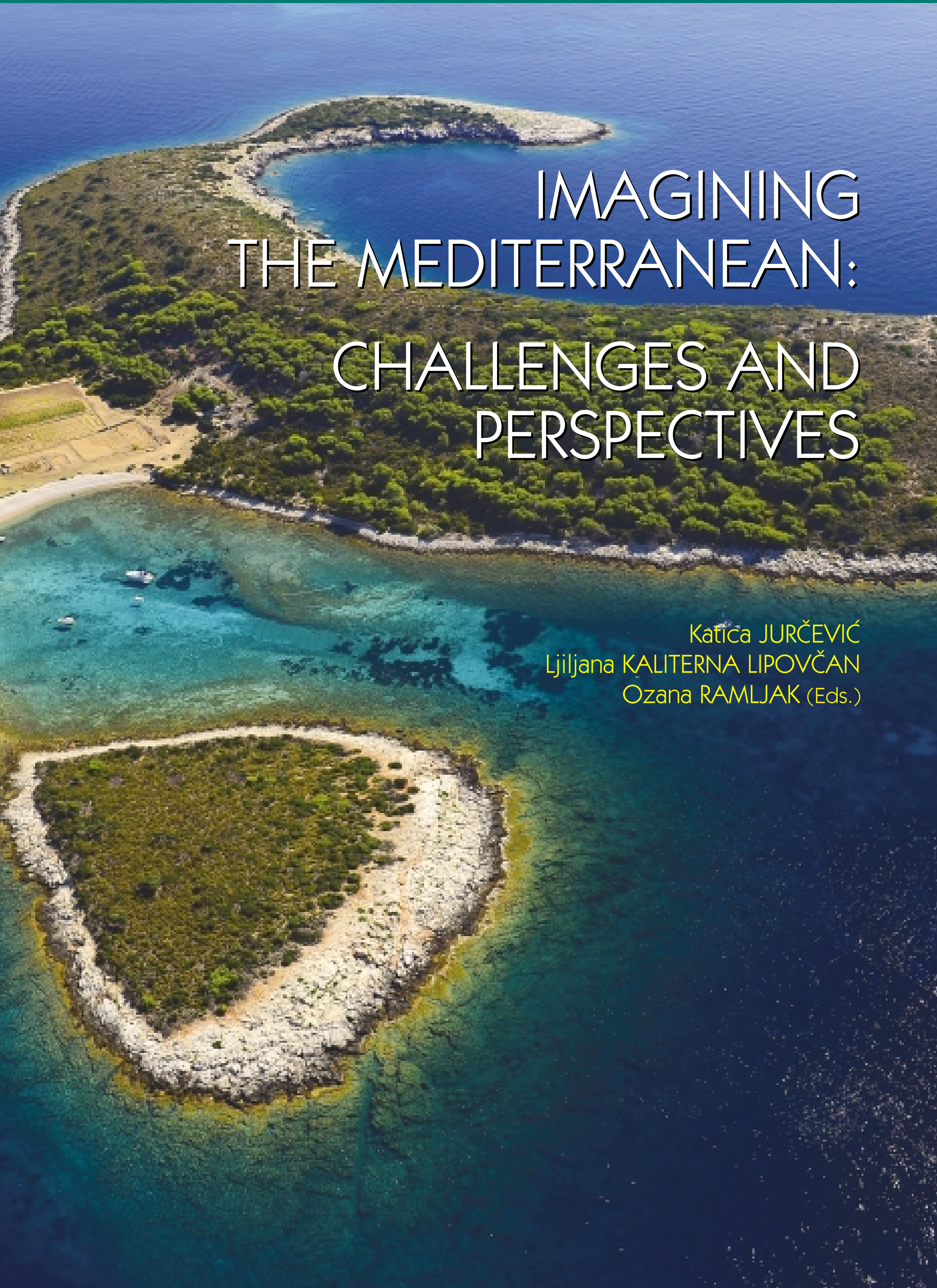
Mediterranean Issues, Book 1



IMAGINING THE MEDITERRANEAN: CHALLENGES AND PERSPECTIVES

Katica JURČEVIĆ
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CONTENTS

COMMUNICATION, TECHNOLOGY, MEDIA

PSYCHOLOGY, DEMOGRAPHY, EDUCATION

PREFACE

The Mediterranean is considered to be the cradle of the world's civilizations. In different languages, it has been known as the sea "between the lands", Our Sea, the White Sea, the Great Sea, the Middle Sea. The name "Mediterranean" derives from the Latin words "medius", which means "middle", and "terra", which stands for "earth". The Mediterranean Sea touches three continents — Asia, Africa and Europe — and from ancient times, it has been a maritime area of contact between early civilizations that developed on its shores. Its unique location, cultural intertwining and religious diversity came together in an area that created history, connected civilizations and permanently enriched the world with outstanding achievements in philosophy, art, music, literature, science and technology.

Mediterranean islands, as realities that are both fragile and persistent, represent an essential key to understanding the Mediterranean world, a world that today faces the challenges of globalization, migrations and conflicts.

Yet, despite all contemporary challenges, most of the Mediterranean countries continuously record the highest growth in rates in inbound tourism, while domestic tourism is also rapidly increasing.

This book is a compilation of papers presented at the Mediterranean Islands Conference MIC – Vis 2016, held on the Island of Vis, with the idea to offer specific solutions to the challenges that Mediterranean islands encounter, or at least to pose questions that are yet to be answered. The book focuses on a variety of issues that the Mediterranean sea and Mediterranean islands face in a transnational, transcultural and global context. The book is divided into four chapters: Tradition, Culture, Art; Sustainable Development, Tourism, Economy; Communication, Technology, Media; and Psychology, Demography, Education. In total, it contains 37 papers written by respectable international authors.

Editors

Tradition, Culture, Art

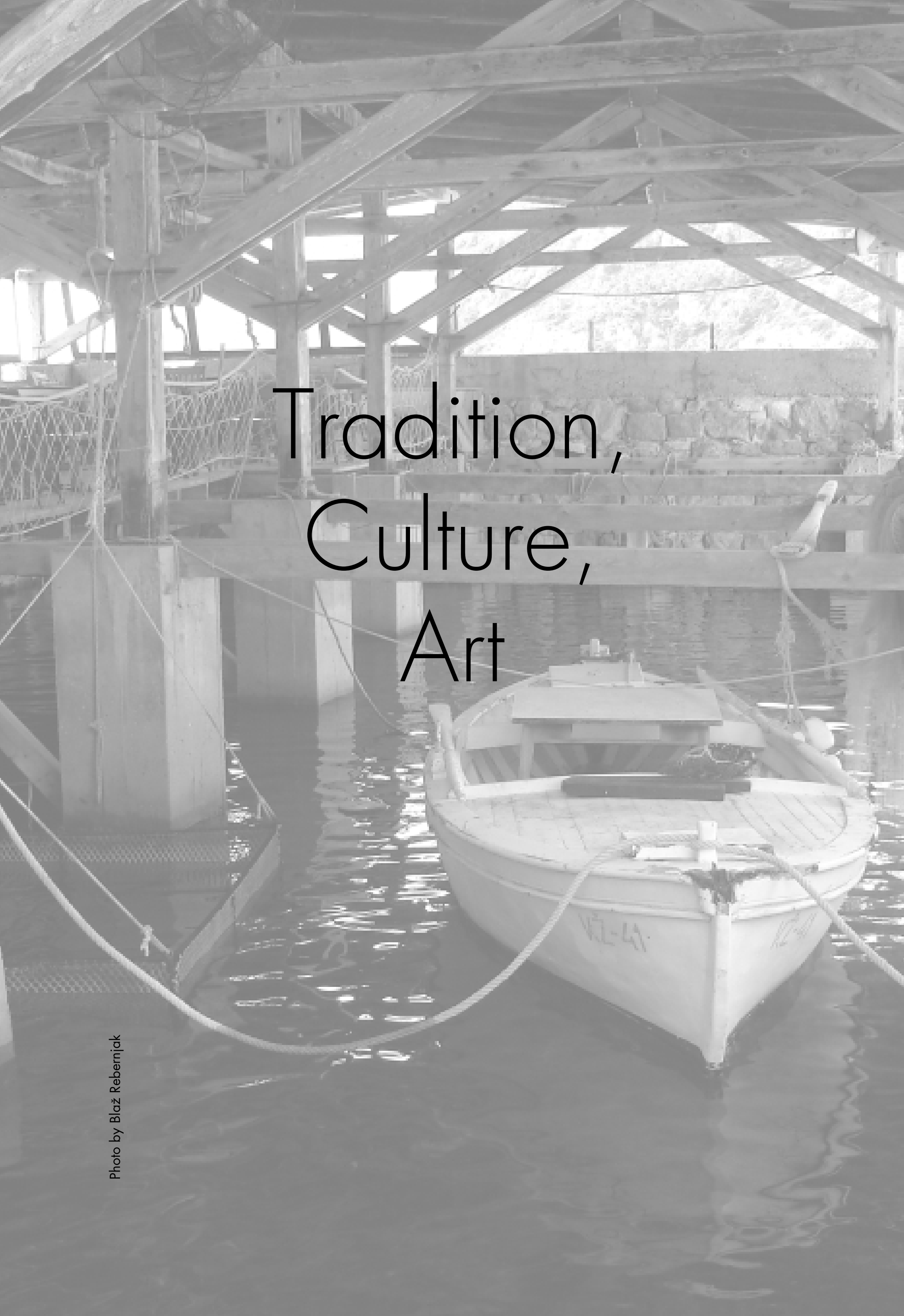

Photo by Blaž Rebernjak

Dionigi ALBERA

ISLANDS OF GRACE: INTERFAITH COEXISTENCE IN MEDITERRANEAN PAST AND PRESENT

Abstract

Mediterranean islands convey contradictory images. They have been seen as uninhabited or as overpopulated, as archaic precincts or as centres of innovation, as closed off and introverted lands or as open and highly integrated spaces. In fact, they are all of this at the same time, depending on the period, the context, the perspectives. In any case, it is increasingly clear that islands have always been incorporated into the communication networks that have woven the history of the Mediterranean.

The islands have a specific position from the point of view of interreligious relationships. Throughout the history of the Inner Sea, they have regularly given form to contact zones between competitive and inimical civilizations. On the one hand, they were often key points for trade and navigation in spite of the barriers of language and religion. On the other hand, they were also frequently victims of attacks and raids, and sequences of conquests have troubled their history. On the whole, their religious landscape has, in many cases, been heterogeneous in the long term. On islands, the control of the political and religious apparatus has generally been less strict than on the mainland, and this has made it easier to develop forms of interreligious exchange in spite of the obstacles of dogma. As a consequence, the manifestations of interfaith convergence and sharing are particularly intense on islands. They define the contours of territories of grace inscribed in the endless reworking of enclaves and connectivity which pulses through the Mediterranean's history, beneath civilizational differences, contrasts and wars.

Key words: connectivity, communication networks, religious behaviour, shared sacred places, interfaith convergence

AN ENIGMATIC REALM

The paramount importance of islands in the Mediterranean becomes clear when one contemplates this region from the sky, or at least on a geographical map. It is then possible to see that the surface of the sea is frequently punctuated by a multitude of islands, which rise either solitary or grouped in archipelagos. Of these hundreds of islands, about 200 are currently inhabited permanently, with a total population of more than 12 million (Bernardie-Tahir, 2016a).

But if one were to dig a little more, going beyond the stage of description, things quickly become rather complicated. In fact, Mediterranean islands convey contradictory images. They have been seen as uninhabited or as overpopulated, as archaic precincts or as centres of innovation, as closed off and introverted lands or as open and highly integrated spaces. Should we say that they are all this at the same time, depending on the period, the context, the perspectives?

As a matter of fact, the problem is broader and affects the comprehension of insularity in general. In the last twenty years, there has been a growing interest in the study of islands, and this has fuelled the establishment of a new international and interdisciplinary field of academic research. The "coming of age" (Baldacchino, 2004) of this relatively new field of studies has been sanctioned by the publication of dedicated academic journals, like *Island Studies Journal*, since 2006, *Shima: The International Journal of Research into Island Cultures*, since 2007, or *Journal of Marine and Island Cultures*, since 2012. This recent body of research is developing challenging and vibrant perspectives, but it also confirms the paradoxical and elusive character of the island dimension, which seems resistant to any quick generalization. As it has been stated by one of the leading protagonists of this stream of studies:

> An island is a nervous duality: it confronts us as a juxtaposition and confluence of the understanding of local and global realities, of interior and exterior references of meaning, of having roots at home while also deploying routes away from home. An island is a world; yet an island engages the world" (Baldacchino, 2005, p. 248).

At first sight, the definition of an island as a body of land surrounded by water would seem quite obvious. Yet this self-evident materiality is embedded with multi-layered representations that considerably complicate the matter. Echoing a statement made by Gillis, for whom "western culture not only thinks about islands, but thinks with them" (2004, p. 1), Pete Hay has remarked that "the metaphoric deployment of 'island' is, in fact, so enduring, all-pervading and commonplace that a case could reasonably be made for it as the central metaphor within western discourse" (Hay, 2006, p. 26). Moreover, the symbolic power of the island has a transcultural dimension that goes well beyond the western world (Tuan, 1990, p. 247). Thus, it becomes difficult to disentangle the island's geographical materiality from its metaphorical allusions (Baldacchino, 2012, p. 57).

Even some notions that etymologically stem from the word *insula* (the Latin equivalent for island), like insularity and isolation, seem increasingly suspect to recent works, since they would be biased by a distorting gaze. Scholars now prefer the coining of terms as *islandness*, which is supposedly less involved in ideological distortions. In order to disentangle the perception of the island that has been created by the outside view, a scholar has proposed the term *nissology* to define the study of islands "on their own terms" (McCall, 1994, 1996). From this perspective, and in contrast to the "much received wisdom and historical narrative", nissology is "conceived as a platform for looking at island issues inductively and ex-centrically: privileging commentary from the inside out (rather than from the outside in)" (Baldacchino, 2008, p. 49).

This approach should, nevertheless, deal with the intractable difference of this enigmatic realm. As a matter of fact, the "nervous duality" that characterises an island may be declined in a number of features: islands are bounded, but porous; isolated, but connected, vulnerable to cultural, demographic and environmental change, but also robust and able to absorb and modify. They may be utopian and dystopian, tourist meccas and ecological sanctuaries (see Stratford, 2003, p. 495). In my opinion, a deeper appreciation of the island condition comes, above all, from those works that decide to navigate in this sea of contradictions and paradoxes in order to develop more articulate forms of understanding, without aspiring to attain a neutral and aseptic point of view. To borrow some notions proposed by French philosopher François Jullien (2015, pp. 165-178), I would suggest that, instead of confining themselves in an attempt to expulse equivocity, it is more productive to explore the ambiguous plurality of qualities and meanings associated with the material and metaphoric substance that composes islands.

BETWEEN ISOLATION AND CONNECTIVITY

But let us come back to the Mediterranean. The weight of islands in this almost closed basin is considerable. However, their distribution is not homogeneous. In general, it could be said that they are rather rare in the southern part of the sea, and then they take chiefly the form of large islands in the western sector (Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily). The eastern sector is that of a multitude of small islands grouped in archipelagos, as much in the Adriatic as in the Aegean Sea. It should be added that speaking of an archipelago in relation to this last sea is tautology. To be convinced of this, it suffices to take into consideration the origin of this term, which initially referred only to the Aegean Sea, and then, because the characteristic of this sea was to be dotted with islands, became a generic name. It is in this prototypical sea that the image of the island and of insularity has been forged since Greek antiquity, with a focus mainly on small islands.

Is it possible to find a common denominator in natural and human realities that are so disparate? For instance, what are the common traits shared by Sicily, with its 5 million inhabitants, and a tiny island where only a hundred people live? For Fernand Braudel, the answer is clear. For him, the factors related to the scale are not crucial for an apprehension of Mediterranean islands, and Mediterranean islands have many things in common, in spite of their different size: "Whether large or small, these islands of all sizes make up a coherent human environment insofar as similar pressures are exerted upon them, making them both far ahead and far behind the general history of the sea; pressures that may divide them, often brutally, between these two opposite poles of archaism and innovation" (Braudel, 1972, Vol. 1, p. 150). According to the great French historian, Mediterranean islands can be both open and closed, depending on the historical period and also, for the larger ones, depending on the locality (for example, in relation to the early modern period, Braudel opposes the openness of the coastal cities to the archaism of the upper country of the interior, a phenomenon that, for him, is present in Corsica, Sardinia, Cyprus, Crete and even in Sicily). In general, for Braudel, islands' economic life is precarious, because their resources are not abundant, as islands sometimes depend on the outside for their supplies. At the same time, they are exporters of labour to the mainland. However, emigration is far from being the only factor of openness, since, according to Braudel, islands constitute indispensable stopovers for navigation in the Mediterranean.

More recently, historians of the Mediterranean have for their part emphasized the central role of islands. I will quote some of them, among the most preeminent. For David Abulafia "islands are all-important" for writing a history of the interaction between Mediterranean societies (2003, p. 11). In a similar vein, Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell have suggested that "islands are places of strikingly enhanced exposure to interaction, and are central to the history of the Mediterranean" (2000, p. 76). In their imposing fresco that embraces Mediterranean history in the long term, Horden and Purcell have proposed an innovative model in order to grasp the main tendencies in this area. Their model stresses, on the one side, the high fragmentation of microregions and, on the other side, the connectivity between these microregions, allowing for the formation of "aggregates that may range in size from small clusters to something approaching the entire Mediterranean" (2000, p. 123). The main medium that permits such a connectivity is of course the sea, and from this point of view, islands acquire a particular prominence: "Islands are uniquely accessible to the prime medium of communication and redistribution. (…) And despite a malign tendency to see islands as isolated and remote, characterized principally by their lack of contamination and interaction, they in fact lie at the heart of the medium of interdependence: they have all-round connectivity" (2000, pp. 225-227).

In other words, the distinctive regime of Mediterranean communications was made possible by the geography of the sea. In this framework, the presence of a great quantity of islands has been crucial for the whole Mediterranean system in the long term, from antiquity to the modern times. Thanks to the chain of islands, long-distance voyages could be made more safely and speedily (2000, p. 138). For Horden and Purcell "mutual visibility is at the heart of the navigational conception of the Mediterranean, and is therefore also a major characteristic of the way in which micro-regions interact across the water, along the multiple lines of communication that follow those of sight" (2000, p. 126). From this point of view, the presence of a great number of islands has reduced the extent of the "open sea" with no visibility of land, thus making the navigation easier.

