

Overtourism Dystopias and Socialist Utopias: Towards an Urban Armature for Dubrovnik*

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ABSTRACT

The recent discourse on overtourism and anti-tourist attitudes has opened up the space to reimagine tourism development and planning. Employing an interdisciplinary approach we combined research by design methodology and rapid ethnography in order to problematise Dubrovnik's overtourism. The research turned for inspiration to the ex-Yugoslavian resorts and integrated planning. The paper advocates a praxical, socially informed and environmentally aware perspective and proposes interventions that offer the potential of practical applications in Dubrovnik's urban planning. Focusing on the need for connectivity and continuity the interventions address issues of segregation and marginalisation of local groups, such as students and seasonal workers. Inspired by the utopian ideals of socialist resorts, the research developed an urban armature that aims to connect the different parts of the old and modern city, reclaim tourist spaces for locals, and create open spaces in local areas.

KEYWORDS

Overtourism; Dubrovnik; urbanism; post-socialism; research by design; rapid ethnography

Oh you beautiful, oh you dear, oh you sweet freedom ... all the silver, all the gold, all human lives, can not pay for your pure beauty ...
Ivan Gundulić

Introduction: overtourism dystopias and socialist utopias

Limits to Growth (Meadows, Meadows, Randers, & Behrens, 1972) was instrumental not only in shifting our understanding of the impact of growth on the economy, but also in fuelling a range of attempts for a shift of planning and development to include environmental and social concerns. Since Turner and Ash's (1975) Golden Hordes, tourism scholars have been concerned with the impacts of tourism on places. Concepts such as host and guest antagonism (Doxey, 1975), Tourism Area Life Cycle (Butler, 1980) and carrying capacity (O'Reilly, 1986) have informed tourism impact studies over the past four

decades. Today, a movement of residents has emerged at places like Barcelona, expressing an anti-tourist attitude and an opposition to tourism (Goodwin, 2017). With places competing for cheap no-frills flights, marina developments and cruise ships, and sharing economy ventures, such as AirBNB, there is an increasing engagement in tourism dominated activities and large numbers of tourists in the streets of towns and cities such as Barcelona, Berlin, Venice, Dubrovnik, and elsewhere. This paper explores the case of Dubrovnik's overtourism dystopia and turns to the utopian socialist resorts in a quest for a radical paradigm.

The dominance of tourism is reinforced by Development institutions (UNWTO), the tourism industry (WTTC), and tourism academics, who spread the "good news" about tourism development's positive economic impacts, the significance of the sector and the importance of tourism as a job creator and foreign exchange generator, which reflects a growth fetish despite sustainability and other concerns (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2018). At the same time, UNWTO attempts to analyse the phenomenon of overtourism and proposes a number of strategies and measures in order to tackle the problem (UNWTO, 2018).

Overtourism, albeit a new term, deals with old problems. The problem of tourist generating impacts on the environment, communities and cultures that they visit has been articulated since the 1970s (Turner & Ash, 1975). In the 1990s, Wheeler argued that "unless attempts to solve the ravages of tourism address this central issue of volume, then claims that there are answers to the problems of tourism are not only wrong but can be invidiously and dangerously misleading" (1991, p. 91).

Over forty years have passed since Britton's (1982) political economy research agenda, which looked into the historical development of third world destinations. More recently, more authors have called attention to the need for historical research in the field [Butler (2015), Walton (2009a, 2009b), and historian Albert Grundlingh (2006); in Saarinen, Rogerson, & Hall (2017)]. Saarinen et al. (2017, p. 309) developed a historical and contextual understanding of tourism development outlining the relationships between planning traditions, tourism development approaches and humanity's global footprint. In the case of Dubrovnik, we traced the historical trajectory of tourism development in Dubrovnik in order to inform our understanding of the spatial urban character of the city.

Based on research by design and rapid ethnography, this paper explores the ways in which socialist spaces differ in their use of resources, planning, and ownership. For instance, integrated planning aimed for socialist resorts to be leiscapes of inclusion (Basauri, Berc, Mrduljaš, Peračić, & Veljačić, 2012), part of the social(ist) life of the city, rather than exclusive spaces for the tourists. Finally, the paper examines the physical/architectural characteristics and the application of the aforementioned principles in space. Following a praxical approach, in order to propose practical interventions for the city of Dubrovnik, the principles of the socialist resort were applied into the proposed city's urban plan. This proposal aimed to provide connectivity by developing an urban armature that creates a connection between the old city, the rest of the city, and the resorts, and by utilising and upgrading existing infrastructure; mapping out spaces that have potential for development on this axis (entrance, port, business centre). In developing spaces for shared use, by tourists and locals alike, public spaces were introduced in the more semi private/local zone, while at the same time the proposed interventions are reclaiming tourist spaces for local use.

Methodology

Basic concepts

The research took place in August 2017 as part of an urban laboratory. As discussed above, overtourism has been identified as a problem in Dubrovnik and its effects put strain on the city itself and the local population alike. By bringing together architecture, urban design and tourism research, the research objectives were to explore the physical impact of Dubrovnik's tourism development in its socio-historical context and develop a series of proposed urban planning intervention in its urban planning.

Adopting an interdisciplinary approach, the research employed methodologies used in urban design and in tourism research. As such, it combined research by design methodology (van der Voordt & Cuperus, 2002) and rapid ethnography (Taplin, Scheld, & Low, 2002) in order to explore the socio-spatial impact of Dubrovnik's tourism.

