of tourism can be analyzed from different perspectives: the exploitative character of the tourism industry, the enforced economic model, and the problems of inadequate planning. However, the comparative advantage of sustainable tourism over the dominant mass tourism model is yet to be established. The reason for this could be sought in the inherent, as it will be argued, biases inherent to the notion of sustainable tourism development as a juxtaposition of development and sustainability. Firstly, the notion of development will be examined.

1.4. Theory of development

According to Welch development may be viewed as a term "bereft of precise meaning [….] little more than a lazy thinker's catch-all term, used to mean anything from broad, undefined change to quite specific events" (Welch, 1984). But most socio-economic analysts would disagree with this flagrant position. The concept of development, *Entwicklung*, can be traced back to the 19th-century German historical school (Moulaert and Nussbaumer, 2008) which saw the state as an organic whole. This approach highlighted the profound differences between each state and thus called for individualized strategies whilst rejecting the plausibility of applying the analysis based on Western experience to radically different cultures. But the concept evolved over time (Goulet, 1992). The post-war economic policy debates changed the perspective on development placing focus on industrial growth and subsequently western-style modernization achievable through economic growth (Rostow, 1960; Redclift, 1987). However, the frequent failure of economic growth policies in resolving political and social problems had resulted in approaching development as encompassing a wider set of issues (Seers, 1969). People and the environment, rather than things had become the focal points in development giving way to new tendencies which focus on the reduction of poverty, inequality, and unemployment (Mabogunje, 1980) by putting forward community development (Moulaert et al., 2010; 2019) and cultural independence (Seers, 1977). Subsequently, this shifted the focus from the idea that the control of the process of development lies in the hand of the developed world (Cowen and Shenton, 1996) to the notion which deems sustainable development an independent process in the hands of the society in question and considers human needs, values, and standards of a good life and the good society as perceived by the very society that is changing (Goulet, 1968). In the case of local development, this notion is taken even further as the concept of local development entails the identification and use of the resources and endogenous potentialities of a community, neighborhood, city, municipality or equivalent. In other words–considers the endogenous potentialities of territories. Similarly to Goulet, the United Nations Development Programme's Human Development Report (UNDP, 1990) defines development as the enlargement of peoples' choices, the ability to lead a healthy, long life, to acquire knowledge and to have access to the resources needed for a decent standard of living. To facilitate the tracking of the rate of improvement, in 2010 Human Development Report introduced an Inequality-adjusted Human Development Index (IHDI). The index serves as a summary measure of the average achievement in key dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, being knowledgeable, and have a decent standard of living. Therefore,

the HDI is the geometric mean of normalized indices for each of the three dimensions and it was created to "emphasize that people and their capabilities should be the ultimate criteria for assessing the development of a country, not economic growth alone" (UNDP, 1990) further highlighting the departure from a one-dimensional economic indicator of progress.

1.5. Sustainability

Much like development theory and practice, which had come to surpass a narrow perspective of holding economic growth as a paramount, sustainability has also come to embrace a broader set of issues. Sustainability can be traced to the narrow environmental conservation tendency of the 19th century which evolved into the broader environmental movement of the 20th century. Since the 1960s environmentalism has embraced technological, economic, social and political agendas along with resource problems (Sharpley, 2000). The acknowledgment that our ecosystem's source and sink functions have a limited capacity to supply for the needs for consumption and absorb residuals from processes of consumption and production changed the equation into (i) the rate at which the stock of natural (non-renewable) resources is extracted relative to the development of renewable, substitutable resources; (ii) the rate at which waste is deposited back into the ecosystem relative to the absorptive capacity of the environment; (iii) and the global population levels relative to the consumption per capita (Goodland, 1992, p. 31). However, the perspectives on environmental sustainability vary depending on the dominant ecological ideology. Thus, we can differentiate three main discourses—ecocentric, anthropocentric and technocentric, which are in opposition (O'Riordan, 1981). These three ecological discourses with contrary systems of values further complicate the conceptualization of sustainable development which is held to be a juxtaposition of development and sustainability (Lélé, 1991). Even though this oversimplifies the complexity of social, political, cultural, ecological and spatial issues encompassed by the concept of sustainable development, breaking down sustainable development to the theory of development and concept of sustainability facilitates the conceptualization of inherent biases and contradictions underpinning the notion of sustainable development. It then comes as no surprise that sustainable development suffers some definitional problems–already by the more than 70 different definitions have been proposed (Steer and Wade-Gery, 1993).

The reason for this can be found in its inherent ambiguity caused by a lack of conceptual and semantic clarity which resulted in the notion being interpreted in a variety of ways (Lélé, 1991) dependent on the adopted ideology or the lack of analytic accuracy. For these reasons critiques

argue the term is an oxymoron, doubting the compatibility of resource conservation and economic development (Friend, 1992). Indeed, in the context of neoclassical economics and the more traditional ecological perspective, the technocentric (resource substitution) approach is in complete opposition to the ecocentric approach which rejects even substitutable exploitation of natural resources (O'Riordan, 1981; Turner ,1993). And while it is recognized that Anthropocentrism presents the active role humans have on constructing the earth-system it has also introduced a new ontological framing of a radical symmetry between nature and non-nature. However, the framing of the concept 'Anthropocentric' is somewhat misleading in the sense that it is a depoliticizing notion, which obscures what ultimately must be revealed in order to work towards what Büscher and Fletcher (2019) have come to call convivial conservation. Anthropocene works performatively to force human and non-human into a particular relational straightjacket that only permits certain forms of acting and perceiving while obscuring o prohibiting others (Swyngedouw and Ernstson, 2019). Still, the mainstream conservation views remain grounded in a dichotomy of people and nature via promotion of protected areas, simultaneously these conserved natural areas are often put to use as in-situ 'natural capital' commodified for exploitation. Therefore, the critique lands on the operational sphere of conservation based on the anthropocentric view which employs a capitalistic pattern of production, accumulation, and practice of mass-consumption.

Therefore, "the capacity of continuance" remains the only criterion we can follow through in the debate on sustainability processes as part of the discourse on sustainable development—as proposed by the definition of sustainable development put forward by the Brundtland's Report as part of a United Nations General Assembly in 1987 in which he defines sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, p. 16).

1.6. Sustainable development

Sustainable development is put forward as an analytical and normative concept which holds that development can neither be analyzed nor pursued without taking into consideration the indissoluble interactions between its social, economic and ecological dimensions (Zuindeau, 2010; Parra, 2010). The literature on sustainable development highlights three dimensions of the concept: social, economic and environmental (Figure 1). Thus, the application of this concept should ideally result in an economic system which underpins socio-economic viability,

and supports ecological sustainability in accordance with governance, while simultaneously satisfying intra-generational and intergenerational equity imperatives (Parra, 2010).

Figure 2. Sustainability Pyramid by William McDonough (Source: Braungart and William, 2002)

This is not always the case. The problem of sustainable development is twofold: theoretical and practical– it perpetuates the theoretical contradictions inherited from its parental paradigms, which are then trickled down to frameworks proposed in various forms by agencies such as the United nations. A closer look at the Sustainable Development Goals reveals this potential discrepancy. The Sustainable Development Goals simultaneously call for humanity to achieve harmony with nature and promote sustained economic growth as a means to attain human development objectives. The SDGs seem to presume that efficiency improvements will successfully reconcile the possible tensions between ecological preservation and economic growth. Despite this, some studies show that continuous economic growth renders it empirically

infeasible to achieve reductions in CO2 emissions in line with the budget for 2°C (Hickel, 2019). In addition to the conflicting characters of the two pillars, the third–social pillar, is often marginalized in the debate on sustainable development and has been criticized for being fragilely 'social' (Parra and Moulaert, 2010). This last argument does not reduce the relevance of the other two pillars of sustainable development but rather advocates the need to understand their articulation as inseparable from society in terms of governance and social relationships. Thereby, offering an additional argument in favor of the social sustainability pillar through a focus on 'scale' and 'place', and based on the governance distinctiveness of each embedded territory (Parra and Moulaert, 2010). In this debate spatial planning is conceptually placed at the receiving end of the sustainable development process– unjustly so. While sustainability and sustainable development have festered in discussions across a variety of fields, spatial development remains an interest reserved for a narrow group of researchers, urban and regional planners and a minority of interested public. Meanwhile, sustainable development is presumed to have introduced new aspects into the general discussion. However, these aspects are not new in spatial planning. For example, reports such as the UN conference in Rio de Janeiro and the Brundtland report promote the common goal of meeting the needs of the future without endangering the ability of future generations to satisfy their needs. This need for a longer-term conception of development planning was central to the emergence of disciplines such as urban and regional planning early this century, and evident in the case of Yugoslavian spatial planning (discussed later in Chapter 4). Neither is the need for long-term development perspective through scenario planning with regard to a balanced utilization of resources with respect to the cultural and environmental context has been central to urban and regional planning. Planning cities aligned with context has been the topic ever since Vitruvius who proposed city planning align buildings as to comply with proper winds in order to allow the proper amount of air circulation for sanitation reasons. Topics which were made less crucial with the application of new technologies, deny to a large extent how smart spatial planning can create healthier surroundings with lower energy consumption. Therefore, the current debate on sustainable development which calls for integrated, ecological, cost-effective, and socially balanced development is actually not very new to spatial development.

However, matters become complicated when the concept is to be applied to various industries which are utilized to generate development in specific socio-political contexts.

The same can be said for the tourism industry, which as a consequence of its continuous growth has become favored by policymakers as a tool for development. In addition, tourism enjoys the

support of the United Nations and The World Bank (Perrottet and Garcia, 2016) which continue to address the industry as a positive developmental force. The increase of tourism-related activities on a global scale, facilitated by economic means of transportation, helped the industry achieve a business volume equal to that of oil exports, food products or automobiles (UNWTO, 2017) and helped the idea of the prosperity brought on by tourism spread further. But its growing significance has also enhanced the need to address its negative impacts on the fostering country and destination areas.

1.7. Sustainable tourism development: A conflict of interest

Tourism extracts value at the destination area by commodifying nature, culture, and heritage. Like all 'extractive' industries, the prosperity and endurance of the tourism model depends on a set of prerequisites, natural or cultural, on which the industry is based. The introduction of tourism activities affects all aspects of a community and implies substantial challenges for urban policy. Consequently, policymakers have to manage the equally distributed negative effects of the industry, conditioned by its exploitative character, which facilitate the rise of host-tourist conflicts in destination areas—conflicts over congestion, pollution, increase in the price of rent and other goods, and overuse of heritage assets. Amid local, political and international pressures to tackle the issue of increasing pressure on tourist destinations, a new concept was introduced with an aim to bridge the divide between tourism development and sustainable development—sustainable tourism development– "which could be defined as tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities" (UNWTO, 2005). However, the success of sustainable tourism development in mitigation the surging tourist-host conflict is yet to be established. The reasons may be sought in the nature of tourism which rests on commodification. Given its profit-oriented character tourism is formed as a self-preserving process focused on the maximization of revenue, setting aside other tendencies. To avert such a one-way process sustainability goals must be enforced and to see them met, a holistic approach should be applied in the planning process of tourism development. Unfortunately, the multi-sector structure of the industry further complicates efforts towards a holistic planning strategy which would be necessary in order to see these mutual goals be met. As a result, sustainable tourism development continues to demonstrate a variety of inherent inconsistencies (Büscher and Fletcher, 2016).

Firstly, sustainable tourism promises to deliver long-term economic development and ensure the prosperity of the local population. The economic sustainability depends on the ability of the destination to link the tourism industry to a variety of other sectors and industries in the country, but in that, it fails due to "leakages". In destinations where a large percentage of tourist needs are locally provided for (labor, furniture, and linens, souvenirs, food and beverage, equipment and supplies, tour and transportation services, among others), multipliers tend to be higher, and the resulting economic impact on the hosting country correspondingly greater. In developing countries, "leakages" range from 40% in India to 80% in Mauritius (Lange, 2011). Therefore, due to a lack of functional linkages to local production, local and state value capture from tourism-related activities is significantly reduced further hindering equitable economic opportunities for the local population.

However, "leakages" don't simply occur when tourists' expenditure leaks out of the country (when payment is made to a hotel or resort owned by foreign capital). Often expenditures never reach the country in the first place, for example when payments are made to foreign airlines or travel agencies. This condition is further aggravated as international tourist flows are dominated by developed western nations and their leading firms. Since marketing and the procurement of travelers, international transportation and food production are still western-based, global networks (Brohman, 1996) determine major international flows and correlated economic benefits which remain polarized and regionalized (Sharpley, 2000). This matter further exacerbates the problems of dependency making development, according to the needs of the local population, all the more unachievable.

Secondly, tourism is frequently 'permitted' to become the dominant economic activity; yet, it competes for the same resources as other industries and makes it difficult for other industries to take off. The tourism industry, thus, does not only consume natural resources but employs labor power as well. People are incentivized to take up vocations with a lesser added value needing less education and training (Kožić, 2019).

Thirdly, the issue of developmental versus ecological objectives in sustainable tourism has already been the topic of tourism studies (Cater, 1993). However, even in the case of eco-tourism with a reduced ecological footprint the means to reach the destination contributes to greenhouse gas emissions. Herein lies the paradox: in order to visit the tourism destination, tourists must use a means of travel that is unsustainable. Until advances in technology allow tourists to travel without polluting, visits to distant locations simply cannot be sustainable.

Thus, in practice, sustainable tourism strategies tend to focus on local, relatively small-scale development projects which rarely transcend the local or regional boundaries and, hence, neglect he wider ecological impact of especially transportation (Sharpley, 2000).

1.8. Negative consequences of unsustainable tourism development

The uncontrolled expansion of tourist accommodation and the constant influx of tourists in urban areas has significant socio-spatial implications. And even though tourism's beneficial impact remains a strong point (Schubert et al., 2011; Richards, 2001) the negative repercussions of the industry's exploitative character are becoming more evident. Studies focusing on the impact of tourism generated a plethora of studies which address the negative social, economic, cultural and environmental outcomes (Mathieson and Wall, 1982, 2006). The problem inevitably aggravates when the role of tourism as a development tool is not questioned and its growth trajectory is not a result of careful strategical planning in accordance with local needs. But nowhere is this conflict of interests more pertinent than in urban areas where it is enhanced by the density of people, programs and structure.

The four dimensions of development on which tourism impact studies focus are economic, social, cultural and environmental (Wall and Mathieson, 2006). A variety of academic fields recognizes tourism impact as a crucial element in tourism development and destination management (Kim et al., 2013; Wall and Mathieson, 2006). Tourism planners typically consider the nature of the impact and how it can be managed in order to boost optimal outcomes (Murphy, 1983). Much of the research presenting the positive impacts of tourism is based on objective indicators such as income per capita, crime rates, and pollution (Crotts and Holland, 1993). Recent progress in this field has made significant advancement in understanding the links between residents' perception of tourism effects and their satisfaction with life in a destination area. The findings show an uneven rate of satisfaction with life varying over time which may suggest that tourism impact changes over time according to the development stage of the tourist area (Butler, 1980). This observation has called for a more in-depth approach and ultimately placed the community at the center of the debate.

Historic centers, which tend to be among the densest parts of the city show the highest number of new modes of accommodation. New forms of sharing economies like Airbnb help tourist apartments mushroom uncontrollably in the dense city core. Further research suggests this process is facilitated by the fact that new forms of accommodation are still insufficiently

regulated. And unlike regular hotels and other forms of accommodation these new forms are not yet restricted by regulation and zoning plans, and as a result boost tourism gentrification (Gutiérrez et al., 2017). The increase of rents and real estate prices partly generated by Airbnb supply lowers housing supply for local dwellers (Gurran and Phibbs, 2017; Peters, 2017) and the quality of life for local residents (Gravari-Barbas and Jacquot, 2017). Such processes ultimately cause the displacement of the local people—centrifugal urbanization—forcing them to move out to the still affordable outskirts of the city. The case of Split in Croatia serves as a clear example: the historic center, formerly a Roman emperor's palace, was the home for some 4000 inhabitants during the 1980s, to decrease to 2320 by 2011 (Croatian Bureau of Statistics, 2011). At this point, the urban core increasingly resembles a theater with houses as facades conditioned by the "tourist gaze" (Urry, 1990) which seeks a tidy experience. In his book Slow Violence and the "Environmentalism of the Poor", Rob Nixon (Nixon, 2011) brings to attention the works of Jamaica Kincaid and Jill Fox (2001), Njabulo Ndebele (2006), and June Jordan (1998), who explicitly connected tourism with practices of exclusion (and race) arguing that tourists, in effect, arrive at a destination and extract from it an experience built-in part on local labor which is often hidden from the tourist experience. Like the example of traditional Dalmatian fisherman villages where the seafront and beach houses were utilized for the fishing industry. However, while the tourists do enjoy the traditional built heritage and seafood, they generally do not want to experience the process of the fishing industry. Another problem brought on by the commodification of tourism is the effort of destinations localities, especially those with valuable historical and cultural heritage, to preserve a site as if it were a picture postcard, a phenomenon known as "unescofication", unintentionally committing urbanocide by jamming all vital functions of an urban system thus affecting endogenous social, economic and cultural development (Hadjimichalis, 1987). In turn, this enhances the seasonality of the destination resulting in a destination to be overcrowded during the season and a ghost town off-season. In addition to "unescofication" another phenomenon associated with providing a fictional and nostalgic identity to public spaces, recognized as "disneyfication" of space (Ferrell, 2001), has become part of the debate—as Guy Debord explains: "All that once was directly lived has become mere representation." (Debord, 2000, Thesis 1)

These efforts, paradoxically, diminish the quality of the experience for visitors and could have a negative impact on the number of future visitors. But the problem has become more complex than simply congestion and a lack of housing for the locals. The overflow of tourists boosted by the fact that tourism has become commodified has caused a chain reaction in what Sorkin

(Sorkin, 1991) has come to call the end of public space in the city. The privatization of public space (Davis, 1999) and the rise of pseudo-public spaces raise the question of spatial democracy and the "right to the city". Such issues spanning many areas of social science embedded firmly in urban studies present an important aspect in the debate on the question of spatial justice and still, with a few exceptions, are rarely discussed in urban tourism and leisure (Pearce, 1995; Hall and Page, 2006).

1.9. The growth paradox– can tourism be sustainable?

The prosperity generated by tourism relies on the tourism product which should be a result of careful planning (Kennell, 2014). Mass tourism has proven to have an overwhelming effect on the destination area in several ways. Firstly, for the environment as the example of Thailand shows, where Maya Bay beach was closed due to being severely damaged thanks to pollution from litter, boats and sun cream, it is estimated that more than 80% of the coral around Maya Bay has been destroyed (Ellis-Petersen, 2019). Secondly, for the community in the form of congestion, noise, overcrowding. And thirdly, economically since mass tourism is not necessarily beneficial for the community since leakages significantly limit local revenue capture and distort the real estate and housing markets. Creeping dissatisfaction due to this situation creates an unstable social atmosphere.

Recently reports from Amsterdam, Barcelona, and Venice show how local residents have begun to actively protest against the expansion of tourism within their cities (Rodriguez, 2017) arguing that the influx of tourists has taken its toll on their quality of life in the form of increased prices, improper tourist behavior, transformation of residential areas into tourist accommodation zones (AirBnB), visitor pressure on carrying capacity of sites, and congestion (Koens and Postma, 2017). Such a chain of events should not come as a surprise. As Butler explains (1980), the life cycle of a destination area follows five developmental stages: (i) Discovery Stage, (ii) growth and development stage, (iii) success stage, (iv) problem or stagnation stage, (v) decline or rejuvenation. If the destination area reaches the problem stage without proper response or planning the tipping point will be marked by an overflow of rebellion from the local population and a possible discouragement for future visitors from coming.

Therefore, this evolving negative attitude towards visitors should not be ignored since hospitality is an integral part of the tourism product. Tourism, and by that, the tourism product, is not a discrete item but a complex process in which the "product" it sells is generally a diverse

constellation of entities including such intangible "background elements" as the overall ambiance of a location (Briassoulis, 2002). Even though conservation and urban policies seek out strategies to lessen the pressure on communities and avert the overuse of built and natural heritage, there are tourism-related problems which cannot be shaped by public policies if the predominant model of tourism is not properly addressed. The fact that tourism industry thrives on the low labor costs, neatly managed (and insulated) experiences, and foreign capital, boosts inequality among the areas it thrives on. Tourism is not merely a capitalist practice but a practice through which capitalism aims to sustain itself. By addressing Noel Castree's six principles of commodification we can dissect how tourism functions as a self-serving growth-oriented practice by means of (2003, pp. 279,283): (i) privatization, which "refers to the assignation of legal title to a named individual, group or institution. The title gives more-or-less exclusive rights of the owner to dispose of that which is named by the title as they wish"; (ii) alienability: "the capacity of a given commodity, and specific classes of commodities, to be physically and morally separated from their sellers"; (iii) individuation: "the representational and physical act of separating a specific thing or entity from its supporting context. This involves putting legal and material boundaries around phenomena so that they can be bought, sold and used by equally 'bounded' individuals, groups or institutions (like a firm)"; (iv) abstraction: "a process whereby the qualitative specificity of any individualized thing (a person, a seed, a gene or what-have-you) is assimilated to the qualitative homogeneity of a broader type or process". This takes two forms, namely functional abstraction ("looking for real and classifiable similarities between otherwise distinct entities as if the former can be separated from the latter unproblematically") and spatial abstraction (this "involves any individualized thing in one place being treated as really the same as an apparently similar thing located elsewhere"); (v) valuation: a movement from intrinsic value to "labour values" and from use value to "exchange" value; and finally—(vi) displacement which entails "something appearing, phenomenally, as something other than itself" or, conversely, "one set of phenomena manifesting themselves in a way that, paradoxically, occludes them". In this way, commodities conceal an intertwined process in which workers and the environment are harmed systematically illustrating how tourism not only provokes various forms of material violence, for example by barring state intervention or corporate constraint (Andrews, 2014; Fletcher, 2011; Phipps, 2004). It can become a form of structural violence in its own right (Büscher and Fletcher ,2016) implicit in societal forms to which many people contribute indirectly but for which no particular person is directly responsible (Galtung, 1969; Žižek, 2008). Such a perspective helps to reveal a more subtle and multifaceted relationship between tourism and violence.

On the other hand, “It is not tourism per se that converts cultures, peoples and the environment into commodities, but capitalist tourism”. Still, tourism “need not be a capitalist activity” (Robinson, 2008, p. 133), but in order to avert this dynamic inherent to the industry, we must properly acknowledge the production and consumption side of the industry. One of the problems to8urism introduces is its highly agglomerated nature. Even though multiplier effects are held to be a positive side of tourism, which has a natural tendency to cluster, it can trigger the Dutch Disease. This economic term stands for an apparent causal relationship between the increase in the economic development of a specific sector and the decline in other sectors. Tourism industry acts at the sectoral level by causing a shift in resources towards non-tradable sectors (i.e. catering, accommodation) which put to danger productivity gains by generating a persistent appreciation of the real exchange rate and ultimately affect the economic growth in the long term (Inchausti-Sintes, 2015). Consequently, this chain of events can overturn the short-term positive effect of tourism on the economy and could ultimately result in the economy to shrink in the long term (Corden, 1984). In addition to that, tourism is a sensitive industry and could be negatively influenced by a number of issues that endanger the security of tourists: such as violent regime changes, epidemics or natural disasters; making the tourism industry a high-stakes endeavor.

1.10. Shifting the focus to a whole-system thinking approach

It is becoming clear that the dominant strategy in tourism development of reducing barriers and simulating market interest (Getz, 1987) will not necessarily produce the most appropriate or sustainable solution (Inskeep, 1987, 1988). Therefore, a variety of forms for intervention are necessary to protect the environmental and cultural assets on which tourism is based and which could cumulatively support science-based decision-making and help to mitigate tourism’s negative effects.

All these tendencies led to the year 2017 being declared by the UNWTO as the International Year of Sustainable Tourism for Development suggesting the necessity for all tourism related practices to be united in protecting and enhancing the social, cultural and natural resources upon which tourism is based. Thereby shifting the focus on the problem of a holistic approach in an industry fragmented and multi-sectoral by nature. It is becoming increasingly clear, that irrespective of the scale of analysis, tourism “cannot exist in isolation from regional, national and global resource utilization concerns” (Hunter, 1995, p.157), much like it should not be

planned independently of the standard urban programs such as housing, leisure, mobility, consumption, and production (Colomb and Novy, 2017).