Horden and Purcell's book (certainly the most influential since Braudel's time) had a strong impact on the historiographical work on the Mediterranean. Looking at recent research done in this field, it appears increasingly clear that the islands have always been incorporated into the communication networks that have woven the history of the Mediterranean (see for instance Bevan & Conolly, 2013; Bonanno & Militello, 2008; Caykent & Zavagno, 2014; Costantakopoulou, 2007; Dawson, 2014).

Several early documents give us some hints of the centrality of islands in early representation of the sea. This is the case of the cosmological *Book of Curiosities* from eleventh-century Cairo, whose unique manuscript was rediscovered in 2000 and is now being kept in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. In one of the maps of the manuscript, the Mediterranean is essentially characterized as a collection of 120 islands and 121 mainland anchorages (Horden & Purcell, 2006). We have the impression to be near to the Mediterranean as it was envisioned by and for medieval sailors. It is a practical Mediterranean; it is a vision from below, different from the cartographic vision from above. The same centrality of the islands in Mediterranean cartography appears in the Italian Isolarii of the late Middle Ages and early modern times, constituted of maps and of descriptions of islands (Bernardie-Tahir, 2016b).

Another general trait common to Mediterranean history is that, generally, the mainland controls the sea and islands. As it has been put by Abulafia (2014, p. 151), "the islands of the Mediterranean have generally been ruled from the mainland, and competed for by mainland powers." The exceptions are quite limited, like Crete during the Minoan period, or some islands in the medieval Aegean ruled by Venetian or Genoese warlords. Even today, only two islands (Malta and Cyprus) are autonomous states. Additionally, in these cases, independence is quite recent, after a century-long domination from external powers (and for Cyprus, it is still partial, since half of the island is *de facto* under Turkish protection).

From this perspective, the situation of Mediterranean islands appears ambiguous. They are central from the point of view of connectivity, but they are peripheral from the point of view of allocation of power. Throughout the history of the Inner Sea, they have regularly given form to contact zones between competitive and inimical civilizations. On the one hand, they were often key points for trade and navigation, in spite of the barriers of language and religion. But on the other hand, they were also frequently victims of attacks and raids, and sequences of conquests have troubled their history.

If, from an external point of view, islands appear to be nodal points in the connectivity that has shaped the history of the Mediterranean, what are, on a more internal side, the consequences of this for their particular way of life? In other terms, to what extent was their social and cultural organization shaped in a specific way by their frontier position and by the different streams of social and cultural influences that have been piled up on them over the centuries? These questions have been addressed almost forty years ago by Maltese scholar Joseph Cassar Pullicino (1979) in a programmatic article in which he explored the meaning of Mediterranean islands as places of cultural synthesis. For him, islands have constantly played an important role in the processes of cultural interaction, and often served as crossroads where cultures and civilizations could meet or would follow one another in time. This was already true during antiquity, and has continued subsequently. Cassar Pullicino was particularly interested in the interplay and fusion of Arab and European cultures on Mediterranean islands. For him, the isolation of islands was relative and "when, for example, either for commercial, political or military reasons an island has frequent or long and sustained contact with a higher or dominant civilisation, this is bound to impinge on the consciousness of the native community and to affect the inhabitants' tastes and habits, luring them away from the essentially conservative elements of the indigenous tradition" (1979, p. 18). The transfers of skills and techniques, as well as the modification of ideas and beliefs, also passed through different ways, like migration or slavery (1979, pp. 21-23). In any case, such a process of cultural criss-crossing did not generally imply a full adhesion to a new culture, and "in spite of the gradual assimilation to a new way of life and thought, with innovation in dress and food, customs, education and, maybe, language, it is possible, by patient study and research, to trace the different layers of cultural borrowings and additions, and to identify the strands of the various civilizations that were merged or fused in the islands over the centuries" (1979, p. 19). Cassar Pullicino suggested some research itineraries in order to explore the theme of cultural synthesis on Mediterranean islands in the field of language, oral traditions, songs, dances, spectacles, religious behaviour, agricultural practices, fishing methods, architecture, cuisine, dress and regional costume. These indications are still useful nowadays for navigating our way in the study of cultural synthesis on Mediterranean islands. Obviously, the processes linked to borrowing and hybridity are not specific to islands and are widespread on the mainland as well. It is possible, however, to assume that on islands such phenomena are accentuated and more resistant. I will limit myself here to explore only one of Cassar Pullicino's suggestions, in which he invites to promote the search for fusions of religious cults on Mediterranean islands.

FUSION OF RELIGIOUS CULTS

In the last decades, there has been a growing interest for multi-faith attendance at holy sites and various forms of religious interplay in the Mediterranean. Following the paths of the pioneering work done by Frederick William Hasluck (1878-1920) on the interchange between Christianity and Islam in the Ottoman Empire, a number of authors have explored these phenomena, showing their vitality, especially in the southern and eastern sectors of the Mediterranean (Albera, 2008; Albera & Couroucli, 2012; Balivet, 1999; Barkan & Barkey, 2014; Bowman, 2013; Cuffel, 2005; Cormack, 2013; Hayden, 2002). On the basis of this bulk of work, it is now possible to ask whether it is conceivable to isolate a specific role of islands in these religious crossings due to their ambiguous position and their "nervous duality" between interior and exterior references, roots and routes, isolation and connectivity, archaism and innovation. Can we assume, for instance, that on islands, religious crossing is emphasized and more resilient? And is it possible to grasp a specific "insular" tonality in these forms of religious merging?

On the whole, islands' religious landscape has in many cases been heterogeneous in the long term, as a consequence of the conquests and the processes of colonization. Numerous historical sources suggest that, on islands, the control of the political and religious apparatus has generally been less strict than on the mainland, and this has made it easier to develop heterodox behaviours and even forms of interreligious connivance in spite of the obstacles of dogma.

Tenth-century Arab writer, geographer, and chronicler Mohammed Abul-Kassem ibn Hawqal is the author of an important book called *Surat al-Ardh* ("The Face of the Earth") in which he describes his numerous travels across Asia, North Africa and Muslim Europe. His account of Sicily, mainly of the region of Palermo, is interesting from our point of view. Ibn Hawqal was quite disappointed by the attitude of the Sicilians in religious matters. After one hundred and fifty years of the presence of Islam, the behaviour of Sicilian Muslims was still quite far from the orthodox standards. Most of the Muslim inhabitants of the countryside married Christian women and the male children were considered Muslim as their fathers, while females were Christians as their mothers. Ibn Hawqal adds that Sicilian Muslims do not offer up the canonical prayer, do not pay alms and do not respect the obligations of Ramadan (Maurici, 2006, pp. 62-63).

Another example of intermingling between different faiths concerns the Cyclades during the 17th century. These islands were then under the control of the Ottoman Empire, but the presence of Muslims was very limited. The population was almost entirely Christian, both Orthodox and Catholic, as a consequence of the Latin conquests during previous centuries. A precious testimony of the behaviour of the inhabitants comes from the reports written by Jesuit missionaries who travelled to the island in order to reconvert and reorganize the Catholic flock. They observed that some churches were shared by the two denominations, that mixed marriages were frequent and that several Catholics used to participate in Orthodox rites, while many Orthodox faithful did the same with Catholic rituals. For instance, in Santorini they participated in the Catholic feast of the Corpus Domini, as well as joined the procession (Borromeo, 2004, pp. 133-137).

In 17th-century Crete, there was a quite similar situation, as American historian Molly Greene describes it. For several decades after the Ottoman conquest, it was possible to see a certain fluidity in religious identity, both at the level of the ordinary subject and at the higher level of society. Several documents analysed by Greene show a persistent ambiguity in religious identity. Several individuals truly belonged neither to the Christian nor the Muslim camp (Greene, 2000, pp. 94-95; 202-203).

In many cases, the interaction between religions implied, like in the Cyclades, the joint attendance at the same sanctuaries. This phenomenon was not confined to denominations belonging to the same religion, but also interested people of different religions. In his monumental work on the relations between Christians and Muslims in the Ottoman Empire, Frederick Hasluck mentions several examples of interfaith convergence and sharing that occur on the islands. According to the narrative of a western traveller, in 17th-century Chios, a Catholic church consecrated to Saint Anthony of Padua was revered not only by Latin Christians, but also by Orthodox Christians and by Muslims, including a Turkish bey who used to revere the picture of the saint (Hasluck, 2000, p. 99). In Larnaka (Cyprus), a Muslim tekke was frequented until the 18th century both by Muslims and Orthodox Christians. The former identified this place as

Turabi Tekke, the latter as Saint Therapon (Hasluck, 2000, p. 112). Moreover, some Albanian Bektashi used to make the pilgrimage to the church of Saint Spyridion in Corfu (Hasluck, 2000, p. 468).

Naturally, these interreligious crossings are not specific to the islands, since there are multiple occurrences elsewhere in the territories of the Ottoman Empire, where relations between religious groups often had symbiotic aspects. For Hasluck, in this area the frequentation of the shrines of another religion was a common, almost banal phenomenon (Hasluck, 2000, p. 97) and "practically any of the religions of Turkey may share the use of a sanctuary administered by another, if this sanctuary has a sufficient reputation for beneficial miracles, among which miracles of healing play a predominant part" (2000, p. 100). Hasluck remarked that these forms of devotional mixing were particularly pronounced at the popular level, since the "popular religious thought" and the ritual practices of Oriental Christendom have much in common with those of Islam. Thus "in the case of saints, the attraction of healing miracles goes far to overcome all scruples, and Greek no less than Turk admits the ideas that, if his own saints fail him, an alien may be invoked" (2000, p. 105). We may nevertheless argue that the peculiar sociohistorical background of the islands seems to offer a particularly favourable context to the manifestations of interfaith convergence and sharing.

SHARING VITAL RESOURCES BETWEEN ENEMIES

Inhabited islands offered another, more specific, setting of religious interplay between Christians and Muslims. From this point of view, a very interesting case is that of Lampedusa. This small island was situated in a maritime space between Sicily and Tunisia, which, throughout the early modern period, was a contact zone between Christianity and Islam, whose boundaries were dotted with micro-conflicts, raids and wars, but also truces and peaceful interaction between people of different faiths. In the early modern period, Lampedusa was almost deserted. The only human presence was, in some periods at least, that of a Christian hermit who kept a small chapel dedicated to the Virgin, together with the tomb of a Muslim saint. Turkish and European sailors who stopped on the island for water visited the shrine and left offerings. A large amount of travel narratives detail the situation between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries (see Kaiser, 2008; 2009). This is a quote from a seventeenth century traveller:

> Lampadoza… they say is uninhabited, and hath on it only one vaulted building, or church; on one side where of, there is an altar for the Christians, and, on another place, for the devotions of the Turks; and so it is by all esteemed holy. In this building, they say, most thing necessary for seafaring men are always found; clothes of all sorts, cordage, biscuits, etc., and a treasury of all sorts of money, though in no great quantity. It is lawful for all, that come here, to serve their occasions with what they find and need; but they must be sure to leave in value somewhat else that may be equally needful on other occasions, be it money or goods; which if they perform not, it is said that they can never sail from the is-

land, but will stand still in the sea, be the wind never so fresh (Dudley North, 1680, quoted by Hasluck, 2000, p. 585).

This mythical island, haunted by witchcraft and located in an in-between, on the border between Christian and Muslim areas, has attracted the imagination of many writers and had strong echoes in European literature, starting at least from Ludovico Ariosto, who in his *Orlando Furioso* called it "Lipadouse". In this no-man's land between Christian and Muslim countries, the old hermit baptizes the pagan knight Roger. Furthermore, a deadly duel between three Christian knights and three Muslims knights takes place on this island. According to plausible interpretations, the island of Shakespeare's *Tempest*, with all its enchantments, would in turn be indirectly inspired by the tradition of Lampedusa. Moreover, Denis Diderot, who was completely aware of the double cult in Lampedusa, situated on this magical island a utopian society replacing the preachers with actors, and religious festivals with tragedies and comedies (*Deuxičme entretien sur le fils naturel*). It is also here that Emile, after many adventures and travels, wanted to see the end of his days and find happiness in Jean Jacques Rousseau's uncompleted book *Emile et Sophie*.

The interfaith practices that are described for Lampedusa are part of the daily experience in Mediterranean history, where practical arrangements were found to temporarily alleviate hostility during battles and raids: for example, planting a white flag on a remote beach created a neutral space where an exchange of prisoners between adversaries, or the redemption of captives, became possible. In Andalusia, the practice of creating such informal spaces of truce and negotiation had a name, *Alafia*, which left several traces in local maritime toponymy (Kaiser, 2008; 2009). Lampedusa was a place situated at the interface of the zones of different cultural, social and economic allegiance. In these places, it is possible to find religious sites charged with immunity. There are some ancient parallels, like the shrine of the Phoenician goddess Tanit on Malta, "inviolate in the wars between Rome and Carthage and untouched by the innumerable pirates of the Hellenistic seas" (Horden & Purcell, 2000, p. 455). It seems that we are in the presence of a religious geography inscribed in the long term, yet not immobile. At different epochs, island shrines like that of Lampedusa allowed for a sharing of vital resources between enemies. They defined the contours of the territories of grace inscribed in the endless reworking of enclaves and connectivity which pulses through Mediterranean history, beneath civilizational differences, contrasts and wars.

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Joško BOŽANIĆ

SECRETS OF THE VIS ARCHIPELAGO — AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACH

Abstract

The area of the Vis archipelago includes open sea islets and small islands which belong to the island of Vis: Jabuka, Brusnik, Svetac, Biševo and Palagruža, and those in closer proximity: Budihovac, Ravnik, Greben, Host, and several smaller ones.

This entire area, with the greatest concentration of natural monuments in Croatia (a total of 6), was declared a military zone after the Second World War and was therefore partially or completely off-limits to foreign visitors. Vis thus remained a terra incognita to the world until recently, even though it was a central island in the Adriatic, because it was the most distant inhabited island, situated at the crossroads of maritime routes throughout history, from the first Greek colonies in the fourth century B.C. up until the end of the Second World War when this island was the only impenetrable bastion for Hitler's conquering armies on the map of an overrun Europe.

Komiža, situated in the southwestern bay of the central Dalmatian island of Vis, has been a fishing centre for centuries. It has also became a centre of the fishing industry on the eastern Adriatic. The fishermen from Komiža inherited ancient fishing and sailing traditions, preserving their continuity until the mid-20th century. Since they went fishing to faraway pelagic islands, the Komiža fishermen developed a special fishing boat called the gajeta falkuša, constantly improving the ancient type of fishing boat and the method of pilchard fishing with gill nets. They inherited this tradition from the remaining Romanic and Greek population on the island of Vis.

Key words: small island, maritime heritage, Vis archipelago, falkuša boat, traditional fishing, Diomede's route

THE OLDEST MONUMENT OF THE ISLAND OF VIS IS ITS NAME

Many Croatian Adriatic islands have inherited their names from their pre-Croatian history, especially the bigger and more important ones. Most are etymologically related to Latin or Greek and some originated in the Illyrian period.

Among these islands, one remains a mystery to historians and etymologists — the very island we are approaching in our story: the central-Adriatic island of Vis.

Although it is the point of departure of urban civilization on the eastern coast (the Greek *polis* Issa in the fourth century B.C.), and although the first Illyrian king ruled from there (King Ionius, probably in the fifth century B.C.), the island of Vis gets its name neither from the Greeks who built its first town, nor from the Illyrians who made it the first eastern Adriatic state.

Speculation about the Greek origin of the name Issa is based on the supposition of a possible connection between the island of Vis and the Aegean island of Lesbos, which was apparently called Issa in its early history. This supposition is arbitrary. The only certainty is that the Dorians, Greeks from Syracuse, colonized the island of Vis at the beginning of the fourth century B.C., during their expansion on the Mediterranean and the Adriatic after their victory over Carthage. The island had been called Issa from times immemorial, but the Dorians built the independent *polis* of the same name in its north-eastern bay.

Etymologists and historians relate the word Iss and the morpheme ‡issa/-iss to the names of the towns of Larissa in Thessaly and Antissa on Lesbos. They also think the names of the Adriatic islands Lissos (Liješ) and Cissa (Pag) are etymologically related to the pre-Indo-European history of the Mediterranean. Some etymologists believe that this supposed relic of a linguistic substratum from that age means "a fortified place, perhaps near some water".

If this thesis is right, the island's oldest cultural monument is the word rather than a stone. The memorial is its name, bestowed on it at least five thousand years ago.

POLIS ISSA — THE BEGINNING OF URBAN CIVILISATION

Having become the most powerful state in the Adriatic, Issa acquired colonies on the neighbouring coast (Tragurion, Epetion and Salona) and on the island of Korčula, near Lumbarda. After reaching the heyday of its civilization and cultural prosperity, its development was halted in the middle of the first century B.C. when Caesar destroyed its ramparts and its autonomy. Thus began the decline of its glory and power, attained in the ancient world and acknowledged by Caesar who called it *nobilissimum regionum*.

In his travelogue *Journey through Dalmatia* (1774), Italian naturalist Alberto Fortis enumerates writers who mention the island of Vis: "Strabo includes it among the well-known islands; Agatemeris considers it the worthiest and there is no geographer who does not mention it specially."

The poet Apollonius of Rhodes, famed for his connection with the library in Alexandria, describes in his story *Argonautica*, in the third century B.C., the journey of mythical Argonauts in search of the Golden Fleece and mentions Adriatic islands among which future interpreters recognized the island of Issa.

The maritime route connecting the Monte Gargano peninsula with the Punta Planka — Diomedes' Point near Šibenik — was named after Diomedes, the Trojan War hero of Homer's Iliad who sought sanctuary on the Adriatic coast after the fall of Troy (Županović, 1990, pp. 316-326). This was the busiest trans-Adriatic route in the ancient world and the Middle Ages and Issa was its most important intersection. Ancient writings, in which historic facts are sometimes interwoven with myths and legends, and archaeological discoveries both on the islands and in the sea below them, form a mosaic that hints at the beginnings of a small but powerful insular world, whose historic significance and destiny have always been determined by sea and navigation.

Writers Strabo and Diodorus of the Aegean island of Lesbos supposed that the old town of Issa stood opposite the well-known town of Antissa. Nobody has suggested such an analogy on the Adriatic island of Vis. Does the Issa of Vis have its own Antissa on the opposite side of the island? If so, its vestiges should be found in Komiža, nestling in the south-western bay across the island from the ancient town of Issa.

Alberto Fortis mentions another ancient town, maintaining that it was called Meo and that its ruins were in Komiža. Theologian Vinko Pribojević also mentioned it in his speech *On the Origin and Adventures of Slavs*, held in Hvar in 1525. Quoting Livy and Caesar's *Civil War*, he said Meo had been the most famous town in the region and that it had assisted the Roman Empire against king Philip of Macedonia by equipping twenty ships for them.