Research by design methodology (elsewhere called Inquiry by Design or Study by Design) seeks to generate knowledge by studying transformations of a design or design interventions in an existing situation (van der Voordt & Cuperus, 2002). It is typically directed towards interpreting, understanding and explaining a territory or a problematique using the tools of design. Therefore, this type of study also features a strong exploratory characteristic. The first step is to generate new design variations using design itself as the process for the study. Hence the term *means-oriented study* is used in contrast to the more common *goal-oriented approach*. Then the implications of these variations are studied, whether or not leading to adaptations or completely different solutions. As such, new concepts may be developed as well as a better understanding of the impact of different design decisions (de Jonge & van der Voordt, 2002; van der Voordt & Cuperus, 2002; Viganò, 2010).

Furthermore, *rapid or quick ethnography* (Handwerker, 2001), like traditional ethnography, utilises naturalistic inquiry techniques (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) to facilitate immersion in a socio-cultural context and exploration of social relations and lived experiences as they unfold (Fetterman, 2010). The interactive group environment of the programme was vital for carrying out a rapid ethnography as more than one researcher was always present at the data collection, as well as the data analysis phases of the research (Baines & Cunningham, 2013). The use of rapid ethnography facilitates a means-oriented approach, because it offers quick access to a problem at the time it is unfolding, in our case the socio-spatial effects of overtourism. As such, it has been used to research demonstrated problems (Isaacs, 2016). Rapid ethnography complemented research by design through immersion and engagement with the socio-spatial problematique that underpins the different scenarios/solutions negotiated by the latter.

Methods

During the rapid ethnography, researchers undertook observations and visits to the field. This involved a range of crucial sites in Dubrovnik in order to observe and analyse the use and interaction of different groups of users (locals and tourists alike) with the structural, physical elements of the city. These sites included the old town, Babin Kuk resort, residential and mixed-use areas in the modern city, Lazareti complex, Hotel Excelsior, the cable car to mount Srd overlooking the city, and the contested site of a proposed golf course

development, the port and the nearby market, and a mixed area (residential and tourist) on the west of Bellevue beach.

Further observations took place at the old town, which is the tourist focus of Dubrovnik, but also at different areas of the modern city, including residential areas, the main transportation axis of the city that links the port to the old city, including the central bus stop. Finally, public transportation was used to get to and from Babin Kuk resort. This provided an insight of the transportation axis of Dubrovnik. The visits were documented by taking observation notes and pictures for visual stimuli of memory.

Our observations then were discussed and enriched by conversations with four members of a local architects activist group (PLACA), two members of Srdj je naš (Srdj is ours) campaign, an environmental group that opposes the golf course development, and two seasonal tourism workers.

The international and interdisciplinary background of the researchers was imperative for the reflexive nature of this research (Baines & Cunningham, 2013). In simple terms, “reflectivity is associated with self-critique and personal quest, playing on the subjective, the experiential, and the idea of empathy” (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; in Feighery, 2006, p.271). One of the issues that was imperative for the researchers was that of marginalisation of groups, such as seasonal tourism and hospitality workers and students. Furthermore, these inequalities in the local community were highlighted when comparing tourists and locals’ standards of living. As such, power plays an important role when it comes to tourism development, and the question “who benefits?” took central stage in the research. Rapid ethnography and research by design were used as a means to unpick the issues of (over)tourism and give rise to an alternative narrative, which includes the voices of marginal groups and local activists.

This alternative narrative is understood here in line with the development of an urban armature for Dubrovnik. The notion of urban armature brings together space and meaning (Jensen, 2009). The word armature typically stands for structural support, framework or infrastructure. However, the concept of urban armature goes beyond that to facilitate shared experiences that bind communities together (Chastain, 2004).

The exploratory nature of the research allowed for a praxical approach, which aimed for a socially and historically informed understanding of the case. Consequently, the research was informed by historical readings and understandings of tourism development in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Croatia, and in Dubrovnik more particular.

Moreover, the conversations with members of activist groups and seasonal workers allowed for the research to be more inclusive of radical perspectives. As such, the research offers an interdisciplinary, historically, and socially informed approach (Saarinen et al., 2017; Sharpley, 2009; Tribe, 1997), bringing together tourism, architecture, and urban planning.

Findings

Historical context of tourism development and overtourism challenges

Dubrovnik has a long and complex history, as an autonomous region where commerce, diplomacy, espionage, and literary work flourished (Harris, 2006). Dubrovnik has been known as the city of poets, writers, painters, and scientists. The history of tourism in Dubrovnik is also long. Pirjevec (1998) identifies four periods:

- before the First World War (1850–1914),
- between the two world wars (1918–1939),
- between the Second World War and 1990,
- and the recent history of the Croatian tourism to present.

Tourism has been an important sector of Dubrovnik's economy. Particularly, between the two World Wars Dubrovnik's economy shifted to tourism and the tertiary sector with great investment in tourism infrastructure (Benić Penava & Matušić, 2012). This influenced the reskilling of workers with a focus on hospitality and tourism, which laid the foundations for the development of tourism as monoculture.

Historically, Dubrovnik's position on the Adriatic Sea has been at the crossroads of "people, ideas, exchange, trade, attack and invasion, and friendly entry" (Travis, 2011). Today, there is an economic shift toward tourism. Dubrovnik's tourism is prominent and it has become one of the most attractive destinations. Even though modern tourism has certain characteristics and attributes, the basis for this development can be traced back in classical antiquity, with travellers visiting Dubrovnik for relaxation, medical treatments and amusement. The development of technology, such as the steamboats and railways, made it easier and more comfortable for visitors to travel and the tourism infrastructure was developed further as the tourist numbers increased. The initial development of tourism infrastructure, such as hotels (e.g. hotel Miramar at the Pile), and health centres, (e.g. thermotherapy), are traced back at the end of the 19th—beginning of the twentieth century.