In that sense, the UN Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDG) give way to a mediated process between the desire to develop according to global needs while preserving local tradition and lifestyle. In fact, tourism is featured in three of the UN Sustainable Development Goals while all 17 could be facilitated through sustainable tourism development. A sustainable and resilient tourism model should incorporate the goals of the UNSDG (i) depending on the level of integration within its context; (ii) by being competitive on a global level while exploiting local assets and economies which give the tourist product authenticity in order to stand out; (iii) by functioning as a service hub and improving communities while incorporating local enterprises; and thereby (iv) managing and connecting ecological, landscape and cultural values of the region. This new model could help enhance social sustainability and inclusion by granting the local levels the freedom to advance the ends as they see fit. Both public and private actors carry equal responsibility for delivering specific services, or bundles of services, and therefore, play a decisive role in eliciting the knowledge and preferences of citizens of specific places. The 17th goal "Partnership for the Goals" hints at a possible comprehensive model which should facilitate the success of the preceding 16 goals. To achieve this the tourism industry should "Enhance the global partnership for sustainable development, complemented by multi-stakeholder partnerships that mobilize and share knowledge, expertise, technology and financial resources, to support the achievement of the sustainable development goals in all countries, in particular developing countries", and "Encourage and promote effective public, public-private and civil society partnerships, building on the experience and resourcing strategies of partnerships" (UNSDG, goal 17).

Whole-system thinking reveals and utilizes connections between different segments. Each system also interacts with others on different scales (cities, buildings, components, materials) and domains (ecology, economy, social). A holistic approach to such systems could enable us to optimize their performance by identifying synergies and existing interconnections. These interlinkages are traditionally recognized and discussed in studies on urban systems, in which the notion of "metabolism" is a center-point. The idea of urban metabolisms has roots in nineteen-century social thought, especially in theories of Marx and Engels (Burkett and Foster, 2006). For them it is not a question of whether nature and society interact, but rather making an argument that nature is incomprehensible except as mediated by social labor (Smith, 1984). "Metabolism" is a central metaphor in Marx's theory on dynamic internal relationships between

humans and nature that produces the socio-natural entanglements and imbroglios referred to by Engels (Heynen et al., 2006). These ideas are further elaborated on in the context of urban political ecology, urban ecology, circular economy and other studies which focus on the sustainability of the flow-cycles in the context of cities. And even though focus on processes which can enclose flow-cycles and decrease unnecessary entropy, these attempts will fall sort due to unsubstantiated a priori epistemological assumptions. As Swyngedouw (2006) criticizes, urban metabolism studies, uncritically pursuing the standard industrial ecology perspective analyze the input-output of the flow of matter and energy, are insightful in terms of quantifying the urbanization of nature but fail to theorize the process of urbanization as a social process of transforming and reconfiguring nature.

Nevertheless, there is a spike in general acknowledgment that urban processes will be more sustainable if they encompass more economic and resilient interconnections. Placing emphasis on the interrelation of the urban system's constituent parts echoes previous tendencies to examine the complexity of an urban system by utilizing systems thinking as a way to facilitate a more systemized approach to a complex subject. Systems thinking facilitates a more holistic approach by proposing a "system within a system" approach which is an arrangement of theoretical systems and constructs in a hierarchy of complexity. Although in systems theory the emphasis is placed on the dynamics between the components the question of causation becomes increasingly important in our attempt to steer the system in a desired direction–one that is more sustainable than the current. The problem of ascribing a specific action to a desired outcome is more complex. Causality can be difficult to claim even when correlation is evident. The additional problem of causality in complex systems is that direct causation, a standard manner in which our perception of correlation materializes, is incomprehensive and not sufficient. This problem can be traced to our language, as suggested by cognitive linguist and philosopher George Lakoff (Lakoff, 2006; 2019). He proposes that we perceive direct causation not simply because it is often self-evident but because it is incorporated as such in our language, here he refers to action-reaction situations which we perceive, comprehend and accept as such. The problem is that most events are a result of systemic causation and without an acknowledgment of this order of things we cannot properly perceive the whole system and the events that lead to certain effects. Environment is just one example of systems which function according to systemic causation. Since our language has no way to directly explain interconnected causality, we make connections between segments directly unaware that feedback loops play an important

part as much as interacting systemic causes. Lakoff presents four distinct features of systemic causation we should take into account when observing a system:

1. Chain of causes

2. Feedback

3. Interacting causes

4. Probability

All of them and any possible combination of these four is systemic causation. In whole-system thinking, in order to be comprehensive, we must be able to identify and address the chain of causes which have led to a specific result. With respect to the chain of causes we have to additionally incorporate the feedback loops-a notion relating to those incidents when an output from one system segment eventually influences input into that same segment. By addition of established interacting causes and probability to the equation, we are closer to illustrating the system as a whole and able to enhance the performance of the system and reconfigure the regeneration strategy with a higher chance of success. More importantly, systematic causation demonstrates the importance of contextualizing all processes. It becomes a question of not only how but more importantly towards whom it is directed to and where it will take place, since people and places have inherent characteristics that they bring into every process they become a structural or functional part of. This turns our attention to what Andy Pike elaborates as community oriented local and regional development. As he elaborates the myth that residents have to accept growth in order to receive development, simply does not hold water. Growth and development are not necessarily correlated. Growth means to get "bigger", where as "development" means to get better (Moulaert and Nussbaumer, 2008). Nevertheless, in both cases it is important for development to be sustainable and generate desirable effects in all segments, the residents must correspond positively to proposed developments, in terms of what is planned to be the subject of change and how this change will accrue. Values and principles shape how specific social groups define, comprehend and interpret what is development. The worth, appropriateness and desirability of different varieties of development may be held unanimously or with a degree of consensus, it can also be subject to contestation and differing interpretations within places over time (Pike et al., 2007).

1.11. Tourism community development

The second and third areas within the literature on tourism community development ("community participation" and "sustainability") are strongly linked to the first category, as "tourism continues to be driven by levels of government rather than community interests" (Joppe, 1996). Governments, especially in developing countries, have seen the economic potential of tourism as a way to create jobs, reduce debts, boost economic and regional development, and are encouraged to do so by international organizations such as the United Nations and the World Bank (Perrottet, 2016).

1.11.1. Community-based economic development

Community-based economic development (CED) has been proposed as a means of achieving development based on the inherited values and standards set out by indigenous people. It is "a process by which communities can initiate and generate their own solutions to their common economic problems and thereby build long-term community capacity and foster the integration of economic, social, and environmental objectives" (McRobie and Ross, 1987, p. 1). The CED movement arose as a reaction to failed globalized, neo-liberal capitalism, or more precisely to free-market agreements, privatization and other policies oriented towards deregulating the market (Shragge and Toye, 2006). The CED bares interest not only for its reactive character but also as a proactive response by social justice activists, environmentalist, civil society and urban researchers seeking new ways of re(organizing) economic and social relations to achieve greater environmental sustainability and social equity. The CED was highly researched in the 1990s (Boothroyd and Davis, 1993; Halseth and Booth, 1998), but in recent years more attention has turned to the social economy and sustainable development as forms of (re)conceptualized economic organization (McMurtry, 2009). Nevertheless, CED paved the way for future spatial development planning strategies focusing on environmental and social sustainability through utilization of indigenous assets. The literature review on CED reveals to be (i) participatory in its approach, which can be linked to the belief in the inherent right of the people to participate in decisions which affect them (Moser, 1989) and to evidence that development is more sustainable and effective if all actors and stakeholders participate (Conyers, 1986); (ii) sustainable in its approach to the "triple-button line" (Elkington, 1998), meaning it is concerned not only by the wellbeing of the environment but also the social and financial well-being of the community; and (iii) place-based approach since CED strategies s tend to focus on strengthening the "local" or the "community" economy while (re)building "local resilience"(Markey et al., 2008). However, haphazardly emphasizing one element of improvement over another establishes an uneven ground, therefore sustainable community

development (SCD) attempts to build on CED and seeks to approach the improvement of the community in a way that considers how changes will contribute to a sense of community among neighbors and enhance the community capital.

In fact, placing people at the center of development echoes previous attempts in tourism studies which emphasize the role of the community in sustainable tourism development. Much like Mowforth and Munt's (2003) criteria for sustainability in tourism includes the criterion 'local participatory'. Meanwhile, community empowerment still remained an important concept within this sustainability and participation debate (Scheyvens, 1999). “A sustainable approach to tourism would state that all stakeholders are relevant because of the contribution they bring to the creation of social capital” (Hall 2008, p. 284). In a balanced dynamic partnership and collaborative approach toward tourism planning the emphasis should be placed on planning with as wide a group of stakeholders as possible, thereby making an attempt at to accommodate the public interest (Hall, 2008). There still remains an open question as to the definition of community participation, the level of community participation in tourism development initiatives and how it has been and should be implemented (Pretty and Hine 1999, Tosun 2000,2005). How will new emerging tourism models be framed and address the question of sustainability remains to be seen. Nevertheless, the rebellion currently taking place in hosting communities epitomizes the need for a new way to rethink the role and process of tourism on the basis of the principles of social justice, equity, spatial democracy, and sustainability.

As Richards and Hall (2000) elaborated: “[…] although the concept of community has shifted in meaning and application in the tourism field over the years, the recent rediscovery of the 'local' and the growing importance of identity have placed 'community' at the forefront of discussions about tourism development.”

Richards and Hall refer to Murphy’s (1983) classic review of community tourism. Murphy, stressed that it is necessary for each community to connect tourism development to local needs. This was often not the case, as Urry (1990) came to point out; in many cases the process of creating tourist infrastructure takes precedence over the needs of the local population. In consequence, subsequent studies have gradually expanded the notion of community-based tourism to incorporate a wide range of issues, such as local participation, democracy, and ecological aspects. In these discussions on tourism community development four key areas can be discerned (Murphy, 1985; Joppe, 1996; León, 2006; Beeton, 2006): community participation, sustainability, community economic development, and heritage.

1.11.2. Social sustainability

The critique of sustainable development echoes the problems embedded in sustainable tourism development. Much of the existing literature in the debates on sustainable development privileges methodologies belonging to the economic and ecological disciplines, unfortunately overlooking the importance of the social dimension of sustainability (Parra and Moulaert, 2010).

Community participation is often linked to the concept of sustainability, as this is often recognized as an ex-ante condition for tourism to develop in a sustainable way. Mowforth and Munt's (2003) criteria for sustainability in tourism include the criterion “local participation” as community empowerment as an important concept within the sustainability and participation debate (Scheyvens, 1999; Parra, 2010; Parra and Moulaert, 2010). As Hall (2000) stated: “A sustainable approach to tourism would state that all stakeholders are relevant because of the contribution they bring to the creation of social capital.” However, a working model for benefiting community economic development still has to be developed, as many paradoxes and contradictions between sustainable development and tourism development remain unresolved (Sharpley, 2000).

1.11.3. Community participation

In a balanced dynamic partnership and collaborative approach toward tourism planning the emphasis should be placed on planning with as wide a group of stakeholders as possible, thereby making an attempt to accommodate the public interest rather than planning for a narrow set of private interests under a corporatist perspective (Hall, 2000). Important points of discussion are the definition of community participation (Kuhk et al., 2019), the level of community participation in tourism development initiatives and how it has been and should be implemented (Pretty and Hine, 1999; Tosun, 2000). Tosun identified four important constraints to achieving community participation, which he took into account when developing the framework “Stages in the emergence of participatory tourism approach in the developing world” in a later work (Tosun, 2005). Mitchell and Reid (2001) developed the “Integration tourism framework” in order to investigate how public participation and related external and internal factors possibly influence or determine planning processes for a certain tourism project.

1.12. Conclusion: The knowledge gap

Regardless of the negative effects brought on by tourism, the industry remains a driving force in socio-economic development. But tourism must not just come to terms with the fact that its exponential growth has to halt but also pay greater attention to the carrying capacities of the areas it took root. It also needs to develop in line with broader, more sustainable patterns of consumption and production. To this purpose, tourism should move radically from being a private and privatizing activity to one founded in the common. The rising awareness of sustainability issues veered the discussion into new directions offering alternative forms of tourism development with an aim to minimize its exploitative character and give more attention to socio-cultural aspects which offer new insights into the impact tourism has on a community. However, the overview of the accumulated body of knowledge dealing with the impact of tourism activities on the hosting community reviles a niche within spatial tourism development– this scholarship has failed to account for the role spatial models play in the current tourist-host conflicts.

The role spatial models play in skewing the outcome of these policies and regulations has been neglected in the scholarship of sustainable tourism development. This key causal role will be further analyzed in the following chapters.

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CHAPTER 2

The Role of Spatial Models in Tourism Planning

2.1. Introduction

The extractive character of the tourist industry poses a challenge to urban policies which have to avert negative outcomes, control the expansion of the tourist industry while responding to a particular set of problems which vary depending on the given political, economic, socio-cultural and environmental context. The chapter uses literature analysis in order to illustrate the role of spatial models, as an extension of those policies, in mediating the tourist-host conflict and skewing their outcome.

Space and its use are an important aspect of tourism as all activities take place in a certain spatial frame. Maybe the most crucial aspect about the tourism industry is that it is, above all, place-specific. Tourism is strongly entangled with the making and remaking of local communities and nature. Tourism is a complex system and as an industry it is distinctive due to its particular combination of production, consumption and experiential character, although this combination varies depending on the hosting country. As the previous chapter has shown, the literature on tourism has failed to account for the role spatial tourism models (and their associated morphology) play in current crises of sustainability and spatial democracy. The spatial distribution of tourism activities can have a decisive role on several accounts: spatial justice, economic pre-distribution, and congestion. The following chapter will make a case for a more in-depth analysis of tourism morphology. To this purpose a theoretical framework will be put forward. It will allow to reflect on the regulation of tourism and French convention theory along with spatial planning of tourism, destination planning and an overview of tourism morphology.

2.2. Regulation of the tourism industry

A variety of forms for intervention are necessary to protect the environmental and cultural assets on which tourism is based. In that sense, policies play a great role in mitigating the exploitative character of the tourism industry. And while the outcome for these interventions depends on

the dominant type of tourism as well as the administrative and political context, there is an increasing recognition of the importance of the integrated approach in all levels of planning (Getz, 1986). Tourism, as a global phenomenon, utilizes local aspects and should be observed as an integrated part of local processes resulting in both desirable and less desirable outcomes- which are often a direct result of the physical manifestation of tourism in space in the (Konsolas and Yacharatos, 2000).

While there has been little detailed research on the changing regime of accumulation in tourism, there has been a late response to the new situation in the industry with regard to effective modes of regulation. This comes as no surprise given that new forms of production, mostly in the form of start-ups, can arise very quickly and mushroom thereby preceding the government's response to it. Yet, the general mode of regulation, as well as elements specific to tourism, can have considerable significance on the industry and associated gains. Simplified predictive theories of production and consumption have limited value for complex umbrella industries like tourism is. Instead, there is a need for a 'situational analysis', whereby researchers situate tourism in relation to key elements in individual countries (Dieke, 2000). This analysis should include the stage of development of the country, the roles of the private versus the public sector, in addition to institutional and regulatory frameworks.

There are multiple scales of regulation when it comes to a complex system such as the industry of tourism is; differentiation in regulation at the local or regional level, state level, and international level is necessary. The role of the national state is critical; the degree and extent of engagement with tourism varies among countries, and depends strongly on the predominant state regime and political-economy. However, regulation of tourism is more strongly present in the national economies where it is seen as a key element, such as in Spain (Valenzuela, 1998), Croatia or many smaller Caribbean islands (Wilkinson, 1997).

The following table (Table 1.) shows some key roles of the state related to the tourist sector. Although the table is not comprehensive, it gives a good idea of the ways in which a state directly or indirectly regulates tourism. In several areas, it is clear that neoliberalism has an impact on the way in which the industry develops. Interstate tourist mobility has generally been liberalized (although there are still restrictions) as has capital mobility. The main incentive for countries to liberalize the capital and labor market is to attract foreign capital and visitors by offering lower-priced goods and services.

General	Tourism specific
Relations with the global economy	
Passport and visa controls, customs (important for border-trading tourism), foreign exchange controls and exchange rates	Tourist visas and tourist exchange controls
Influencing the movement of international capital – inbound and outbound	
Absolute and conditional controls on the amounts and locations of investment, and levels of profit remittances	Particular incentives or controls on capital movements
Provision of legal framework to regulate production	
Health and safety laws, company reporting requirements, competition law, environmental protection, consumer protection	Particular laws and regulations for travel agents, tour operators, airlines, etc., dealing with issues such as guarantees against failure, travel safety, and food hygiene
Macro-economic policies	
Public spending and taxation policies have a particularly strong impact on tourism because of its status as a luxury/basic good	There is no 'one fit' macro economic policy which suits all economic sectors, and tourism – in common with other sectors – seeks to lobby governments to influence its direction. Some countries have social tourism policies which support tourism consumption by disadvantaged sections of society
Intervention in particular regions or localities	
National and local states may intervene where the local economy faces difficulties, and tourism may be one of, or the lead sector in, any regeneration strategy	Intervention to restructure the economies of tourism resorts in crisis
Reproduction of the labour force	
Education and training, health and housing, teaching of language and other skills at schools, regulation of wages and working conditions	Training courses in tourism at all levels, housing provision in resorts (important given high land and house prices, and relatively low wages)
Social investment	
State provision in response to perceived investment failures by private capital e.g. in roads or water supply	Direct state investment in and ownership of facilities such as airports, airlines, and regenerated waterfronts
Climate of security and stability	
International and national security and stability as an essential ingredient in the removal of uncertainty, which is a major obstacle to trade and investment	Security particularly important given the volatility of tourism demand in face of uncertainty or risk

Table 1. State policies focused on tourism (Source: Shaw and Allan, 2004)

As Shaw and Allan (2004) elaborate the national state mediates relations with the global economy by (i) exercising control over the mobility of labor, goods, capital and people in general; (ii) influencing exchange rates: (iii) influencing the movement of international capital (both inbound and outbound); (iv) providing the legal frameworks for production and consumption (which includes health and safety laws, requirements for company reporting, the application of competition law, environmental protection, and consumer protection); (v) forming macro-economic policies (including government expenditure and taxation, and shaping production and consumption); (vi) reproduction of labor force; (vii) social investment in public goods; (viii) providing a secure climate.

The blurred boundaries of tourism as a sector, accompanied by its growing significance and the income associated with it, has prompted a variety of international bodies to take interest in the forms of regulation. One of the more distinguished bodies associated with tourism is the World Tourism Organization, a voluntary body to which most of the world's national tourism organizations belong (Vellas and Bécherel, 1995). This organization plays an important role in consulting, data gathering and monitoring, education, and the organization of international conferences which seek to influence national regulations. There is also the example of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) which particularly focuses on questions of conservation of tangible and nontangible heritage. The signatures of the 'World Heritage Convention' committed themselves to identifying and conserving World Heritage properties. The best-known outcome of this is the World Heritage List, which provides recognition, and some protection under international law, of the designated sites (Hall, 2000). However, the extent of these organizations and their influence is greatly conditioned by the will of signatures to uphold and enforce the proclaimed guidelines. At any time, a signature suffices to opt-out of any of these voluntary based organizations for a number of reasons, as Israel has recently done under the argument anti-Israeli bias (Voice of America, 2019).

2.3. The role of French convention theory ("théorie des conventions") in tourism planning and regulation

In addition to formal policies, there are certain not formally state-confirmed social agreements which incentivize practices that are not necessarily strictly regulated in such a formal manner. These practices have become a focus in the debate on the right to income from a particular asset, and more specifically in what form or quantity. Since there is no inherent property right

over certain tourism assets, they are socially constructed through the relationships among the community- either through practices or formal contracts. In that sense the right to commodify a tourism asset may be ascribed to those with the title deeds to the land on which the asset is located; or the right to regulate can be vested in the public authorities on behalf of the community as we have seen in the previous paragraph. However, for many tourism assets (public goods for example) it is difficult to establish their property rights, which raises the question of free-riding. Ultimately how we come to define and valorize public goods will impact models of regulation. However, conventions are formed within socio-political frameworks and in the absence of formal regulations can have a strong impact on a variety of practices including spatial planning of tourism.

Convention theory introduces a pragmatist and socio-economic institutional approach in which the core assumption is that economic value and worth have to be interpreted and constructed according to situations of economic coordination. The community as an economic actor are held to be competent to perform critique or justification of conventions for different situations, in doing so, while referring to conventions and objects (things, and material realities). They can combine and switch conventions according to different logics of coordination. Economic actors can, therefore, rely on conventions as socio-cultural frames in order to mobilize a shared interpretation of the objects, actions, goals, and collective intentions involved in situations of production, distribution, and consumption (Diaz-Bone, 2015). Quality conventions, for example, are foundational for the evaluation and valuation of qualities ascribed to features of economic situations. They introduce a particularly normative foundation and a practical morality as the basis for the judgment in situations where regulation leaves space for different interpretations. In the tourism industry conventions can offer a control mechanism if the qualities they refer to are oriented towards the common good. This point will be further elaborated in the context of spatial planning of tourism and tourism infrastructure in the era of Socialist Yugoslavia.

2.4. The challenge of integrated spatial planning of tourism

Spatial planning can be understood as the coordination of practices and policies affecting the use and organization of space. A variety of methods and approaches used by the public and private sector influence the distribution of the built environment, people and activities space. Generally, spatial planning is understood as an attempt by society, particularly the public sector, to influence the spatial organization of human activities and corresponding land use, thus

making it a tool for promoting sustainability. In essence, spatial planning directly deals with the comprehensive shaping of space with regards to the three pillars of sustainability– social, economic, and environmental processes–considering their mutual interactions and correlations.

Spatial planning of tourism should be broached as a continuous activity, and secondly as an integrated element of national spatial strategies. Obviously, the aforementioned three pillars of sustainability –social, economic, environmental– accompanied by their individual multidimensional underlying aims to involve a far greater complexity than the definition by UNWTO suggests. It becomes a question of primacy between the three dimensions of sustainability, especially when addressing this topic from a governance perspective. The problem of hierarchy has resulted in a variety of methodological approaches which respectively promote either economic, ecological or social supremacy which gives rise to a more complex approach to questions of governance. This is due to the complex institutional framework and numerous actors involved, either indirectly or directly, at any stage of any tourist activity.

The *first challenge* is recognizing the different positions and motivations of each given stakeholder in order to work toward a common goal, before approaching the development of a spatial plan with regard to tourism. The actors are (i) tourism enterprises, which usually seek profit; (ii) NGOs, concerned with the harmful impact of tourism-related activities on the environment and community, (iii) tourists, which are concerned with high quality experience in safe and attractive environments; (iv) local communities, which seek increased prosperity and wellbeing but without exploitation or damage to their quality of life.

The *second challenge* is dealing with a multiscalar legislative pressure on defining and implementing guidelines. Among these actions, those conducted by the United Nations (UN) and the UNWTO are most notable. And while the focus in 1970s opposed growth and industrialization to environmental quality, the 1980s saw rise a view of sustainability aiming at conciliating the social, environmental and economic dimensions of development (Parra, 2010). From the 1990s onwards, the tourism sector adopted the global sustainability ethical directives and translated them into specific tourism documents, primarily under the influence of charters and best practice examples, and directed them towards tourism enterprises, tourists and governments (e.g. UNWTO policy guide publications). Despite forming a heterogenous set of instruments regarding different objectives, contents, levels of influence and popularity, their effectiveness in practice is questionable. The main issue underlying this problem is the weak enforcement power of these documents, which are usually identified as soft-law or non-binding

instruments lacking the necessary authority to constrain unsustainable practices, even if states might have officially adhered to their rules the implementation in nation legislature is but one only the first step. The actual effect will not be noted in any situation if the state at question does not enforce its laws, is conduced to corruption, bending at the will of large capital with profit-maximization imperatives, or has faulty inconsistent legislature which leaves the way open for interpretation.

The *third challenge* is balancing the rational territorial organization of land uses and the linkages between them in order to balance demands for development with the need to protect the environment, and to achieve social and economic objectives. In this particular aspect, spatial planning tries to coordinate and improve the impacts of other sectoral policies on land use, in order to achieve a more even distribution of economic development within a given territory rather than opting for Laissez-faire market-driven spatial planning. Spatial planning is, therefore, an important lever for promoting sustainable development and more importantly sustainable tourism development.