So far, Komiža Bay has remained *terra incognita* on the archaeological map of Vis. The little knowledge we have does not suggest the existence of an ancient town in what is the largest bay on Diomedes' route. Still, it is difficult to believe that it was uninhabited in Illyrian, Greek and Roman times since it has abundant fresh-water wells and faces the sun and the open sea close to the richest fishing area in the Adriatic. It is also hard to believe that there had been no continuity of culture here before the arrival of the Croats in the Middle Ages, first mentioned in a written document in the tenth century.

The Greek settlers, being seafarers, brought highly-developed shipbuilding, navigational and fishing skills from their homeland of Syracuse, as indicated by archaeological finds such as ceramic weights for fishing nets and forged bronze fish-hooks. It is not certain what the dolphins symbolize on the flip side of the Issa coins and in the mosaic on the floor of the Roman baths in Vis. Neither is it clear what the shapes of fish represent on the Issa vases, but they are most likely symbols of the connection of Issa's inhabitants with navigation, fishing and the sea.

It is unlikely that a continental, nomadic people like the Croats, who settled on Vis in the Middle Ages, would have developed the fishing skills described in the first written documents about Komiža so quickly, and would have possessed such experience in shipbuilding, navigation and fishing had it not already been present for centuries.

THE POPE AND THE FISHERMEN

There are indications that Komižans fished off the tiny remote islet of Palagruža in the 12th century. For example, there are two orally-preserved toponyms marking a possible meeting of Pope Alexander III with the Komiža fishermen, namely *Popina Njiva* (Pope's Field) and *Pol Popino* on the Mala Palagruža islet, which name the places where the Pope's galleys docked and where he went ashore in March 1177, while his fleet anchored near the cliffs to shelter from a gale. Now that they were protected from the wind, the Pope and his suite had a "lavish and joyous supper" there, according to his biographer Boson (Oreb, 1995, p. 92). Since the galley carrying their food had returned to Vieste, unable to withstand the fierceness of the wind, Boson assumed that the Pope had met fishermen there who supplied him with first-class fish from their catch. It is difficult to say whether this encounter, if it happened at all, influenced the Pope's decision to visit Vis and Komiža Bay, where he consecrated the church of St. Nicholas, on his way to Zadar.

A custom suggests a close connection between the Pope and the fishermen. The fishing crews once yielded part of their catch to the Church (1/21 part from each *trata*) as a sign of gratitude for the Pope's indulgence allowing them to fish on Sundays and religious holidays (d'Erco, 1973, p. 99).

If Komiža fishermen were on Palagruža in the 12th century, they must have already possessed a fishing boat of tested maritime capabilities, which would have been essential for handling the ferocious conditions around the distant island.

The vessel could not have been created in the tradition of river and marsh boats and so we must presuppose a continuity of experience and life in the bay of Vis spanning centuries, though veiled in the darkness of historic oblivion.

THE NAME OF KOMIŽA

The name *Komiža* itself indicates such continuity, although it first appears in documents in the 12th century. One was written by Notary Prodan in 1146 at the bidding of the Zadar *knez* (prince) Peter in connection with a lawsuit relating to the barter of some pieces of land in Komiža Bay. Here the bay is referred to as *Vaccomeza*, to be read *Val Comeza*.

The word *Komiža* (Comeza) is of pre-Slavic origin. Etymologist Petar Skok agrees with this. Skok inclines to looking for its origin in the Greek personal name *Nicomedes*, so that the word could mean *Nicomedes' land* (Skok, 1950, p. 194), while Grga Novak considers that *Comeza* and perhaps *Issa* belong to a pre-Indo-European linguistic substratum unknown today. The suffix "-issa", as in *Comisa*, found in later writings, could relate the old names for this island to the ancient town of Issa in the north-eastern bay.

Regardless of linguistic traces, it is certain that in Val Comeza, facing the cruel open sea, various peoples handed down thousands of years of shipbuilding, fishing and navigational skills.

FALKUŠA — THE BOAT OF GREEK ORIGIN

If a minimum of navigational safety was to be secured on voyages to the remote islets of the Vis archipelago, capable craft developed through long practice were essential. The *gajeta falkuša*, which for many centuries enabled Komiža to be a major fishing centre, had a removable bulwark called a *falka* (Greek: *falkes* — fence, ring) (P. Mardešić, 54) which increased the freeboard and enabled heavy loads to be carried in open water. The ancient Greek origin of the name *falkuša* could indicate that the people of

Comeza Bay possessed skills passed down from those times, when it was centrally placed on Diomedes' trans-Adriatic route of the first Mediterranean voyages of myth and legend.

Between the 9th and the 12th centuries, the followers of St. Benedict from Nursia built monasteries on Tremiti, Palagruža, Biševo, and Sveti Andrija (Svetac) to spread Christian culture along the most frequented maritime route. However, it is only a conjecture that they built the chapel of St. Nicholas, along with their first habitation, on the volcanic hill in Val Comeze during the 9th century (Mardešić, 1993, p. 58). Although no written document of this period mentions a name for the habitation, it is clear that the monks did not build their monastery in an empty and deserted bay. According to Marin Oreb, Archbishop Bernard of Split delivered a sermon in St. Nicholas' chapel, perhaps in 1202, on the anniversary of Pope Alexander III's Vis landing in March 1177, evoking the memory of the Pope's visit and of his consecration of the church. The Archbishop praised the monks for establishing their monastery on an inhabited seashore where they could save souls of the sinful, rather than in the empty hills where they could save only their own (Oreb, 1995).

KOMIŽA — CENTRE OF THE FISH INDUSTRY

The Middle Ages left few traces of the way of life on the island. There are no written texts about fishing. The archive of the Hvar Commune to which Vis and the rest of the Archipelago belonged was burnt during an Ottoman attack in 1571. The fire destroyed records of fishing, which was probably highly developed by then, as suggested by the first known documents from the 16th century which described large catches of pelagic fish and a great number of fishermen, craft and tools on Vis.

The Dalmatian islands came under Venetian rule in 1420 and the powerful Adriatic Empire thus became a major market for salt fish, produced mostly on Vis.

The first written text on pelagic fishing in the eastern Adriatic mentioned the fishermen of Vis "who catch and salt enormous quantities of pilchard in May each year" (Fusco, 1990, p. 113). The existence of a rich fishing ground was also confirmed by Giovanni Battista Giustiniano, Venetian Overseer for Dalmatia and Albania, in his *Itinerary* describing his inspection of Dalmatia in 1553. This report stated that "the fishermen of Vis caught three million pilchards in a single day" (Novak, 1953, p. 31). This quantity — nearly 120,000 kilograms — proves that there was a highly-developed and organized fishing industry on Vis in the 16th century.

These documents cannot be referring to any primitive fishing skills. In order to catch 120 tonnes of fish in one night using no devices to replace or increase the strength of human hands, people must have developed knowledge of shipbuilding, navigation, fishing and fish preparation over centuries.

Perhaps the historical data destroyed in the 1517 Hvar fire would have led us through the depths of time to the source of the marine and fishing experience which the Slav settlers clearly inherited from the sparse Greek and Roman populations who had arrived from regions deep within the Continent in the early Middle Ages.

It remains a mystery whether the *gajeta falkuša*, equipped for fishing around distant islands and preserved into the 20th century, is a relic of ancient maritime tradition. The origin of the *vojga* is also mere conjecture (Mardešić 1993, p. 160). Ricardo d'Erco says: "I have reason to think that *vojgas* have always existed on Vis (…) It can be assumed that the gill net was one of the first fishing tools" (d'Erco, 1973, p. 188). Although he gives no specific data to support his opinion, he had extensive knowledge of the history of Eastern Adriatic fishing, and his belief is confirmed by etymologist Petar Skok, who states that the word *vojga/volega* stems from Ancient Greek (Skok, 1973).

For three centuries, the Venetians persecuted the *vojgari* (*vojga* fishermen), raiding and burning their nets, partly out of superstition about their harmfulness, but also for the benefit of the rich owners of *trate*. Yet the *vojga* predominated in the Vis archipelago until the middle of the 20th century.

The Komižans were the best and most skilful *vojgari* in the Adriatic. History is punctuated by their clashes with authority, but despite drastic measures taken against them, the insubordinate fishermen refused to give up their traditional ways.

Little is known of fishing on Vis in ancient times, though we have mentioned the finds of weights for nets and wrought fish-hooks, but perhaps the living tradition of fishing holds more than that, since it has always been the basis of life here. Perhaps the *gajeta falkuša* and the *vojga* are the oldest relics. Written documents take us back to the beginning of the 16th century, and their paucity is complemented by evidence which stems from the depth of time.

Liber Comisae, an unusual historical book preserved on Vis, is a collection of documents in a manuscript, for the most part recording Komiža's fishing history.[1] It was compiled by Komiža chronicler Don Nikola Borčić Jerolimov in the second half of the 18th century and covers fishing activities throughout the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, including times of tense conflict with the authorities.

THE HISTORIC REGATTA FROM KOMIŽA TO PALAGRUŽA

The oldest document in *Liber Comisae* describes a regatta of *gajeta falkušas* from Komiža to Palagruža. On May 9th 1593, a list was made in Hvar, the centre of the commune to which the island of Vis belonged, of seventy-four *falkuša* owners who would participate in the regatta at the next new moon (Novak, 1953, p. 44). Several associated documents state that all fishermen who wanted to take part had to report to headmen Franjo Borčić and Jakov Bogdan on May 20th. Unregistered departures for Palagruža were forbidden on penalty of eighteen months' rowing on a galley in chains. It

[1] The manuscript *Liber Comisae conscriptus anno Reparatae salutis 1784*, is kept in the Parish office archive in Vis.

is mentioned that a war galleon would accompany the regatta to protect it from pirates. The Hvar prince (*knez*) ordered the fishermen to arm themselves with harquebuses and forbade children under eighteen years of age to participate. All fishermen were to obey the orders of the fishing headmen, and if they did not, the headmen could dispatch them to the Hvar jail in chains (i.e. 94).

In the early morning of May 20th, guns thundered from the Renaissance tower and an armada of seventy-four *falkušas* preceded by a war galleon set off from Komiža harbour for Palagruža, forty-two nautical miles away. Each *gajeta* had five oarsmen and if there was no wind, three hundred and seventy oars would have frothed up the sea. They were to row continuously for fifteen hours in a marathon to the beaches of Palagruža.

THE HISTORICAL ORIGIN OF THE *FALKUŠA*

The story of the *falkuša* is more than a story about one type of fishing boat rescued from oblivion at the last moment. It is the story of an insular world of the most remote inhabited Croatian island of Vis, the story of collective memory preserved in the oral tradition of an island that preserves its cultural specificity, but at the same time belongs to the universe of Mediterranean maritime culture.

As a type of fishing boat, the *falkuša* came from ancient Greek tradition, as evidenced in the name *falkuša*, from the Greek term *falkes* — fence, referring to a mountable fence that can be placed on the sides of the boat to protect it from waves, and removed to make the boat lower when fishing. The word *gajeta* was created after the Italian city of Gaeta on the coast of the Tyrrhenian Sea, whereas the city of Gaeta, according to legend, was named after the Trojan hero Aeneas' nanny. Kaieta, as Virgil sings in the Aeneid, died on the shore where Aeneas' fleet landed, and Gaeta, a city bearing her name, was built on that place.

The *gajeta falkuša* is a historical type of fishing boat whose origin goes back to old times. As a maritime nation, Greek colonists brought from their homeland of Syracuse to the island of Vis not only a highly-developed art of shipbuilding and seafaring, but also their fishing skills. There are indications that, as early as in the 12th century, Komiža fishermen fished on the far offshore islet of Palagruža. If that assumption is correct, it is certain that already at that time they must have had a fishing boat that offered proven seaworthiness. Harsh fishing conditions in this remote pelagic island demanded such a boat, and a shipbuilding tradition that relied on the experience of building boats to cross rivers and wetlands could not have created it. It is therefore necessary to assume the continuity of experience and life which in this bay of the island of Vis, facing the open sea, in Komiža, has connected centuries veiled by the dark of historical oblivion.

THE "WINGED LION" PURSUES FISHERMEN FISHING ON *FALKUŠA* BOATS

Despite the fact that Venice had been persecuting them over the course of three centuries because of prejudice about the harmfulness of their nets, but also because of the interests of the wealthy owners of drift nets, fishermen were leaving Komiža on their *falkušas* on a long journey to Palagruža not only because of its rich fishing grounds, but also because there was no room for them on fishing grounds around the islands of Vis and Biševo. Those fishing grounds were reserved for a number of large drift nets mentioned above that were also coming to the waters of Vis from the islands of Hvar and Brač. Since the owners of such expensive fishing gear were rich and influential in the government, especially those from Hvar, they opposed the *falkuša* owners and managed to obtain restrictions on their fishing rights or even a total ban on the use of drift nets that were used on the *falkuša* boats. The motive for such bans was the elimination of competition as the sardines caught by fishermen on the *falkušas* were priced much higher because of their quality. Despite all these obstacles, drift-net fishing in the waters of the Vis archipelago remained the dominant mode of fishing and survived until the mid-20th century.

In the mid-19th century, Ricardo D'Erco wrote the following words about the persecution of drift-net fishermen:

> Against them raged the Winged Lion with all the fervour of his offended authority. He persecuted them relentlessly by confiscation and arson, threatening the violators of his bans with the strictest penalties: imprisonment, deportation, hard labour, and even death. Because of drift nets, he seized fathers from some children, husbands from wives, sole earners from entire families by sending them into exile or to hard labour. These fishermen knew how to defy all the outbursts of that crazy rage and in the end remained untamed and undefeated in the frenzied fight they waged against the Venetian Republic for two hundred years (d'Erco, 1973, p. 183).

THE SECRET OF THE *GAJETA FALKUŠA*'S BEAUTY

With its eight and a half to nine and a half meters in length, the *gajeta falkuša* is a small enough boat to immediately reveal its archetypal elementariness reduced to a hull, the harmoniously shaped shell which provides the lowest possible resistance when moving in the medium of water. The boat is also a big enough to, despite its impressive simplicity, present a complex structure that contains within itself solutions to contradictory demands: to have both the characteristics of different boats and have these characteristics in balance and harmony with one another.

Therefore, the *gajeta falkuša* is a structure that comprises a low rowboat (without the *falkes*) suitable for fishing, especially for the extraction of heavy drift nets for sardines; a boat with higher wash board (with the *falkes*) for carrying cargo and naviga-

The *gajeta falkuša* on the Palagruža islet beach (1912)

tion on the high seas; a boat with a deep keel whose function has its extremely long rudder; a boat with a shallow keel due to the necessity of pulling it daily ashore onto the beaches of offshore islands; a boat with common sail areas (lateen sail and jib); a boat with extremely large sail areas, up to 120 square meters for participating in regattas when there is little wind. The sail areas include a lateen sail on the up to 17-meter-long boom, two jibs and a mizzen sail — an auxiliary sail rigged on the second, shorter mizzen mast.

The width of the boat is one-third of its length, and its height is one-third of the width. The pattern of thirds is also applied to the sail by tying down a *tercalun* (reefing of the lateen sail by taking away one-third of it). The boat's mast is attached to a *trastan*, a fixed bench (*banak*), placed at one-third of the boat's length from the bow. Its harmony is not impaired even by the asymmetrical arrangement of oars. Three oarsmen row on one side of the boat, two on the other. This arrangement is coordinated with the sea current (*kurent*), whose strength is compensated by a third oarsman rowing on the opposite side of the direction of the sea current from which the two oarsmen row.

There are five crew members. They are one single organism. They are a hand - the fingers of the hand — just like a thumb; the *svićor*, the captain; stands opposite the other four members (four fingers) of his fishing crew. Indeed, such is their rowing schedule as well: four crew members row standing, pushing their oars forward. The captain (*svićor*) stands on the prow, rowing with his face turned towards his crew (the thumb opposite the four fingers). He directs the rowing like a conductor directing an orchestra. From Komiža all the way to the islet of Palagruža, seventy-five kilometres away, from sunrise to sunset without a break, in the longest rowing regatta in the world.

In addition, one should note the polyfunctionality of the *falkuša*'s structure: immersed more than one meter in the sea, its rudder also functions as a keel (*kolumba*). When set on two barrels on the beach, the rudder becomes a fisherman's table. When set on the beach, horizontally, and lifted off the ground by crossed rowlocks, the mast, boom (bowsprit), and lateen form a fishnet railing (*steralo*). Its barrels are used for salting fish, for keeping salt, rusks, water, wine, and dishes, but also as chairs for sitting around the rudder — a table in the fishing kitchen. Filled with salted fish on the way home, they serve as the ballast necessary for sailing stability.

The balance of mutually conflicting requirements, the harmony of contradictions, simplicity in complexity, complexity in simplicity, the small in the big, the big in the small — it is the principle of the universe. The embodiment of this principle is the secret of the boat's beauty and the wisdom of anonymous builders and fishermen who created her in the millennial perspective of living with the sea on remote offshore islands.

SHIPWRECK

The *gajeta falkuša* of Komiža, a unique type of fishing boat in this sea, sailed to us from the great depths of time, to end its voyage by smashing onto the cliffs of the island of Biševo at the end of this millennium. This happened in 1986, on the fourth day after a terrible storm that came from the west and sank three boats in the Bay of Porat. Among them was the last Komiža *gajeta falkuša*, *Cicibela*.

If it had not been for that shipwreck, *Cicibela*, like all the other *falkuša* boats, might have had the same fate as other old wooden ships that have completed their life cycles. It would have been burned in a sacrificial fire in honour of Saint Nicholas, the patron saint of sailors.

The shipbuilders restored *Cicibela's* original appearance within the walls of Komiža's Venetian Castle (*Komuna*), and the Komiža fisherman Ivan Vitaljić Gusla equipped the boat with sails and fishing gear. It became a museum exhibit and the only tangible link with the long-lost world of Komiža's fishing history.

THE REBIRTH OF THE *FALKUŠA*

On the occasion of the shipwreck of *Cicibela*, the last Komiža *falkuša*, Ars Halieutica was founded as a cultural institution aimed at studying the experience of living with the sea in Komiža. The organization was officially launched in 1997, when a *falkuša* named *Comeza-Lisboa* was under construction for the Expo '98 in Lisbon.