The interwar period

saw a dynamic growth of the accommodation sector between 1925 and 1934. The most detailed list from 1934 shows that there was a 89.1% increase in the number of beds over the period of nine years. Seventy years later, there were nearly five times more beds (479.3% increase) in the Dubrovnik district. (Benić Penava & Matušić, 2012, p. 77)

Dubrovnik's isolation from the main transport system created a unique situation where the political and wealthy classes would find this isolation of the elite resorts attractive, whereas at the same time it was difficult for the less wealthy to travel to Dubrovnik.

Despite the extensive research on the leisure class in the western world (Burke, 1995; Cannadine, 1978; Cunningham, 2016; MacCannell, 1999; Munt, 1994; Roberts, 1997; Veblen, 2017) there is a misconception that the consumption of tourism and leisure was incompatible with communist ideals because "tourism appears at odds with a Marxist ideology that stressed egalitarianism and collective sacrifice in pursuit of a classless Utopia" (Rosenbaum, 2015, p. 158). However, travelling for leisure was subsidised and actively promoted by communist states such as the Soviet Union and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (part of which Croatia/Dubrovnik were) (Rosenbaum, 2015).

It is relevant here to stress the peculiar condition of Yugoslav socialism, that started in 1948 with the much-documented Tito-Stalin split. A series of legal changes followed this episode (marking what was to become known as Yugoslav Third Way socialism). As described by Marić (2018, p. 72), "workers' self-management and social ownership were introduced as new institutions for decentralizing economy and politics, challenging existing definitions of socialism and capitalism". It was within this period that tourism was used

in order to demystify Yugoslavia to the West on one hand, and bring economic benefit on the other. The economic justification for the development of tourist resorts on the Adriatic coast, including Babin Kuk, was twofold. Firstly, it aimed to facilitate the state/public leisure programme for Yugoslav workers and secondly, it aimed to develop an international tourism market (Feary, 2016; International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1971).

Additionally, in 1940–1950s Yugoslavia the development and construction of the Brotherhood and Unity highway aimed to play a significant role in the formation of a collective socialist identity. While such an achievement offered connectivity and material advantages, it highlighted the inequalities between core and peripheries and was perceived as a tool to develop tourism (Pozharliev, 2016) following the period after the First World War, during which tourism was seen as the engine for the growth of the local economy in Dalmatia (Chorvát, 2009). More particularly, even though during the first years of Yugoslavia, industrial development was favoured over activities such as tourism, this soon changed in the 1950s, with the government (re)establishing links with foreign tour operators in order to benefit from the growth of mass tourism in Europe (Taylor & Grandits, 2010). This emphasis on tourism, further boosted by the social tourism programme, aiming to provide every citizen with cheap holidays, gave rise to further development and modernisation of hotels and resorts as well as commercial private accommodation (Rosenbaum, 2015; Taylor, 2010; Taylor & Grandits, 2010). This was in tandem with the development of a mixed economy (Travis, 2011), which gave rise to a new middle class in Yugoslavia, which embraced “the dream of unpretentious prosperity for all” (Taylor & Grandits, 2010, p. 19).

This commercialisation of tourism and leisure, however, should be contextualised. As opposed to the loosening and deregulation of tourism and other economic activities in the Western world, Yugoslavia still focused on planned development. Jadran I (1967–1969), Jordan II (1979–1972) and Jordan III (1972 onwards), where three major projects for Adriatic coast’s planning. According to Travis (2011, p. 162) the planning in Yugoslavia reflects

a maturing of theory, concept and techniques of planning and development, as well as refinement of the ideas of the agencies and of the technical personnel involved. From regional and project development thinking, Yugoslavia, and essentially Croatia, moved towards integrated planning, which combined conservation management with social and economic development aims.

The 1970s and 1980s were instrumental for the establishment of tourism development as a pioneering sector of Yugoslavian economy. While the focus was on growth, despite efforts for integrated planning, Yugoslavia soon became dependant on tourism as a means of financing its trade deficit, as well as improving its external liquidity (Mikić, 1988). In spite of tourism’s vulnerable nature Yugoslavia pursued a tourism investment route. Indeed, tourism proved to be yielding economic results, but it also resulted in imbalance of regional development and tourism as monoculture in some regions, including Dubrovnik. Furthermore, rather than working in synergy with other sectors such as agriculture, tourism was in competition with both industry and agriculture (Allcock, 1986). Finally, problems that are well recognised today such as seasonality (Butler, 1994) and low pay of tourism and hospitality workforce started appearing (Allcock, 1986).

The violent breakup of Yugoslavia and the collapse of communism found the region populated by small states joining the capitalist bloc. This gave rise to new, emerging destinations in the region. Croatia built on its socialist tourism policy, which as discussed above was generating a significant tourist income. The end of conflict in the mid-1990s and the enlargement of the EU in 2003 found Croatia benefiting from tourism further (Ateljević & Corak, 2006).

In Dubrovnik, from 2000 onwards, the stability in the region led to a rapid development of mass cultural tourism (Pavlice & Raguž, 2013). Tourist areas developed rapidly and tourists, en masse, occupied areas previously used by residents, resulting to these areas becoming unaffordable for the local population. As tourism dominated the economic life of the city the division became sharper.

In 2010, despite the rhetoric of the Office for the Strategic Development of Croatia including principles based on sustainability, peripheral economic and social development, and preservation of nature and culture the emphasis was on tourism as a foreign exchange generator. Croatia was then implicitly marketed as “pre-mass package culture and environment” (Ateljević & Corak, 2006, p. 296). Tourism is still seen as a key sector of the Croatian economy and while there is a call for Croatian tourism to stay away from sea and sun model, there is also a renewed recognition that overreliance on tourism is risky (Orsini & Ostojić, 2018).