One undeniable setback in planning for sustainable tourism development is the fact that profit still reigns supreme which entails a market-oriented strategy in tourism planning. The process of spatial planning is carried out at the local or regional level, unlike market-oriented tourism development which is carried out on regional or higher levels (Dredge, 1999), rendering these processes divergent due to different strategies to pursue profitability. Unfortunately, there is a discrepancy between the advancements being made with regard to methodological processes of tourism planning (Inskeep, 1988; Getz, 1986; Baud-Bovy and Lawson, 1977) and spatial concepts, models and corresponding theories from which planners can draw. This problem can aggravate the difficulty of integrating destination management into the urban planning framework and subsequently the spatial model (Dredge, 1999).

Generally, a national spatial strategy produces regional and local spatial plans.

As much as tourism needs to be planned as an integral part of national strategies, in the same way it needs to be integrated into local place management and planning. A smart comprehensive spatial plan can be beneficial for the industry as well as the local community since the spatial hierarchy imposes an order to help mitigate or even eliminate certain problems such as congestion, or even promote economic justice, in terms of a spillover effect, by engaging

different parts of urban settings in the tourist area. It is, therefore, necessary to look into specific destination planning models, and subsequently zoom into the scale of touristic morphology.

2.5. Destination planning

Tourism relies on the community's stock of natural and human resources, thereby making it essential for the industry to be successfully integrated into the local place management. However, different resources are frequently planned and managed under different statutory and non-statutory planning practices, such as land-use planning, natural resource management, and community economic development. Most of these practices are primarily concerned with other issues and are conducted independently of tourism planning strategies which can result in conflicting policies potentially playing havoc with the endogenous social processes in the community. One of the more pressing setbacks towards integrating sustainable tourism development is, apart from the multiscale planning processes, the availability of planning tools and models.

Beyond strategies and initiatives, the physical planning and ultimately, spatial disposition, can enforce the effectiveness of public policies or skew their outcome. Simply put, land use planning is a statutory process which aims to identify a vision for the spatial development of an area and to pursue this by designating a preferred pattern of land use. The aim of land use planning requires that developmental issues be spatially interpreted. Land-use planning often precedes land use regulation, which typically encompasses zoning. Zoning regulates the types of activities that can be accommodated on a given piece of land, as well as the amount of space devoted to those activities. Zoning regulations are a control tool which allows the regulation of the real estate market and to, ideally, ensure complementary uses. The zoning regulation is accompanied by a zoning ordinance–a text specifying the use of every individual parcel. Zoning regulations typically include specifications for every individual parcel regarding height/floor area ratios, density, parcel size. These rules differ from country to country and often includes more details such as the building style, techniques, and material if the parcel is located in an area under protection as a heritage site; or the ratio of plot that must remain unbuilt, thereby protecting sustainable urban drainage systems.

Frequently, however, despite considerable advancements in the development of methodological processes of tourism planning (Getz 1987; Inskeep, 1988, Boyd-Bovy and Lawson, 1977) there is a lack of spatial concepts, models and theories from which the land use planner can draw

(Dredge, 1999). This, in turn, can further aggravate the difficulty of integrating a sustainable destination place management into the land-use planning framework.

2.6. Spatial models in tourism planning

In order to communicate problems and concepts, an adequate *vocabularium* was established. Tourism infrastructure is thus referred to as a model, "[…] an abstract, generalized, ideal and simplified construct that serves to reduce the complexity of the real world in the interest of explanation by highlighting the fundamental elements or characteristic of an actual situation or process" (Pacione, 2001). The main concern in destination planning is to lay out a vision of spatial development, and consequently through design methods put forward a preferred model of land use (Dredge, 1999) which will in return maximize revenue.

2.6.1. Development of spatial models in tourism

During the last decade, a number of models have emerged as references to planners in order to facilitate the processes of destination planning and design. Planning tools utilized in the spatial planning of tourism models can generally be divided into three categories (Dredge, 1999). The first group of tools is focused on the nature of planning processes and is closely related to the field of decision-theory and policy analysis (Campbell and Fainstein, 1996). In tourism literature, several planning models exist which make an attempt at following a rational comprehensive paradigm (Inskeep, 1987; Inskeep, 1988; Baud-Bovy and Lawson, 1977). The second group of tools are the functional tools. This group consists of a broad range of theories, models, and concepts, which illustrate the causation behind specific settlement patterns and their functional aspects. They are principally derived from systems theory. They are also divided into those which make an attempt at being holistic or simply present one aspect of a larger system (MacLoughlin, 1973). In tourism literature, these tools encompass the center-periphery analysis (Britton, 1989), the analysis of travel behavior patterns (Lundgren, 1982) and morphogenic studies of destination regions (Smith, 1992; Stansfield and Rickert, 1970). Normative tools form the third group and deal with the linkages between human values and settlement forms, by dealing with the links between architecture, urban design, landscape, and society. Some of the examples of normative tools in planning literature include "Good City Form" (Lynch, 1981) and "A Pattern Language" (Alexander et al., 1975). However, examples of normative tools in tourism are scarce. There are a few notable exemptions, including the "model of attractions" (Gunn, 1972) and the "integrated model" (Dredge, 1999).

2.6.2. The negative effects resulting from poor or a complete lack of spatial planning in tourism

Nevertheless, the problems of tourism destination management do not simply stem from a lack of planning tools and models as such, but the considerable fragmentation of spatial tourism models which are developed independently of one another, with little or no effort to build on previous efforts (Pearce, 1995) and with little regard towards the impact the models have on their immediate context, i.e., the community.

Inconsistent and fragmented planning or the complete lack of comprehensive spatial plans can set the perfect scene for a catastrophe. The unfortunate case of forest fires devastating two coastal towns in Greece in 2018, became a cautionary tale stressing the importance of systematic and comprehensive spatial planning. The seaside coastal towns of Mati and Kokkino Limanaki mostly consists of weekend or second-homes and hotels. The fire that engulfed them started nearby as a forest fire but by 8 PM on 23rd of July spread quickly and ended up leaving 103 dead, and 140 injured people. In this particular case, many people died while trying to escape the fire by getting to the sea, either by car or on foot. However, those trying to drive were stuck in traffic due to the narrow lanes which were not a result of comprehensive planning. But an ad-hoc solution. Since the construction of buildings preceded the construction of infrastructure, the space left did not provide enough for two-way lanes which would firstly, allow for two cars to drive along each other by, and secondly for the fire trucks to reach the site of catastrophe on time. Other people fleeing by foot could not reach the coast often just a dozen meters away in Euclidian distance but were blocked by fenced away parcels restraining the movement of people and forcing them to make long detours around the block. Alexis Tsipras – the then prime minister – laid the blame on the anarchic construction of a settlement built without proper planning hinting at an unregulated hodgepodge of villas, houses and multistory apartment blocks built beyond the gaze of town planners and without proper infrastructure (Smith, 2019). Strategic spatial planning serving neoliberal political agendas in planning practice occurs more often in countries with higher levels of corruption or weak regulation tools, which can result in such horrible infrastructural situations. These situations are not uncommon due to fragmented changes in general plans. Any change would normally

understand a certain percentage of land use imply a certain percentage of users, and underpinning the necessary infrastructure to accommodate the new number of users and traffic. However, what we often witness is a simple alteration in the land use which boosts the density of program, users and traffic, without making the necessary changes in infrastructure.

As the climate crisis intensifies, with a rising sea level and extreme weather conditions, comprehensive sustainable spatial planning will hopefully gain momentum. It has become more and more evident that a lack of planning is planning for disaster.

2.6.3. The role of spatial models in supporting spatial justice

Another issue coming recently into focus is the rise of the privatization of public space (Davis, 1999). Tourism as private product has caused a chain reaction in what Sorkin (1991) calls the end of public space in the city. This is an important aspect in the debate on the question of spatial justice spanning many areas of social science embedded firmly in urban studies, but still rarely discussed in tourism and leisure with a few exceptions (Hall and Page, 2006; Page and Connell, 2010). Even though conservation and urban policies seek out strategies to lessen the pressure on communities and avert the overuse of built and natural heritage, there are tourism-related problems which should be addressed by urban policies and more directly spatial planning. A notable attempt to visualize the effect of urban planning on tourism activities has been made in a recent study of causes for conflicts in tourist-historic cities through a morphological analysis Bálint Kádár (2013). By analyzing urban morphology in two historical city centers of Prague and Vienna, Kadar concluded that, unlike Prague, which is denser, Vienna had a more dispersed spatial configuration allowing tourists various options while moving from one attraction to another, lessening the congestion. With the method of analyzing syntactic space systems introduced by Hillier (1996), he illustrates that Vienna is more attractive to tourists as it offers more choices of exploration, and therefore more freedom, an essential value in leisure activities.

2.7. Morphological studies of tourism infrastructure

The increasing demand by international tourists for beach holidays has resulted in a rapid increase in the number of coastal resorts worldwide. More travel companies came onto the scene, increasing competition for customers and moving towards new forms of holidaying and mass tourism, thus, causing, substantial changes in the morphological and structural patterns of coastal resorts development.

“Beach resort development has been characterized by careful attention to planning and design for individual hotel projects but with little effective control of overall resort growth (Smith, 1992, p. 209)”. Smith’s observation resonates with problems in spatial planning of tourism development still largely present today. As a result, many negative aesthetic, social and environmental impacts have emerged. This situation has been illustrated by Bollerey (1986, p.88):

“Hotels, villas, pavilions, and guesthouses sprang upright in the dunes. Meanwhile, sand in the shoes has been traded in for asphalted shore promenades, while seaside resorts and beaches have been irreversibly transformed at the hands of concrete-happy speculators for the benefit of mass tourism.”

The case of Spain and many other south Mediterranean countries exhibit this phenomenon known as the ‘apartmanizion’, which is a term used to describe the aggressive destruction of coastal areas through the overbuilding of secondary residences. Apart from the incoherent image these structures create, in the event of an emergency, as a fire would be, the result could be the same as it was in the case of Mata and Kokkino Limanaki.

Even though tourism accommodation is spatially expressed in a variety of models, in this dissertation the focus will be placed on resorts as a more complex system: a town within a town, or an adjunct neighborhood differentiated by its touristic purpose. It will be argued that depending on the relationship established between the resort and the connected community the touristic model will have a more positive or negative impact on the community. It will also be argued that the physical integration of the resort into the existing urban matrix can have a key role in this respect. Therefore, a more in-depth analysis of morphology is necessary.

Morphology is not to be understood simply as form (Cospodini, 2001; Daniel and Hopkinson, 1979; Gu, 2001), but rather as “the science of form” (Johnston et al., 2000, p. 526; Larkham, 2002). Additionally, the time-space perspective plays an important role in interpenetrating and defining various morphologies, given their continuous development through time (Liu and Wall, 2009). The study of resort morphology can be simplified by breaking the concept into two notions: morphology and resort, so that morphology stands for the object of study while resort indicates the unit of analysis. The concept of morphology in the geographical context refers mainly to the forms and functions of places, the relationships between them, and how they change over time (Liu and Wall, 2009), however, in social geography it is adopted as a

synonym for structure (Halbwachs, 1970; Johnston et al., 2000). This thesis will hereinafter employ a positivist approach to social geography, and approach resort morphology as a study of the two-way relationship between spatial structure and social structure.

Based on this understanding we can now define resort morphology as the study of forms (architectural typologies and their configuration) and their associated programs (the manner in which space is utilized) in the destination area and their subsequent development throughout time. It is, therefore, necessary to (i) address form and associated functions with regard to their interaction and the dynamic development throug time; (ii) bear in mind the differentiation between the destination area and the connected community in terms of land use; (iii) acknowledge the level of integration the resort has within the connected community. If the intention is to utilize tourism for the betterment of the community, the resort should be planned as an integral part of the associated town, rather than a mere adjunct.

Resorts offer a variety of tourism services and vary in their character and overall size (Lavery, 1974; Robinson, 1976; Walton, 2000), but also in their economic structure. Historically, in Europe, a resort was associated with an area dedicated to tourists and with infrastructure offering different services (accommodation, restaurants, bars, souvenir shops, etc.) owned or managed by different companies (Cooper et al., 1998; Wall, 2001). In North America resorts were all-inclusive facilities providing all services under one management or ownership (Cooper et al., 1998; Powers and Barrows, 1999; Wall, 2001). And whereas the European resorts developed organically over a longer period of time, the North American resort typical followed a preestablished comprehensive design project (Huffadine, 2000).

In terms of resort morphology studies, the European models have been more frequently the topic of research (see Smith, 1991, 1992). This type of resort emerged from specialized towns devoted to tourism activities, therefore it can be studied as an individual geographical unit. Since a resort town is a small distinct region, a unit of the geosphere that can be studied as belonging to an open space-time system with four dimensions displaying changes in both space and time. In that sense it has a distinct spatial form, function with a historical trajectory underpinning the dynamic interaction between endogenous and exogenous forces. Consequently, the resort town has a distinct morphology formed through the interaction of the ecological and socio-cultural environment, the political-economic structure and their inherent agencies as well as institutionalization processes (Conzen, 2004). Given this complexity, resort

morphology can be studied from multiple perspectives such as tourism geography, historical geography, urban geography, architectural and urban history, architectural typological studies.

Liu and Wall made a survey of key references and the locations of study; they distinguish 1970–1979 and 1990–1999 as periods of substantial research output (Table 2).

Study site(s)	Europe	North America	Other Regions
Up to 1969	Gibert (1939,1949): England Barret (1958): England and Wales	Stansfield (1969):USA	
1970-1979	Lavery (1974)a: Western Europe Wall (1975): UK Ferras (1975): Spain Robinson (1976)[a]: Europe Garcia (1976): Spain Pearce (1978): France Baptistide (1979): Caribbean	Stansfield (1978): USA Demars (1979): USA	
1980-1989	Priestley (1986): Spain	Wall (1982a, b)[a]: Canada	
1990-1999	Jeans (1990): UK and Australia Clary (1993)[a]: France	Meyer-Arendt (1990): The Gulf coast of Mexico Brent (1997): USA	Jeans (1990): Australia and the UK Wong (1990): Malaysia Smith (1991, 1992): Southeast Asia and Australia Kermath and Thomas (1992): Dominica
2000 up until today	Andriotis (2003, 2006): Greece		Wall (2001): China Ouyang (2000): China

[a] No specific interest on coastal resort.

Table 2. Overview of literature focused on tourism morphology (Source: Liu and Wall, 2009)

While not yet clearly defined, the term resort morphology was launched in the 1930s (Gilbert, 1939, 1949). Considering tourism functions and morphological elements together, Gilbert (1949) found that tourism was transforming the settlement patterns on the British coast and started distinguishing the small resort towns from others. Some common phenomena in seaside resorts were systemized by a few geographers in the following decades (Barrett, 1958; Stansfield, 1969).

However, while doing a follow-up longitudinal study on Brighton and with a focus on its morphological changes, Gilbert drew attention to the importance of resorts in the urban system, and indicated that some factors spur the growth of seaside towns, including the medical profession, royal patronage and the arrival of the railway (Gilbert, 1949). His research contributes to both morphological research and the study of resort evolution. However, the first thorough study of resort morphology was undertaken by Barrett (1958), who investigated over 80 coastal resorts in Wales and England. Brent (1997) put forward schematic maps mapping out the most important characteristics of the resorts: the resort core consisting of the major shops and businesses often ran from the pier towards the railway station and the intensity and price of accommodation services decreased as the distance from the core increased.

As the table displays the first period of growth in research on resort morphology began in the 1970s, with a focus on European coastal resorts (Baptistide, 1979, cited in Pearce, 1995; Ferras, 1975, cited in Pearce, 1995; Garcia, 1976; Lavery, 1974: Pearce, 1978).

Generally, a certain homogeneity ran across the different cases: a seafront pattern ("*front de mer*", Pearce, 1978, p. 144) or linear concentration along the coast, a parallel structure around the attractive core (mostly the beach), a T-shape based cluster around the railway station and its connection to the coast were prevalent. But, more importantly, the interconnection between resort morphology and changing contextual factors such as social, technological and geographical features began to be recognized (Liu and Wall, 2009).

The coastal resort morphology is perhaps the most examined among all types of resort morphologies. This is probably a consequence of the coast being an early geographical focus for mass tourism, in terms of activities and population, thereby resulting in a more diverse landscape (Lewis, 1964; Holden, 2006). The "golden" period for seaside vacations, initiated in the first half of the 20th century, were concentrated on coastal towns as opposed to other areas (Walton, 2000, p. 27). A map of resort distribution in Western Europe for that period shows

that over 90% of the resorts had a coastal location (Lavery, 1974). The coastline is a distinctive morphological feature in that coastal areas are typically linear rather than spread in a bi-dimensional space (Fabbri, 1990).

Based on Brent's (1997) division, resort morphological models may be divided into three categories: historical models, static models, and integrated models (Liu and Wall, 2009).

Historical Model (Temporal Axis Emphasized)

The historical model is a combined product of morphological research and evolutionary study. Generally, it includes several schematic diagrams representing different development stages of the observed resort(s). The historical model provides much more information about resort morphology than the static model, not only helping to build a more comprehensive theoretical context but also providing some practical guidelines for resort planning and development (Andriotis, 2006; Smith, 1991, 1992). The historical model is often linked to Butler's (1980) model of resort evolution. Therefore, presenting a somewhat predictable sequence of the evolution of a coastal resort morphology, typical for western coastal resorts, and including a (i) pre-tourism stage with low-density, low-diversification development; (ii) high-density, highly-diversified development; and finally (iii) an urbanized town. But, although Butler's evolution model serves as a useful conceptual framework it has been the subject of criticism due to (i) its failure to capture the unique context of individual places and the capacity of local economies to resist broader national or international pressures; (ii) downplaying the role of human agency in mediating development processes, thereby, rendering the unpredictable; (iii) providing simplified linearity, when in fact most stages overlap or can be subject to periodic reversal; (iv) it fails to separate causes and consequences, (v) the phases are difficult to establish with certainty before the full cycle has been finished (see Agarwal,1994, 1997, 2001; Cooper and Jackson, 1989; Haywood, 1986; Priestley and Mundet, 1998).

Static Model (Spatial Axis Emphasized)

The static model is merely a morphological abstract or generalization of a study area conducted by mapping of spatial features, without taking into account socioeconomic or historical considerations. Barrett's (1958) classic model represents the most basic morphology of a coastal resort town, with a compact business core perpendicular to a frontal recreational strip that is parallel to the beach, usually connecting the coastline to the transportation node. It also

suggested an inverse relationship between the intensity of the recreational program and the distance to the frontal strip.

Integrated Model

This is still not a general model, though striking similarities exist between the (integrated) models drawn from different resort towns. Given that resort morphology does not strictly respect the borders between academic disciplines, in future studies an integrated model is expected to provide a holistic analysis considering a historical or longitudinal view, a comprehensive context (social, cultural, economic and political factors considered) and a high level of general applicability (Liu and Wall, 2009).

Integrated studies on resort morphology, depending on the objective, typically interpret forms and associated functions within their environment. They focus on a generalized land use rather than the details of built forms or plots that garnered the interest of many urban morphologists with a background in architecture (Chapman, 2006; Gauthier and Gilliland, 2006). In other words, most resort morphologists are externalists–viewing the morphology as a result of external conditions, not just internal (Gauthier and Gilliand, 2006). One reason can be sought in the inherent character of resort towns. Neither the current morphological representation nor the process of morphological change of a resort town can be understood without the full acknowledgment of the contextual factors, for tourism is "a product of changing economic and social factors" (Holden, 2006, p. 37). The other reason can be sought in the background of the resort morphologists, most of whom are geographers and thus consider the phenomenon of a resort morphology to be dynamic and spatially interconnected (Bowen, 1981; Hartshorne, 1946).

In the last two decades, there has been growing interest in the specific effects of morphology on housing development, environmental degradation, coastal access, and changes in cultural and economic frames (Agarwal and Brunt, 2006; Mongeau, 2003; Smith, 2004). And in these debates, there has been a spark of interest in rethinking the revival of traditional resort towns, with an expectation that these studies of resort morphology can make a contribution to this revival of interest (Agarwal, 2001; Andriotis, 2006; Smith, 2004).

2.8. Conclusion

The complex interaction of social, political, cultural, and economic factors that affect the morphological character of resorts directly or indirectly needs to be addressed in a more systematic way. The linkages of these factors with resort morphology need further investigation and interpretation; and, vice versa, interest should be given to how the morphology impacts the communities neighboring the resort. Causal relationships between the aforementioned factors, tourism development, and resort morphology are worth examination in both qualitative and quantitative ways. Undoubtedly, urban morphologists have undertaken some promising work in which morphology was shown or suggested to inform development planning from micro to macro scales (Chapman, 2006; Hall, 2000). Beyond describing what the morphology has been and is, there is still an exigency for normative contributions and suggestions on what should be planned and built in the short, or long-term future (Gauthier and Gilliland, 2006).

There certainly is a need to develop a comprehensive approach for the investigation of resort morphology, which would combine a morphological approach (the traditional descriptive method), a functional approach (an explanatory method), and an integrated evolutionary approach (longitudinal or cross-sectional study) using new tools such as Geographic Information System (GIS).Understanding spatial provides insight into why policy outcomes are enabled or restricted to perform efficiently and taking into account agendas of conflicting groups of actors. In other words, recognizing space and spatial dynamics helps to reveal the bias of the public agency and shift the emphasis in favor of alternative policy perspectives. Yet, models which study these issues remain scarce, with a few notable exceptions. In the field of tourism studies, there are none. This gap in knowledge prevents us from fully understanding the impact tourism industry has on the physical space that surrounds us thus enables further privatization of public spaces.

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CHAPTER 3

Tourism and Leisure Culture in Socialist Yugoslavia

3.1. Introduction: Making of Socialist Yugoslavia

When Yugoslavia was recreated in 1945, in the form of a socialist federal republic, the new leadership quickly established paid vacations and recreation as crucial elements in the state's new social program. Leisure and recreation were assumed to be complementary to industrial labor. Yugoslavian perception of the benefits of recreation and tourism echoed Soviet ideas on the beneficial use of travel for the purpose of leisure to enhance the physical and intellectual capital of the labor force and to use tourism as a means to foster the integration of the residents of different ethnic groups into the body of the nation and the state (Gorsuch and Koenker, 2006, pp. 3, 10). The focus on Yugoslavia for the purpose of investigating the potential of tourism in triggering sustainable development has two reasons. *Firstly*, the instrumentalization of tourism through policies and integrated spatial planning for the sake of comprehensive and long-term development of the Yugoslav socio-political tissue as of 1945 by focusing on: (i) the prosperity of the tourist economy and supporting industries in boosting economic development of lagging regions; (ii) social cohesion through the distribution of idealist notions of "fraternity and unity" encouraging the free flow of people, their interaction and consequently growing tolerance; (iii) and, in addition of the prior two, the advancement made in infrastructure and program (a new variety of uses). And *secondly*, the specific type of spatial models (morphology) of tourism–open resort–which, as it will be argued successfully supported the aforementioned intentions, by establishing a specific spatial hierarchy.

This chapter will explore seven principal sources to illustrate a historical overview of tourism in socialist Yugoslavia: (i) the archival records of the Council of the Association of Trade Unions of Croatia (Vijeće Saveza sindikata Hrvatske, VSSH) dealing with tourism or those belonging to the Committee for Rest and Recreation (Odbor za odmor i rekreaciju, OOR) and related governmental bodies, available throughout 1947– 1970; (ii) spatial plans and development plans by the Urban Planning Institute of Dalmatia (Urbanistički Zavod Dalmacije, UZD); (iii) Turizam ("Tourism"), the monthly journal of the Tourist Association of Croatia (Turistički savez Hrvatske, TSH) and Yugoslavia's leading tourist journal, with a large

collection of articles on worker's holiday centers, 1953–1990; (iv) legislation on holidays and tourism passed by Croatian and federal parliaments and published in the official gazettes Narodne novine and Službeni list; (v) statistics on tourism released in Croatian and Yugoslav statistical yearbooks (Statistički godišnjak Hrvatske, SGH; Statistički godišnjak Jugoslavije, SGJ), and specialized editions of the Croatian Statistical Bureau (Republički zavod za statistiku); (vi) Radničke novine ("Workers' paper"), the VSSH weekly, which published a vast number of articles on social tourism from 1973 to 1989; (vii) a number of articles dealing with spatial planning, architecture and realizations published in "Man and Space" an architectural magazine published by the Croatian Chamber of Architects (Hrvatska Komora Arhitekata, HKA). Most of the sources deal with Croatia but can serve as a frame to reconstruct the development of tourism in Yugoslavia based on the fact that Croatia was, due to its coast, the primary destination area in Yugoslavia for most domestic and foreign tourists.