The port of Komiža in 1912 (Ars halieutica Archive)

Ars Halieutica is the only organization that has, for the past three decades, been systematically researching Croatian maritime heritage. Its research focuses on the *gajeta falkuša*. It is a unique example of such systematic interdisciplinary research in Europe that was done on a single ship, involving shipbuilding, navigation, fishing, oral tradition, oral literature, language, lexicography, halieutic ethnology, traditional meteorology, toponymy, history, and cultural anthropology.

After two decades of research, under the auspices of UNESCO and the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Ars Halieutica built a replica of the oldest preserved type of fishing boat in the Mediterranean — the *gajeta falkuša*. Headed by naval architect Velimir Salamon, the research team reconstructed the historic boat as well as the entire cultural and social context to which the boat belonged, and with the help of shipbuilder Tonči Bakica, they built a new *falkuša* in a small shipyard in Trogir.

The newly built *falkuša*, named *Comeza-Lisboa*, was launched in Komiža in 1997. That event was attended by all the highest representatives of the Lisbon Expo '98. It was also a symbolic beginning of the 100^{th} world exposition in which Croatia participated for the first time.

In 2000, the *falkuša* left on a voyage to the Atlantic, to Brest, the world's largest festival of the sea, where it was chosen among the festival's ten most interesting boats. The Croatian *falkuša* was thus among the world's elite traditional ships, recognized as a unique type of fishing boat, fascinating not only because of mountable boat design and beauty, but also its story and the historical context to which she belonged.

Falkuša *Comeza-Lisboa* also participated in the Venetian Regata Storica, the famous rowing regatta held on the Grand Canal in 2005 and 2006. For Ars Halieutica, that voyage to Venice celebrated the historic event that took place 250 years before. In 1756, a rowing fleet of 36 *gajeta falkuša* boats left on a 500-mile-long journey to submit to the Council of Wise Men and to the Doge of Venice a Memorandum in which they demanded they be allowed to catch fish freely on their *falkušas* on the remote offshore islands of Svetac, Sušac, and Palagruža.

In 2009, Ars Halieutica established the Rota Palagruzona Sea Festival, which also includes a renewed historical regatta from Komiža to Palagruža. It is probably one of the oldest historical regattas in Europe.

The millennium circle of a historical boat, the *falkuša*, is complete. She was the response of the fishermen of the island of Vis to the challenge of survival. Today, she is the symbol of Croatian maritime heritage, a boat by which the world recognizes Croatia's Mediterranean cultural identity. The *falkuša* is not only a historical boat — it is an example of the response to the challenge of survival; it is a legacy for the future.

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Jelka VINCE PALLUA

CROATIAN ISLANDS VIS AND CRES AS PARADIGMS OF MEDITERRANEAN ISLAND STUDIES

Abstract

The Mediterranean is one of the three main parts of the world (the other two being the Scandinavian and American part), where at the end of the 20th century island studies developed — the so called nisso(no)logy, a multidisciplinary satudy with islands as its focus. From that time, the growth of academic writing on islands has increased. Many Western mainlanders' concepts about islands — such as isolation, peripherality, insularity, small size, small society, dependence, fragility, paradise, archaic, conservative, remote, uninhabited etc. — can be qualified as uncritical and as taking for granted powerful, yet colonial images. In this contribution, two Croatian islands — Vis and Cres — are considered as the paradigms of Mediterranean island studies. The contribution is mostly based on the testimonies of Western mainlander, Italian theologian, naturalist and famous explorer and traveler, abbot Alberto Fortis from Padua, Italy, who, at the end of the 18th century, visited the eastern part of the Adriatic Sea. Based on Fortis' colonial mental geography/ethnography of the islands Vis and Cres, and imaginative mapping of ourselves and others, the author of the article gives answers to some of the crucial contemporary island-studies concepts as reflected when (re)thinking (Mediterranean) islands. Besides the well-known examples of islands like Trobriand, Samoa or Andaman Islands, known to have paved the way for the birth of cultural anthropology, the Croatian island of Cres is revealed as the one to have grounded the Adriatic foundation for European ethnology/cultural anthropology presented here as a newly introduced science in 18th century Europe.

Key words: *island studies, Mediterranean islands, island/mainland, the Adriatic, mental geography/ethnography, peripherality*

The Mediterranean is one of the three main parts of the world (the other two being the Scandinavian and American part) where island studies developed — the so-called *nisso(no)logy*, a multidisciplinary science with islands as its focus. From the end of the 20th century, the growth of academic writing on islands has increased. It has been noticed that island studies have been directed by outside forces and not *by* islanders themselves or *with* them, but *of* them. The preposition *of* reminds us of a similar designation concerning well-known concepts such as “anthropology *in* the Mediterranean” and “anthropology *of* the Mediterranean”, a differentiation put forth by anthropologist David D. Gilmour some 30 years ago. Let me point out that our Mediterranean Islands Conference host, the island of Vis, is one among 718 islands and 389 reefs in the Adriatic Sea — the “small Mediterranean”, as famous French historian Ferdinand Braudel-called it.

In island studies or the "study of islands on their own terms," as G. McCall defined it (1994, p.106), the need for taking the islanders' narrative into consideration and to shift focus from the mainland to the island is stressed. Many Western mainlanders' concepts about islands — such as isolation, peripherality, insularity, small size, small society, dependence, fragility, paradise, archaic, conservative, remote, uninhabited etc.[1] — can be qualified as uncritical and as taking for granted powerful, yet colonial images.

In this contribution, two Croatian islands — Vis and Cres — are considered as the paradigms of (Mediterranean) island studies. The contribution is mostly based on the testimonies of Western mainlander, Italian theologian, naturalist and famous explorer and traveler, abbot Alberto Fortis from Padua, Italy, who, at the end of the 18th century, visited the eastern part of the Adriatic Sea, its coast with the hinterland, as well as many islands, including the islands of Vis and Cres. Fortis described his travels and explorations in two books. The second book, *Viaggio in Dalmazia/Travels into Dalmatia* (Venice, 1774), is a world-famous book translated into many languages. However, his first book *Saggio d' osservazionisopra l' isola di ChersoedOsero/Essay of the observations about the islands of Cres and Lošinj* (Venice, 1771), has not been translated from Italian into any other language and was therefore not much discussed, especially not by cultural anthropologists.[2] This gave me an opportunity to be the first to come to some quite interesting conclusions (Vince Pallua, 2007, pp. 135-146).

How are the most common concepts of remoteness and peripherality reflected in the writings of Alberto Fortis when (re)thinking (Mediterranean) islands? Are these two concepts essentially related concepts, that is, concepts that are comprehensible only with reference to the "near" and the "central"? Can remoteness and peripherality ever be experienced internally, or are they simply projections from the outside?

Vis, our MIC host island, is taken here as a reference point for the questions above.[3] In the chapter of "Viaggio" dedicated to the island of Vis (Fortis, 1984, pp. 244-249), the well-known island studies' notion of *peripherality*, being part of Fortis' colonial mental geography, is clearly visible in the statement that "a lot of time was stolen from him by ... the ignorance and mistrust of backward people in the low-populated

[1] E. Stratford lists some other notions that can be connected with the possible essence of islands: "absolute entities (...) territories, territorial, relational spaces — archipelagos, (inter)dependent, identifiable, relative spaces — bounded but porous, isolated, connected, colonized, postcolonial, redolent of the performative, imaginary, vulnerable to linguistic, cultural, environmental change, robust and able to absorb and modify… utopian and dystopian, tourist meccas, ecological refugia" (Stratford, 2003, p. 495)…

[2] Both books are cited later in an abbreviated form as "Viaggio" and "Saggio". "Saggio" is a book which contains 18 chapters (169 pages written in 18th-century Italian), dealing with archaeology, epigraphy, etymology, history, ethnology, demography, economy, mineralogy etc. It is kept in the National University Library in Zagreb under the register number R VI-8-159.

[3] Like many other Adriatic islands (the coast and the hinterland), Fortis described Vis in "Viaggio", whereas in "Saggio" he described just the islands of Cres and Lošinj, the so called Apsyrtides.

areas distant from Italian culture" (Fortis 1984, p. 244). Similar mental mapping of the islands, the stereotypical perception of them as being peripheral, distant and therefore backward, can be clearly seen in the case of Vis by the seemingly limiting geographical manifestation of the sea as an obstacle, a barrier, a category re-examined in contemporary island studies. Still, Fortis emphasized the onetime splendor and primacy of this island, although, as he says, in the Illyrian Sea, Vis is not the biggest island and is the most distant island from the mainland.[4] He points out that Greek and Roman geographers unanimously gave this island primacy among the islands of the Illyrian Sea. They praise Vis, mentioning that it is a Syracusan colony and a maritime and trading center from ancient times (Fortis, 1984, p. 244). In contemporary island-studies terminology, the notions of *distance* from the mainland and of *independence* from the mainland have been greatly discussed. Fortis points out that, as a Syracusan colony, Vis was independent from the original homeland (Fortis, 1984, p. 245), thus giving us the answer to the question above.

Within the Island/Continent relationship, let me continue with J. Božanić's consideration that explains the notion of independence, the very same attitude of islanders "on their own terms", a phrase already connected with island studies at the beginning of the paper:

> We should get acquainted with the Island: its odors, sounds, its regulations — the law of the Island. It seems to the Continent that it understands the Island, since the Island is, the Continent thinks, small and is the piece of land broken off the Continent. The Island, on the other hand, is self-sufficient and not trying to understand the Continent. The Island doesn't perceive itself as being a detached piece of the Continent. It is the whole land (Božanić, 2010, 119).

It is not necessary to explain why the famous and somewhat witty anecdote is a good continuation of Božanić's reflection on the island's independent focused self-perception, or the autonomous perspective of an island/islanders as being in the "center of the world". To draw a parallel, we have all heard of the anecdote about meteorological news published in a British newspaper about Europe (mainland/the Continent) being cut off from the British Isles by a dense fog and not the other way around, which would imply Britain being cut off from Europe.

After dealing with the notion of peripherality of islands, it is important to recognize that it is the International Small Island Studies Association which was recently very active in striving against the colonial perspective of islands as being peripheral, remote, isolated and (therefore) backward.[5]

[4] Therefore, obviously considerably detached from the mainland by the sea, the possible barrier, obstacle.

[5] Although in island studies the shift from "explorer-discoverer-colonist" to "custodian-steward-environmentalist" was made, the same colonizing disposition ... and the narrative not enough *by*, *for* or *with* islanders, but one *of* and *about* them remained (Baldacchino, 2008, p. 49). Nev-

Having determined the former independence of Vis, Fortis raises the question of Vis in his own time — in the 18th century — stating that he found Vis dependant on the nearby island of Hvar, this time claiming that it "never had the chance to be an autonomous body" (Fortis, 1984, p. 246). The need to compare an island not (only) with the Continent, but with another island has been emphasized in contemporary island studies (i.e. Baldacchino, 2007, p. 14), and also in the context of geography. As Dahl and Depraetere (2007, p. 64) point out:

> Geographers remind us of the fractal nature of islands: with larger magnification, what may have been a small island off a mainland itself becomes "the mainland" for even smaller islands. Moreover, during the last several years there was the initiative to shift our fixation upon boundaries, dichotomies and borders: land and sea, island and mainland and even from the connections between "island and island". The syntagm "thinking with islands" has been put forward towards the syntagm "thinking with the acrhipelago", the notion that unsettles static tropes of singularity, isolation, dependency and peripherality (Pugh, 2013, p. 9).

Vis was one of the many islands that Fortis had chosen for his travels in the second half of the 18th century during his several trips to Dalmatia described in the previously mentioned book *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, 1774. But Cres, the island that he visited during his first travel to the eastern Adriatic coast and described three years prior to Vis, has, as I have shown (Vince Pallua, 2007), a special place among all the Adriatic islands that he visited.

One has to bear in mind that Fortis' travels were undertaken in the age of Enlightenment when the Adriatic Sea became a conscious ethnographic boundary, a dividing line between the Italians and the Slavs, and simultaneously that between Western and Eastern Europe. At the same time, the Adriatic was the boundary between civilization and primitive customs, the customs of "others", which the Enlightenment found on the Eastern shores of the Adriatic in the customs of the *Morlachs/Morovlachs*,so exotic to Europe, whom Fortis met for the first time on the island of Cres.[6]

It was on the island of Cres, in the northernmost part of the Adriatic Sea, that Fortis' "discovery of the Morlachs" (later much more in Dalmatian hinterland) paved the way for the European "discovery of Dalmatia", which led to the birth of European ethnology/cultural anthropology. This is in concordance with G. Baldacchino's, one of island studies' leading scholars, direct emphasis that it was the islands which have paved the way for the birth of disciplines such as (cultural) anthropology and biogeography

ertheless, Nadarajah&Grydehoj (2016) point out that *Island Decolonization*, a special thematic section, represents a step in the direction of island studies as a decolonial project and a vital contribution to understanding how decolonization might be understood and, as a result, recognizing the myriad ways of breaking with the colonial trappings still present in the 21st century (Nadarajah&Grydehoj, 2016, p. 441).

6 The notion of *morlachism* was coined as a consequence of the European fascination with these primitive but noble savages, so modern at that time.

(Baldacchino, 2006, p. 3). The most famous fieldworks on islands — Malinowski's on the Trobriand islands and Radcliffe-Brown's on the Andaman islands (both in 1922), Margaret Mead's on Samoa (in 1928) etc. — were undertaken nearly a century and a half after Fortis'.[7] Arjun Appadurai's interpretation of islands can partially explain the above statement about islands paving the way for the birth of cultural anthropology: "Islands are platforms for the emergence of national identity and for the affirmation of cultural specificity: critical resources, especially in the context of sweeping globalization and the death of cultures and languages. As prototypical ethno-spaces, islands have spearheaded the study of the production of locality" (1996, p. 180). Besides, due to their geographical segregation from the mainland, as M. Blagaić Bergman emphasizes, islands perfectly corresponded to the research paradigm of even more distant and exotic communities which dominated cultural anthropology at the beginning of the last century (2014, p. 1). But even nowadays, such exoticism and mythical representation of the islands efficiently attracts tourists within the travel and tourism industries.

Fortis was not only involved with the birth of cultural anthropology, but also with biogeography, the field of study whose birth Baldacchino (2006, p. 3) connected with the islands as well. Namely, Fortis' initial impetus to come to the other end of the Adriatic was his original geological, mineralogical, paleontological and entomological curiosity with interest in fossils, minerals, seaweed, shells and insects. This initial interest was later transformed into an ethnological/anthropological one when his book about Cres and Lošinj grew into a study about the population of these islands, the traditional culture and their way of life. During his stay on Cres and Lošinj, Fortis matured politically, stopped being merely a neutral observer and became interested in the conditions and ways of life of the islanders and their traditional culture. It was Cres where he ceased to call himself "viaggiatore naturalista"/"traveler naturalist" right on Cres. The political, economic and historical impressions from that trip to Cres have shaped the motives of later "Argonautic research ventures in Dalmatia" by sea and land which paved the wayfor the "discovery of Dalmatia".

It was this new interest that later led him to the Morlachs who had been reported on so extensively by European scholars and whom Fortis first met on the island of Cres. It was, let me reiterate, at the time of the Enlightenment that the Adriatic transformed itself into a distinct ethnographic entity dividing the Italians from the Slavs and Eastern from Western Europe. Moreover, Fortis anticipated the seeds of future ethnological concepts such as "custom", "tradition", "misuse of tradition" and "cultural relativism". At this time, he was, as was all of Europe, fascinated by the exotic and primitive customs of the Morlachs (in "Viaggio" a whole chapter is named *"I costumi dei Morlacchi"/"The Customs of the Morlachs"*). For Europe, Dalmatia was the European "other",

[7] Not to mention Fortis' contemporaries J. J. Rousseau and Ch.-L. Montesquieu, famous representatives of Romanticism, who wrote about the inhabitants of the Caribbean (or Persia) just on the basis of their imaginary travels to these parts of the world.

a non-European civilizational as a whole. In the midst of the old continent — Europe, the primitive other — barbarians were found, similar to those outside Europe, be they Persians, Caribbean, or Hotentots. The Adriatic thus became a subject of mental cartography/imaginative mapping of ourselves and others, the dividing line between "us" and "them", the West and the East. In the multitude of primitive "others", the Morlachs were closest to Europe. All this required was just crossing the Adriatic, "discovering" Dalmatia, as Fortis did, and grounding the Adriatic foundations of European ethnology and cultural anthropology.

Fortis, as we have seen, explored this part of the Adriatic at the end of the 18th century. It was a time when the islands were not viewed as places detached in time and space from the modernity of the mainland. Namely, as J. R. Gillis stresses:

> Until the end of the 19th century there was no perception of detachment and distance of the islands similar to the one today. Until then islands were the object of research, discovery, conquest by adventurers and seamen, as well as fixed points on trade routes. A radical shift was caused by the introduction of the railroad because it was no longer necessary to transport goods by sea. Through the development of technology and the steamboat in the 19th century, islands became more connected. However — paradoxically — regular ship connections did not narrow as much as they widened the notion of distance between the island and the mainland (...) Regular contact with outsiders influenced, namely, an increase of the perceived differences between them and the islanders. The physical isolation was overcome, however "cultural insularity" developed (Gillis, 2004, p. 119, p. 127 — after Blagaić Bergman, 2014, p. 21).

Islands later became imaginative *loci* of primordial, autochthonous forms of life — places of the return to the past.[8] In such a perspective, islands have, to put it metaphorically, become "ethnographic museums" or "the museums of miracles" in the open air. In the Croatian context, to paraphrase some thoughts of Croatian sociologist Ivan Rogić, Croatian civil modernization was characterized, contrary to the European one, by the paradoxical continentalisation which contributed to the affirmation of the already defined peripheral status of islands. Islands thus became an ethnological store and a privileged domain that had a special place in national memory, atlases of fossils of well-advanced social and cultural evolution. Islands emerge from the stigmatic identity of the frontier place only when used for some defensive frontier strategy. The island of Vis, among all Croatian islands, is the best of such examples — from its iden-

[8] The famous caricaturist Srećko Puntarić wittily used the image of the Croatian touristic motto "Mediteran kakav je nekad bio"/"The Mediterranean as it once was" by presenting a dissappointed tourist in a Dalmatian hotel complaining about the deficiency of electricity and water, just "as it once was."

[9] The importance of this battle for the identity of Vis was recognized by ethnology and cultural anthropology as well (cf. Bermanec, Katić, Oroz & Škrbić Alempijević, 2007).

tity of the spot of the famous Battle of Vis in 1866[9] to the one of a cohabitation with the army in the second half of the 20th century (Rogić, 1994, pp. 438-440).