Dubrovnik made the news in August 2017 as tourists were jammed at the main gate of the old town (the Pile), not being able to go in or out (Thomas, 2017). An incident that was resolved by the intervention of the police and later the municipality encouraged people to walk on their right-hand side so the gate doesn't get jammed again. The popularity of the old city has attracted sheer numbers of visitors, which have a physical impact on the place, creating congestion and aggravate locals and fellow tourists alike.

At present, Dubrovnik experiences a substantial increase in tourist numbers while UNESCO wants to limit the number of visitors in the city to 8,000 people at one time including residents (Simmonds, 2017) and the cruise tourist number at the port to 8,000 daily, which can rise to 10,000 if the Port Authority monitors it closely and cooperates with civic authorities (UNESCO, 2015). Dubrovnik, a victim of its own popularity as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, but also as a site where the popular television series *Game of Thrones* was shot, is called to deal with the paradox of tourism risking to destroy the very thing that tourists come to see and become an overtourism dystopia.

The contemporary model of tourism development has created islands of urbanism in Dubrovnik, with great fragmentation and segregation. In an attempt to look at tourism in a holistic, inclusive, socially just and environmentally viable way the research takes inspiration from the integrated planning of the ex-Yugoslavian, socialist resort. In order to do so, the paper explores the (economic, social, and spatial) characteristics of socialist tourist spaces. The observations, field visits and discussions with local architects, activists, and seasonal workers aimed to frame the problematique of Dubrovnik.

Urban design interventions and proposals

The analysis is concerned with the effects of development of a monoculture of tourism in the city of Dubrovnik. From 2000 onwards, tourism in Dubrovnik developed rapidly and tourists, en masse, occupied areas previously used by residents, leading to these areas

becoming unaffordable for the local population. As tourism dominated the economic life of the city the divisions (Figure 1) became sharper: tourists on one hand, tourism workers on the other. This has created a fragmentation of the city and marginalisation of the local population and the seasonal workers, who are now pushed outside the old city into the modern city (mixed rooms) and to the outskirts of the modern city (back of the house) as a result of increasingly high property prices in the tourist areas (exclusive rooms). Another population group that is being marginalised is the student population that either has to rent at the outskirts of the modern city or only find accommodation until the tourist season starts because of the increasing use of flats for tourist accommodation through sharing economy platform such as booking.com and AirBNB.

Furthermore, tourism has put a strain on the transportation network of Dubrovnik. The old city being the main tourist attraction means that the transportation axis services the port and the existing resorts on the West/North West of the old City and the resorts on the East of the old City, which results to congestion and traffic until the evening. The fact that the central bus stop is right outside the Pile adds to this problem. Dubrovnik, in this sense is becoming an increasingly segregated city due to the increasing growth of the tourism industry. The contemporary model of tourism development has created islands of urbanism with great fragmentation and segregation. Dubrovnik's tourism development today has focused on the old city, and the related tourist infrastructure. This focus led to the lack of continuity of public space, making it a city with only one destination. If this tendency continues, Dubrovnik risks experiencing further fragmentation and

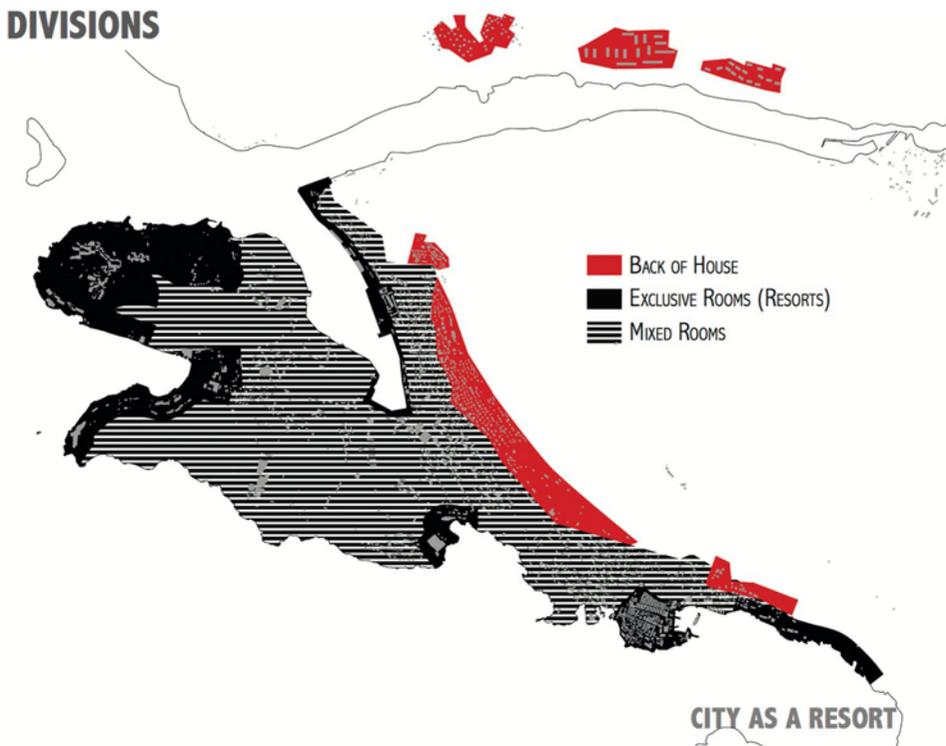


Figure 1. Divisions.

segregation, with continuous exclusion as the city would become even more overcrowded and expensive.