3.2. The instrumentalization of tourism

Yugoslavian state political leaders and cultural commissars understood something which has only recently come into focus of western scholars: the ideological, social, and political importance of tourism. As argued by Shelley Baranowski and Ellen Furlough, tourism is not only a strong economic force but has also been put to use as a tool operated by various types of governments in promoting ideology, social harmony, and national coherence (Baranowski and Furlough, 2001, p. 16; Furlough, 2001, pp. 121–9; Koshar, 1998, pp. 323–40; 2000). Moreover, as MacCannell (1992, p. 1) argued "tourism is not just an aggregate of merely commercial activities; it is also an ideological framing of history, nature and tradition; a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs." Indeed, both capitalist and socialist states considered tourism to be too important to leave it to the private sector alone (Gorsuch and Koenker, 2006, p. 3).

Decades before western scholars began to conduct studies which challenged the frivolous vision of tourism as a residual category devoid of political significance and entailing fringe economic activities of a Mickey Mouse type, (Walton, 1997; Yeomans 2010) the Yugoslavian regime was using tourism and leisure in an attempt to construct a specific consciousness, legitimize ideology, shape everyday life and attitudes (Urry,1990; MacCannell, 1992), and brand itself as a pro-modern state. In communist Yugoslavia, tourism and leisure, and wider social, political, and cultural currents were closely intertwined. At the very early days of the new state, it was

crucial to find an effective way to socially integrate different ethnical groups and cultivate a collective *imaginarium* that fosters intensive social cohesion.

3.3. Domestic tourism

The society in Yugoslavia was still divided during the post-war period. And in Croatia (People's Republic of Croatia) this situation was particularly tense. To surpass the divisions between Croatians and the native Serbian population, given the wartime persecution of the Serbs at the hands of the Croatian Ustaša regime, was of great importance for the social stability of the new state. In fact, the communist government believed that tourism in Croatia would help to facilitate the process of reconciliation between the communities and create a new common identity of "fraternity and unity". "Fraternity and Unity" was, in fact, a popular slogan of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia that was coined during the Yugoslav People's Liberation War (1941–45). It eventually evolved into a guiding principle of Yugoslavia's post-war inter-ethnic policy and would in return have a significant impact on Yugoslavian domestic tourism. This included social tourism with the purpose of promoting the aforementioned idealistic tendencies.

Interference by the state, trade unions, and other institutions in tourism, and particularly social tourism was not a Yugoslavian construct. In fact, the principle of paid vacations was accepted in 1936 by the International Labor Organization (ILO) known as Convention 52, which guaranteed at least six days annual paid leave. Following this event, France made a step further and in the same year granted its workers up to two weeks of annual holidays with pay (Furlough (1998). The real turning point, however, occurred after WWII, in the 1960s, when paid vacations came to be understood as a right being part of the European standard of living and of the new social contract (Furlough, 1998; Inglis, 2000). In 1970, the ILO Convention 132 recommended a three-week paid leave, although by this time many countries had introduced a standard four-week annual paid leave (Duda, 2010). These advances in worker's rights became cornerstones of the post-war tourism industry since they not only propelled the idea of legal entitlement, facilitating the custom of travel but also gave a time window permitting international travel.

3.4. The institutionalization of social tourism

The Yugoslavian state and the trade unions, coupled with other organizations supported a social model of tourism in a variety of ways.

As a first step in July 1946 the Yugoslavian federal government introduced an annual two weeks paid leave (Official newspaper, *Službeni List,* 1946). This went beyond what the ILO suggested in Convention 54 which was ratified in Yugoslavia rather late in 1953 (*Službeni List,*1953). According to the federal Labor Act (1958), employees were entitled to a minimum of 12, and up to 30 days of annual paid leave, which varied proportionally with employee age and years of employment at the company (*Službeni List,* 1957). In 1965, the minimum leave was extended to 14 days (*Službeni List,* 1965), and finally to 18 days in 1973 (*Službeni List,* 1973). During the same year Yugoslavia ratified the ILO Convention 132 (*Službeni List,* 1973). Paid leave was a constitutional right, employers could not reject and employees had to accept it. The ruling idea in Europe during the twentieth century on leisure associated with travel and combined with living standards in Yugoslavia at the time paved the way for social tourism. This system was based on two main pillars: special accommodation units intended for workers called worker's resorts, *radnička odmarališta*; and financial privileges such as price reductions and annual holiday allowances, called *regres* (Jovanović, 1979; Hitrec,1988).

During the first phase, which lasted until the mid-1960s, trade unions were responsible for the enforcement of state regulations on holidays and vacations, by managing social tourism in practice. The various trade unions united under a republican association, like the United Trade Unions of Croatia, and were coordinated by the head organization the Association of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia. The federal and republican head offices, as well as many of the associated local branches, had boards, committees, or commissions for holidays, tourism and recreation (Duda, 2010). In 1947, the federal government issued an order regulating vacation benefits for trade union members (*Službeni List,* 1947) which enabled the trade union members and their family to obtain a 50 percent discount on trains, a 25 percent discount on accommodation if they stayed at the same place for more than 5 consecutive days, and a residence tax exemption (Duda, 2005). Although these percentages did vary during the subsequent years, social tourism slowly became a standard.

However, in this first phase, the accommodation facilities were still modest and mainly consisted of nationalized villas and hotels. These holiday centers were regulated under a

hospitality law passed by the federal parliament in 1958 and remained in force until 1965, and later under the tourism and hospitality law passed in 1974, and amended in 1988 (*Službeni List,* 1958, 1965).

Along with financial subsidies, discounts, and the worker's resorts, the state also organized campaigns and issued a variety of newspaper articles, brochures, and tv commercials in order to shift the public opinion to embrace tourism. It had become evident that the legal and time assurance did not necessarily guarantee a boost in the volume of domestic travel. There was still one issue– the issue of willingness. Peasants turned factory workers were not drawn to travel since tourism was still at the time associated with rich bourgeoise. Although the number of overnight stays made by domestic tourists increased from 8.6 million in 1950 to 19.5 million in 1960, the motivation among the workers was still lagging. In an interview with a Croatian daily newspaper, *Vjesnik*, the president of the workers' council at *'Varteks'*, a textile factory in an inland town in Croatia, Stjepan Kolarek, indicated that he was well aware of the situation: "The majority of workers come from villages. Many simply don't feel the need to go away for the summer. For some of them, the seaside holiday is a 'luxury,' something characteristic for 'gentlemen' rather than workers." When offered a free holiday on the Island of Rab an older worker from 'Varteks' declined, saying: "Thank you comrades, but no. In my thirty years of service I've never spent my holidays at the seaside. That's not for me." (Vjesnik, 19 June 1958 cited in Duda, 2005, pp. 86–7)

The state was aware of these issues and took several different approaches in this matter. Given that a part of the labor force continuously stayed away from seaside vacations, the state redirected some of its efforts to catering for children and adolescents by organizing summer camps or *dječja ljetovališta.* Probably the most famous project was an island in the Šibenik archipelago called Obonjan, dubbed The Island of Youth or *Otok Mladosti* in Croatian. Children and young people from all over Yugoslavia participated in this program and for many of them this was the only way to spend the summer on the coast and meet other young Yugoslavs.

(In modern-day Croatia the island of Obonjan was given by means of concession for a duration of 50 years to a company from Britain.)

Other efforts were made towards medical tourism and the creation of sanatoriums specializing in different types of care and for different age groups; while some were focused on war veterans, others were focused on children. The sanitariums, as well as the children's summer camps were

originally placed in nationalized villas, similar to the worker's resorts. But as the records from different conferences during the early stages of tourism in Yugoslavia (particularly prior to 1950) show, these places too often had insufficient capacity or did not meet sanitary requirements. Therefore, customized building projects were developed in later stages with financial means stemming from military or social funds.

3.5. International tourism

During the 1960s the political focus gradually shifted towards international commercial tourism. As Tito reiterated, it was of national interest to reframe the tourism industry as an export trade (*Turizam* 11–12, 1978). Hard currency was a vital revenue for the Yugoslavian national economy and the economic potential of international tourism was slowly gaining momentum.

However, the prospect of international tourism in Yugoslavia cannot be separated from the state's evolving socio-political framework. In the aftermath of the split from the Soviet bloc and the creation of the non-aligned movement, Yugoslavia positioned itself as the place in-between the west and the east. In this sense, international tourism can be divided into two phases. The first preceded the split from the soviet bloc in June 1948– which in the second phase had a tremendous impact on the evolution of Yugoslavia and consequently international tourism. International tourism cannot be viewed as detached from the socio-political context, and in the case of Yugoslavia this meant losing a great deal of international tourists who were arriving mostly from Eastern European countries. Indeed, the split with Moscow had an immediate effect on tourism, unlike the effect on other socio-economic spheres which would take time to show effect (Marković, 1996, p. 18). A large section of Czechoslovak tourists who came to Yugoslavia between 1946 and 1948 travelled via private tourist agencies such as the Dubrovnik Spa & Hotel Society (*Dubrovnika lazeňska a hotelova společnost*), the *Travema* agency, or even *Čedok* travel agency, which was founded in 1920 and nationalized in March 1948 (Tchoukarine, 2010). However, in early August of 1948 Czechoslovakia and Hungary banned further tourist travels to Yugoslavia (Tchoukarine, 2007).

There is an undeniable path dependency of international tourism in Yugoslavia. International tourism in Yugoslavia shows evidence of a deep-rooted continuity from pre-war developments, through the developing stage between 1945 and 1948, and further through Tito's Yugoslavia from 1950 onwards. Notwithstanding the significant influence of foreign policy and

international relations, tourist fluxes are undeniably influenced largely by established traditions. Czechoslovak tourists would continue to travel to Yugoslavia, after a trade agreement in February 1956, which contained a temporary agreement on tourism concluded between the Czechoslovak and Yugoslavian leadership (Tchoukarine, 2010).

It would be, however, unjustifiable to categorize the period prior to 1948 as strictly pro-Eastern European and the subsequent period to follow a pro-Western one, given that tourists from Western countries also visited Yugoslavia prior to 1948. In fact, between 1946 and 1948, the state maintained links with Western countries. *Putnik*, the state travel company managed the first tourist offices of socialist Yugoslavia abroad. Offices were opened in Tirana and Prague in 1946, followed by an office in Paris in 1947. Offices were also scheduled to be established in London and New York (Tchoukarine, 2010). The Croatian planning commission estimated that tourists from Western countries represented 22.6 percent of all foreign tourists in Croatia between January and November 1948. Not surprisingly, tourists from socialist countries represented 69.6 percent of foreign influxes; the remainder were tourists from other European and non-European countries (Hrvatski Državni Arhiv, HDA, fond.350/2).

The disruption of tourism in 1948 created a "vacuum effect" (Vukonić, 1993, p. 136) which in turn had a beneficial effect on domestic tourism. Yugoslav statistics indicate a notable decline in foreign tourists in 1949 compared to 1947–1948 levels, however a significant jump in the number of foreign tourists (plus 31,4%) occurred in 1952 (Bilandžić, 1985). These numbers would continue to grow in the coming years: "From around half a million foreign tourists in 1957, the number soared to 3.6 million by 1967, during which time Yugoslavia's earnings from this source in convertible currencies rose from $4.5 million to $133 million." (Allcock, 2000, p. 82)

Tourist propaganda abroad was beginning to catch on. In 1962 at the 4th Plenum of the Communist League of Yugoslavia, J. B. Tito acknowledged the importance of international tourism as a strong economic sector and called for investments in the infrastructure sector. "We used to say that if someone wanted to come, let him come, our Adriatic Sea is beautiful, let him see it and he will come again. This is no longer the case." Tito stressed the need to improve the road networks, build hotels, and make foreigners become "emotionally attached" to the Adriatic (Četvrti Plenum CK SKJ, 1962, p.17 cited in Tchoukarine, 2010).

3.6. The Adriatic Plans

3.6.1. Introduction

The growing awareness of the spatial and environmental degradation which resulted from an intensified construction activity of private villas catering to the booming touristic influx showed the way to integrated planning.

Uncontrolled expansion of tourist accommodation threatens, not only with overexploitation of natural resources but also with failure to generate a coherent environmental image. The physical appearance of illegal structures often creates displaced imagery and lifestyle, detached from natural features and vernacular culture–a divergence between local identities and the particular tourist product in demand. In Croatia the phenomenon of overbuilding called 'apartmanization' was the cornerstone of a specific type of tourism model renowned in Croatia as '*zimmer frei*' tourism. The name was inspired by the countless signs indicating available rooms, with the language anticipating the arrival of predominantly German tourists. This phenomenon was mostly contained along the *Jadranska magistrala* (coastal highway) which was constructed in 1965 and was the most important infrastructural project at the time. By connecting the two biggest towns on the Adriatic coast –Rijeka (on the north) and Split (in the South)–it encompassed numerous small fisherman villages along the coast which were previously isolated and off the main touristic routes. The project of *Jadranska magistrala* jump-started their 'renaissance' and placed them on the map, simulating the increase in illegal building, while simultaneously highlighting the need for a long-term spatial plan to direct physical planning.

3.6.2. The partnership with UNDP

Spatial planning was established as an important tool for regulating land use and resource allocation at a very early stage in Yugoslavia. Of particular importance for the development of spatial planning in SFR Yugoslavia was the establishment of the Urban Planning Institute of Croatia (1947) and the Urban Planning Institute for Rijeka, Istria and the Northern Littoral (1952), the Urban Planning Institute of Dalmatia (1947), and the passing of the Law on Urban and Regional Planning (1961).

1964 marks the beginning of a great undertaking collectively accomplished by Yugoslavia and the United Nations Development Program. This collective project produced a long term spatial strategic development plan of the Adriatic coast and two comprehensive plans–The Upper

Adriatic and South Adriatic plans–which directed all subsequent spatial and urban plans, land use plans and detailed plans which were the basis for architectural competitions for important strategic projects (tourism resorts, hotels, motels and sanitoriums).

For the first time in Yugoslavia, a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approach was implemented with the participation and cooperation of domestic and foreign professional and scientific institutions and individuals. The important added value of these projects undoubtedly lies in the education of planning professionals, thanks to the presence of numerous foreign experts from England, France, Italy, Germany, and other countries, who worked together with Yugoslav experts on the project of the South and Upper Adriatic, and on the development of spatial and urban plans which followed.

Involved institutions and organizations

Domestic:

- Urban Planning Institute of Croatia- Zagreb
- Urban Planning Institute of Dalmatia-Split
- Urban bureau Rijeka
- Department of Urban Planning at the Architectural Faculty of Zagreb
- Urban Planning Institute of Ljubljana
- Department of Urban Planning Titograd
- Additional 50 institutions of various professions which contributed in a number of ways

Foreign:

- TEKNE- Milano
- CEKOP- Warsaw
- WBB SWECO- Copenhagen
- Shenkland Cox- London
- OTAM- Paris
- TOURCONSULT- Rome
- And individual experts to address special issues

The total cost of the project, associated scholarships, and supporting equipment, was $6.952.000-of which Yugoslavia provided 5.302.000and the UNDP $1.650.000 (Miro Marasović, 2003, cited in Mattioni, 2004).

3.6.3. Littoralization of the Adriatic region

Two factors explain the focus placed on the coast in these plans: firstly, the growing awareness of the impact of the touristic sector on the national and regional economy; and secondly, the lagging GDP of the coastal regions which needed an extra stimulus. With the exception of two larger urban centers Rijeka and Split, the Adriatic coast was a rather undeveloped region with agriculture and fishing as the primary sectors, and with no other industries apart from shipbuilding (located in Split and Rijeka), which was inherited from the Austro-Hungarian period.

Region	**National income per capita (ND/st)**
1.Slovensko Primorje	8.140
2.Istra	5.980
3.Hrvatsko Primorje	8.810
4.Sjeverna Dalmatia	3.710
5.Srednja Dalmatia	5.100
6.Južni Jadran (South Adriatic)	4.260
1. Croatia	5.540
2.Bosnia and Herzegovina	3.030
3.Montenegro	2.950
4.Slovenia	8.120
5.Macedonia	3.120
6.Serbia	4.580
7. Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia	4.610

Table 3. Income per Capita for 1966 (Source: Mattioni, 2004)

The economic data from 1966 shows that the Adriatic regions (specifically Dalmatia) were slightly lagging in comparison to the northern regions, but also shows that territories in the Dalmatian hinterland (Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro) were doing comparatively worse. Dalmatia was lagging in infrastructural and industrial investments, compared to the continental part of Yugoslavia.

With the Upper and South Adriatic Plan Yugoslavia started the process of deagrarization, littoralization of the general population, and triggered the rapid urbanization od the coast. The government of SFR Yugoslavia decided to strongly stimulate industrialization in these developing areas, developing tourism and basic industries wherever natural resources were favourable for exploitation. The general progress of the region was seen as dependent on the successful cohabitation of the touristic and industrial sectors.

3.6.4. Tourism trends and projections

Tourism in Yugoslavia was also seen as an opportunity to increase capital inflows which would then be directed towards infrastructure projects benefiting the local population (sewerage systems, water systems, roads, and electrical infrastructure). At the same time, large vacation centers constituted an important network of service hubs for the adjacent villages or towns, sometimes as satellite villages or simply as an extension. The underlying thought was that if these service hubs were properly conceptualized through the integrated physical planning process, they could much more easily be adapted to meet updated product demands or future demands of the community (Berc and Basauri, 2012).

The idea was that by concentrating tourist infrastructure, proportionally dimensioned and properly connected in a dispersive manner with the adjunct town or fisherman's village, the anticipated number of tourists could be accommodated without endangering space and landscape. The capacity of the tourist infrastructure was conditioned by the carrying capacity of the disposable segments of the coastline: which meant beaches or otherwise easily accessible terrain. In the case of the South Adriatic calculations made in 1967 to be reached by 1990 predicted 352,7 km of coastline (out of 1671km). With an average of 1.66 users (both tourists and locals) per meter, and with a simultaneous usage coefficient of 1.4, the coast could accommodate 820.000, and the whole area 900.000 people. The calculation for the Upper Adriatic foresaw 510 km of assessable coastline or 13,4% of the total length (including the coastlines of the islands). That area could receive 1.535.000 users (locals and tourists). Other recreation areas (not directly on the coastline) could receive an additional 455.000, while the continental part could accommodate 971.000 more. This brings us to a number of 2.961.000 users for the upper Adriatic. These numbers were expected be reached by 1990.

3.6.5. The South Adriatic Plan

The first phase of the Adriatic project was supported by the governments of Montenegro, Croatia and Bosnia, and Herzegovina. The project manager appointed by the UN was Adolf Ciborowski, while the Yugoslav coordinator was Miro Marasović. The development group consisted of a number of planning professionals and the representatives of different interest groups: The Institute of Urban Planning of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, the Union of Architects (Socialist Republic of Croatia) as well as the Chambers of Commerce from Split, Rijeka, and Pula.

This analysis of the territory and available resources preceding the main development plan produced a detailed photographic and textual description of the state and potentialities of some 55 places along the coast. These results were proposed in two formats: geographically and systematically according to the mode of utilization, building typology, architectural style, and predisposition for future exploitation. The spatial analysis was largely focused on evaluating the degree of discrepancy between the advancements in spatial and economic development which was aggravated by the poor coordination between spatial and economic planning. Thus, the primary goal of this evaluation was to create comprehensive plans based on an integrated vision of planning and therefore serve as a basis for all subsequent detailed plans and developments (Figure 2).

Figure 3. Regional physical plan of the South Adriatic region: Synthesis (Source: Urban Institute of Croatia)

The plan for the South Adriatic covered the Socialist Republic of Montenegro (coastal part) and the South part of the Socialist Republic of Croatia (from Split do Dubrovnik). The upper Adriatic dealt with the Socialist Republic of Slovenia (the coastal and Alpine part) and the northern part of the Adriatic coast in the Socialist Republic of Croatia. Both plans focus on the coast and the nearby hinterland which was one of the key premises of territorial development plans and thereby stressed as an important point in the planning methodology. In the South Adriatic Plan, the coast was primarily intended for tourism (Figure 3), and depending on the location would vary from being a transit region (e.g. Split which was primarily a transit node) to a destination region (e.g. Hvar on the island of Hvar).

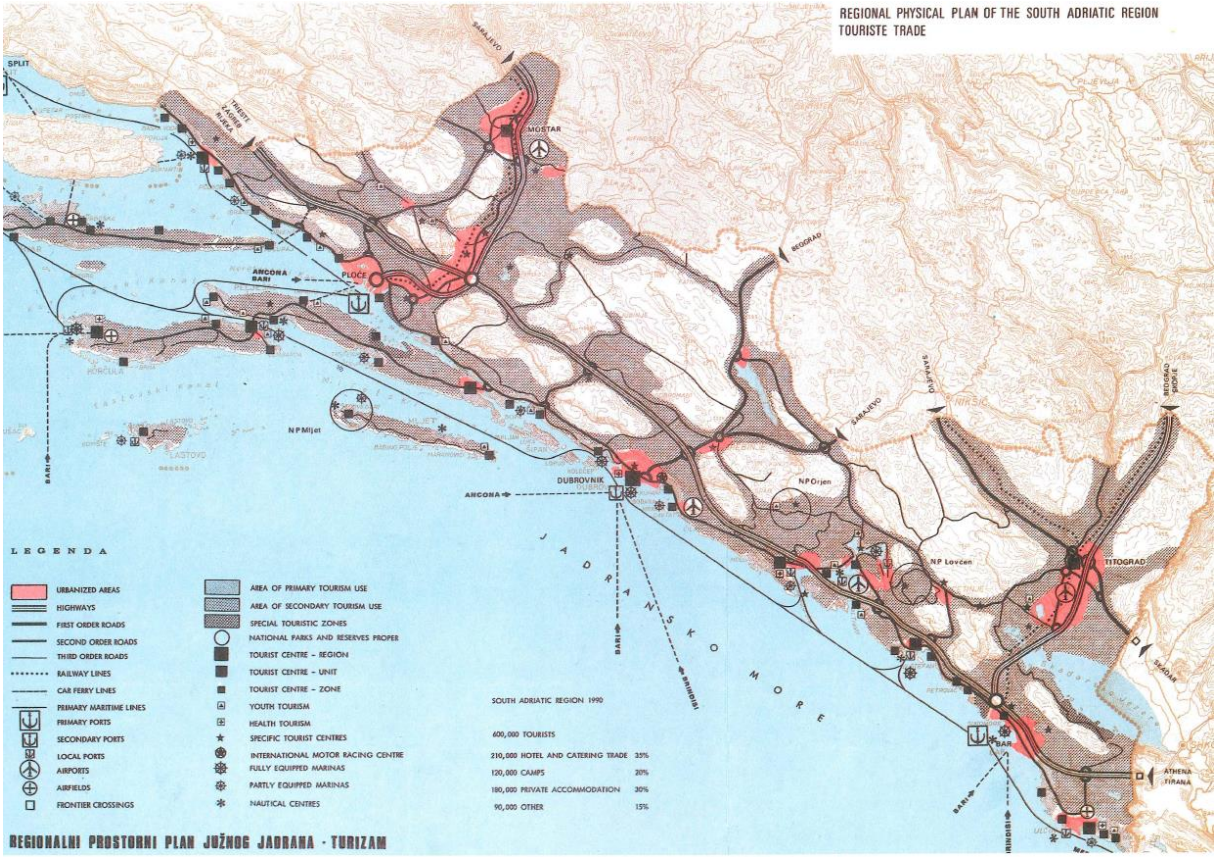


Figure 4. Regional physical plan of the South Adriatic region: Tourism trade (Source: Urban Institute of Croatia)

Finally, apart from the regional plan of the south Adriatic, the South Adriatic project resulted in, the general plans for Hvar, Dubrovnik, Budva and Ulcinj, the detailed plans for Milna on the island of Hvar, Biloševac near Makarska, Trstenica near Orebić, Babin Kuk near Dubrovnik, Igalo near Hercegnovi, Jaz and Buljarica near Budva, and Velika Plaža near Ulcinj.