On the basis of Fortis' mental geography/ethnography of the islands Vis and Cres, the imaginative mapping of ourselves and others, answers to some crucial contemporary island studies concepts as reflected when (re)thinking the (Mediterranean) islands have been given. After well-known examples of islands like Trobriand, Samoa or the Andaman Islands, known to have paved the way for the birth of cultural anthropology, the Croatian island of Cres is revealed as the one to have grounded the Adriatic foundation to European ethnology/cultural anthropology presented here as a newly introduced science in 18th-century Europe. One should ask the question if island studies can be perceived as a legitimate new science as well. It must be stressed that it has been agreed that island studies cannot necessarily be considered a new science or discipline, perhaps not even as a discipline-in-waiting: island studies need not have a distinctive methodology but they need to have primarily an inter-, or even trans-, disciplinary focus of critical inquiry and scholarship (Baldachino, 2006, p. 9). The variety of the disciplines in the sections offered at the Mediterranean Islands Conference on Vis was therefore on the right track.

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Elena BLANCH GONZÁLEZ

THE CONCEPT OF THE MEDITERRANEAN IN ART

Abstract

Can the Mediterranean space be conceived as a cultural framework? Do we understand a common identity under the concept of the "Mediterranean"?

The name Mediterranean etymologically comes from "mare midi terra", the sea in the middle of the land. *Mare Nostrum* has represented the world, above all the communication between peoples that have populated its coasts and the rivers that integrate it. For the people who inhabit the area around it, it has represented communication, trade, exchange of ideas, communication of its people and, fortunately, mixing of cultures.

An examination of the concepts inherent in the Mediterranean space and the different imaginary it shares takes us to ways of making art with important similarities, whose strengths are the networks of knowledge of past and contemporary experiences that composed the "Mediterranean space" beyond its geographical boundaries. From the perspective of a plastic artist, we will analyse the concept of the "Mediterranean" in contemporary art. The specific connecting links are what gives it its unique conception, predestined by a collective subconsciousness of archetypical images that support the artistic production of the land that surrounds the sea located in the center of universal culture: the Mediterranean.

Key words: *art, the Mediterranean, culture, plastic, sculpture*

Can the Mediterranean space be conceived as a cultural framework? Do we understand a common identity under the concept of the "Mediterranean"?

The name Mediterranean etymologically comes from "mare midi terra", the sea in the middle of the land. It is a basin that is apparently closed, but in reality it opens to the west through the Strait of Gibraltar to the Atlantic ocean; it enters Asia and the Far East through the Golden Horn and penetrates through the Nile in the Middle East; it dives from the coasts of Magreb to Black Africa and escalates from the beaches of Italy to the mountains of central Europe.

Mare Nostrum has represented the world, and above all, the communication between peoples that have populated its coasts and the riverbanks that integrate it. For the people who inhabit the area around it, it has represented dialogue, trade, exchange of ideas, and, fortunately, the mixing of cultures.

The Mediterranean has been a field of conflicts and battles, and has remained probably the biggest crossroad of cultures — Mesopotamian, Carthaginian, Berber, Semitic, Persian, Phoenician, Greek and Roman — and has been home to different religions, like Jewish, Christian and Islamic. If something identifies the Mediterranean, besides the geography, it is the symbol of thought, of artistic creation, of humanism, of a cult of nature.

This sea that has united icons of culture, from Istanbul to Barcelona, from Athens to Tetuán, from Alexandria to Catania, has given light to the world's masters of art, philosophy, science, literature, medicine, etc. The great civilizations that based the modern world emerged in its basin: Egyptian, Hellenic, Roman and Ottoman.

The Mediterranean was and still is the economic and cultural base of nations, favoured by maritime trade that once allowed the supremacy of the so-called Western civilisation.

Most of the ideas of unity that emerged in the environment of the Mediterranean were the origin of the agglutinating thought that lead to global policy initiatives that gave rise to institutions such as the European Community or the European Council.

The Mediterranean that was, without any doubt, a land of diversity and we want it to continue being so — a place where the idea of borders is questioned because our collective imagery embraces the concept of *Mare Nostrum* as an ancestral common homeland. It is a feeling of identity not limited by the addition of countries. It is a space without borders, framed by the limits of a culture. We can conclude that this way of doing was formed in Roman times in the Mediterranean, but it has its roots in civilisations such as Greek and others that flourished before in the vicinity of Mare Nostrum.

THE UNIVERSITY BECOMES A REFERENCE OF KNOWLEDGE IN ITS COASTS

No one doubts that the Mediterranean basin has harboured the beginning of Western civilisation; it is here where the first scientific advances and the first known philosophical formulations took root. The Mediterranean has also played a major role in the intercultural exchange and learning, as it is the territory of the crossing of civilisations *par excellence*.

Bologna, the first university on the planet, was founded in 1088 and from it most universities flourish in Mediterranean cities, leaving a rich legacy of scientists, artists and philosophers. The link between universities and Mare Nostrum has made it possible to share values, culture and elements of social cohesion.

The residents of the Mediterranean feel they are the children of ancient Greece and Rome, heirs to the biblical Jewish legacy, the medieval universe, Renaissance humanism, illustrated and romantic contributions, modernity and avant-gardism.

WHAT IS OUR COLLECTIVE SYMBOLISM TOWARDS THE OUTSIDE?

Many towns in Greece, Italy, Croatia, Turkey or Spain open to the sun that invades our spaces touched by an almost sickly minimalism. The light and the counterpoint of its shadows decorate masterfully the exterior and interior of our homes.

The light, colour and warmth make up the popular architecture, so it is no wonder that these contrasts culminated with some of the most beautiful creations made by humans. Everything ends up creating a microcosm where the human being occupies the centre and finds joy in the images, the volumes, the climate and even in the cuisine.

The identity of the Mediterranean imprint is the result of the fusion of sensuality captured from the micro-environment and its aesthetic references. These aesthetic references, undoubtedly diverse, are there due to the exchange and mixing of cultures amalgamated after centuries of diaspora and the return that led the Roman civilization.

Mediterranean art, although it has not only existed in the Roman world, has been especially marked by it. Roman culture exalted the greatness of art and endowed the creation of value, above all by its own aesthetic qualities, leaving, more often than not, the symbolic burden of the represented images themselves in the background. We will dare to postulate here, once again, the two aesthetic properties that surround the Mediterranean creation: the cult of beauty and light.

But the idea of art and in particular that of Mediterranean sculpture is a modern one, the result of these contradictions and the demands that the culture of the 20th and the 21st centuries has placed in this part of the world.

THE MEDITERRANEAN IN ART

The Mediterranean shows us a world anchored between two interests or between two concepts of reality: the Eastern and the Western. Generally, it can be said, that Orientalism is synonymous with idea, while Occidentalism is synonymous with matter, and in the case of art, would be synonymous with representation.

This thought is already clearly manifested in the Plato-Aristotle opposition, a complex world, rich in artistic conceptions and in the treatment of reality and in the reflection of ideas.

This adventure of contradictions of the Mediterranean artistic world is in itself an adventure extended in time, an adventure that continues and cannot be traced as a straight line. It is a broken line along which the east meets the west and the north meets the south. It is an art that has received strong onslaughts throughout history and is marked by the east-west axis and north-south relations.

EUROPE'S FIASCO OF MATERIAL INTERESTS AGAINST THE HOPE OF CITIZENS

Today's world has been shaped under the influence of diversity because of globalization. Globalization can today be seen not only in politics or economics, but also in the urban landscape. Globalization, which entails great complexity, brings a diversity that becomes a factor that triggers creativity, which ultimately facilitates the process of finding answers to the great challenges of the current century.

Europe, the Mediterranean and its cosmopolitan cities necessitate a dialogue of civilizations, or better yet, of cultures; an alliance of cultures is certainly more likely to succeed than an alliance of civilizations.

Europe has, over the past decades, developed what we could call a social model that gave the European Union its own identity as opposed to third parties. Europe was a territory where citizens reached acceptable levels of social welfare. However, the current economic crisis is compromising the European identity.

> ... the current political crisis of the European model is not alien to the loss of the referent of well-being that identifies and differentiates it from the rest of the world (Aldama, 2016).

As Europeans, we know that what has been happening around us in recent years is extremely contradictory. On the one hand, we have witnessed the first great attempt of European unity in the modern era, and on the other, however, we feel remarkably disappointed by the excessively bureaucratic and economic nature of it.

> What defines Europe is above all else its civilizing tradition, and yet culture is the major straggler in the hypothetical European building. A collective crisis of consciousness could be cushioned if citizens had clearer notions of our past. We cannot continue to advance with European construction with cultural heritage being left out of the cornerstone, it would be like building a house without a foundation (Argullol, 2014).

But in addition, the Mediterranean brings to the European construction a collective subconsciousness of archetypal images that support the artistic production with its own tradition and a particular urban sculpture. It is this author’s belief that it is everyone's obligation to claim that role and the importance of our culture, Mediterranean culture, as the basis of the European essence of the environment in which we are immersed.

THE CASE OF THREE SPANISH SCULPTORS AS AN EXPRESSION OF MEDITERRANEAN CULTURE

Focusing on my country, Spain, and its particular urban sculpture, I will analyze three great and different Spanish sculptors — Antonio López, Jaume Plensa and Miquel Navarro — and I will show how they approach urban sculptural work.

For this, I have selected three urban monuments that represent the human figure. Three visions that place the human figure as the centre of work but approach its representation from totally different viewpoints. The first is hyperrealistic, a faithful representation of a head with which the artist recreates the mimesis of the form and plays with the change of scale to give a sense of monumentality that encompasses the work. The second monument chosen represents the human form by simplifying it. We recognize the figures although we cannot distinguish any details. The sculptor shows us the form with a set of fillings and voids formed with letters that people form words with

Nigth
of Antonio López
(photo by the author)

and that distinguish us as humans. The third example represents the human figure through the geometrizing abstraction of its forms. It is a total simplification of the forms, taking them to solid geometric elements in which we clearly recognize the human figure and its position.

Three ways of making sculpture, three sculptors who place the human being as the centre of the world, and each with his own vision make man the main reference.

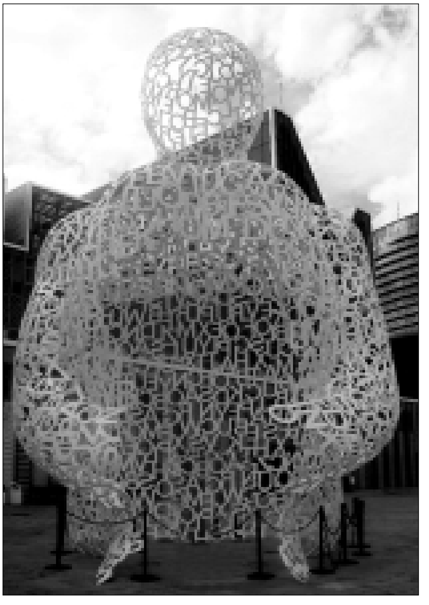
The first of the selected artists is Antonio López García (b. 1936). He is a painter and sculptor, within the group of artists that today we know as "realistas madrileños," such as Francisco López (b. 1932), Julio López (b. 1930), Isabel Quintanilla (b. 1938), Amalia Avía (1930—2011), Esperanza Parada (1928—2011), Carmen Laffón (b. 1934) and María Moreno (b. 1933).

These are all artists that, like López García, embarked on the adventure of the defence of reality, and they did so believing that this was the source of inspiration for all of their teachers, whom they admired, from Phidias (~490—431 a.C.) to Velázquez (1599—1660). A reality that manifested in these artist's manifests in the everyday.

Their works were carried out without haste and developed over several years, even decades. Little by little, slowly, meditated, they extract the essence of the objects they want to represent. Without decorations or waste, soberly, they extract the primordial. Antonio López Garcia in particular collects in his daily environment a universe of familiar photographic details.

I will focus on one of his public monuments, the sculptures *Night and Day* commissioned by the Ministry of Public Works in 2002 and placed outside the Puerta de Atocha train station in Madrid.

These bronze busts, three meters high and three meters wide, represent a baby, his granddaughter Carmen, who was only six months old at the time. The girl sleeping and the girl awake represent day and night for the sculptor. It seems as though they contemplate the passing of trains as well as the passing of time.



Alma de Ebro
of Jaume Plensa
(photo by the author)

For the artist, "the artwork always has to be born from a strong relationship with the world and with life" (EFE, 2013). The pieces were made life-sized and then widened: "When enlarged, they have achieved a ratio that approaches the supernatural, the magical, adding to them a special mystery that has to do with the man who has increased the size of sculptures from ancient times trying to approach the labyrinth of the inexplicable" (EFE, 2013).

Plensa (b. 1955) is a Spanish plastic artist, sculptor, drawer and engraver that has experimented with video projections and the world of scenography.

MULTIFACETED ARTIST WHO TAKES MAN AS THE PROTAGONIST OF HIS PIECES

At first, Plensa worked with iron with the casting technique and later he incorporated glass, resin, lights and even sounds into his pieces.

A lover of literature, he incorporates texts and typographic characters into his works. Thus, the word and its minimal unit, the letter, are also one of the main sources of creative inspiration for his work: "I was raised between books. My family was closer to the written and musical than to the visual. Many of the authors whom, fortunately, I have known since I was very young, have been for me not only great authors, but also traveling companions, friends who have been confirming my intuitions" (Badia, 2013).

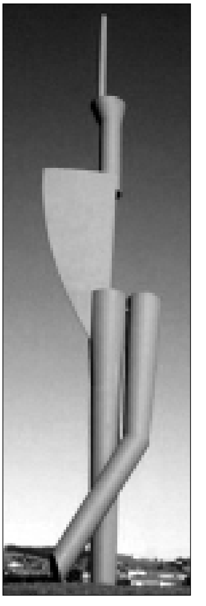
In 2008, he made a sculpture called *Alma del Ebro* in Zaragoza (Aragón) for the International Water Expo held there. This sculpture is eleven meters high and is located in front of the Palacio de Congresos, along the Ebro River.

The work depicts a seated man, almost in the fetal position, which "looks inside rather than outside" (González), so the intention is precisely to invite visitors to share that "recollection". He creates an open architecture in which we can enter to look from within to the outside world and vice versa.

It is built on a metal grid made from different letters, measuring six hundred and thirty-five millimetres in height, and it has different thickness variations, made of stainless steel and welded together and later polychromed in white.

Jaume Plensa understands the letter as the smallest unit of the word, as a symbol of the cell, as a metaphor of a society in which one person "has no weight", while having a parallelism with the body, "an architecture that protects something very fragile as is the soul" (González).

"It seems as if a letter is nothing, but in association with others it has the force of forming words, the words with other words, texts, and the texts with other texts, culture" (Álvarez, 2011).



Oteando
of Miquel Navarro
(photo by the author)

He represents an idealized human figure, of timeless beauty, simplifying its features as if they were gods in a state of recollection. Usually represented with closed eyes, they do not show their emotions, they seem isolated in their inner world. The introspective path is the most important, facilitating a parallel interpretation based on his dream world.

And finally, I want to mention Valencian painter and sculptor Miquel Navarro (1945). He is a prolific artist who carefully chooses the materials that shape his works so that he relays his feelings and thoughts in an appropriate way. He looks for the essence of the shapes by sketching and geometrizing them and pays special attention to the textures.

"I need the physical world, the three-dimensional, that of touching and believing, which is what sculpture has, that, however abstract it may be, it is always concrete, it is tangible" (Gisbert, 2008).

Another hallmark of his work are the long, high, metallic sculptures like the Oteando, created in 2000. The sculpture stands at twenty-five meters high and is located in Torrelavega (Cantabria).

The author integrates diverse geometric elements in the same piece; it is a synthesis parallel to the conceptual, which interweaves sculptural, architectural and industrial concepts. It is a game between the figurative and the geometric.

Outside, he always uses geometric elements as shapers of the form, thereby avoiding mismatches in modelling by increasing the piece to bring it to its final location. He says: "the size is one of the things I study when I make an outdoor sculpture, because I have to relate the sculpture with the environment in which it is located" (Gisbert, 2008).

Three sculptors, three monuments, three figurations, three different looks that show us the richness of Mediterranean culture.

MEDITERRANEAN CULTURE AS A BINDER OF A MORE HUMAN SOCIETY

Mediterranean culture is by definition open and by temporary tradition, the fruit of the intellectual effort of its creators and the mixing of the town's cultures. We are at a critical moment and at a crossroads that seems to me as capital as that of Imperial Rome. Now is the moment when different people that compose the nations of Europe and the Mediterranean must assume their protagonism. Mediterranean culture is the common house of all citizens and artists who must lead the process of alliance of cultures and the mixing of cultures of their peoples.

I conclude, with the desire that through art we contribute to building a European building from the currently more fragile, cultural perspective. Europe is its culture. Europe is its art.

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Miriam Mary BRGLES

THE FOUR SEASONS OF THE TOWN OF KORČULA: ARTS, CULTURE AND THE ROLE OF LOCAL PEOPLE

A b s t r a c t

This paper examines the existing cultural infrastructure and contemporary arts and cultural activities in the town Korčula during a season (calendar year) — including music and literature festivals and congresses, concerts, exhibitions, workshops, publishing etc. The research is based on qualitative methods — content analysis and survey. The main aims of the research were to explore the role of local people in the town's cultural production and to explain the meaning of arts and culture for the city of Korčula and how heritage and heritage spaces have been mobilized in cultural and economic resources. The research shows how the *Moreška*, a traditional mock battle with swords, and the city walls have been transformed into tourist attractions. Although the town has a respectable number of infrastructures and events, most of them are produced for non-local people in the summer period.

Key words: *Korčula, arts, culture, cultural infrastructure, cultural capital, cultural activities, heritage, heritage spaces, local people, Moreška sword dance*

INTRODUCTION

The starting point of the research was the opinion that Korčula's most distinctive cultural brands are the 13th-century Town Statute and the *Moreška*, a theatrical mock battle dance with swords.

Foretić (2006) gives an extensive historical review of the *Moreška* and Ivančan (2006) describes the choreography and mores of the *Moreška*. Vuletić Vukasović (2006) argues that the *Fat King* (or *moštra*, a mock battle dance from villages Žrnovo and Pupnat) and the *Moreška* are the most known traditional performances on the island. Ivanchic Dunin (2006, p. 410) writes that in 1974, Foretić, Ivančan, Podbevšek, Palčok and Gjivoje published articles about the *Moreška* in a booklet, with beautiful photographs by Marija Braut. The summarized texts were published in English, French and German and many touristy promotional writings in newspapers, magazines and tour guide books quoted Foretić's words, but without giving him any credit. After that year, there have been more frequent performances of the *Moreška*, argues Ivanchic Dunin (2006).