Research by design and rapid ethnography allowed for the development of the problematic. A further aim of the project, however, was to develop new design variations in the form of concrete proposed interventions. These interventions aimed to respond to a series of identified problems. Namely the proposed interventions aimed to shape Dubrovnik and contribute towards a shift from discontinuity to continuity and open access; from marginalisation and exclusion to social inclusion; from seasonality to multi-functionality; and finally, from tourism as monoculture to economic integration.

The Resort of Babin Kuk, built during the socialist Yugoslavia years, provided inspiration because of the co-existence and synergy between tourism and community activities in wide, open, flowing spaces. The legacy of integrated planning was evident in the case of Babin Kuk, a hotel/resort just at the outskirts of Dubrovnik. Babin Kuk resort, was planned in 1969 and built in 1975. The planning of the resort was aimed to be spatially and functionally linked with the city of Dubrovnik and as such it followed a detailed planning process (Mrak-Taritaš, 2010). Part of the integrated planning also meant that Babin Kuk was constructed to be part of Dubrovnik's tourism offer but also open for the wider area to use.

The tourist area of 5,150 beds was constructed with social and environmental concerns in mind. This project is a typical demonstration of the, already mentioned, Yugoslav Third Way socialism, in which workers “were permitted to appropriate the surplus normally allocated to owners and to make and to make accumulation decisions, but who retain no individual or marketable rights over the assets” (Estrin, 1991, pp. 197–194). So a shared and collective system of the capital redistribution which was not following the classical definition of socialism, nor capitalism. In this context, tourism and leisure time was a big part of Yugoslavia, allowing workers to participate in the construction of resort facilities, as well in the definition of periods and ways in which they would be used.

Tourism was developed with a symbiotic relationship in mind (Mrak-Taritaš, 2010). The resorts were used by the public all year round to host events organised by, and for the local community (a practice that still takes place today). For this to be possible, the resorts were built with continuity of open public space in mind, where people could move freely in space—from the residential areas to the shops and restaurants, to the park, to the beach—and they had full open access to all facilities (Mrak-Taritaš, 2010).

The development of the resorts incorporated a gradient of spaces, from intimate to private to semi-public to public, which aimed to a harmonious coexistence of all activities.

Accommodation facilities were built on less attractive places to ensure visual contact with the sea, while at the same time they ensured a distance of 400 m. between the buildings and the sea. Besides the parks that include green areas, table tennis and crazy golf facilities, a crèche and other leisure facilities, the resort was built with a pedestrian street that connects the two centres. The Eastern Centre is home to public and administrative services, as well as clubs, restaurants, a shopping area, swimming pool and more summer seasonal activities. The Western centre is planned for year-round activities. Accommodation is built on this part, along with shops, clubs, winter pool, sports halls, a restaurant, and a bar. Finally, even though Babin Kuk was planned for and built during the golden tourism period for Dalmatia it still respected environmental regulations such as maintaining coastal distance, as seen above, but also the built facilities occupied only

13.66% of the whole area. Today's regulation allows 30% construction on the plot and the company owner intends to carry out the maximum allowed construction (Mrak-Taritaš, 2010).

The study investigated how urban reality can be transformed with active policies that consider the space in a non-homogenous way giving a frame for the future development of the entire territory. The principal idea of the project was to avoid the excessive urban concentration of the old historical centre, and to accommodate work and life dispersed in the different parts of the city. In so doing, the research turned for inspiration to the socialist resorts of ex Yugoslavia, and socially informed, environmentally viable integrated planning by exploring the economic, social and spatial characteristics of socialist tourist spaces and offer new understandings of the impacts of their design.

Socialist spaces differed in the way they used resources, planning, and ownership. In terms of resources, the focus of state-owned resorts was on collective interests, as opposed to private interests. As such, tourists and residents alike were using the resorts. That was possible through integrated planning, making the resorts leiscapes for inclusion, part of the social life of the city, rather than an exclusive space for the tourists. Also, tourism was used in order to trigger other economic activities rather than a reliance and dependency on monoculture. This was also reflected in the physical/architectural characteristics with an absence of wall/fence to segregate the resort. Mixing hosts with tourists reduces boundaries between the local and temporary inhabitants of the resorts, so tourist facilities become part of the collective perception of public space.

The socialist resorts maintained coastal distance, while at the same time they allowed access to the beach for everyone, regardless whether they were hosts or not. Furthermore, a synergy of activities at the resort was essential. The resorts were used by the public all year round to host events etc. (a practice that still takes place today). For this to be possible, the resorts were built with continuity of open public space in mind, where people could move freely in space—from the residential areas to the shops and restaurants, to the park, to the beach—and they had full open access to all facilities. The development of the resorts incorporated a gradient of spaces, from intimate to private to semi-public to public, which allowed a harmonious coexistence of all activities (Basauri et al., 2012).

Adopting a learning by example approach, the principles of the socialist-built resort were analysed and translated into a series of guidelines for contemporary tourist activities in Dubrovnik. This translation was developed through the proposition of a series of interventions that were aiming to:

- provide *connectivity* by developing an urban armature that creates a connection between the old city, the rest of the city and the resorts by utilising and upgrading existing infrastructure
- map out spaces that have *potential for development* on this axis (entrance, port, business centre),
- finally, in order to develop *spaces for shared use*, both by tourists and locals alike, we introduce public spaces in the more private/local zone, while at the same time we are reclaiming tourist spaces for local use.

Babin Kuk's integrated planning, proximity to the city of Dubrovnik, as well as the space and owner company's intention to build further made it a successful candidate in order

for the researchers to imagine an intervention that aims to tackle seasonality and proposes multifunctionality of shared spaces. As a result, a proposed design of a strategic project was developed in the Babin Kuk resort area (Figure 2). This design offers a multifunctional use of facilities in order to tackle the problems of seasonality and marginalisation of local population. Through the development of an interconnected system concrete actions, this strategic project highlights some physical implication of the creation of some shared spaces between locals and tourists.