3.6.6. The Upper Adriatic plan

The Upper Adriatic Project was launched in 1970 as the second phase of the Adriatic projects when the Executive Council of the UN Development Program (UNDP) approved the project. The UNDP was appointed by the United Nations as the executive agency and the government of SFR Yugoslavia appointed the Federal Bureau for International Technical Cooperation. The project administration was appointed by the Government of SFR Yugoslavia through SR Croatia and SR Slovenia. Within the Upper Adriatic Project, sixteen detailed urban plans have been drawn up in areas predominantly suitable for tourism development. Detailed spatial plans

of Crikvenica, Glavotok (Krk), Mali Lošinj and the Strategic Development Plan of the Island of Krk (1971) were prepared for the territory of today's Primorje-Gorski Kotar County. The developer of the plans was the Urban Institute of Rijeka in collaboration with Shankland Cox & Associates - London. At the same time, a detailed plan of the Rijeka Center was drawn up (Institute for Urban Planning and Construction of Rijeka in cooperation with SC&A - London). These plans contained complete planning content from analytics, synthesis to implementation elements and measures, and many of the post-audit and revised plans are still in place today. The 1970s are generally considered to be the period of the most intensive planning activity, not only in the eastern Adriatic coast but also in the Mediterranean as a whole.

The Spatial Plan of Croatia, as well as the Upper Adriatic Coordination Regional Spatial Plan, treat Rijeka and the Rijeka metropolitan area as port terminal of Croatia and Central Europe. However, the Upper Adriatic Coordination Regional Spatial Plan also envisages an increase in the tourism industry (Table 4), primarily stationary tourism with many new beds and a large workforce, in the same port terminal area which is home to a number of polluting industries. The resulting conflicts between the industry degrading the environment and tourism based on that same environment needed to be urgently mitigated by coordinated environmental action (Table 5).

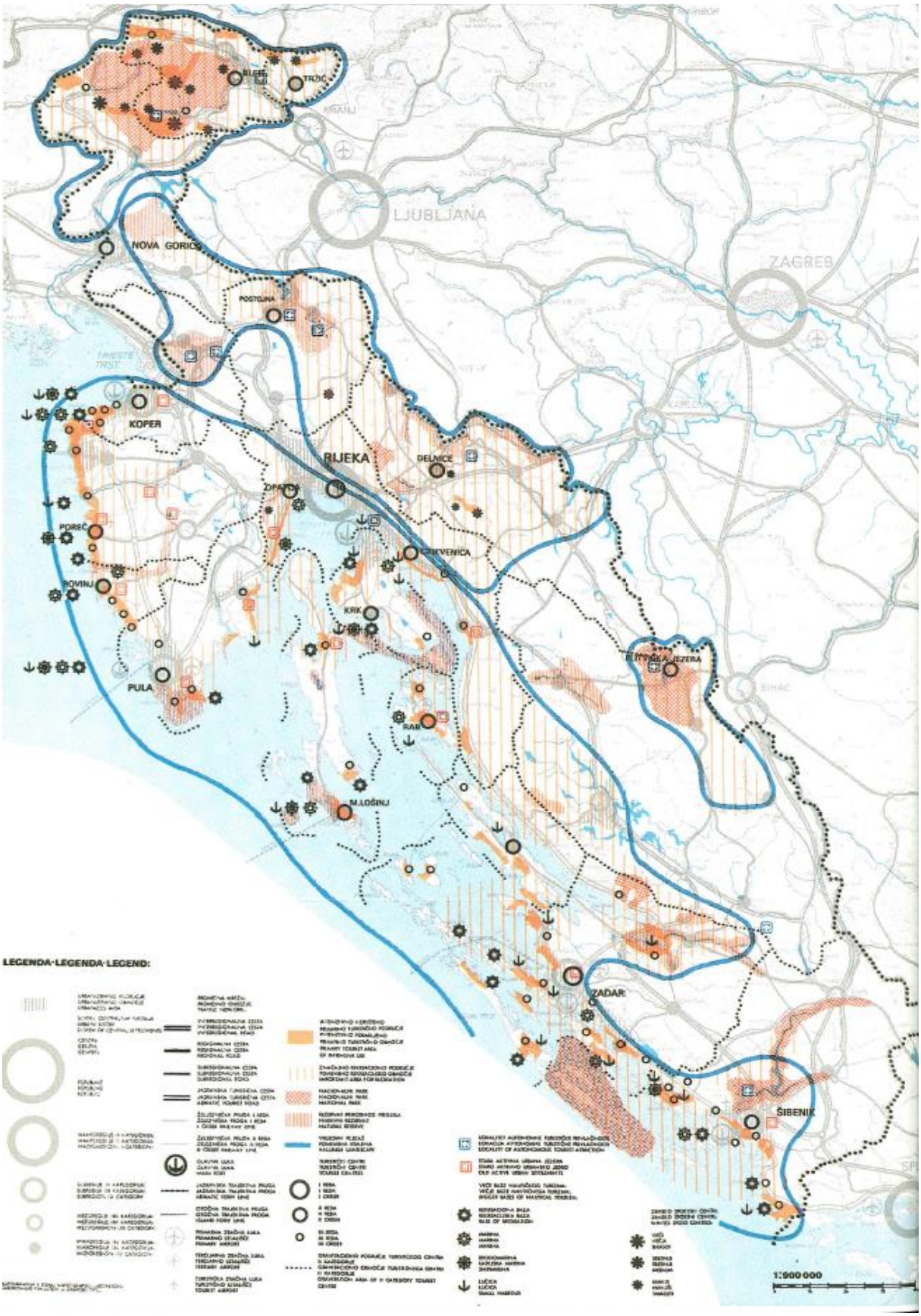


Figure 5. Regional physical plan of the Upper Adriatic region: Tourism trade (Source: Urban Institute of Croatia)

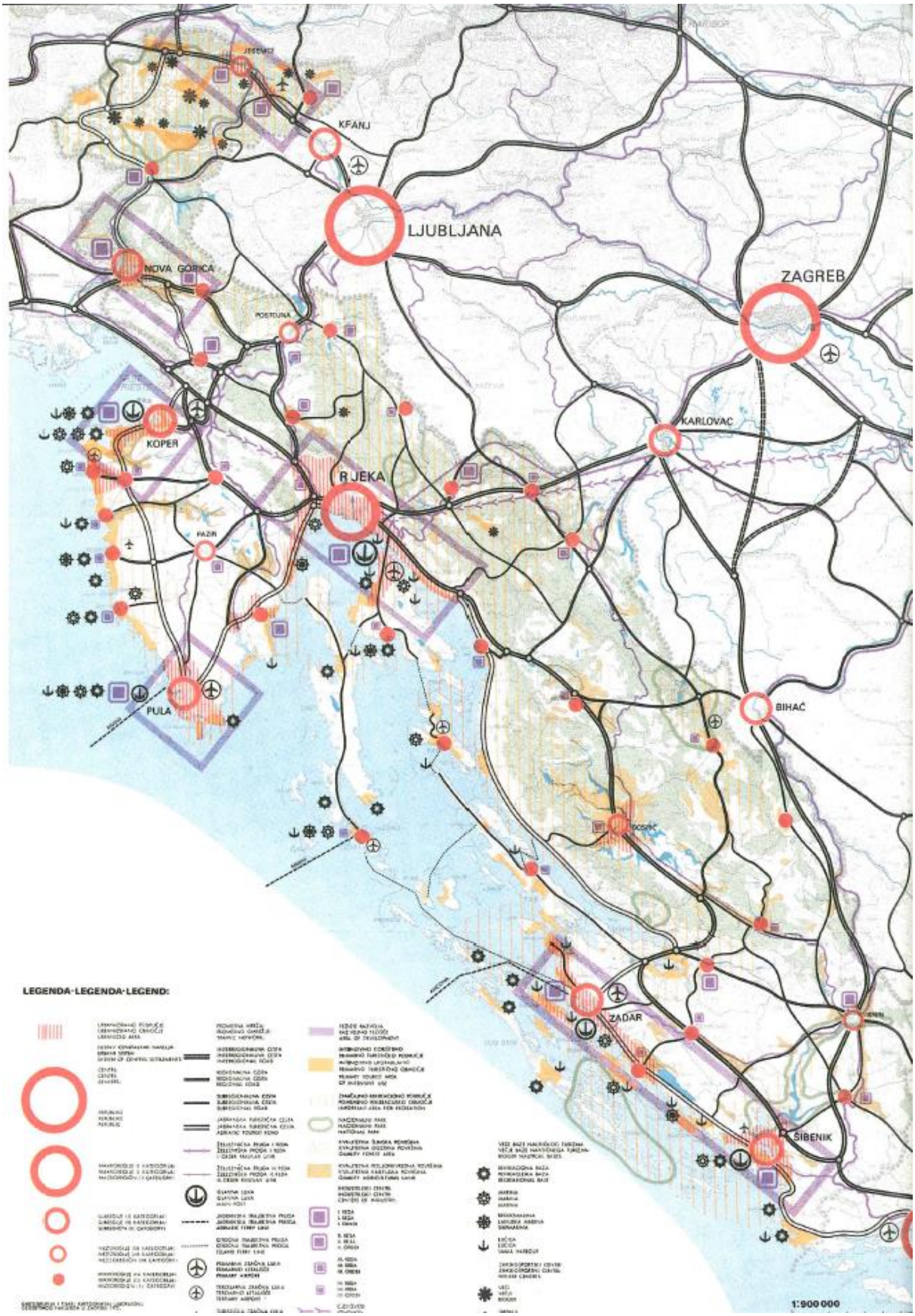


Figure 6. Regional physical plan of the Upper Adriatic region: Synthesis (Source: Urban Institute of Croatia)

3.6.7. Environmental aspects of the Adriatic Project

At the same time the environmental issues in these plans were treated in a standard manner: the plans covered nature protection by foreseeing detailed plans for sanitary infrastructure. The impact of pollution on ecosystems and on the environment or the population did not seem to be of crucial importance. At least not *per se*.

Therefore, in order to evaluate the proposals and achievements from the point of view of the environmental impact, as a logical continuation and part of the overall planning cycle, the Environmental Protection Project (Adriatic I, II, III) was developed with the assistance of United Nations Development Program (UNDP). Adriatic I (1969-1971) covered the Southeast Adriatic region, Adriatic II (1971-1972) covered the Upper Northeast Adriatic region) and Adriatic III (1973-1978) covered the entire Yugoslav Adriatic. The stress within the Adriatic I and II was primarily on the impact of tourism development, while Adriatic III was more environmentally focused (Koboević et al., 2012).

The initiative for Adriatic III originated from Rijeka, which was the main urban center in the Upper Adriatic project. The need for the re-evaluation of environmental impacts was due to the largest concentration of industrial development projects, which opened a number of environmental protection issues to which the South and Upper Adriatic Projects could not give a valid answer. This project was also one of the first formal reactions to the United Nations Declaration on the Environment, adopted in Stockholm in 1972 (Randić,2002). That declaration put forward, among other things, two important principles, Principle 14, which states that rational planning provides the basic weapon for settling conflicts between development and protection needs; and Principle 15, which argues that human settlements and urbanization should be planned to avoid negative impacts on the environment (UNEP, 1972). In addition to the appropriate spatial model, which meant dispersion and properly directed littoralization of the economy, the need to integrate environmental protection into municipal and other plans in the region was thereafter emphasized in all subsequent spatial plans. “Environmental impact studies”, thus, became standard practice, in accordance with legal regulations. In these studies, a special emphasis was made to treat facilities not as isolated structures but as part of the pollution emitting system in a particular endangered area, also taking into account other, nearby and further areas (Randić, 2002).

The purpose of scientific research into the major environmental components of the Adriatic III Project, while respecting the above-mentioned assumptions, was to determine the state of the environment in all major components and to lay down the scientific basis for ongoing environmental action. Collaborating organizations involved with the Urban Institute of Rijeka as the developer and the contractor: Spatial Planning Division of the Institute for Urban Planning and Construction, Urban Planning Institute of Croatia, Republic Institute for Nature Conservation, Ruđer Bošković Institute, Economic Institutes, Universities, and other public institutions with relevant knowledge, skills and know-how important to micro-level site-specific planning, implementation strategies and follow up analysis. Sectoral research was organized in seven working groups:

1. air quality research,

2. freshwater, wastewater, soil, noise, health impact,

3. marine research,

4. spatial planning,

5. nature protection, land ecology,

6. historical heritage,

7. tourism.

For each of these sectors, an overview was made available of the current state of environmental quality, analysis of existing projects, determination of actions and measures for environmental quality protection, assessment of the acceptance capacity of the area. The project defined and outlined short, and long-term goals to be realized, and established new methods and approaches in spatial planning. Apart from pollution testing, the focus was also on potential measures to prevent the contamination of drinking water reserves (rivers, lakes), evidencing the harmful effects of wastewater on soil, and the harmful effects of noise on people. In the field of nature protection measures against all forms of degradation were carried out. While spatial planning was focused on the concentration and placement of built structures so as to preserve the natural environment as much as possible, postfire protection measures focused on the problem of karst reforestation. The Group for the Protection of Cultural Monuments carried out an evaluation of

the ambient units and individual monuments. One of the most complex studies in this project was related to marine research, in a particularly coordinated and very comprehensive program.

The findings from the Adriatic III were further elaborated in the Mediterranean, a ‘Sea Use Methodology’– a project developed with the aim of determining the purpose and producing a spatial planning document determining the modes of use and protection on a state, city, municipality level. "Sea use plan" understood the development of a plan which resembled a “land use plan", or zoning plan, adjusted to the specificities of the sea. The sea was not treated as a flat surface but also as a water mass (depth, cubic meter) with a seabed. These findings were further adopted in the Mediterranean Action Plan (MAP) - UNEP program. Thus, the delegates from Yugoslavia were given the opportunity to present the project in several other Mediterranean countries in an effort to get the project to be formally adopted and implemented within other coastal countries (Koboević et al.,2012).

These plans display a particular peculiarity: the coastal spatial urban system is presented as a junction of land and coast, people and the economy. In that sense, the concentration of people and industries is merely one part of the system. The other important part is the predominantly natural, unbuilt, landscape with the sea as the ‘fourth landscape’. Therefore, the planned use of the maritime area is a vital part of coordinating activities in this spatial system whose sustainability depends on the balance between the four landscapes. This is especially true of the coast and immediate coastal areas, which are the basis of tourism and development of activities essential to maritime affairs.

Tourism was approached with special caution as one of the main users of the highest quality space, which was understood as a means of production, still fully aware that tourism at the same time degrades the space. The construction which followed the completion of these plans did not strictly adhere to the space utilization criteria and strategies put forward in those plans. All this is proof that, despite these plans, legal regulations and conservation actions, awareness of the importance of space and environment had not yet been accepted by large layers of the population.

3.7. An open type resort: An ideologically based spatial model

The biggest expansion of accommodation facilities, particularly hotels and resorts, occurred during the 1960s and 1970s, boosted by the completion of the Coastal Highway–*Jadranska Magistrala.* The expansion was rapid and produced most of the hotels and resorts in a span of 10 years, roughly doubling the total number of accommodation facilities on the Yugoslavian Adriatic coast (Figure 6).

Figure 7. Man and Space: Tourism–A factor of regional transformation (Source: Author)

The process of urbanization initiated through the Adriatic Projects brought forth general rules which were then critically applied to the development of touristic landscapes which strived to avoid monopragmatism and exclusivity. In consequence, spatial characteristics of touristic buildings took into account historical context whereby two aspects were important to this purpose. The first being the socio-political frame of Yugoslavian socialism in which all resources were seen as "social", that is of "societal interest". The result of this was integral physical planning. The other aspect was a relatively high level of autonomy architecture and urbanism had in Yugoslavia. This result in some of the most distinct architectural

accomplishments in the sphere of modern architecture of that time, not just in Yugoslavia but the world. However, there was more to these concrete (at the time the main building material) structures than their inviting dispositions–their architectural style which was a result of the growing tendencies within the profession of architecture in Yugoslavia to materialize “our” architecture as well as “our” urbanism.

After the break with the *Informbiro* in 1948 socialist Yugoslavia sought not only an alternative socio-political model but also to culturally emphasize the departure from the soviet bloc, which was an important aspect in the cultural and political construction of Yugoslavia’s unique path to communism. There is no decree by which the system opted for modernism as an "official aesthetic", but it was affirmed thanks to the cultural autonomy of architecture. Similar to the period after 1929, when Yugoslavia had to be framed through a material, tangible form, so did the specificity of the Yugoslav socialism seek to be legitimized by a new, modernist architecture. In both cases, a complete turn away from historicism and "national" styles meant a symbolic departure from one ideological direction to a completely different ideological-identity.

The Dubrovnik Conference, held in 1950, was a turning point in the development of architecture in Yugoslavia. It was the first and largest conference of architects and urban planners in Yugoslavia where for the first time the necessity to provide the design with full freedom of creativity and where non-interference of the state was emphasized as paramount. The Dubrovnik Conference held 23-25 November 1950, was a turning point in the development of architecture in Yugoslavia and Serbia. It was the first and largest consultation of architects and urban planners in Yugoslavia. In an interview for the alliance of architects of Montenegro the architect Mihajlo Mitrovic said several other conferences followed, “but none had the significance of Dubrovnik. […] Although Dubrovnik's conference was of great importance for the further development of Yugoslav architecture, because of the unison effort of a large number of participants who defended and proclaimed the necessity to ensure the full freedom of creation and without the state's interference with the spiritual activities of architects. Since Dubrovnik, architecture has ‘come out of the bottle’ and in free competition has gradually become more independent and more successful, To such an extent that historians of art and architecture today agree that social realism in architecture, as the doctrine of all socialist doctrines of the countries, only enfranchised Yugoslavia, whose architectural production from that time was noticeable in front of all so-called countries.” (Mihajlo Mitrović, 2015)

Figure 8. Projektni Atelier za Urbanizam i Arhitekturu: Collected works (Source: Author)

"Based on the conceptions put forward by the Yugoslavian Association of Architects in November 1953 in Split, a group of architects established the first atelier for architecture and urbanism in Dalmatia named 'Arhitekt'. From its earliest days, the atelier functioned as an independent, voluntarily based collective, oriented towards the social sector, representing architecture as a specific creative human activity.

Throughout its work the atelier has progressed through different stages of development, reflecting the general social movements and overcoming problems brought fort starting from internal ones relating the organization–technical–staff conceptualization, to overcome the divergence of formal traditionalism and regionalism through practice by creating a modern approach in urbanism and architecture.

The 20 years of the atelier's work represents a constant battle for a new, 'our' architecture and a new and 'our' kind of urbanism, for teamwork, for the left social orientation, for higher ethical principles in the totality of architectural thought and practice. "

Arhitekt (1953-1973) Projektni Atelier za Urbanizam i Arhitekturu, Split

The result of thee tendencies to overcome the gap between traditional and modern architectural styles resulted in hotels and resorts which were designed to take into account the connection with the landscape and typology of their surroundings, such as the Libertas Hotel by architects Žarko Vincek and Andrija Čičin-Šain in Dubrovnik (Figure 8), which was conceived from the rough beginnings to the finest finishing details, making it the first example of *gesamtkunstwerk* (total design) in Yugoslavian touristic architecture. This hotel also anticipated global trends for the next 30 years– the integration of architecture and nature.

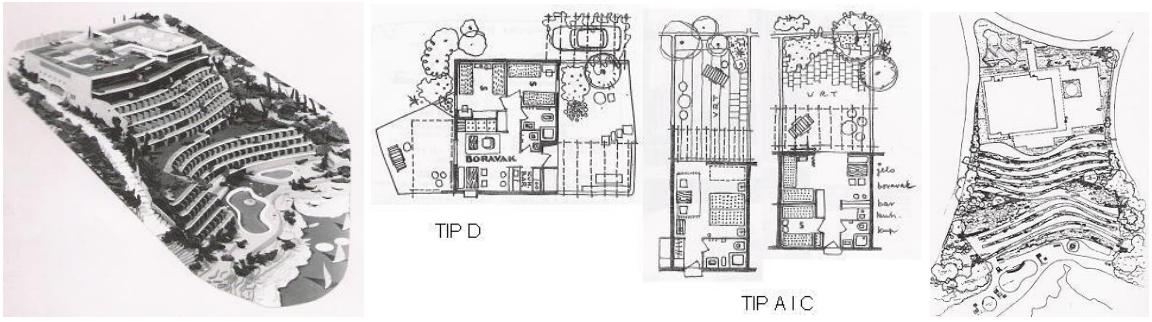


Figure 9. Hotel Libertas (Dubrovnik): Model, Modular floor plans, Horticultural plan (Source: Andrija Čičin-Šain)

Some other examples of this style are Marina Lučica by Lovro Perković in Primošten, Hotel Brela Maestral by Julije de Luca, Ante Rožić and Matija Salaj, an example of Mies van der Rohe architecture - white, elegant rectangle in the middle of a dense pine tree forest. These hotels belong to a category that Kenneth Frampton called critical regionalism, which means that their identity was created in harmony with the immediate environment, not with some universal landscape, as modern architecture general did. This is an important point of differentiation allowing Yugoslavian architecture to stand out.

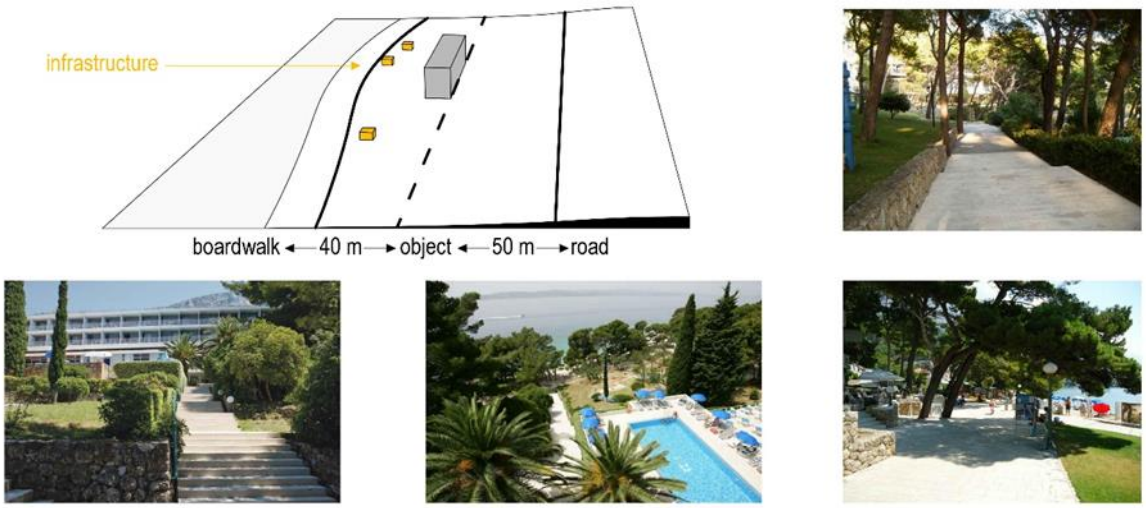


Figure 10. Hotel Maestral (Brela): Axonometric projection, site photos (Source: Author)

However, there were hotels that deviated from this *modus operandi*. This is especially evident in vertical, skyscraper spatial accents such as the Hotel Adriatic by Branko Žnidarec in Opatija or Hotel Marjan in Split by Lovre Perkovic (Randić and Turato, 2006).

Even though the modernization, that the vast expansion of tourism brought, was not completely deprived of programmatic monofunctionality, its physical articulation generated some active and interesting public spaces relevant for and accessible to a variety of users.

The specific nature of Yugoslavia between East and West, between market economy and state socialism, between consumerism and collectivism, is captured in extremes, for example in the project of Haludovo resort in Malinska. The resort for a short time functioned as Penthouse Adriatic, a gambling paradise for American tourists, but also for the elite from all over the world. But it was also open to all citizens, along with the beach and promenade.

The highest cultural ambition of the architectural project Haludovo was both a profit-making machine and a heterotopic countryside open to all. Architect Magaš designed a kind of experimental city that takes over the traditional elements: the city palace, the city walls, the suburbs, but designs them as sovereignly modern architecture. It is difficult to find anywhere in the world in the second half of the 20th century such a link between the economic, architectural and social phenomena as in Haludovo (Figure 10). No phenomenon in itself is exceptional, but the combination of them is, which is why we are talking about the peculiarities of the Yugoslav situation.