The Town Statute from 1214 is the oldest legal corpus in the area and one of the oldest in Europe. A scientific conference on the Korčula Town Statute was held in 1988 and there were 37 scientific papers published in an anthology in 1989. Sirotković (1989) explains the work on the first Croatian translation of the Statute and writes that the Statute was the first book published in the 1877 Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* collection. In 2014, Korčula celebrated the 800th anniversary of the Statute in many ways: a reprint was published, the Croatian Postal Service published a First Day cover, a scientific conference and exhibition were held in Korčula, as well as a panel and an exhibition in the EU Parliament in Brussels.

This research is based on Bourdieu's concepts of social and cultural capital and some concepts of cultural geography based on Graham's (2002) thesis that heritage and heritage spaces are mobilized as important cultural, political and economic resources in contemporary society.

The following methods were used in the research: content analyses of institutional documents (plans and reports of the Korčula Cultural Center and Korčula City Library Ivan Vidali) and transcriptions of the *Moreška* sessions (Niemčić, 2002), and a survey as well (sample of 21 respondents).

The paper examines the existing cultural infrastructure, contemporary arts and cultural activities in the town of Korčula during a season (calendar year), including music and literature festivals and symposia, concerts, exhibitions, workshops, publishing etc. The main aims of the research were: to explore the role of local people in the town's cultural production and to explain the meaning of arts and culture for the city of Korčula.

EXISTING CULTURAL INFRASTRUCTURE

For Andree Malroux, infrastructure was the key of cultural development (Dubois, 2012). As the Minister of Cultural Affairs, he made an infrastructural network in France and the French cultural policy is often regarded as the "model" (Dubois, 2010). Some authors, such as Dubois (2010), gave a critical view of this "model", but for this research it was important to show Korčula's cultural infrastructure and examine what role those subjects have in creating and producing cultural events and how heritage and heritage space are mobilized in cultural and economic resources.

One of the most prominent buildings in Korčula Old Town is the 15th-century St. Mark's Cathedral. Inside, on the main altar there is a painting by the great 16th-century Venetian master Jacopo Tintoretto. The Abbey Treasury is in the same square. The museum exhibits numerous works of art including some paintings by Blaz Jurjev and Tiepolo. There are also old manuscripts with illuminated codices from the 12th century, alabaster sculptures from the 15th century, etc. Other culturally significant objects are: the Korčula Town Museum, the Korčula City Library Ivan Vidali, the Korčula Centre for Culture, the Cinema and Theatre Hall (with more than 300 seats), the Veliki Revelin Tower (renovated in 2001), the Marco Polo Tower, the Maksimilijan Vanka Art Gallery (HAZU/CASA, renovated in 1998), the Archive collections center Korčula-Lastovo (in Žrnovo village, founded in 2011), the Ikon Collection, which contains a unique collection of 13^{th} to 15^{th}-century Byzantine icons and 17^{th} and 18^{th}-century ceremonial pieces, the Marco Polo Museum (private institution, opened in 2012), the Book Corner — International Bookstore (opened in 2014), the Grey Area Art Gallery (the society has been active since 2006) and an open-air cinema (also a space for *Moreška* performances).

Both KUD[1] Moreška and HGD[2] Sveta Cecilija have their own respective premises in the city, used for training, and three religious brotherhoods have their own chapels and houses with congregation halls (cro. *sale*).

It is clear that the list of cultural infrastructures is long, but there are some problems that this article has to point out. Towers were not maintained properly and are currently in poor condition and the Revelin Tower is not a part of the tourist offer in Korčula. The Marco Polo Tower and the Revelin Tower are opened only during the summer and this shows a lack professional help and management, especially concerning exhibitions and guided tours. In Maksimilijan Vanka's Gallery, with its beautiful Mediterranean garden, everything is subordinated to its commercial use (it houses a bar and a restaurant). One segment of the city walls, and the Zakrjan Tower as well, was converted into a cocktail bar and restaurants and bars are situated along the entire promenade and the city walls. Stands with cheap merchandise and souvenirs crowd the front segment of the Revelin Tower. As it is demonstrated, the large numbers of heritage spaces in the town of Korčula are mobilized as economic resources and the main goal is to increase the incomes of caterers.

CONTEMPORARY ARTS AND CULTURAL PRODUCTION

To explain the meaning of art and cultural production, it is necessary to see who transmits cultural capital and in which way. According to Bourdieu (1986, p. 242):

> Cultural capital can exist in three forms: in the embodied state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the objectified state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, problematic, etc.; and in the institutionalized state, a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee.

After a long period of researching offical documents of the town's cultural objects and after interwiewing some cultural managers, I've divided contemporary arts and cultural production in Korčula into four categories:

[1] Cultural and Arts Society

[2] Croatian Music Society

1. REGULAR INSTITUTIONAL ACTIVITIES

a) The Korčula Center for Culture has a respectable number of activities during the whole calendar year: organization of cultural events (e.g. planned in 2016: 8 concerts, 100 cinema projections, 1 exhibition, 4 theatre shows for adults, 7 theatre shows for children, 2 book promotions or lectures, 1 *klapa* meeting — *Martinovo lito*), coorganization of cultural events (merger) (*Korkyra jazz festival, Mediteraan Film Festival, Summer Carnival*), management of the Revelin Tower and the Marco Polo Tower and coollaboration with the City Library, bookstore, schools, kindergarten, the Red Cross, etc.

b) The Korčula Town Museum has two main activities: management of museum collections and organization of exhibitions.

c) The City Library Ivan Vidali also has many activities: book lending, publishing, organization of cultural events (e.g. realized in 2015 - for adults: 4 exhibitions, 2 promotions, 3 actions, 2 presentations, 2 education programs, 1 symposium and 1 competition and for children: 14 summer workshops, 3 actions, 2 exhibitons, 2 workshops, 1 theatre show, 1 lecture, 1 project, 1 competition, 1 Skype meeting). Other activities are: participation in the *Croatian Book Month* manifestation — organisation of the programme in the library (in 2015 — 33 events, most of them for children and young people) and in the *Book Night* manifestation, cooperation with local schools and the competition Korčula's Heritage (the Korčula Tourist Board of Korčula Town and the Lumbarda Tourist Office.

2.ASSOCIATION ACTIVITIES

a) There are two *Moreška* mock battle companies — KUD Moreška and HKD Sveta Cecilija. The main activities of both companies are: performing the *Moreška* mock battle dance with swords, and interpreting and presenting traditional Croatian music and dance.

b) In Korčula Town there are three brotherhoods. The oldest is from the 14th century — All Saints Brotherhood, Saint Rocco's Brotherhood and Brotherhood of Our Lady of Consolation. The Saint Rocco's Brotherhood is from the 16th century and the Brotherhood of Our Lady of Consolation is from the 17th century. In the past, they had socio-humanitarian activities and today, the brotherhoods take part in church ceremonies, rites, processions on feasts, performing liturgical folk songs. Additionaly, they have special activities for Lent, Holy Week, on Good Friday and Easter.

c) Good examples of civil associations are: the Bonkulovići Club, organizers of the Summer Carnival, and the Grey Area Association, whose activities include the support and promotion of contemporary audio and visual languages of urban culture as well those from peripheral cultural positions, especially in the Mediterranean area.

3. FESTIVALS

There are many festivals in Korčula Town, especially during the summer period: the Korčula Festival — organized by the Korčula Cultural Centre — the Korkyra Baroque Festival, the Marko Polo Festival, the Koryra Jazz Festival, the Mediteran Film Festival, Šušur! Festival od riči. (Festival of Words), Martinovo lito — a concert of *klapa* ensembles. Most of them are music festivals, and there has been a "boom" of festivals in the past several years.

4. SCIENTIFIC SYMPOSIA AND MEETINGS

In the last century, during the 1960s, Korčula was a very famous place for western Marxist philosophers and sociologists. Gajo Petrović and Milan Kangrga were prominent figures of the "Korčula Summer School" symposium. During four decades there were no scientific symposia organized in Korčula every year. Then the "Days of Petar Šegedin" was established in 2009 and another scientific meeting, "Petar Kanavelić and Korčula", was held in 2014.

Although Korčula has many cultural activites, there are also some problems that must be adressed. People outside the town do not have sufficient information on activities and events in the old Korčula town. Also, the promotion of activities on social networks is poor. activites or promotions on social networks are poor. Scientific symposia do not have websites or online summaries of lectures and the promo guide *Island of Korčula — Island of Culture* gives information relevant only for the summer period. As Niemčić (2012) showed, some of the KUD Moreška members are unsatisfied with the *Moreška* becoming too commercial, especially with too many performances for tourists — they argue that the quality of dance has declined since they have been having more than 50 performaces in the summer period. They also think that performing in different places and events is not good for the status of the dance. For example, they performed at the concert of Croatian pop-star singer Severina, a promo event for Visa Card on a road in Korčula, and on one (rainy) occasion, in the garage of a boat (Niemčić, 2012). Some of them think that the *Moreška* needs to be like the *Sinjska Alka*, performed once a year; they want to give the dance an elitistic etiquette.

THE ROLE OF LOCAL PEOPLE

The sample for the research included 21 respondents who lived in Korčula Town. They were asked about their role in cultural activities, but it was also important to show their opinion about those activities. In order to see who these local people are, the socioeconomic status of the respondents will be presented first.

Most of the respondents were female (15) and six respondents were male. There were seven respondents in the age group 31-49 and the same number of respondents was in the age group 50-71. Four respondents were older than 71, and three respondents were in the age group 18-30. 60% of the respondents were well-educated (mas-

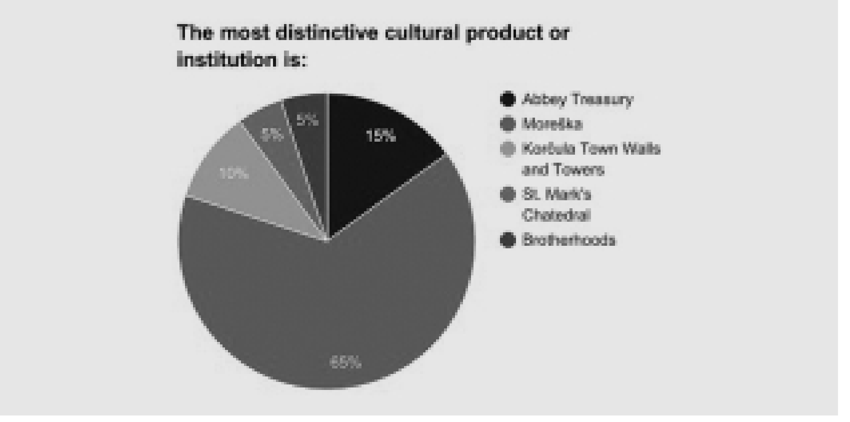

Fig 1. The most distinctive cultural product/institution

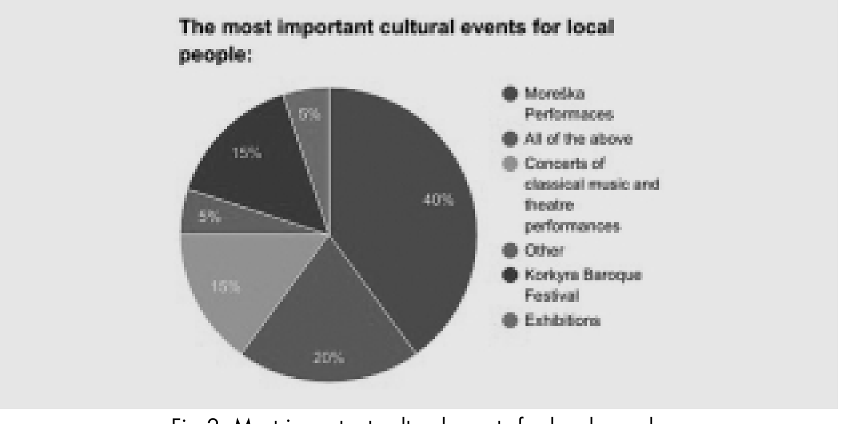

Fig 2. Most important cultural events for local people

ter's degree), 20% had a bachelor's degree, and 10% had a doctoral degree and 10% had a high school diploma. Eleven respondents were employed, eight were retired, one was a student and one was unemployed. Results show that the respondent group has a higher sociocultural capital than average. But we can assume that the respondents also have a higher economic capital. Bouridеu (1986, p. 255) claims that "possession of cultural capital makes it possible to derive greater profit not only from labour-time, by securing a higher yield from the same time, but also from spare time, and so to increase both economic and cultural capital."

The survey showed that 65% of the respondents thought that the *Moreška* was the most distinctive cultural product of Korčula town and 15% argued that it was the Abbey treasury. 10% claimed that the most distinctive cultural product were the Town Walls and Towers, 5% opted for the Cathedral and 5% for the brotherhoods.

25% of the respondents thought that the most important cultural events for local people were concerts of classical music and theatre plays; similarly, 25% pointed out

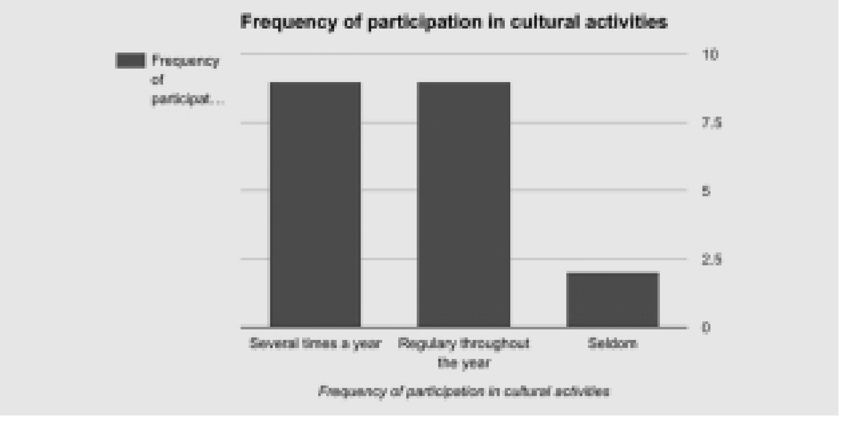

Fig 3. Frequency of participation/attendance in cultural activities

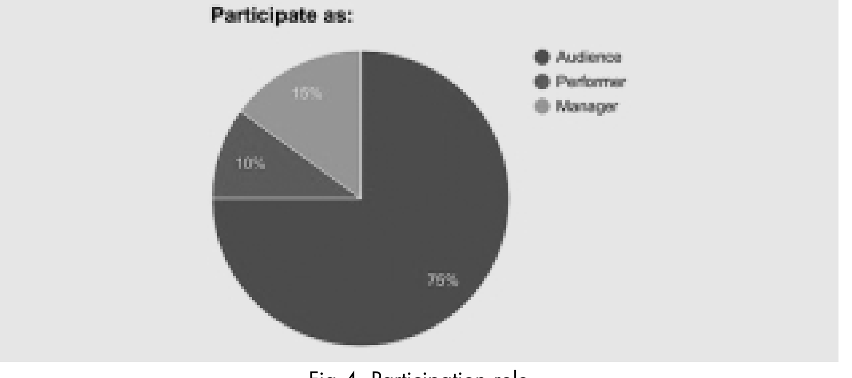

Fig 4. Participation role

the Korčula Baroque Festival. This result is very interesting because, while classical music concerts belong to "high" culture, according to Bourdieu (1984) and Easthope (2006), it confirms the state of higher socioeconomic status of respondents.

The next figure shows the frequency of participation/attendance in cultural activities. The same number of respondents attends several times a year and regularly throughout the year. The result shows a high interest of local people for cultural production. Maybe the number of regular visitors would be higher if there were more activities in the winter period.

In addition to participation, most of the respondents (75%) attend as audience, 15% as managers, and 10% as performers. The respondents have a significant role in the town's cultural life while they transmit, maintain and create cultural capital. They have a high interest in attending or participating in cultural events like concerts, theatre shows, exhibitions etc.

Fourteen respondents argued that Korčula had a respectable cultural production just in the spring and summer periods and only four of them believed that it lasted throughout all four seasons. Two of them could not rank and two respondents disagreed and claimed that Korčula did not have a respectable cultural production.

The respondents also gave their opinion about the lack of cultural events and production in town. One claimed that in the Advent period, there were no significant events. Another said that there should be more workshops for tourists in summer to introduce them to the local culture. Another respondent gave the opinion that some festivals brought controversial persons and were nostalgic for the former state of Yugoslavia. They also argued that there were not enough exhibitions throughout the year and that the town needed a new space for exhibitions since there was a tendency to improvise the exhibitions in inadequate spaces. One pointed out that the *Moreška* had a principal role but that it was not good for other mock battle companies since they did not get enough money and slots for performances. Some thought that it was not appropriate that there were two *Moreška* battle companies in the town and explained that their family had "a nice, old-fashioned house in which tourists come to see how people lived in the good old times". One respondent stated that there was not enough audience and four of them pointed that the marketing of cultural events, as well as visibility on the internet and in the media, should be improved upon.

CONCLUSION

Korčula has a significant number of cultural institutions and a mostly renovated infrastructure. The local people have a crucial role in the creation of cultural capital. They attend or participate in the realization of most commercial and non-commercial events. As Graham (2002) says: "local societes have their own carnivals, events and arts that sometimes occupy the spaces beyond just artifically turist-made locations". Some local people have critical views about sharing that capital with tourists. Although *Moreška* societies and brotherhood members are mostly men and only local people, the *Moreška* has become a commercial product and brotherhoods are still hermetical and more traditional. In opposition to Korčula's brotherhoods, which share a centuries-long tradition, the *Moreška* sword dance underwent several major changes during the last 70 years (its music, choreography and play dates). As it was pointed out, after 1974 it became the most known cultural product of the island and "the turn" was what made scientists start to research and write articles. Heritage became not just cultural, but a touristic and economic resource, the part of "the package" as Atkinson (2008) states. Ritzer (1999) said that the "package arrangement" is an example of the McDonaldization of travelling. As it was shown, local people are concerned about the McDonaldization of the *Moreška* but they do not have a clear opinion about the city walls and towers. It can be assumed that the quality of life in the old town during the summer period for local people will be poor, while streets become dining rooms and shopping areas for tourists. Oreb (2007) explains that at the beginnings of Korčula's tourist development, in the first decade of the 20th century, a higher number of tourists led to an increasing number of accommodations and restaurants.

Another problem that was demonstrated in this research is that major cultural events and festivals are being held in the summer period, excluding *Martinovo lito*, which is a non-commercial event, more locally oriented, connected with Korčula's traditional Feast of St. Martin, which takes place in November. Throughout the winter period there are almost no cultural activities, except regular institutional activities (the library, cinema theatre etc.)