Building on Dubrovnik's history and tradition of a city of science and arts we propose the development of a multifunctional resort/university space (Figure 2). The proposed intervention involves the construction of Sport facilities, laboratories, lecture theatres, student accommodations and libraries, as well as halls for the local community groups. These are intended to be accessible to the general public and can help improve a more authentic living experience for tourists and locals alike. In this way the new design aims to tackle the problem of seasonality by offering multifunctional spaces which can be used all year round. At the same time, it aims to prevent segregation of the local student population by offering a space for living and studying.

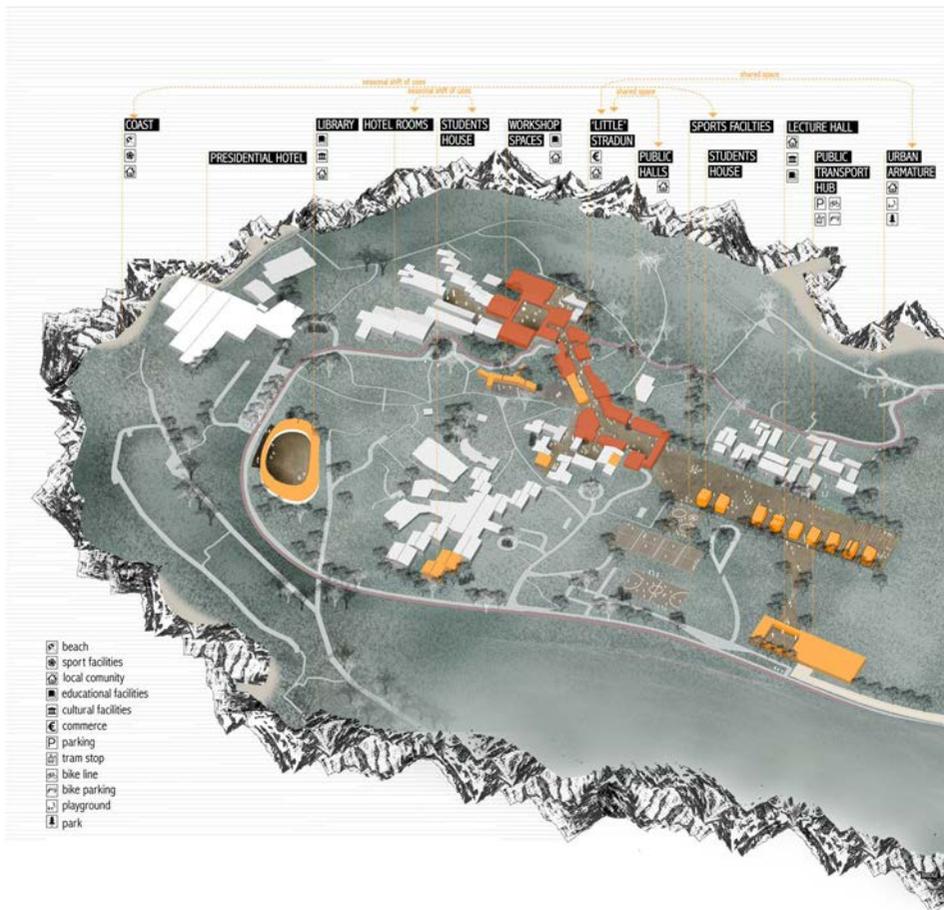


Figure 2. Babin Kuk Resort/University.

Furthermore, an urban armature (Figure 3) concept was developed. From a spatial point of view this concept helped highlighting the necessity to select some strategic spaces (Viganò, 2010) from which a renovation of the entire territory will be fostered. Babin Kuk proposed design allowed the researcher to explore new design variations in the city of Dubrovnik, applying the same principles of socialist resorts.

The urban armature developed for the Dubrovnik case study crosses the entire city connecting different spaces from the modern city by building the hard spine of the future public space and public mobility both in term of strategic space and strategic programme. The urban armature aims to provide connectivity and continuity in the city, linking the existing resorts, the old city and vital parts of the modern city such as the port, the hospital, the market, Dubrovnik heights, and upper Dubrovnik.

As a strategic programme the urban armature is then a space that has a key role in the urban development because it proposes a new spatial, functional and even symbolic organisation that affects important areas (Vigano & Secchi, 2009).

As a strategic programme the urban armature proposed a specific content able to react to the different urban conditions. In this sense, it articulates the research vision into a series of precise and specific active policies. Thus, the proposed intervention was set up focusing on two aspects: the first aimed to develop a continuous connection between the main portions of the city in order to integrate the tourists and the local spaces together by reclaiming tourist spaces for locals and using open spaces for cultural events, local open markets etc. leading to economic integration; the second fostered the creation of a strategy to use existing tourist infrastructure to benefit the locals and create multifunctional spaces.