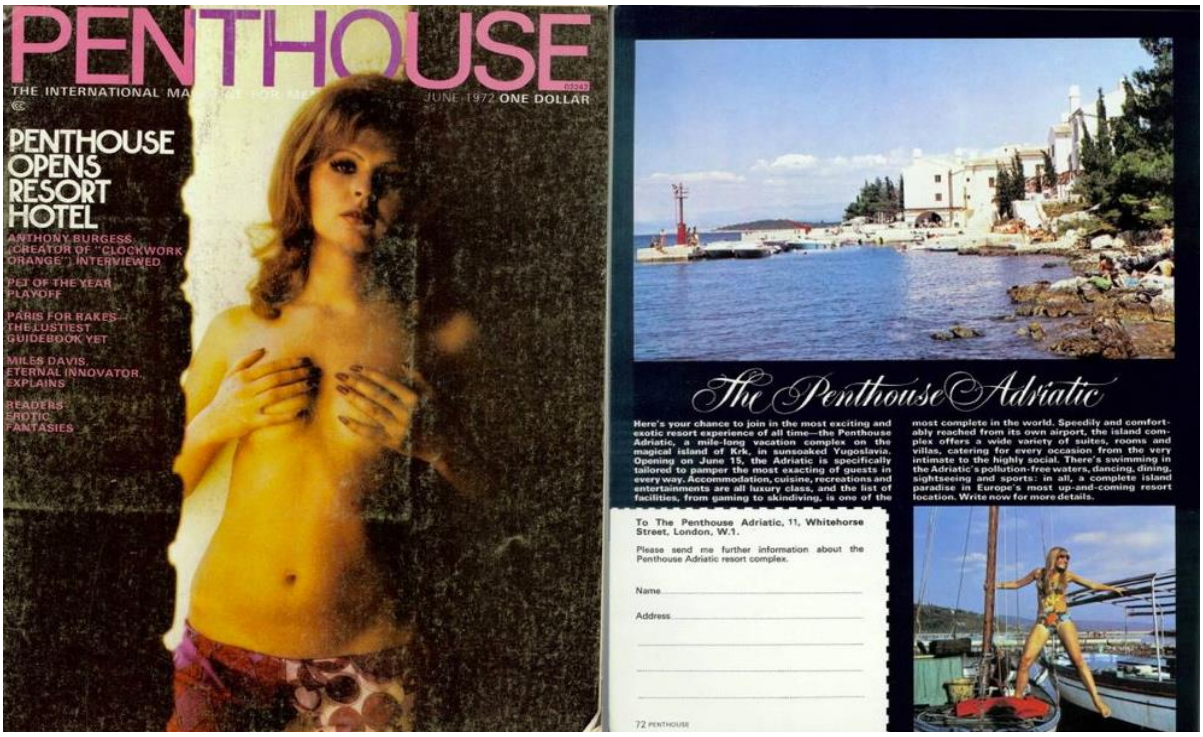


Figure 11. Complex Haludovo by Boris Magaš (Malinska): Article from Penthouse (Source: Randić and Turato, 2006)

Almost all of the projects display spaces grading from public to semipublic, from semiprivate to private (Figure 11). Considering the fact that the hotel areas were neither separated nor isolated, as is the case of almost all hotel resorts of today, they were also not deleted from the collective memory of public space. When beach resorts consume land, the social interaction between the domicile population and the built tourist area is disrupted. The coastal territory was considered a common good in Yugoslavia and a link to the sea—which is a common-pool resource. Unlike pure public goods, common-pool resources because of their intensive multifunctional use face problems of congestion or overuse. Therefore, because of their common utility for all citizens, they had to be protected by law. For this reason, new tourist areas were usually added to an already existing street or path between the place of seasonal residence and nearby town or city. This way, by shifting away from the coastline and developing continuing open spaces that penetrate the hotel complexes make them at the same time available to the public. As a result of this hotel resorts became an extension of public space, which was at the time, and somehow still is, very obscure and an insufficient materialization of public space deprived of infrastructure satisfying the needs of residents but also those of tourists.

In the context of the post-war reconstruction of the state, these buildings embodied the modernist utopian idea that "architecture can make the world a better place". The specific position of the Yugoslav architects at that time was very significant. Land and financial resources were socially-owned, which combined with relative independence from the Soviet regime and Western capitalism gave architects the opportunity for creative freedom. Such freedom of expression has resulted in projects that, in addition to fulfilling their primary function, offer much more, especially for the benefit of the community. In doing so, great attention was paid to the real needs of the people for whom it was being built and respect for the surrounding area.

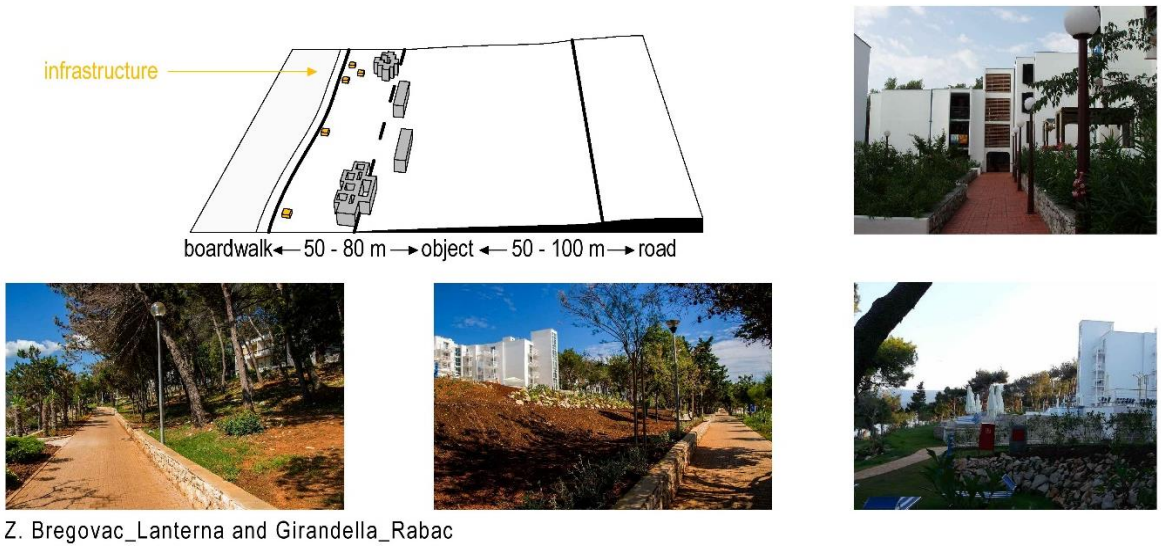


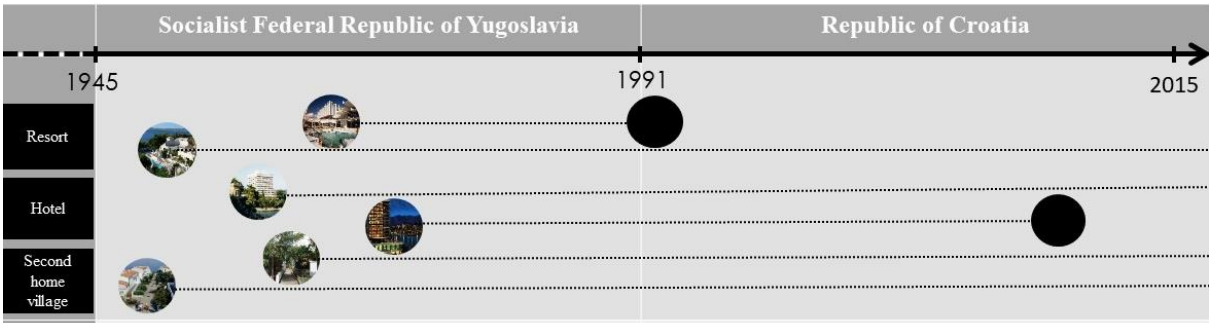
Figure 12. Lanterna and Girandella resort (Rabac): Axonometric projection, site photos (Source: Author)

A particularly interesting project is that of a children sanatorium in Krvavica, which embodies a very successful combination of functionality and aesthetic form. The building, built between 1963-1964, is a considered masterpiece of modern architecture authored by Rikard Marasović, and today has the status of protected heritage. The facility is located in a pine forest right next to the sea. With its circular form it achieved even ventilation and sunshine in all rooms, which is necessary for the treatment of lung diseases. In addition to functional solutions, almost all of the aesthetics of the space have a healing role. The rounded shapes, bright colors and lighting create a positive and comfortable environment needed for healing, which is regularly absent in hospital buildings. The spaces around and underneath the ‘levitating’ main body of the building are open and accessible to everyone regardless if they were patients, visitors or tourists.

3.8. Modern ruins

It is somewhat ironic, considering the importance of tourism in Croatia today, that most of the aforementioned examples today remain as ruins. According to Eurostat in 2017, Croatian tourism generated foreign exchange revenues of € 9.5 billion, making it almost one-fifth of gross domestic product (19.4 percent). This problem is in some cases due to complex problems of succession between the countries which used to constitute Yugoslavia, as these resorts were owned by factories belonging to a different republic. And in some cases, the problem lies with third parties seeking to have nationalized land and buildings back: like the example of Bijela kuća in Bol, on the island of Brač which displays a rather standard fate of touristic resorts and hotels in Yugoslavia. Namely, the hotel was built in 1936 and served as a seminary and gymnasium for the needs of a Dominican monastery which is close to the hotel. After the Second World War it became the property of the Municipality of Brač and was used as a sanatorium for war veterans. In 1963, the Municipality of Brac and the Dominican Provincial signed a contract that transferred the ownership to the Municipality, which transferred the use rights to the touristic social enterprise "Zlatni rat" in charge of managing all hotels and resorts in the municipality. Five additional pavilions were built, and the hotel became a pioneer of tourism in Brač and Bol. The 1991 war in Yugoslavia caused a stop to all tourism activities, and the hotel was repurposed as a refugee facility, like many other hotels and resorts on the coast, after which it fell into oblivion (Figure 12). Recently there has been pressure from the municipality to jump-start touristic activities in the hotel; however, the church is seeking back what it considers to be its own, and claims the legal contract between them and the municipality to have been forced upon them (Index.hr, 2019). The hotel has only been reused as location for an international graffiti and urban art festival (Bol.hr, 2019).

Figure 13. Libertas Hotel in Dubrovnik, Lječilište in Krvavice, Kupari Hotel in Župa Dubrovačka (Source: Author)



State paradigm	A socialist country,a system that advocates the vesting of the ownership and control of the means of production and distribution, of capital, land, etc., in the community as a whole.	Economic ideology based on promoting "rational self-interest" through policies such as privatization, deregulation, globalization and tax cuts. Elizabeth Martinez and Arnoldo Garcia, writing in "What is neo-liberalism? A brief definition" (Global Economy 101, 2000) point out the five aspects of neo-liberalism: (i) The rule of the market is imperative; (ii) Cutting expenditure for social services; (iii) Deregulation, (iv) Privatization ; (v) Eliminating the concept of "the public good" or "community".
Promoted tourism strategy	Tourism was seen as an industry llike any other and was used as a means for promoting the new regime as well as developing regions and generating welth . Modernism was the chosen style considered suitable for promoting the culturally and social advanced views.	There is no clear strategy for tourism as much as it is seen as a means for generating income by fiscal means. In accordance with neoliberalism there is no assigned style as the development is considered strictly in the domain of private property.
Policy and reguation	The level of regulation is high as well as complex considering the multiscale space intervention any large development was. The state promoted integrated spatial planning methods practiced on tourist developments as well.	The state is considered a noneligible place for investment as the policies and laws change every few years. As a result of inconsistencies in the new policies as apposed to the old leads to paradoxes . The amount of regulation is practically nonexistent and exists in theoretical sense
Develop-ment plans	Three major regional projects, all created in the period between 1967-1972 at the peak of construction activity in the tourist industry: the Southern Adriatic Project, the Upper Adriatic Project and the Plan for the Intermediate Area of Split.	Unfortunately the vast majority of today 'strategic planning' amounts to fragmented changes in the plans inherited from the former country without any sensible or logical holistic strategy. This leads to incoherent spaces and nonfunctional urban structures that barely function as a systematic whole.

Figure 14. Periodization: Visual Overview-Time Line (Source: Author)

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CHAPTER 4

Application of Methodological Framework: Descriptive Statistical Analysis–A Comparative Case Study of Resort Morphology

4.1. Introduction

In order to offer a more comprehensive analysis of the tourism morphology, a quantitative study will be conducted. The qualitative study is based on Spatial syntax theory and will illustrate the performance of the spatial models under investigation (hotel and resort). It will also provide an overall measure of how they perform in terms of physical integration in connection to the adjunct community by computationally capturing its quality as being comprehensible and easily navigable. In order to investigate the spatial statistics of the open type resort pattern, this project will utilize an experimental toolset (plugin) for Qgis and a multi-platform software as an extension to Qgis. Both programs are based on space syntax theory.

4.2. Space Syntax: A theoretical perspective

Urban space is of rather large scale to be seen from a single viewpoint. Therefore, maps provide us with their representations by means of abstract symbols facilitating our perception and understanding of a city. The small and middle sale maps are usually based on Euclidian geometry providing spatial objects with precise coordinates along their edges and outlines. Similarly, urban forms are usually represented as patterns of identifiable urban elements, such as locations or areas (forming nodes in a graph), whose relationships to one another are often associated with linear transport routes such as streets within cities.

There is a long tradition of research articulating urban environment form using graph-theoretic principles. Graphs have long been regarded as the basic structures for representing forms where topological relations are firmly embedded within Euclidean space. The use of graph-theoretic analysis in geographic science had been widely accepted and established itself as central to spatial analysis of urban environments. The basic graph theory methods have been applied to the measurements of transportation networks (see Kansky, 1963). Graphs are also implicit in defining the gravitational potential of points based on a weighted sum which was first illustrated

on population systems by Steward (1947), and subsequently on establishing accessibility as a key determinant of spatial interaction (Hansen, 1959; Wilson, 1970). The use of network analysis in geographic science reviewed by Haggett and Chorley (1969) establishes this method as central to spatial analysis. Similarly, graphs have been utilized to represent connectivity between rooms in buildings (March and Steadman, 1971) and to classify different building types (Steadman, 1983). The study of space within buildings using space syntax methods also produced significant insight into the configuration of interior space. One notable publication on that topic is that of Julienne Hanson's Decoding Homes and Houses (1999).

As the theory gained momentum criticism arose doubting its metric accuracy. From the syntactic point of view, certain points of criticism arose regarding a paradox that occurs under specific geometric configurations in axial maps. This was brought to attention by Ratti in "Urban texture and space syntax: some inconsistencies" (2004) who pointed to a distortion of two ideal textures which produces a topological discontinuity. He claimed this leads to an unacceptable situation where one single urban configuration produces two conflicting outcomes when analyzed with space syntax tools. However, this point of criticism was answered by Hillier and Penn in "Rejoinder to Carlo Ratti" (2004) and Turner et al. (2005) who showed that least line graphs (allowing random selection among syntactically equivalent lines) are rigorously defined and are indeed objects of great theoretical interest in themselves, as is shown by the work of Carvalho and Penn (2004) suggesting they have fractal properties.

A set of theories and techniques for the analysis of spatial configurations is called space syntax. It was conceived by Bill Hillier, Julienne Hanson and colleagues at The Bartlett, University College London in the late 1970s to early 1980s as a tool to help urban planners simulate the likely social effects of their designs. "The Social Logic of Space" (Hillier and Hanson, 1984) and "Space is the Machine" (Hillier, 1996) laid down the theoretical fundamentals for space syntax theory. Significant contributions to the development of the theory and method of space syntax were made by John Peponis and his colleagues of the Georgia Institute of Technology in Atlanta on the geometrical foundations (Peponis et al., 1997; Peponis et al., 1998a, b), as well as by Mike Batty of CASA at UCL on the graph theoretic foundations (Batty, 2004a, b).

From the methodological aspect, significant advancements in syntactic methods were made with the visibility graph analysis developed by Alasdair Turner in his Depthmap software (Turner and Penn, 1999; Turner et al., 2001) and the development of segment-based axial analysis with angular, metric and topological weightings, initially through the pioneering work

of Shinichi Iida and his “Segmen” software with subsequent implementation in “Depthmap”. These complex and disaggregated forms of line analysis allow illustrating not only how human movement can be spatially guided by geometrical and topological rather than metric factors but also to clarify why a powerful impact of spatial structure on movement was to be mathematically expected (Hillier and Iida, 2005).

The Spatial syntax draws from the philosophy of design which puts forward architecture and urban design, both in a spatial and plastic sense, as fundamentally configurational. Space syntax is established on sophisticated speculation that the evolution of built form can be explained in analogy to the way biological forms unravel. It has been developed as a method for analyzing space in an urban environment capturing its quality as being comprehensible and easily navigable. Although, in its initial form, space syntax was focused mainly on patterns of pedestrian movement in cities, later the various space syntax measures of urban configuration were found to be correlated with different aspects of social life (Hillier and Hanson, 1984).

Space syntax addresses where people are, how they move, how they adapt, and how they develop.

Space syntax is founded on two fundamental propositions:

1. Space is not a background to human activity but is intrinsic to it.

2. Space is first and foremost configurational. In other words, what happens in any individual space – a room, corridor, street or public space – is fundamentally influenced by the relationships between that space and the network of spaces to which it is connected.

The general assumption is that spaces can be broken down into components, analyzed as a network, then represented in the form of maps and graphs showing the level of connectivity and integration between those spaces.

Space syntax comprises four fundamental components, which are used in all space syntax applications: analysis of spatial relations, representations of space, interpretive models and theories.

4.3. Analysis of spatial relations

Relationships between spatial elements result from their configuration. These relationships can be objectively analyzed using various measures, including integration and movement choice. These two measures reflect the two fundamental elements in human movement: firstly, the selection of a destination, and secondly, the selection of a route. One measures the ease of access (integration) and the other measures the passing flow (choice).

The question of how to represent human behavior in relation to space was distilled to three basic concepts:

1. People tend to move in a linear direction

Linear movement, or the potential of movement, through space, is therefore interpreted through axial lines or segments (section of axial line lying between two intersections).

2. Co-presence in convex spaces

The interaction between people happens in convex spaces in which visual connection can occur between a couple or a larger group of people.

3.Dynamics of visual fields

Our perception of space and visual field changes as we move through space. To illustrate this graphically we utilize isovist and isovist fields (Benedikt, 1979).

Complex spatial relations can be visually simplified by drawing a justified graph in order to facilitate interpretation and clarity of information. In this type of graph a circle placed at the base of the graph represents the root (starting position) of the graph (movement), and all subsequent circles directly connected to that root – denoted as depth 1 – are aligned immediately above it and all circles at depth 2 are directly connected to those at depth 1, and so on until all levels of depth from that root are accounted for.

When justified graphs are drawn from different root spaces (starting positions), the shape of the graph changes accordingly. Each graph gives a picture of what the whole layout looks like from that particular root (starting position). The key is that a spatial layout of either a building or a settlement (village, town, city) or neighborhood not only looks different but is different when seen from different perspectives.

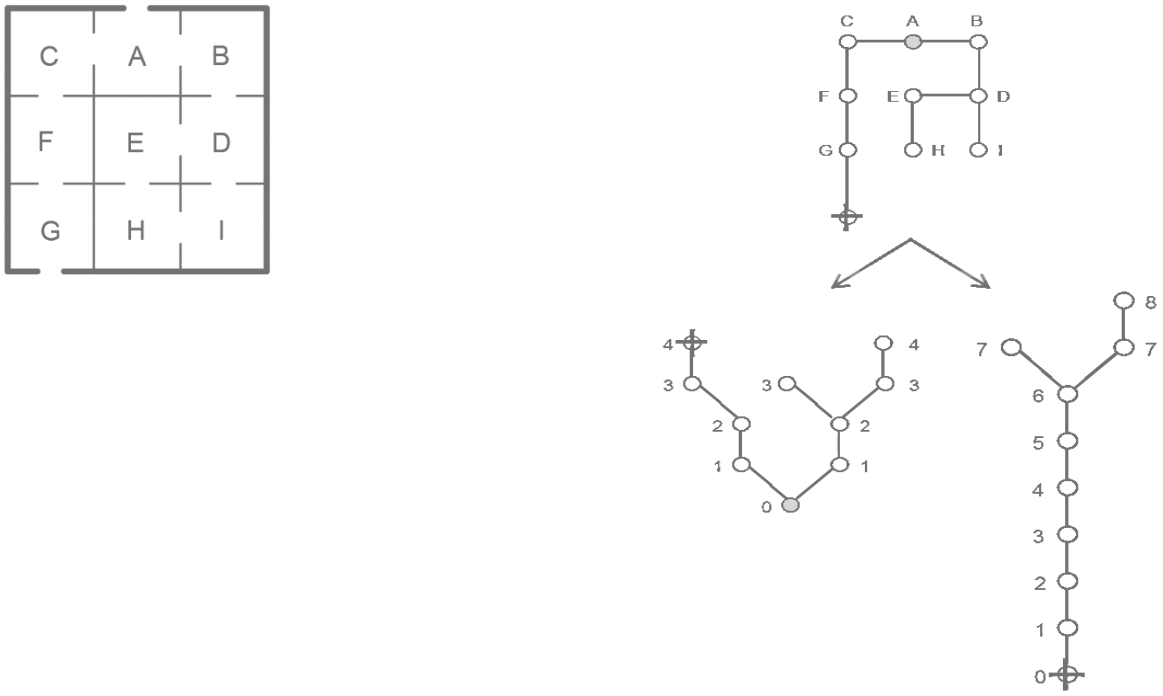

Figure 15. Justified Graph: Depth Graph (Source: Author)

One of the basic ideas in measuring spatial distance is the concept of depth–the distance between any pair of spatial elements. As seen in the table above (Figure 14).

In the method of spatial syntax there are three types of different distance applied in the analysis: topological distance, meaning the number of turns from one space to another; the angular distance, meaning the angular change from one space to another; and metric distance, meaning the Euclidian distance in meters from one space to another. These three types of distance can be applied to calculate different syntactic measures:

· *Integration (or closeness)*

Integration calculates how close or how accessible each spatial element is to all others under each definition of distance, such as the least angular distance in other words how many turns have to be made from a street segment to reach all other street segments in the network, using shortest paths. The first intersecting segment requires only one turn, the second two turns, and

so on. The street segments that require the fewest turns to reach all other streets are called the ‘most integrated' and they are usually represented with hotter colors, such as red or yellow. Integration can also be analyzed on the local scale instead of the scale of the whole network. In the case of radius 5, for instance, only five turns are counted departing from each street segment.

Integration can be used to assess how much potential space has as a destination for movement– this is called the *to-movement* potential (Hillier and Iida, 2005; Hillier et al., 2012). In theory, the integration measure indicates the cognitive complexity of reaching a street and often is put forward in literature on spatial syntax as a measure predicting pedestrian willingness to frequent certain network segments, or streets. While there is some evidence of this being true (Oxford street in London comes out as strongly integrated), the method seems slightly biased towards long straight lines.

· *Choice (or betweenness)*

Choice measures the degree to which each spatial element lies on the shortest paths, under each definition of distance, between any pair of spatial elements (Hillier et al., 1987; Hillier and Iida, 2005; Hillier et al, 2012). In other words, how likely an axial line or a street segment it is to be passed through on all shortest routes from all spaces to all other spaces in the entire system or within a predetermined distance (radius) from each segment. The concept can also be explained through ‘water flow’ in which we ascribe an initial amount of water units to all network segments. When water begins to flow, we divide the initial amounts equally between the splitting streets at the first intersection. For instance, at the first intersection with another single street, the initial value of one unit is split into two remaining values of one half, and allocated to the two intersecting street segments. Moving further down, the remaining one-half value is again split among the intersecting streets and so on. When the same procedure has been conducted using each segment as a starting point for the initial value of one, a graph of final values is rendered. The streets with the highest total values of accumulated flow are said to have the highest choice values.

Choice assesses the potential of the movements passing through each space, called the through-movement potential. Space syntax argues that these values often predict the car traffic flow of streets, but strictly speaking, choice analysis can also be thought to represent the number of intersections that need to be crossed to reach a street. However, since flow values are divided (not subtracted) at each intersection, the output shows an exponential distribution. It is

considered best to take a logarithm of base two of the final values in order to get a more accurate picture. Normalized choice aims to solve the paradox that segregated designs add more total (and average) choice to the system than integrated ones. This adjusts choice values according to the depth of each segment in the system since the more segregated is, the more its choice value with be reduced by being divided by a higher total depth number. This would seem to have the effect of measuring choice in a cost-benefit way (Hillier et al, 2012).