It is also visible how production in the seasons is connected with specific socio-economic indicators. From the end of June (on the last day of June there is a Summer Carnival) until September, there is a great number of cultural events for all ages and tastes. In September, there are more "high profile" events — for artists, academics, professors and people with specific tastes and interests (such as the Korkyra Baroque Festival and Days of Petar Šegedin).

The conclusion is that most events are made for tourists, not for the local people. The shipbuilding heritage is not recognized as a cultural product, and neither is the 13th-century Town Statute. They are only represented in scientific literature (Oreb, Šeparović, Kalogjera etc.) and still hidden from mobilization in economic resources.

The town of Korčula and many of its institutions do not have a cultural strategy and marketing plan, nor do they have good promo materials, websites and profiles on social networks.

Although local people have a crucial role for the town's cultural capital, tourism is recognized as the main factor of cultural change. In the words of Crang (2008): "tourism is a spatial praxis, a powerful global subject, which has a big impact on local society and culture."

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Renata ŠAMO

THE BRITISH INFLUENCE ON THE LANGUAGE LANDSCAPE OF VIS: TEXT, CONTEXT, DISCOURSE

Abstract

Language or linguistic landscape research has begun to gain recognition in the last several years, emphasising language as part of the physical environment and drawing our attention to the spatiality of language. This approach to the role of geography in relation to language and vice versa has also enabled the interpretation of a place as a discourse, which requires specific background knowledge, first built through the compilation of relevant data and later viewed in the given context. Starting from short texts available on the official tourist office webpage, we will consider four British fortresses in the town of Vis from a wider historical perspective in order to better understand the town/island identity. We assume that using such information in the public discourse for advertising purposes does not only contribute to the image of the place, but also supports the idea of landscapes being made through language. Having this in mind may help us comprehend local language practices beyond their immediate surroundings, questioning how they got there historically and spatially. Due to its exceptional geographical position and various political, economic and cultural influences throughout history (space is not neutral, and represents a historically constructed and/or arranged phenomenon), Vis seems to be the right object to investigate against a real historical and spatial background.

Key words: *language or linguistic landscape; space and spatiality of language; text, context and discourse; British fortresses in Vis*

INTRODUCTION

In about ten years, language or linguistic landscape (LL) studies (LLS) have expanded the traditional scope of sociolinguistic descriptions, focusing on space rather than on speakers. This new interest was mainly caused by the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s on the one hand, and the almost simultaneous development of the internet on the other. In the meantime, the patterns of human mobility and communication in the world have changed and created new sociolinguistic landscapes, while the high interdisciplinary value of LLS has been consequently recognised in the overlaps with disciplines such as social geography, anthropology, ethnography, and the like. The two crucial questions in these disciplines touch on the issue of identity — who are We and/or who is the Other? Their answers seem to be found in space. In other words, space is the main concern in LLS, covering not just the physical aspect of the term/construct, but also its wide-ranged diversity (superdiversity, coined by Vertovec, 2010). Apart from belonging to someone and being power-controlled (a political space), physical space is a historical space, and as such, full of codes, expectations, norms and traditions (Blommaert, 2013). Including different signs whose meanings are constructed and interpreted with the help of shared knowledge, space also presents a semiotic body (semiotic space).

In this paper, the town of Vis is explored as a historical micro-space with a particular order, and our focus is on the fortresses viewed as distinctive spatial and semiotic signs. Based on the common classification within LL, the fortresses belong to permanent signs and have landmark functions because they generally identify some area in relation to history, tradition and customs. They point to the military/war tradition of the place, deeply incorporated into its history, and anyone can be its audience. However, the target audience is expected to know how to read the sign(s) to enter a dynamic and productive interaction with them. As Blommaert (2013, p. 54) claims, their reading requires "(…) an audience that can pick the indirect meaning provided by the sign by its emplacement and construction."

TEXT

The current analysis is based on shorter texts about five fortifications that the British built in the town of Vis in the early 19th century. Specifically, they refer to: the George Fortress, the Bentich[1] Fortress, the Robertson Fortress, the Wellington Fortress, and the Hoste Battery. Their descriptions in two languages, Croatian and English[2], follow the same sequence on the official tourist office webpage, under the history section (http://www.tz-vis.hr/Town-of-Vis/Fortresses.aspx?ban=262&fcat=17).[3]

Text 1: The George Fortress (Croatian Tvrđava or Fortica)

This fortification is described in two paragraphs, containing 143 words or six sentences (2+4). The first paragraph provides the basic environmental ["(…) a short and oblong fortress with inclined walls over the entrance to the port of Vis that was surrounded by a moat."] and historical background information ["In April 1812, the English commander of Vis, George Duncan Robertson, began building (…)"; "It was given the name of the English King George III (…)"], additionally relating the past to the present and focusing on the community to which this landmark belongs ["(…) as it was higher than the other buildings the local people of Vis call it "Fortica"."]. The second paragraph mentions architectural elements inside and outside of the construction, such as the draw bridge, an extended base above the moat, wide doors with an arch above, and two courtyards surrounded by moats. Its defensive role is emphasised in the final sentence ["(…) there are

[1] It is actually the Bentinck Fortress.

[2] The translations are analysed here, without the author's intervention into the English language.

[3] There are two other constructions included in this section, but they have no reference to the British rule on the island, so they are not a part of the analysis.

semi-circular gaps for cannons and all the walls are secured by loop-holes."], while a significant detail is the mentioning of the English flag "(…) chiselled in relief with two flowers (…)", which re-indicates the reference to the British period in the history of the island.

Text 2: The Bentich Fortress (Croatian Utvrda)

The next description is contained in a shorter paragraph, including no more than two sentences or 42 words. The first sentence provides key information about the location in relation to the previously described fortress and beyond it ["On the southern part from the George III fortress, above Svitnja Bay (…)"], specifies the type of construction, with the clear use of the national adjective ["(…) an English two-floored round fortress tower (…)"], and explains the origin of its name ["(…) after Lord General William Cavendich Bentich (…)"]. The so-called military words (e.g. commander, the British forces) used to express the person's background additionally point out the function of the landmark. The second sentence relates the past to the present ["This name has now almost been forgotten (…)"] and reveals the approach of the local community to this fortress by mentioning its poor conditions ["(…) these ruins (…)"] and the new name ["(…) today are known as 'Terjun'."].

Text 3: The Robertson Fortress (Croatian Utvrda)

This is basically a one-sentence paragraph in which nothing but the origin of the name is mentioned, i.e. the reader is reminded of the person, who was already mentioned in the first text ["(…) after the Vis commander, George Duncan Robertson."]. At the very beginning, the construction is related to the previous ones (the third English fortress) since the information directly refers to the number of English fortresses and indirectly to the defensive/political importance that the island had for the British in their history. The third text is the shortest (15 words) and not much informative.

Text 4: The Wellington Fortress (Croatian Utvrda)

In a clear relation to the previous constructions at the very beginning (the fourth fortress), the Wellington Fortress is described in two paragraphs. The first sentence is actually the first paragraph, while the remaining two sentences comprise the second paragraph. More specifically, the first paragraph presents the location ["(…) on George's hill, named after the small church of St. George (…)"] and simultaneously indicates the local Christian tradition in the sub-text. The same paragraph also relates the name of the Duke of Wellington to his victorious engagement ["(…) who defeated the French army at the Battle of Waterloo in 1815."]. This reference may at first appear confusing for readers who are not informed enough about European history. However, the second paragraph immediately clarifies the whole thing, introducing the relevant time and space not only globally ["(…) it is assumed that construction finished after the famous victory (…)"], but also locally ["(…) that is, in the last few days of the British being on the island."]. In this way, a historical micro-space such as Vis becomes directly incorporated into Europe as a historical macro-space, once again making readers more aware of its political importance. This paragraph (also the description containing 109 words) finishes with several technical details about the construction (e.g. its round walls, loop-holes, two traversal walls, destroyed vaults, walled up by bricks).

Text 5: The Hoste Battery (Croatian Baterija Hoste)

The last fortification in this analysis is described in two paragraphs, the first one being longer than the second one. The given description includes four sentences in total (3+1), i.e. 114 words. The first paragraph provides information about the location ["On the eastern part of the islet, in front of the entrance to the port (…)"], the constructors ["(…) the English constructed (…)"], the type of construction ("a short battery") and the present conditions ["(…) whose ruins are still visible."]. It is followed by the second sentence which contains a couple of details, explaining the name of the fortification, in close relation to the person who initiated its building ["(…) after William Hoste, young commodore and commander of the war fleet on the Adriatic who ordered its construction (...)"], and a specific historical background ("He stood out in the battle against the French and Italian fleet which took place in front of the island of Vis in 1811 and in the liberation of Kotor from the French in 1814."). In the ending part of the first paragraph, Vis is clearly placed in a wider context again, this time viewing the Mediterranean as a macro-space with its long and intricate historical tradition. The second paragraph contains additional information about the environment where the fortress was constructed, i.e. that the port was strongly fortified because of its dimensions and importance (compared to Komiža). Its vicinity to the mainland ["(…) which was then occupied by the French."] is the last detail which reveals the position of Vis in 19th-century Mediterranean history.

Therefore, the above analysed texts explicitly or implicitly give the potential readership key information about when and where the fortifications were constructed, what they looked like and what their main purpose was, who ordered their construction and how these people were related to Vis (not all of them, though), how they were/are known to the locals and perceived by them. Even at first sight, it is obvious that they differ in length, so that the largest number of words is recorded in the first text, about the George Fortress, while the smallest number of words is recorded in the third text, about the Robertson Fortress. The former one is followed by the fifth text, about the Hoste Battery, and the fourth text, about the Wellington Fortress; the latter one was preceded by the second text, about the Bentich Fortress. Next, the order in which they are presented may be also indicative. Is it significant that the text about the *Fortica* is included first due to the fact that the fortress was named after one of the English kings, and what the readers should know about him? Or is it listed first because of its location, dimensions, and role from the local and/or British viewpoints? Alternatively, does it mean that the fortress named after the commander of Vis is the least important, and as such, does not deserve a more elaborate description? Perhaps this is the only information that was available to the writer or s/he was not quite informed about this? Of course, different suggestions are open to our interpretation when we decide to make a more complex move towards the interpretation of expressions within the analysed texts.

CONTEXT

Our understanding of the reasons why these fortifications were originally named after certain foreigners may be supported by basic insights into their biographies. In other words, Vis can be also viewed in the context of their most significant activities under the given historical conditions.

King George III (1738—1820)

King George III[4] (1738—1820), who ascended the throne in 1760, is known as England's longest-ruling monarch before Queen Victoria, who ruled from 1837 to 1901. During his 59-year reign, he pushed through a British victory in the Seven Years' War (1756—1763), led England's successful resistance to France, and presided over the loss of the American colonies. By 1810, he was blind and had become permanently insane. He retired in favour of his eldest son, who acted as regent until his father's death (Watson, 2008).

William Henry Cavendish-Bentinck (1774—1839)

Lord William Bentinck, the second son of the third Duke of Portland, started a military career after completing education at Westminster School. In 1799, he first went to Italy as a liaison officer with the Austro-Russian forces. Two years later, he embarked for Egypt, but had no active service. His true success began in 1803, when he became the Governor of Madras. Despite a large number of achievements in India, he was forced to leave the post in 1807. By 1811, he had been appointed envoy to the Court of the Two Sicilies (his active engagement there is explicitly mentioned in the second text). Four years later, he was recalled to Britain to be sent to India again (1828); this time as Governor General. He is said to have laid the foundations for modern India due to social, economic and political reforms he undertook during his service until 1835. Following the family tradition[5], he was also a politician (e.g. MP for Nottinghamshire), but not very active, because of his frequent absence from the country. Perhaps, it is interesting to note that

[4] Kings George I-IV reigned from 1714 to 1830; King George V reigned from1910 to 1936.

Lord William Henry Cavendish-Bentinck rarely used to speak in the House of Commons since he was not fond of public speaking (Mason, 2010).

George Duncan Robertson (1766—1842)

Unfortunately, there is not much information about George Duncan Robertson although the few details available to the wider audience lead to the conclusion that he was rather important and influential, especially when it is known that this major general (appointed in 1821) was the twenty-first of Struan[6] and the seventh of Drumachuine[7] — he belonged to the famous Scottish Clan Donnachaidh (also known as Clan Robertson) and even held the position of its seventeenth Chief. According to biographical data covering his military career, he fought in the Peninsular War (fought for independence from the French rule in Spain and Portugal, from 1808 to 1814) and at the Battle of Waterloo on 18 June 1815 (Mosley, 2003). However, another source gives information only about his engagements in Guadalupe, the West Indies, and in the Netherlands before he was promoted to major in 1805. Afterwards, he had an active service as the lieutenant colonel in Sicily and is remembered for having defended the Scilla fortress in the narrow passage of Mesina in 1808 (Scott Hardy, 2006). He had three children; one of them was also called George Duncan Robertson, and succeeded his father as the twenty-second of Struan, the eighth of Drumachuine and the eighteenth Chief of Clan Donnachaidh.

Arthur Wellesley (1769—1852)

Field Marshal Arthur Wellesley, the first Duke of Wellington, was one of the leading military and political figures in 19th-century Britain. He rose to military prominence in India, where he fought in the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War in 1798, won successes in the Peninsular War, and shared (with Gebhard Leberecht von Blücher) the victory at the Battle of Waterloo. His record included around 60 engagements, but his victory over Napoleon made him the conqueror of the one who had conquered the world. After ending his active military career, he became very active in politics, even serving as Prime Minister from 1828 to 1830. His term was marked by the granting of almost complete civil rights to Catholics in Britain and Ireland, which was known as Catholic Emancipation. Since he was born in Dublin and could understand the claims of the Catholics, he oversaw the passage of the Catholic Relief Act in 1829. On that occasion, he even threatened to resign as Prime Minister if King George IV (son of King George III) did not give his royal assent. However, he opposed the Reform Act (1832) that would allow industrial

[5] His father was Prime Minister twice.

[6] The Robertsons of Struan (a small village in Perthshire) are the oldest family in Scotland

[7] A small village in Perthshire, Scotland

cities like Manchester or Liverpool to have a voice in the Parliament. Wellesley continued as one of the most important figures in the House of Lords until his retirement in 1846. In old age, he was idolised and called “the Great Duke”. The perception of the British public changed after his stroke-caused death, when he was considered to be an overcautious general and the worst British PM in his century. What is mostly appreciated today, apart from his wit and military skills, is his character of an honest, uncorrupted politician (Pakenham, 2012).

William Hoste (1780—1828)

Sir William Hoste was one of the great frigate captains of the Napoleonic wars although he was absent from Trafalgar on 21 October 1805, having been sent on a diplomatic mission to Algiers. Yet, he took part in six major actions, including the capture of a heavily fortified port. Also called young Nelson, he is perhaps best known as one of Lord Nelson’s protégés since he allowed Hoste to join him on HMS[8] Agamemnon (a part of the Mediterranean fleet) in 1793. Three years later, they both moved to HMS Captain, which was active at the Battle of Cape St Vincent when the British fleet defeated the Spanish fleet almost twice its size. Their next challenge was on HMS Theseus at the Battle of Santa Cruz de Tenerife in 1797; it was then that Nelson promoted Hoste to the rank of lieutenant. The same ship took part in the victorious Nile Battle in 1798, after which eighteen-year-old Hoste became an acting Captain on the Mutine brig. Since then he held command over four other ships and continued his career more or less with more or less success until 1828, when he died of tuberculosis. Hoste’s health was fragile ever since the inflammation of the lungs he had had in Alexandria in 1802. It may be interesting to add that afterwards, he had gone to Athens, where he was nursed by Lady Elgin[9] and, at the same time, started education in classical antiquity. Hoste’s actions on the Adriatic are said to have found their place in Patrick O’Brian’s novels (as character Captain Jack Aubrey), while his widow had his Memoirs and Letters published in 1833. In a small place in Norfolk, there is even the Hoste Hotel, which features a Lord Nelson museum tribute (Lee, 1891)

The above-presented contextual information clarifies who these people, specifically connected to the given language landscape, were. They were all of British/Irish origin, with distinguished military and political backgrounds, and their biographies were deeply rooted into their own landscape; however, the British tradition behind them also shows that their narratives were significantly influenced by the historical/political context of the Mediterranean, and consequently, Europe (even the world in some cas-

[8] His/Her Majesty's Ship

[9] Thomas Bruce's (the seventh Earl of Elgin) wife (see Elgin Marbles on https://www.britannica.com)

es). This can be helpful at constructing the relevant discourse and making the whole picture more complete.

DISCOURSE

In order to understand why the previously-described constructions are explicitly known as British, especially the four fortresses, it should be emphasised that the entire island of Vis was temporarily captured by the British from 1811 to 1814, that is, between the French (1805—1811) and the second Austrian (1814—1918) rule (proleksis.lzmk.hr/50297). This period overlaps with the final stage of England's twenty-year-long conflict with France (1793—1815). At that time, England (Ireland, as well) was reigned by King George III, who supported Britain's alignments against France in the Napoleonic Wars, while the first Duke of Wellington led the British troops that (along with the Prussians) defeated Napoleon's forces at the Battle of Waterloo. This victory marked the end of France's domination in Europe.

Speaking about the Adriatic, one of the major naval engagements was fought in the nearby waters in 1811, when the British fleet severely defeated the Franco-Venetian fleet. It happened at the Battle of Lissa (Croatian *Viški boj*[10]) on 13 March. With only 3 frigates, as the commander of HMS Amphion (Scott Hardy, 2006), Hoste succeeded in overcoming the larger enemy, since Dubourdieu's squadron included 6 frigates. Due to this achievement, an islet at the entrance to the Bay of Vis was named after him. The British officially took control of the island on 24 April 1812, when Robertson sailed into the Port of St. George (the new name the British had given to the town of Vis on 11 April 1811). As the commander of HMS Imogen, he participated at the Battle of Lissa. Bentinck, the Supreme Commander of the Royal Navy in the Mediterranean (since 1811), was not included in the activities regarding the place itself, neither during the victorious battle nor after it. His name was probably used in the wider context of the British endeavours in the Mediterranean. It is the same with the famous Field Marshal Wellington, who had nothing to do with Lissa (Slukan Altić, 2015).