The study of the Socialist Resorts helped frame a series of principles that have been applied to the armature: economic integration (managing resources as Collective Interest); social inclusion (tourists and locals); continuity and gradient of spaces; managing access to

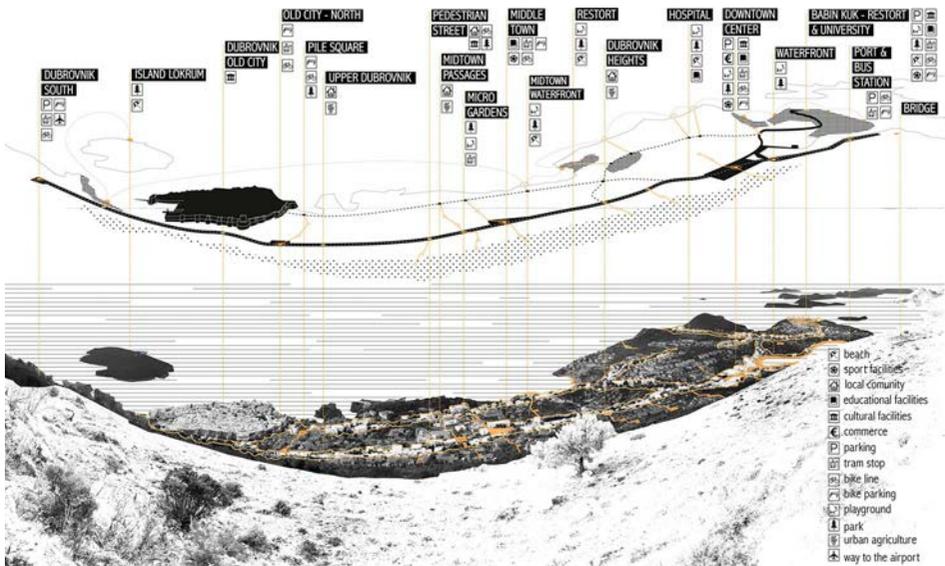


Figure 3. Urban Armature.

the sea (coastal distance); multifunctionality instead of seasonality; responsive architectural typologies.

Programmes and spaces were then combined into a coherent structure that crosses the city of Dubrovnik improving the public transport system and proposing a system of micro interventions. The horizontal connections the urban armature develops aims to follow the principle of continuity and accessibility. The problematique revealed that the transportation axis of Dubrovnik is heavily impacted by the sheer numbers of public and private transportation that predominantly caters for the tourist needs, including large numbers of cruise tourists travelling from the port to the old city daily. As a result, the main transportation axis is congested and noisy.

The proposed urban armature aims to reduce traffic and improve connectivity by implementing a number of policy actions (Figure 4). Firstly, by moving the central bus stop from the main entrance of the castle to the South of the East of the old city where there is space for a bus station/parking the Pile will be decongested. In addition, the researchers propose the development of a tram line that links the proposed bus station/parking with the old city, the resorts and the port/new market, running through the central road artery of Dubrovnik.

However, if the city is to reduce traffic it needs to take into consideration Whyte's (1980) argument that "If you plan for cars and traffic, you get cars and traffic. If you plan for people and places, you get people and places." With that in mind, the proposed urban armature also includes a town bicycle scheme and seasonal partial pedestrianisation of

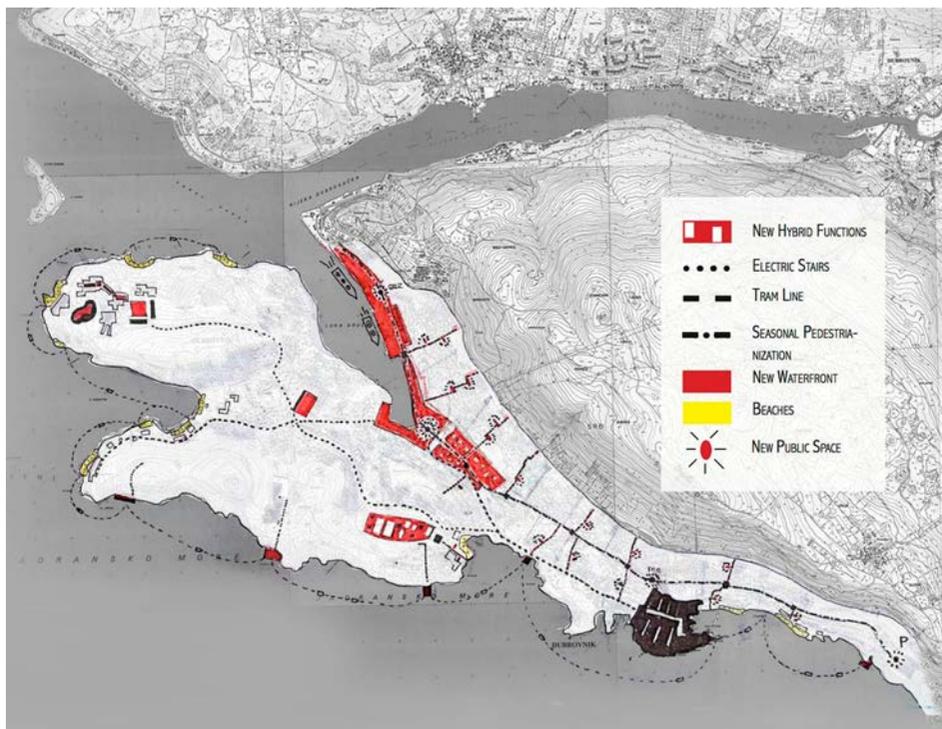


Figure 4. Transportation, Continuity and Accessibility.

the road that starts goes past the Pile towards the Port. The pedestrianisation will take place during the evenings of the spring and summer and aims to develop a walkable city. This is in line with the findings of Walk21 that claim mixed uses and more connectivity in higher density areas makes places more walkable (2007). In addition, a system of vapor-ettos, similar to the ones in Venice, can be used to provide further connectivity of the beaches around the wider area of Dubrovnik and link with the resorts, the old city and the start and end of the pedestrian road.