· *Scale – Radius*

The concept of radius is introduced to serve as a tool for selecting sub-systems that can be analyzed around a particular space (e.g. by walking or by car). For example, we can select all spaces up to 300m, 800m, 2km or 5km from a particular point.

· *Depth Distance*

Considered the most intuitive of the analysis methods. It explains the linear distance from the center point of each street segment to the center points of all the other segments. When properly done for each street segment, a graph of cumulative final values is achieved. The streets with lowest Depth Distance values are said to be nearest to all the other streets.

· *Other measures*

Additional measures can be connectivity, total depth, entropy, intensity and so on.

4.4. Representations of space

Spatial elements are represented through their geometric forms and how people experience them. They can be geometrically derived (for example, axial space, convex space, and isovist) or functionally defined (for example, rooms in a building).

These three basic conceptions of space and their visual representations in map form:

· an *isovist*, or viewshed, or visibility polygon (the field of view from any particular point) is

the set of all points visible from a given vantage point in space and with respect to the environment (Benedikt, 1979). Aa we shift from one point to another the shape and size of isovist is subject to change (Figure 15). To quantify the salient size and shape of isovist fields

numerical measures are proposed. Sets of isovists and isovist fields create an alternative depiction of environments.

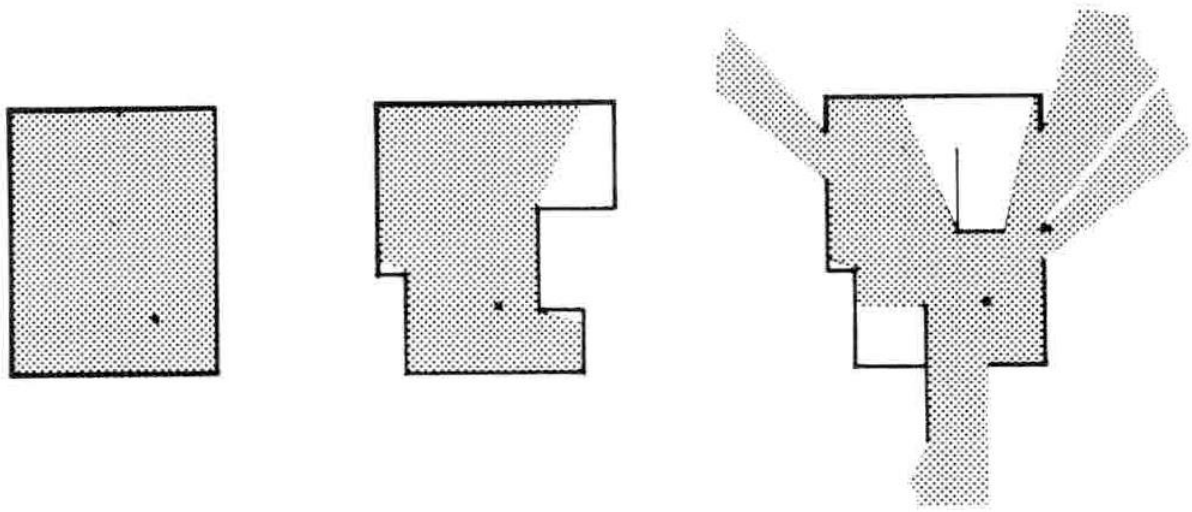

Figure 16. Isovists of increasing occlusivity (Source: Benedikt, 1979)

· *axial map* (idea popularized by Bill Hillier at UCL), also known as the fewest-line axial map, is the minimal set of axial lines (Penn et al., 1997) such that the set taken together fully surveils the system, and that every axial line that may connect two otherwise-unconnected lines is included (Hillier and Hanson, 1984). Visually elaborated in Figure 16.

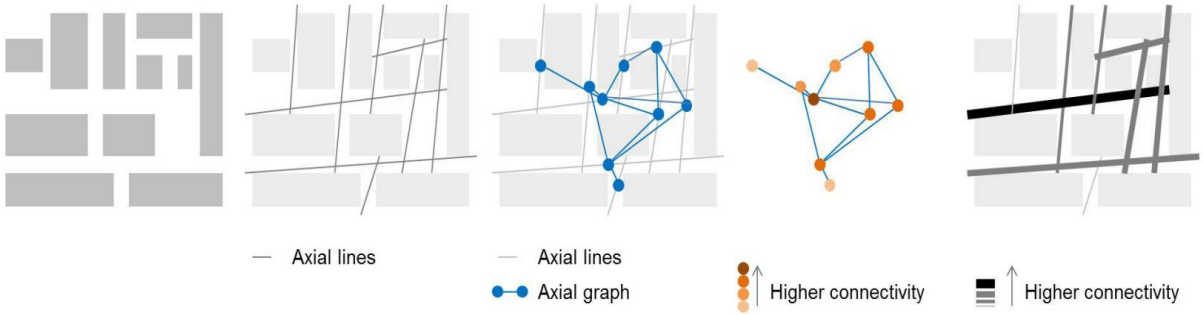

Figure 17. Axial map method (Source: K. Al Sayed, 2013)

· *convex map* (popularized by John Peponis, and his collaborators), is the depiction of all

occupiable voids where, if imagined as a wireframe diagram, no line between two of its points goes outside its perimeter: all points within the polygon are visible to all other points within the polygon. The convex map builds upon the isovist visibility polygon. Visually elaborated in Figure 17.

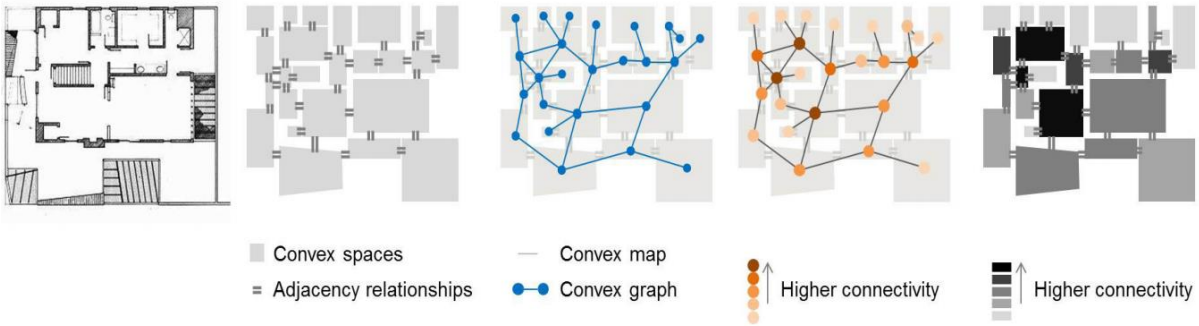

Figure 18. Convex map method (Source: K. Al Sayed, 2013)

Both the axial and the convex map follow the methodology of justified maps in conceptualizing depth.

4.5. Space Syntax methodology applied

Network analysis has long been a basic function of geographic information system (GIS) software programs used for a variety of applications. In this process, computational modeling of urban networks is based on a graph view in which the intersections of linear features are presented as nodes, and connections between a pair of nodes are regarded as edges (Miller and Shaw, 2001). A spatial network of a model is a network comprised of vertices or edges associated with geometric objects which together represent the studied urban environment. They are derived from maps of open spaces (streets, places, and roundabouts). Open spaces

may be broken down into components; most simply, these might be street segments or exits/entries, which can be linked into a network of the settlement–in this case study as the extended context of the analyzed resort via their intersections and analyzed as a network of movement choices. The study of spatial configuration is instrumental in predicting human behavior, for instance, pedestrian movements in urban environments.

4.5.1. The hypothesis

The expectation is that the degrees of choice, a tourist staying in an open type resort has, will facilitate the act of movement between the resort area and the settlement. The tourist will, therefore, if presented with a higher degree of choice be more inclined to utilize restaurants, cafes, bars and other resources in the settlement more often. If the type of accommodation in question was not an open type resort (has less than 5 movement choices out/into the model) the distance to reach the settlement will be much greater because the tourist will not have the freedom of movement, it would be more difficult (and time-consuming) to reach the settlement. This spatial order of things can discourage people from taking certain actions. The tourist will be more inclined to utilize the restaurant contained within the model (resort), or simply the one nearest to his accommodation (room).

4.5.2. The geographical area of inquiry: Bol, Brač

Bol, located on the south side of the Island of Brač (Figure 18), was initially a fisherman's village before it became a tourist destination between WWI and WWII.

Right from the start the main tourism product was formed around "sun, sea and beach" which remained the main attributes of Bol's branding mostly concentrated around the Golden Cape beach– protected in 1965 as a geomorphological monument of nature. The beginning of tourism in Bol can be traced back to the first visit from the "Vacation Colony" (*Ferijalna kolnija*) from Sarajevo (Bosnia and Herzegovina) in 1926.

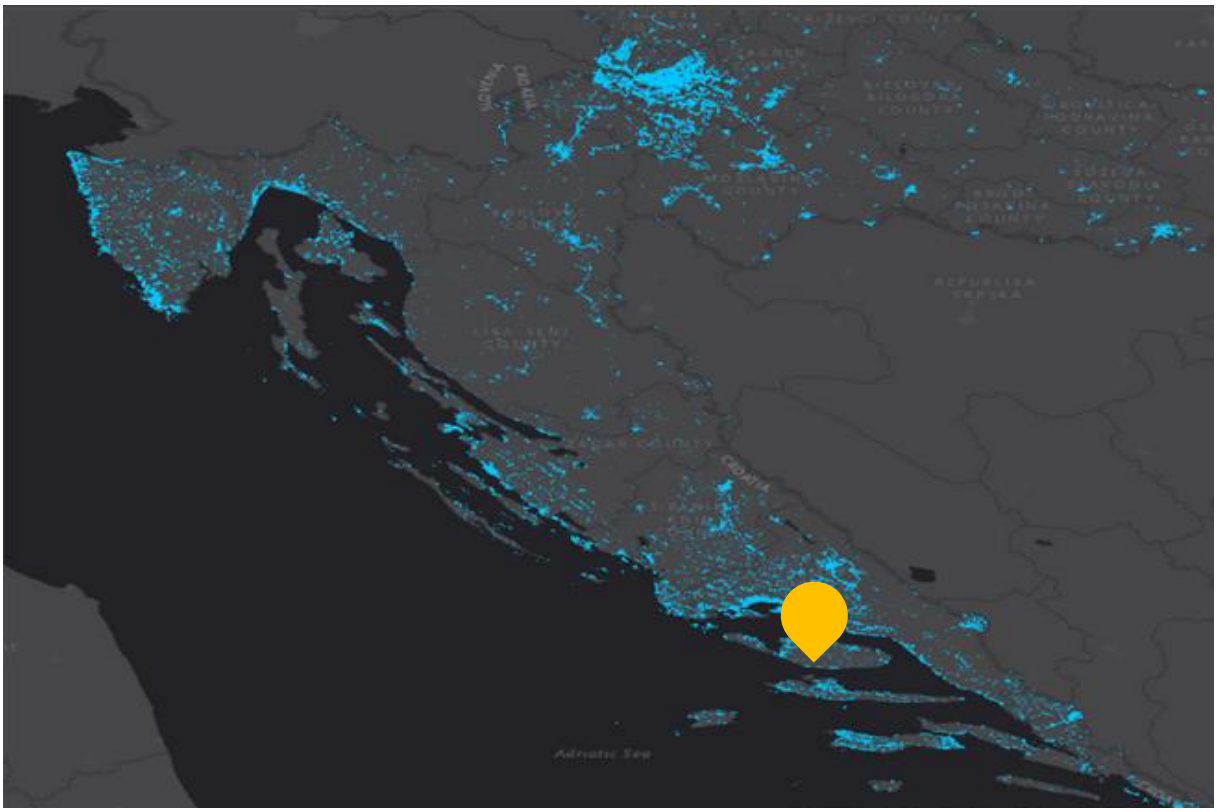

Figure 19. Map of Croatia with geographical area of inquiry marked with yellow pin (Source: Author)

In 1928 the "Society for the esthetic management and the turnover of tourists", in Croatian *Društvo za uljepšanje mjesta i promet stranaca*, was established, the same year Ante Vidošević refurbished his house to accommodate seasonal guests (today Kaštil Hotel).

Between 1938 and 1939 Bol had a considerable accommodation capacity for the time and achieved a notable number of visitors considering that the "Vacation colony" and daily visitors were not included in the count. After WWII in 1948, the hotel owned by Ante Vidošević was nationalized and reorganized by the town's council into a hospitality company named after the most famous beach on the east side of the Adriatic–The Golden Cape. In 1954 the Tourist Association of Bol was founded and in 1959 it was transformed into a Tourist Burau which took over tourism activities related to management and marketing, in addition to intermediating between tourists and private accommodation provided by the local population. After ten years, in 1969 the tourist bureau was merged with the hospitality company "The Golden Cape" (Zlatni Rat d.d.).

At the very beginning of tourism development in Bol, the Hospitality company was the motor of all tourist development in the area, and above that significantly invested in the betterment of the community. During the 1960s, during an informal management meeting, the main

discussion revolved around the employment problem. There were not many skilled workers in Bol, but the company wanted to employ locals. The intention was to have an equitable distribution of employment among all local families, taking social status into account. Which is why the management of the company in cooperation with the School of Tourism and Hospitality from Split organized an intensive vocational training program for waiters and bartenders. The following academic year 1964/65. a branch of the school opened in Bol, for educating waiting staff. A special contract regulated relations between the Split School of Catering and the "Golden Cape" (Zlatni rat) company and the students attending the school (Martinić, 2015).

The commitment of the company to the local community may provide the answer to the employer's attachment and enthusiasm towards the company. The worker's perceived the company and the associated facilities as their own. On special occasions, they would bring handcrafted decorations from their homes and flowers from their gardens to decorate the space or as gifts to guests on their birthdays (Vlahović, 2008).[1]

The Hospitality company was seen as an integral part of the community in every sense, not just as an employer but as an investor. It was involved in a variety of issues apart from tourism, namely social, political, industrial and social infrastructure, economic, cultural and sports development; and in a sense it was a local destination management model. In partnership with the local government "Golden cape d.d." helped organize and finance: kindergarten with nursery; a post office building with a central office; a pier was built for tourist purposes; remodeling, arranging and equipping the local dispensary with the laboratory; 2.5 km of the local collector was built; construction of a water tank with a capacity of 200 wagons; more than 5 km of local streets; purchase of the water-tanker ship "Lake" or in Croatia "Jezero"; a 1000 m promenade towards Zlatni rat beach was constructed and paved in white stone from the island of Brač; a paved bypass towards the beach or the village of Murvica; a residential construction (68 apartments) for the locals; participation in the financing of the underwater water pipe which connects Brač to mainland; participation in financing Brač Airport (Martinić, 2015).

[1] *Employment numbers*

1948: 1; 1955: 3; 1965:38; 1968: 59; 1973: 199; 1978: 271; 1983:490; 1988: 601; 1990: 544; 1993: 444; 2000:251; 2012 161; 2014 144; 2017: 180 (Vlahović, 2008)

The employees of the company, in an organized and conscious way, have often renounced the so-called thirteenth wage and often the monthly wage bonuses, all for the benefit of the joint development of the place, especially in the field of the industrial and social infrastructure of Bol.

The involvement of the company explains in part the integrated spatiality of Bol's tourism models. However, graph analysis should help us test the hypothesis that socialist resorts from the Yugoslavian period are more physical integrated into their context than hotels form the same period, and more than resorts and hotels form the Croatian period.

The reason for choosing Bol as the case study is the opportunity to conduct a comparative analysis of hotels and resorts from the two different periods (shaped by different spatial planning policies and principles), and to simultaneously investigate the integration and openness of resorts and hotels.

Hotel "Borak" was opened in 1976, open resort "Bretanide" was opened in 1984, Resort "Bonaca" 1999, "Elaphusa" was reopened in 2007 after a reconstruction (Figure 19).

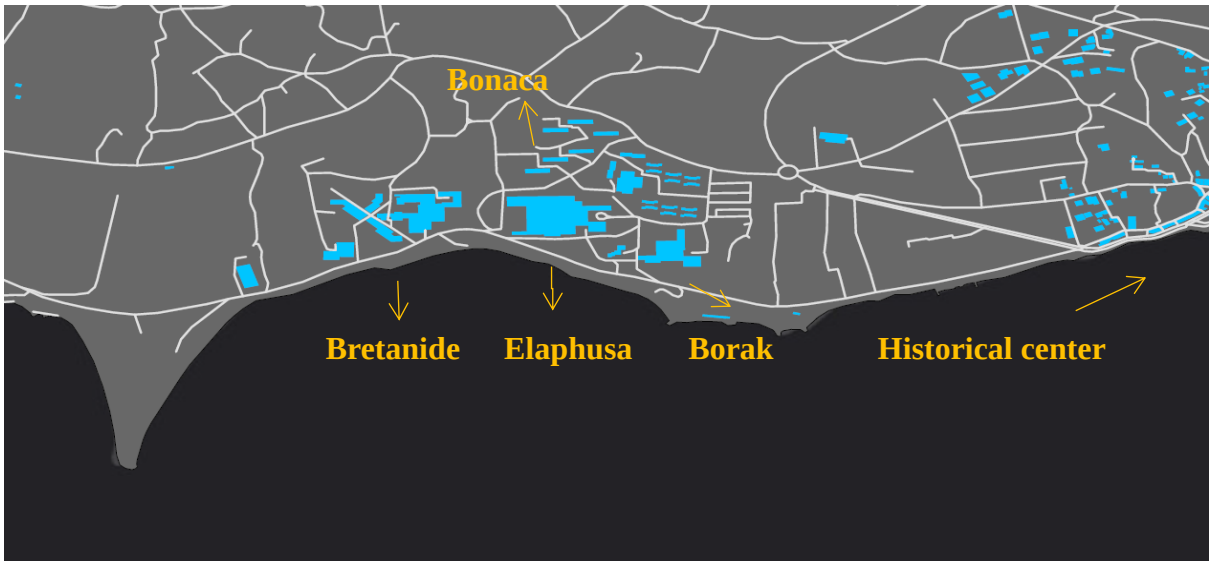

Figure 20. Map of the tourist area within Bol (Source: Author)

4.5.3. Data and methods

The harvesting was conducted first manually by mapping sites and then computationally generating a vector drawing in AutoCAD. The buildings are partially sourced from Autodesk vector files provided by the regional offices for spatial planning and partially redrawn in AutoCAD based on an orthophoto. The data was subsequently georeferenced and/or projected. The street networks were extracted from OpenStreetMap. The Network Dataset map was created in ArcGIS based on road data (edges, junctions). The remaining majority of spatial data, the shape files with information on population are sourced from Eurostat.

The analysis is performed using the Space Syntax Toolkit for Qgis and DepthmapX extension for Qgis which will focus on the descriptive statistics of tourist morphology (hotel and resort) by measuring their connectivity, metric steps, and total depth.

The software: Qgis and DepthmapX

DepthmapX is a multi-platform software platform used to perform a set of spatial network analyses designed to understand social processes within the built environment. It works at a variety of scales from buildings through small urban structures to whole cities or states. At each scale, the aim of the software is to produce a map of open space elements, connect them via some relationship (for example, intervisibility or overlap) and then perform graph analysis of the resulting network (Figure 20). The objective of the analysis is to derive variables that may have social or experiential significance, such as *depth* to establish convex spaces suitable for socialization, or *connectivity* which establishes the frequency of use of spaces, or *normalized choice* which establishes the flow of space and how it connects to its surroundings. It was created by Alasdair Turner and further developed by Tasos Varoudis from Space Syntax Laboratory, The Bartlett, UCL. Two versions of Depthmap are currently available. This includes UCL DepthMap which was written for the Silicon Graphics IRIX operating system as a simple isovist processing program in 1998. Since then it has gone through several metamorphoses to reach the current open source version of depthmapX.

The plug-in Space Syntax Toolkit provides a front-end for the depthmapX software within QGIS. It is being developed by Jorge Gil at the Space Syntax Laboratory, The Bartlett, UCL. Both are in an experimental phase.

The method

(i) Convert all files to Axial map

(ii) Convert Active Map to segment Map [segment.grph]

(iii) Run Angular Segment Analysis utilizing the Tulip Analysis option

(iv) Calculate normalized choice by:

Log ("choice measures"+1)/log("corresponding total depth measure"+3))

(v) Calculating metric catchment by analyzing Metric Step Depth and Integration

On an urban scale, Space Syntax regards movement as the generic function of street spaces and hence reduces these spaces to the longest accessible lines that cover all convex spaces in a map, that is, the axial lines or "lines of sight". These elementary components and their adjacency relationships can be represented by a network (nodes or vertices of a morphological graph GA). The graph GA will consist of two sets of information; graph vertices (representing axial lines) VA = {vA1, vA2, … vAn}, and a set of lines LI = {lI1, lI2, … lIL}, each line in the graph GA represents an intersection between two axial lines (two Vertices) in the spatial network. Spatial adjacency is the fundamental relationship that characterizes how structures might be configured in a spatial layout. Two spaces, i and j, are therefore considered as adjacent in the dual graph GA when it is possible to access one space directly from another, without having to pass through intervening spaces. In graph-theory, GA graphs are regarded as non-planar dual graphs. It is nondirectional in that; lk = (vi, vj) = (vj, vi)

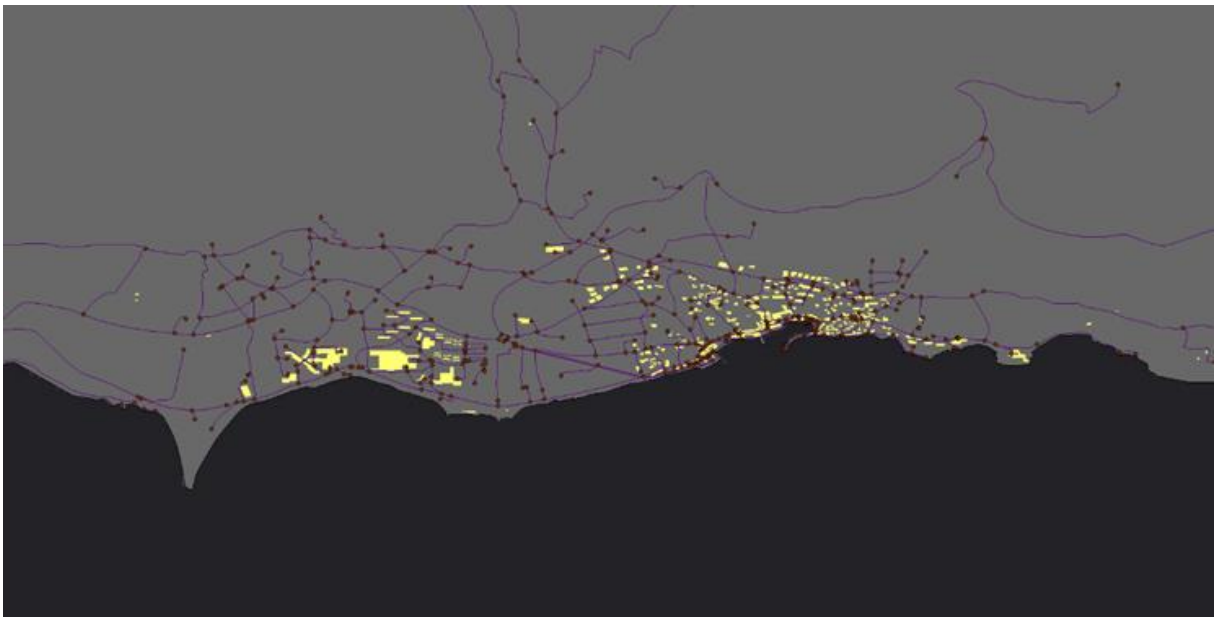

Figure 21. Intermediate map displaying the network dataset (Source: Author)

In axial representations, depth is identified as the change in direction between one axial line and another. Depth is topological, in other words, it has no geometric value. Axial maps are fundamental syntactic representations theoretically because they reflect many structural properties of urban street networks– i.e. line lengths, visual connectivity, intelligibility, and synergy.