Connectivity and accessibility can further be enhanced by developing a system of electric stairs for the areas with steep steps perpendicular to the coast. This help diminishing the segregation of the most elevated areas and make those areas more accessible, particularly to people with mobility problems¹ while at the same time it can be used to increase economic and social connectivity by opening up new public spaces in these areas for open markets and fairs, art exhibitions, etc.

The problematique also revealed that there is little activity at the port and the shop area nearby, which are disconnected from the rest of the city and the resorts and fragmented. The road network in the area does not offer for a pleasant walk, while at the same time the roads are large making it difficult for pedestrians to cross. The proposed urban armature, following the principle of economic integration suggests that these areas be regenerated and linked to the city in a more functional way. This can potentially reduce traffic to the centre as it will create an area for tourists and locals alike to enjoy a walk and other leisure and shopping activities.

The proposed interventions are linked in a continuum of micro and strategic interventions along the urban armature which connects the entrances of the city (via road and sea) to the resorts and the modern city, to the old city. Following the principles of the socialist resorts to the proposed urban plan we aim to offer continuity and open access, social inclusion, economic integration, and multifunctionality in order to create an alternative vision for Dubrovnik.

Discussion and conclusion

Dubrovnik has a long history of tourism development dating back to the end of the nineteenth/beginning of twentieth century. Its geographical position, history and culture have made Dubrovnik a successful destination. The period after the Second World War and during the Yugoslavian years found Dubrovnik's tourism experiencing a boom (Chorvát, 2009; Rosenbaum, 2015; Taylor, 2010; Taylor & Grandits, 2010). After the split of Yugoslavia, Croatia—and Dubrovnik in particular—became emerging destinations attracting large numbers of tourism. The popular TV series Game of Thrones generated movie induced tourism (Beeton, 2006, 2016; Connell, 2012; Gjorgievski & Melles Trpkova, 2012;) in Dubrovnik, as its iconic old town features in the series. The growing tourist numbers have put strain on the city and its population, and today Dubrovnik is associated with the phenomenon of overtourism, after it made the news when tourists were jammed for hours at the main gate of the old town.

This research aimed to problematise Dubrovnik's tourism development, analyse the impact of overtourism on the city and local population, and reimagine its urban plan by proposing a series of interventions. The research was exploratory in nature, and adopted an interdisciplinary approach by utilising tourism development research and

urban planning. Rapid ethnography and research by design methodology were employed in order to develop a problematique of Dubrovnik's tourism. The research brought together tourism, architecture and urban design in order to examine the impact of over-tourism in Dubrovnik, but also design an alternative urban plan, offering concrete pro- posed interventions with practical implications.

The researchers turned to the principles of socialist resorts for inspiration. Integrated planning, continuity of space, and multifunctionality inspired the researchers to design two strategic programmes for Dubrovnik: Babin Kuk Resort/University, and an Urban armature that offers connectivity to the city's horizontal and vertical axes. The study of the Socialist Resorts helped frame a series of principles that have been applied to the armature: economic integration (managing resources as Collective Interest); social inclusion (tourists & locals); continuity and gradient of spaces; managing access to the sea (coastal distance); multifunctionality instead of seasonality. The main characteristics of overtourism dystopias, socialist utopias, and the proposed interventions are outlined in [Table 1](#).

The proposed urban armature offers connectivity, accessibility and continuity of the city, while it aims to open up public spaces for shared use by residents, students, tourists and seasonal workers alike. The research also identified areas for development in ways that have the potential of tackling seasonality and developing public spaces for the local population in order to alleviate marginalisation of population groups such as students and seasonal workers, towards economic and social integration.

The connectivity, accessibility and continuity that Babin Kuk Resort/University and the Urban Armature proposals advocate are not a panacea. They are, however, tools that help us think of the different scales of the city beyond tourism hotspots. Furthermore, shared spaces help us think how different users of space can co-exist.

Wheeller (1991) was right to draw attention to the continuous growth in the volume of tourism. The proposed interventions challenge dominant understandings of tourism development and focused on space and use of space. It is understood that these proposals

Table 1. Overtourism dystopias, socialist utopias, and proposed interventions.

	Overtourism dystopias	Socialist utopias	Proposed interventions
Location	Old city, port, resorts, and AirBNB	Resorts with integration to the city	Babin Kuk Resort/University complex; urban armature (old & modern city; horizontal and perpendicular connections; port & new market)
Time	Seasonal	All year round	All year round
Space	Private vs public; tourist vs local; fragmented	Open public; Gradient of space; continuous	Open public spaces; Continuous; Integration via New Market and Port regeneration
Functionality	Tourism (emphasis on tourism activities)	Synergy (balance between tourism and community festivals); Leisurescapes of inclusion	Multifunctionality Resort/University; Tourists/students/ community co-existence; reclaiming tourist spaces for local activities
Access to the beach	Everyone; Hotels often mediate access spatially	Everyone	Everyone
Movement	Tourism hot spots; Private car and public buses	Gradient of spaces, continuity of spaces Private car and Public buses	Continuity and accessibility; public and private transport; bicycle; walk
User Planning	Tourist Deregulated	Tourist; resident; worker Central with degrees of self-management	Tourist; resident; worker Central/local; regulated

are not a solution if they are stand alone. They have, however, the potential to be part of a wider, holistic strategy that thinks about (tourism) development differently. As such, Babin Kuk Resort/University and the Urban Armature propositions challenge mass tourism characteristics, which are replicated to old and new destinations and attempt to reimagine tourism beyond overtourism dystopias.

Note

1. These areas are very difficult to be accessed by the older population and people with mobility problems. For a discussion on the issue see https://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/ShowTopic-g295371-i1555-k10018531-Hills_and_Steps-Dubrovnik_Dubrovnik_Neretva_County_Dalmatia.html

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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