The code for depth:

```
total_depth = 0

depth = 0

pop_list = [this]

push_list = []

setmark(true)

while len(pop_list):

 curs = pop_list.pop()

 total_depth = total_depth + depth

 for i in curs.connections():

 if i.mark() is none:

 i.setmark(true)

 push_list.append(i)

 if len(pop_list) == 0:

 depth = depth + 1

 pop_list = push_list

 push_list = []

return total_depth
```

4.5.4 The results

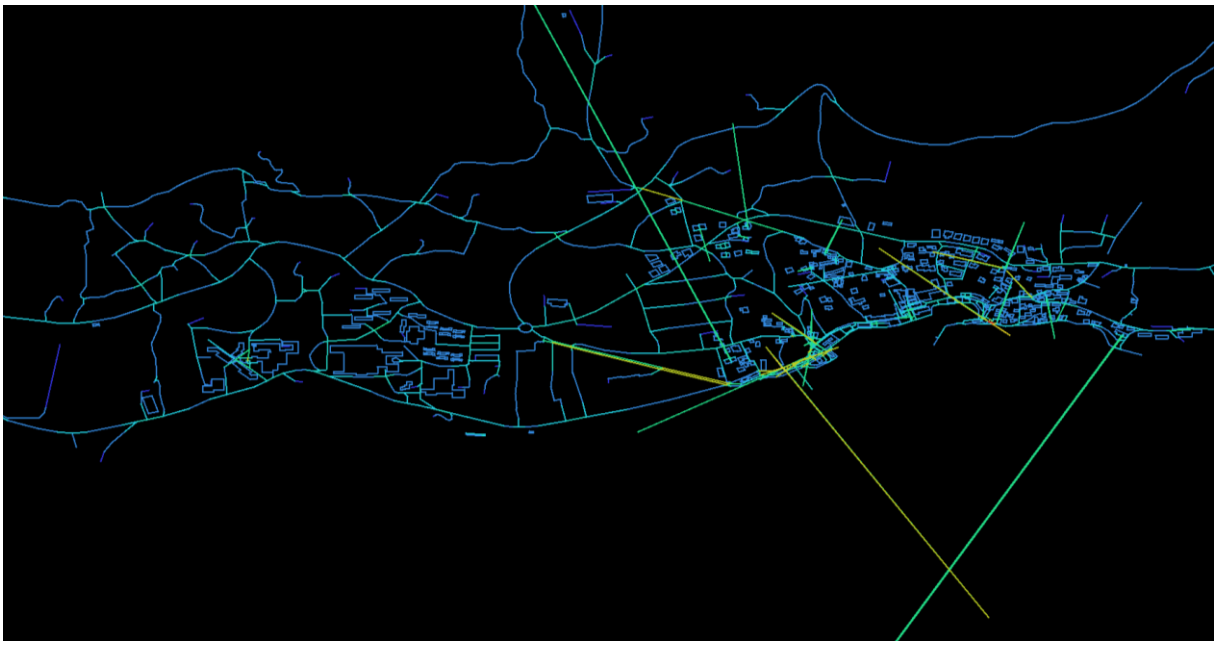

Figure 22. Connectivity Map- red as the most shallow/integrated locality in a spatial or visual setting (Source: Author)

The map of connectivity (Figure 21) displays red as the most shallow/integrated locality in a spatial or visual setting. It clearly illustrates the historical core as the most integrated section of the town. This makes sense given the dense network of pedestrian paths and structures in the city core and its organic development throughout history. Among the resorts, one shows a medium to high (green-orange) level of integration. That resort is “Bretanide” by Dinko Kovačić, constructed during the socialist era of Yugoslavia.

Figure 23. Connectivity: Zoom in “Bretanide” (Source: Author)

The zoomed-in section (Figure 22) shows that, according to the simulation, the most integrated part in the tourist area is the open square of the “Bretanide” resort which is also the entrance coming from the beachside and a path towards the beach coming from the main entrance on the north side and the parking lot just above the main entrance. This place (Figure 23 and Figure 24) also incorporates much of the hospitality program such as the restaurant, pool, café, *patisserie* and nightclub, hair and beauty salon; which can be utilized by tourists and residents alike.

Figure 24. Main square of “Bretanide” with pool, café and nigh club (Source: Author)

The map shows that these places are also perfectly located in order to maximize their accessibility and usage given the frequency of people in the area. This way the maximization of revenue focuses on the tourists and locals at the same time but also allegedly supports the interaction between the local population and the tourists. As shown in the Total Depth Map (Figure 25) the resort “Breatide” offers highly convex spaces which support lingering and socialization among visitors.

Figure 25. Total Depth Map- red areas are more convex like and might be potentially occupational spaces (Source: Author)

According to the architect of “Breatnida” this was the intention of the resort. The idea was to create a space for visitors but form the resort as a neighborhood with all the amenities at the ground level, resembling the spatial logic of the historical center. This inspired the concept of a dense matrix instead of a unified monolith. The ground floor of the entire resort is intertwined with passages, small squares with cafes, a big square with a water surface (the pool) surrounded by a restaurant, patisserie and a nightclub, green surfaces, and parks. “Bretanide” consists of a main building, *depandences*, bungalows, a night club and other detached but associated smaller structures. The most important element of this resort is its openness, in other words the ground floor has no elevations if it does it has stairs. There is no formal entrance into the area. The

passages and main pedestrian roads are mostly connected to preexisting paths, which was, according to the architect the original intention (Figure 26).

Figure 26. Pedestrian passages of "Bretanide" (Source: Author)

When the architect, Dinko Kovačić was asked why they didn't see the need to gate the area, for any purpose he replied:" Why would we do so? Space was considered a common good. Why would we forbid someone, anyone from moving freely through something that is rightfully his (hers)?" In other words, there was no formal planning policy or regulation which stated that the resort had to offer so much open space freely accessible. There wasn't any explicitly regulation forbidding the act of gating the area around the resort to make it more exclusive for the tourists. However, there was an implicit notion of spatial democracy which was incorporated into the physical planning. This was a decision explicitly made by the architect, it also corresponded with public opinion at the time. In other words, the open character and physical manifestation of the resort was a result of convention as much as it was the result of the predominant "experimental" architectural style (critical regionalism), and the general urban plan of Bol. "Bretanide" also offers the highest freedom of movement (Figure 27). Choice measures how likely an axial line or a street segment is to be passed through on all shortest routes from all spaces to all other spaces in the entire system or within a predetermined distance (radius) from each segment.

Figure 27. Normalized Choice Map- red as the most integrated locality in a spatial or visual setting (Source: Author)

The map (Figure 27) shows that the most accessible structure is the main building of the open socialist resort “Breatnide”. The remaining buildings of the same resort are accommodation buildings, consisting solely out of sleeping arrangements. Therefore, there is no reason for these buildings to be so easily assessable in the same way the main building is.

Figure 28. Metric Map- red areas(roads/paths) imply fewer metrics steps to be made to reach the assigned attraction Zlatni Rat beach (Source: Author)

The geographical location of the beach *Zlatni Rat* (Golden Cape) is manually chosen directly on the map. All the metric steps are, thus, calculated using this location as the starting point (Figure 28).

The setback of this tool is that there should be more spatial weights applied in order to get a more accurate simulation which accounts for all important programs in town. In addition, the weights should variate depending on the program. In order to assign different weights to geographic points, we should conduct a more detailed qualitative sociological study of the target area. Otherwise, the weights would be assigned arbitrarily, which in itself, is pointless.

4.5.6. Limitations of the study

The result is only as good as the data. That said it should be noted that manually digitalizing data is a process in which complete accuracy is not possible.

This type of analysis can provide some insight into the character of the observed urban space in terms of centrality but it does not account for all attractions such as other beaches and cultural heritage in the town center. The metric map offers only one attraction to be appointed per map, which is sufficient for a metric map if we are only interested in one point in space. In the context of weighted choices multiple attractions would change the ending result because of their gravitational pull. However, these would need to be weighted, or an index would need to be established according to significance. Tourists and locals would thus be differentiated in two categories because they would frequent and display the need for different activities. However, this might help establish where congestion is more realistic to occur if the attraction and business district or transportation node are next to each other or utilize the same roads. Density alone cannot provide us with the knowledge of how urban space will ultimately be used, it can be an indication of historical use if we assume that the dense structure developed in an organic way, and is a result of an intensive use localized in that particular area.

To control for these factors certain weights should be implemented in order to provide some information on the gravitational poles for which built the structure can only sometimes serve as a point in space. If these weights cannot be accounted for, additional statistical quantitative and qualitative studies should be conducted parallel to spatial analysis simulations.

The interface of the DepthmapX is rather simple to use but the toolkit in Qgis crashes often giving Python error messages. Both programs assume at least some knowledge of coding in Python, otherwise, it is difficult to work through the errors and difficulties. In all honesty, this is to be expected given the fact that the program is in an experimental phase and certain faults should be anticipated. The DepthmapX toolset authors do not provide all of the codes for the tools. In this way, we can't verify the way in which the program computes centrality, betweenness, and gravity, and identify inconsistencies or errors with a possibility to report back to the authors. Regardless, this quantitative study can help shed light on how different morphologies physical interacts with the adjunct community.

4.6. Conclusion

From the spatial syntax analysis of the tourist area in Bol, we can estimate that the open resort "Breatnide" by architect Dinko Kovačić is comparatively more integrated than the hotels "Elaphusa" and "Borak", regardless of the period in which they were built, but also more than the other remaining resort "Bonaca", which is from the Croatian period. The dense, yet open structure of "Bretanide" offers more convex spaces (which are designed as squares) suitable for socialization between tourist and locals, and is also the location of restaurants, cafés, beauty salons, a night club and other programs and services which are, because of the configuration of space easily accessible to both tourists and locals.

In accordance with the predominant ideology of the time, the open resort typology supports spatial justice and democracy by design. The open resort was shaped and programmed as a logical extension of the community (by the words of the architect), not because of restrictions or regulations but because it was "understood" as a norm.

This physical hierarchy, imitating the urban matrix of the historical center of Bol, with its density, open flow, and interpolated network of passages and green spaces indirectly and directly supports the aims of the policies and planning strategies that aimed to support the interaction of locals with tourists, and the integration of the touristic model into the community (i) physically by functioning as an extension of the existing urban matrix; or (ii) functionally as an employer and a service provider.

One other negative externality which is equally distributed–congestion, was also addressed by spatial plans. The aim of the detailed plans which resulted from the Adriatic project was to support the dispersion of tourists in all directions and lessen the pressure on a few spatial points

and thereby avoid congestion. The aim was to, by means of physical planning, encouraged tourists to take alternative paths and explore the surroundings. An open resort, which is well integrated and offers a higher degree of choice can offer alternative paths to anyone entering or exiting the resort area thereby.

From a social perspective, the open resort boosts spatial justice and democracy. It does not fence away what was previously open or accessible space or create black holes in the collective memory of the place. Rather it offers an addition in terms of facilities and services.

In the case of social sustainability, not all aspects can be attributed to the morphology. Open resorts, such as “Breatanide” are a manifestation of state policies from the Yugoslav era which had an aspiration to incorporate the tourist model into the community and local process in any way possible. An important part of the tourist industry, in general, was employing workers from the community but also investing in the betterment of the community by offering education (the example of vocational schooling) and advancing infrastructure. In this way the workers were, thus, more inclined to take part in all processes related to tourism, going above that which was their job. This included giving up their wage bonuses for the sake of reinvesting into the community.

From the environmental point of view, it is important to stress the interpolation of green open spaces interlaced with passages and pedestrian walkways. This type of physical design encouraged pedestrian movement, which was shaded due to the high vegetation and trees planted parallel to the walking paths to make it suitable for use during hot summer days. The usage of appropriately located trees and traditional wooden shutters helped regulate the climate of the interior naturally. The disposition and orientation of paths created natural ventilation, therefore the need for air conditioning was diminished as was the case in “Bretanide”. Another important notion was the strict preservation of the natural landscape of the coastline, and with that the unchanged vista of the coastline from the seaside. This meant offsetting all construction from the coastline in order to preserve the natural landscape configuration since it was seen as a crucial part of the tourism product. This tendency was supported by the strategic spatial planning set forward in the Upper and South Adriatic plans which distributed tourists according to available natural beaches. Upon designing detailed plans special attention was given to the size of the natural beach in order to estimate the exact number of visitors the area could withstand at the same time and to also leave room to accommodate locals. Adding material to

extend beaches was not a supported practice since there was an abundance of untapped natural resources.

There is a way in which a morphology can by means of spatial hierarchy shift or steer the policy outcome thereby enhancing the benefit of a certain group of actors. Instead of simply taxing and distributing wealth through social programs, and infrastructural and communal public investment (which is an important and necessary practice) the open resort, by supporting the dispersion of tourists, supports a more equitable distribution of economic opportunity. The reason why the resort "Bonaca" from the Croatian period is not shown to be as integrated in the spatial syntax analysis as the open resort "Bretanide" is, points towards other reasons which might not have much to do with sheer lack of gates. "Bonaca" is also accessible by foot, but it does not have a dense center with convex spaces which offer activities for both tourist and locals. Additionally, it is spatially laid out as a sprawl– unified rows of accommodation buildings with no spatial differentiation and no special attention paid to the space between the buildings. The passages connecting the accommodation buildings only have one purpose: to get tourists from their rooms to the beach and to the main restaurant. There are not convex spaces offering activities or services, or urban *pochés*–hollow structures (usually the ground floor) which are opened for public use (Gargiani, 2008). The economic logic behind the closed resort is offering exclusivity for their guests and also to manipulate their movement into making the resort's services more accessible and on-hand. However, a resort covers a lot of area. If it is fenced away or shaped into a massive structure it inevitably obscures space for anyone outside of it, and vice versa, but also discourages the use of those activities by anyone not a guest at that specific resort (sometimes it is not discreetly done but declaratively noted). If activities and services are not offered to the community, revenue through taxation still is. However, because this situation cancels out, to a degree, the equitable distribution of economic opportunity we speak of a tradeoff between equity (in this case economic opportunity) and efficiency (from the investor's point of view). A closed resort introduces a spatial monopoly which interferes with the free market. An open type resort boosts equity of economic opportunity by introducing a higher level of movement choices for the resort users. In this case, the tourist can be prompted to explore a wider market area and by this increase the tourist's surplus as the consumer while at the same time the equality of economic opportunity rises for business outside of the resort area. This approach breaks with the equity-efficiency trade-off thinking and instead recognizes that interventions can be efficiency and equity-enhancing at the same time. The trade-off will become less relevant if the policy focus can shift from redistribution to pre-distribution.

Therefore, spatial logic would seem to hold insight into why policy outcomes are enabled or restricted to perform efficiently and with respect to conflicting groups of actors. We must take these performative characteristics of space into account in order to optimize the spatial dimension of the urban form and maximize the positive outcomes of tourism with respect to the needs of the community. That which is implied by the formal policy should be supported by physical planning if we aim to develop a more sustainable community based tourism model.

4.7. References

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General Conclusion

This thesis aimed to investigate how the morphology of tourist resorts contributes or not to sustainability with regard to the three dimensions of sustainability: social, economic and environmental. And situate this interrogation within a wider discussion on sustainable tourism. Acknowledging the exploitative character of the tourism industry and the rising antagonism towards tourists currently taking place in many tourism destinations, the thesis looked into the potential of sustainable tourism development in mitigating the tourist-host conflict. However, the literature review revealed inherent biases and contradictions in the understanding of sustainable development further hindering the establishment of sustainable tourism development in practice. The thesis, thereon, analyzed the role spatial models play in mitigating the negative consequences of non-sustainable tourism practices.

In order to identify what sustainable tourism is, at the light of the three classic dimensions of sustainability (social, economic and environmental), the thesis utilized the case of tourism development in Dalmatia, a region in Croatia, formerly part of Yugoslavia. *The aim was to evaluate whether a more spatially just and socially embedded tourism morphology could offer a remedy for some of the negative effects of the tourism industry.*

The issue of sustainability, with regard to all three dimensions (social, economic and environmental), is paramount in morphological studies to the development of sustainable tourism strategies. Therefore, in order to explore the potentiality of different morphologies in supporting sustainable development, a comprehensive analysis must be employed.

Although considerable progress has been made, there was still a point to be addressed previously overlooked in the literature on tourism development, namely the role of morphology (spatial models) in promoting sustainable tourism development. The complex combination of cultural, social, political and economic that affect the morphological character of resorts needed to be more directly addressed in a more systematic manner. Their linkages with resort morphology needed to be further investigated and interpreted within the context of sustainable tourism development. Causal relationships between these factors are worth researching both qualitatively and quantitatively because of the continuous circular influence between the physical structure of tourism morphology (spatial models) and the society that shapes it.

Therefore, a comprehensive approach to examining the morphology of tourism models, with regard to the here dimensions of sustainability (social, economic and environmental) should employ (i) descriptive analysis; (ii) explanatory (functional analysis); (iii) spatial syntax analysis (geographic information system analysis).

The *First Chapter* of the thesis focused on a qualitative literature analysis with attention placed on development theory, tourism development, and sustainable development. The literature established the importance of a three dimensional approach to evaluating sustainable tourism development arguing that the absence of a comprehensive approach in planning leads to a depletion of natural resources, pressure on the local population, and a lack of control mechanisms to mitigate this conflict of interest often expressed in a rebellion against the tourism industry. The first chapter also reflected on the theoretical contradictions of the traditional conceptualization of the notion of development and sustainable tourism development with regard to the three dimensions of sustainability and showed how this facilitates the conflict in destination areas perpetuating the negative effects brought on by tourism industry. These negative externalities are distributed among the population of the local community (rising rent, congestion, and overcrowding) and underpin the effect of non-sustainable tourism.

The *Second Chapter* broaches the question of the role tourism infrastructure (spatial models) plays in supporting a more sustainable tourism development by offering a wider context on the historical development of tourism resorts. In order to fully address this question, the thesis focused on a specific case study, Bol, from a multiscale perspective.

The *Third Chapter* introduced the case study through a two-phased mixed-method approach. As part of a two phased mixed-method approach, Chapter three made a historical analysis of tourism development in Dalmatia in the era of the former Yugoslavia. The second phase, included an embedded quantitative analysis of spatial configurations conducted in Qgis and was presented in Chapter 4. The instrumentalization of tourism was investigated at a state and regional scale through archival research and data mapping. This qualitative exploration focused on institutional analysis of tourism developments from Yugoslavia and the concept of open type resorts at the case study level, from the policy standpoint; accordingly, by analyzing regulation policies, and strategic and development plans. The qualitative research illustrates that while there was no formal intention directed towards framing the tourism industry as a sustainable practice, several accounts on different scales show attempts to shape tourism as (i) an economically viable process; (ii) embedded in the society; that (iii) benefits the areas in which

it is embedded; and (iv) that is in harmony with the territory where the activity takes place. Therefore, the resulting model is shaped by policies at different levels of government, with input from different institutions, professionals, and ultimately in the self-managing socialist regime, –the local residents. Even though Yugoslavia did not have an official and unique structured model for low-impact environmentally aware tourism, the planning practice implemented a weighted distribution of activities and projects according to the carrying capacity on a regional level. The Adriatic Projects planned tourism in accordance with the available natural beaches and other resources. The plans also predicted the dispersion of tourists on a regional level: their coming to the coast was anticipated but they were also encouraged to explore the hinterlands.

The Adriatic Plan produced: detailed plans of tourist areas and tourism morphology. These detailed plans, and subsequent architectural projects, reflected the state-wide tendencies of architects and spatial designers in formulating a new, domestic architectural style and model of urbanism which would reflect the specific and complex socio-political situation combining traditional building elements with modern construction methods and materials. This resulted in a concrete utopia that was supposed to reflect the social unity with a modern outlook. A call for an integrated approach to spatial planning was also evident in tourism models, as shown by the articles, archives and multiple testimonies by workers, architects, and users. Whether these tendencies to create inclusive and democratic tourism models were supported by physical planning and morphology was put to the test in the second phase of the mixed method approach, i.e., the quantitative GIS developed in *Chapter 4.*

Chapter 4 focused on the specific geographical area of inquiry by contextualizing the chosen destination area of Bol. It introduced the methodology and theory of Space syntax, and presented the results from the spatial analysis through the Qgis platform utilizing the DepthmapX toolset. From the results of the spatial analysis it is clear that the open resort "Bretanide" is, in fact, the most integrated spatial model among all others located in the same area. *The open type resort is the only spatial model that displays a high level of integration, mirroring the character of the urban matrix.*

In reality, all tourism models from the socialist era were to a large degree invested in the community in both direct and indirect ways. The case of Bol shows how both the workers and the management invested in the community. The workers willfully gave up wage bonuses for the sake of reinvesting into the community, and also contributed to the atmosphere of the tourist

spaces, either by decorating them or by entertaining guests on special occasions. The acts of the workers showed how invested they were into the management of their workplaces by going beyond what was their job. The employers, on the other hand, invested into the workforce by organizing vocational training and education, by seeking an equitable distribution of jobs among the local families, and by financially contributing to the betterment of the community. However, the spatial configuration of the open type resort proved to be not only physically more integrated into the urban network but more supportive of sustainable principles. Thus, the open type resort, through a higher level of movement choices, supported sustainable tourism development (i) socially by ensuring a higher level of spatial democracy and dispersing tourists thereby lessening congestion problems; (ii) economically by preventing spatial monopolies and ensuring an equitable distribution of economic opportunities; and (iii) environmentally by integrating a dense network of open green spaces.

The space syntax method helped reveal that despite the socially inclusive and locally-based managerial framework upon which sustainable tourism resides, not all spatial models have the same performative qualities and therefore can steer the results in different directions, by enabling or restricting certain actions–more notably pedestrian movement. In that sense, the sustainability of tourism in Yugoslavia relayed on a happy marriage of the socio-political system and an open resort spatial model. Given the exchanged socio-political context there are lessons learned from this case study, and that is that a socially inclusive, locally based, communally operated tourism model supported by a physically integrated, easily navigable–offering a higher degree of movement choices will result in a more sustainable tourism model with regards to all three dimensions of sustainability. This type of spatial model has added value for the adjunct community, beyond the direct benefit of employment it serves as a service hub, adding valuable infrastructure to the community while enhancing social capital thereby creating a more resilient community.

Intelligibility, the quality of being easily comprehensible or navigable, has a cognitive meaning in in urban planning and design. In complex urban structures and buildings, way-finding is sometimes supported by a vast number of signs, numbers and guideposts. However, there are indications that the syntactic properties of layouts can affect the way in which urban space and buildings are explored. Therefore, by extent it would be possible to steer the navigation through space. This can be very useful in creating visitors ‘itineraries’ in order to lessen the pressure on only a few main touristic routes and points in a given tourist destination. In the case of the open type resort the inviting open morphology should be modeled as intelligibly as possible in order

to facilitate people's navigation: for tourists this means finding the reception, accommodation and other facilities with ease; for the locals a straightforward route coming from the city center towards the beach and other services such as restaurants or coffee shops. However, these spaces should be gradient in the level of connectivity–from highly integrated routes for services; towards less integrated, so as to provide more quitter places for accommodation buildings. By placing services on frequent routes, they are made more easily accessible to the local population and offer additional revenue for the resort. Beyond economic benefits, higher connectivity in a visual area boosts a sense of security.

The thesis also showed that the space syntax method can be utilized prospectively based on existing models to draw lessons and evaluate which ones are worth perpetuating and worthy of applying in a reformulated version according to the specific spatial and environmental context. From a policy perspective space syntax shows value in controlling for changes chronologically and control for effects when new developments come into consideration–to look at what exists and evaluate according to the social agenda what decisions to take in order to enforce sustainable dynamics.

However, no one aspect of the research can offer a comprehensive answer to the proposed research question. It is only synergistically that we can analyze the spatial prospects of such a model, not to be in any manner taken out of the context it was originally conceived in. The functioning of the tourism model which employs local residents, distributes the employment equally among families in the community, procurement of food from local producers therefore shortening the supply chain and lowering carbon emission, reinforces the economic and social sustainability of the community and boosts local resilience. However, these benefits are reinforced by a dense structure intertwined with a network of pedestrian passages and open green spaces which create a controlled microclimate and a pleasant space, thus lowering the need for air conditioning and controlling runoff water. The locally integrated passages help boost the economic sustainability of the resort, while promoting spatial justice and democracy.

Within a larger context of sustainable tourism development, the thesis shows through both the qualitative and quantitative study that the quest in developing sustainable tourism models we must employ a comprehensive and integrated planning approach. These intents need to be supported by physical planning and inclusive morphology. In the case of the open resort it is clear that while some outcomes are a result of policies and state regimes, there is an important

part played by the spatial model in reinforcing such policies and supporting certain social actions.