Finally, it should be added that the years of the British rule were sometimes considered the golden age because of the lucrative trading business, when the town was settled by 12,000 inhabitants (compared to 1,000 before the invasion), 7,000 of them being foreigners. They were mostly traders, attracted by various colonial goods from all around the world, as well as by cheap domestic olive oil, wine, flour, etc. Today, we could say that Vis was a large British shopping centre, and as such, often plundered by pirates. Even Hoste, in a letter to his mother, wrote that another two years on the island would have enabled him to save enough money for the entire family to have a pleasant life in the future. (Wild Bićanić, 2006).

When viewed like this, Vis becomes a discourse, supporting the belief according to which any space is a kind of a discourse created through the practices of its dwell-

[10] The so-called First Battle of Lissa, not the 1866 Battle of Lissa.

ers. Bearing this in mind, it might be easier to interpret the particular discourse, showing us (who are We?) — sometimes unexpectedly — related to them (who is the Other?).

CONCLUSION

To conclude, first we have considered the given texts as stretches of language "recorded for the purpose of analysis and description" (Crystal, 2008, p. 482), and then included a broader context with reference to the non-linguistic world since context can be defined as "the relationship between linguistic and non-linguistic dimensions of communicative events" (Paltridge, 2016, p. 242). This combination (text + context) has resulted in discourse, which is, linguistically speaking, "language produced as an act of communication" (Paltridge, 2016, p. 243). In comparison to the text which is traditionally product-oriented (text as a physical product), discourse is rather process-oriented and interactive.

Starting from three linguistic concepts (text, context, discourse) and considering them further on within the language landscape framework, we have tried to show that using written information about fortresses as spatial signs with landmark functions from a wider perspective does not only contribute to the public image of the place, but also points out that landscapes are made through languages. Our opinion is that this approach is likely to support the comprehension of local language practices beyond their immediate surroundings, explaining how they got there historically and spatially.

The announcement on the official tourist office webpage certainly has the main purpose to inform the potential readership about the nature of Vis as a tourist destination and to promote its development in this direction. It mostly targets international visitors who are likely to be interested in history or may be of British origin, although the national audience is also given a great opportunity to learn something new about the historical tradition of this part of Croatia and to include the newly-acquired insights into a mosaic based on identity issues. Such an approach, as shown in the current paper, requires the deconstruction of the previously-shared perceptions about this place as a prerequisite for the reconstruction of a new image. Due to its special geo-strategic position marked with a variety of influences throughout history (space is not neutral, and represents a historically constructed and/or arranged phenomenon), Vis seems to be the right object to investigate against a real historical and spatial background and to question its identity from this perspective, as well.

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Ozana RAMLJAK, Katica JURČEVIĆ

IN SEARCH OF LOST ISLAND: LITERATURE OF MEDIATED MEMORY

Abstract

The oldest Croatian imigrant colonies in Latin America were established in Chile. These are mostly colonies of Croatian emigrants in the late 19th and 20th century.They were attracted by all parts of this great country, from the far north to the southernmost city — Punta Arenas. Although they were mostly fishermen and farmers from the island of Brač and other islands from central Dalmatia, very soon they also began to excel in economy, culture, politics and sports. But what makes Chile a phenomenon among other Latin American countries is an important literary production of writers of Croatian origin. One of the first (Arturo Givovich) belongs mostly to 19th-century literature, while the highest number of writers belong to the mid-20th century, like Josefa Turina (1909—1986), Francisco Berzovic (1913—1996), Roque Esteban Scarpa Straboni (1914—1995), Domingo Mihovilovic Rajcevic (1918—2014, pseudonym Domingo Tessier), Zlatko Brncic (1920—1973), Sergio Vodanovic Pistelli (Split, 1927 — Santiago, 2001), Yerko Moretico Castillo (1926—1972), Amalija Rendic (1928—1986), Agata Gligo (1936—1997), Eugenio Mimica Barrasi (Punta Arenas, 1949), Patricija Stambuk Mayorga (1951), Hernán Andradte Martinic (1953) and many others. Among them, one of the most famous ones, Antonio Skármeta Vranicic (originally Škrmeta), a grandson of Croatian immigrants from Bobovišća on the island of Brač, born in Antofagasta, left a strong mark on both Chilean and the world's literature, and also, as a very important contributor to Croatian emigrant literature, on Croatian literary heritage as well. On the ground of his novels, it will be examined how literature of exile creates a universal space, always, consciously or unconsciously, searching for its own identity, by offering a world woven of memories, melancholy, nostalgia, fine irony and how it carries inwrought into its own genetic code a world in which reality and fantasy coexist as constituent parts of the family, emotional, spiritual, social, intellectual and cultural bilocation.

Special attention will be devoted to the models that establish and articulate identity as well as literature, especially the one generated through mediated memory. Because, as Skármeta said: "man's own life is, after all, the closest point for which every writer must reach."

Key words: *migration, literature, identity, mediated memory, Chile*

INTRODUCTION

The Croatian diaspora, in relation to the population of the country, is one of the largest global diasporas (Winland, 2004). According to estimates of the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, today's number of Croatian emigrants and their descendants is around three million (www.mvep.hr), although some authors suggest a higher figure whose precise determination requires the implementation of appropriate research (Čapo & Jurčević, 2014, p. 15).

Croatian emigration to the countries of South America was followed by the late-19th and early-20th century emigration to the United States (happening alongside still an active emigration to South America) and was a part of the general global migration processes that occurred primarily because of political security and economic reasons. Emigrants expected that by migrating they would improve their lives and be able to make better ones. Another significant period of immigration took place between the two world wars and another one after the Second World War (Antić, 1992; Jurčević, 2010; Čizmić, Sopta & Šakić, 2005).

Significant Croatian emigrant communities before the First World War were established in Argentina, Chile, Peru, Uruguay, Bolivia and Brazil. After the Second World War, a Croatian colony was established in Venezuela. and in all these countries saw internal migration and moving to major cities (Antić, 1992).

The first immigrants in Chile were mainly fishermen or farmers, coming from Dalmatia, primarily from the islands of Brač and Hvar and from the vicinity of Omiš and Dubrovnik. They settled in the south of the province of Magallanes, where the "gold rush" quickly dissolved, so they started sheep-farming, and they later worked in agriculture in the north, in Antofagasta and Tarapaca, where they were engaged in the production of saltpeter and exploitation of other minerals and trade (Antić, 1992; Čizmić et al, 2005; Perić, 2006).

Nevertheless, many Croatian immigrants can be found on the literary map of South America.

Some of them wrote in Croatian, such as Vinko Nikolić, Ive Lendić, Srećko Karaman, Viktor Vida, Boris Maruna and Dušan Žanka, who were in exile in Argentina and Venezuela, and after decades of literary invisibility in their homeland, they were finally recognized and admitted as a part of the Croatian literary domain. However, a series of writers of Croatian origin in Latin America wrote, since the 19th century and over several generations, exclusively in Spanish. Most of them are from Chile — it is estimated that there are around two hundred authors with one or more published books (Lovrenčić, 2012). "Most of them come from our shores, mostly from the island of Brač, and were born primarily in Antofagasta, Santiago and Punta Arenas, the cities with the largest number of Croatian immigrants. Among them there are members of the second, third or even fourth generation of our emigrants, they are aware of their roots and emphasize them gladly" (Lovrenčić, 2012).

One of the first Chilean writers of Croatian origin belongs to 19th-century literature (Arturo Givovovich); however, most of them, mainly born in that country, belong to the mid-20th century. Chilean writers of Croatian origin are members of different generations, such as Josef Turina (1909—1986), Francisco Berzovic (1913—1996), Roque Esteban Skarpa Straboni (1914—1995), Domingo Mihovilovic Rajcevic (1918—2014, alias Domingo Tessier), Zlatko Brncic (1920—1973), Sergio Vodanovic Pistelli (Split, 1927 — Santiago, 2001), Yerko Moretic Castillo (1926—1972), Amalia Rendic (1928—1986), Agata Gligo (1936—1997), Nicoló Gligo Viel (1938), Dinko Pavlov Miranda (1943—

2010), Antonio Skármeta (1940), Eugenio Mimica Barrasi (Punta Arenas, 1949), Mario Banic Illane (1950), Patricia Stambuk Mayorga (1951), Hernán Andradte Martinic (1953), Andrés Morales Milohnic (1962) and many others (Čizmić et al., 2005). Such literature is an example that clearly shows that it is necessary to find a new terminology which should define it..

TERMINOLOGY REFLECTION

Literature in emigration has long sought a theoretical and historical code that would deal with it in a relevant way and, for a long time, struggled with the terminology which gradually came up with concepts in operational use, such as diaspora literature, emigrant literature, literature between the two countries, exile literature and the previously-mentioned literature in emigration. Inheriting the space between the two countries, the country of emigration and the country of immigration, it was twice accepted and twice rejected, it was understood from opposite points of view, burdened by double the political, social, cultural and spiritual contexts and always in danger of disappearing as literature in all these possibilities of perception.

These types of literature were, in fact, always collectively and publicly recognized firstly as a policy or folklore and afterwards as literature (Ramljak & Jurčević, 2014).

A wider interest in ethnic immigrant literature appeared relatively late and the question of how to appoint and categorize it was immediately imposed. Experts are still engaged in resolving this question, and concepts that were created did not meet the criteria that would cover all the immigrant authors. Terms such as *Gastarbeiterliteratur, Literatur der Betroffenheit*, *Auslanderliteratur*, *Migranten* or *Migrationsliteratur*, *Exil-Literatur* in German speaking countries, migrant literature, immigrant literature, ethnic literature, diaspora literature in English or *les littératures migrantes, ethnique, pluriethnique, immigrante, minoritaire, mineure, transculturelle, métissée* in French speaking countries; *literatura de migração* in Portuguese or *migración literatura* in Spanish-speaking countries did not, in fact, manage to completely cover all the participants.[1]

The term migrant literature is the most common in all immigration countries as it includes all authors with an immigrant background, as well as those who are migrants and write about migrant issues. Specifically, in affiliation to migration literature, it is not

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[1] Many authors from different language areas dealt with that literature. Cf. Biondi, Franco, *Gastarbeiterliteratur in der Tradition der Arbeiterliteratur*. in: Ausländer oder Gastarbeiter. Geschichte und aktuelle Situation einer neuen Literatur in Deutschland. Iserlohn: Evangelische Akademie Iserlohn, 1985, pp. 63-64; Walkowitz, Rebecca L., *The Location of Literature: The Transnational Book and the Migrant Writer*, Contemporary Literature XLVII, 4, Board of Regens of the University of Vinsconsin System, 2006, pp. 527-545; Mathis-Moser, Ursula, Mertz-Baumgartner, Brigit, Litterature migrante ou Litterature de la migrance?, Diogene, Presses Universitaries de la France, 2014/2, pp. 46-61.

the ethnic origin and biography of the author that is decisive, but the theme and perspective from which it was written.[2]

It is necessary to emphasize the difference between literature of exiles and migrants because exile is not identical to the usual emigration. Emigration means the free decision to emigrate, but also is often done under indirect political and economic pressure. Exile is a place where, for political reasons, a refugee goes with the intention of returning as soon as the situation changes, i.e. as soon as the political circumstances in the country change. Therefore, exile literature is emphatically associated with the homeland, the author writes from a critical point of view and in his native language. It is intended primarily for their own ethnic group and it is an example of a special parallel coexistence of cultures (Buz, 2003, pp. 140-153).

Migrant literature, unlike exile literature, produces a lot more cultural hybridity, in which languages and cultural forms are mixed and identities of characters are fragmented and fragile.

It is assumed that migrants wrote from the need to search for their own identity in the new circumstances that arose by the mere act of migration. Literary works of authors migrants react to reality, perceive the existing problems and contain valuable points of view of the author in relation to the current context and are often perceived as an attempt to set up the balance of social relationships and experiences with migration background.

The immigrant authors of the first immigrant generation usually write in the first person singular, and the works are mainly composed of their own migration experience, so the boundary of the author's and the narrative "I" is, in general, imprecise. It was repeatedly assumed that the first generation of immigrant writers lived in more or less social isolation and that writing was a way of compensating for the lack of interpersonal communication. In this way, the written text became a partner in conversation that made the difference between the narrator and the author minimal (Viitanen 2004, pp. 53-54).

Croatian literary theory recognized the need for acknowledging a literature that was created outside the mainstream. It is a position that sees the phenomenon we talked about from the opposite side, i.e. from the point of view of the country of emigration; initially shy (because of the socio-political context) — after long years in which a respectable literary corpus created out of synchronic and diachronic connection was not revealed — but afterwards louder and louder. The need to substantially and terminologically determine one unstable literary system, spatially and temporally discontinuous, was established within a short term. Two parts were mostly recognized, which

[2] This approach is represented by many authors. In this paper we limit ourselves to the following: Rösch, Heidi, *Migrationsliteratur im interkulturellem Kontekst: eine didaktische Studie zur Literatur von Aras Ören, Aysel Özakin, Franco Biondi und Rafik Shami*, Frankfurt am Main: Verl. Für Interkulturelle Kommunikation, 1992, pp. 8-9. and Sorko, Katrin, *Die Literatur der Systemmigration: Diskurs und Form,* München: Meidenbauer, 2007.

are not in an interactive relationship and mutual intertextual interdependence. On the one side, it is the migrant literature, which is being developed as an autonomous corpus, and on the other side the exile literature, which is exiled from the homeland, but at the same time remained with it in constant intertextual interdependence despite the fact that various oppressive instruments tried to disable this interaction extratextually. After the fall of communist regimes, today it is very difficult to talk about exile literature in the traditional sense of the word. According to Škvorc (Škvorc, 2004), instead of exile as coercion, today we can speak of exile as a choice.

Škvorc believes that, contrary to the emigrant literature that follows the poetic postulation of building their own "parallel corpus" of imagination realized entirety in relation to the parent corpus that is random, unsystematic and asynchronous, exile literature (since exile is a choice) is always in a specific interactive relationship toward the synchrony of the parent literature. In addition, it does not treat the literary diachrony of the parent literature as it treats the eradicated timelessness of the mythic space without a historical perspective, but it treats it in a similar way as a modern parent literature. Comparing certain periods of the history of Croatian literature with the contemporary situation, it can be noted that the position of the exile often appeared as an important distinguishing factor and essentially extratextual determination of interpretive positions. Today's exiles publish their books without problem in Croatia, write (mostly) in Croatian and through their work enrich not only literature of the environment in which they live, but also the Croatian one. However, problems in the description of these poetic systems arise when raising the question of belonging to the corpus.

Kalogjera (as cited in Škvorc, 2004) offers a definition of this literature as global. But this term is quite porous and semantically insufficiently precise. In fact, parameters that would determine a literature as global are not clear. Is it multilingualism? Or global diffusion? Is the basic term of reference a global recognition? Moreover, how does one firmly determine what is global in literature (whether in relation to Croatia's position, eg. European, global etc.)?

Kalogjera, by studying writers between the two countries and the link between their origin cultures and domicile cultural communities, discusses three possible terms and defines ethnics, exiles and globalists. Ethnic literature can be determined according to four basic features: first, the work needs to talk about the experiences of some ethnic group; second, the author must be a member or belong to a particular ethnic community; third, the work must be written in English or the language of an ethnic group; and, fourth, readers should have ethnic characteristics. Exile writers appear in Croatian and other foreign languages, and to most of them, the reason for departure from the homeland was political in nature.

The cosmopolitan group, globalists, makes the youngest literary corpus. Škvorc believes that the instability of the description of writers that would belong to this kind lies in the fact that their literary *procedure* with its content layers and certain formal elements and innovations does not become neither a part of literature of the host country nor a part of the country of origin, although it aspires to a place in the corpus (and even canon) of both literary paradigms.

Reflecting on immigrant literature in the case of Latin America, Lovrenčić has introduced the concept of the Hispanic Croatica (Lovrenčić, 2012). However, this approach leads to the reduction of the concept as it is applicable only to a particular ethnic group in a particular environment, and does not allow for wider application.

An indisputable link of immigration literature is the family, the emotional, spiritual, social, intellectual and cultural heritage transferred to the country of immigration and by establishing a relationship in which their own identity is recognized and articulated between the two spaces. Its constituent component is memory, but because of the fact that in the meantime it appears that literature that grows out of the domicile language and uses it (in contrast to the elaborated phenomena that is immersed in the native language) and does not have its own, but only retold, inherited memory, the need for terminological complement appears in order to describe these phenomena and cover them with a new common concept of literature of mediated memory.

MEDIATED MEMORY AND IDENTITY

Works of literature of mediated memory can be described as "texts between cultures" in the context of what Homi Bhabha appoints as "the Third Space" (Bhabha, 2000) and describes with concepts such as hybridity, ambivalence, mimicry, interculturality. Homi Bhabha believes that the condition in language is the "third space of enunciation". In fact, immutable meanings and fixed forms of appearance do not exist. The term *third space* is epistemological; rather than a spatial category, it is a theoretical concept that uses the metaphor. General rules in language allow for cultural hybridity (Ramljak & Jurčević, 2014). According to his opinion, the third space is a space "between" cultures in which the phenomena of hybridization can take place.

Bhabha says that the third place arises in situations of encounter of cultures and represents a zone in which cultures permeate. Because of the mutual influence, specific cultural aspects are being accepted, modified or simply ignored. In this "interspace", the original social differences can be resolved. It is the place where ambivalences of different worldviews are manifested. In this "interspace", the voice of a weaker culture has the same weight as the voice of a stronger culture (Bhabha, 2000).

A special place in this context belongs to the writers who, in their own discourse, do not articulate bilingualism, although they have it as a precondition of their own habitus. Therefore, although creatively established in one language in literature, they remain within the limits of Third Spaces, that is, the already mentioned concepts of hybridity, ambivalence, mimicry and interculturality.

Bhabha recognizes hidden gaps in the text, insecurities and fears that are characteristic of the colonial situation, and which can also be applied to smaller cultures and minority communities in relation to the dominant center. He links these situations and conditions with what is in between — a mix of ours and theirs which gets a new cultural significance (Wiegmann, 2016). This can be applied to all modern societies that are formed through the processes of migration and that mostly form ethnic communities such as the society where the Croatian literary community in Chile was formed.

In the literature that arises in this context, one of the commonplaces becomes the question of identity. Nevertheless, what happens to the identity in the postmodern paradigm that relocates it from ontology into cultural construction, with a subject that ceases to be monologue, essential and referential value and becomes postmodern, polyglossia, designed and self-referential value? Instability further enhances the migration process, by creating new ethnic, value and cultural spaces within the dominant culture, by intertextuality which does not allow unambiguous readings of the text because it always intertwines it with the intertextual and metatextual. Knowledge becomes relative, the subject unstable, the identity changeable, the testimony becomes more important than the story, the interpretation takes primacy over fact, the value paradigm is being denied to the choice, paradox replaces absurdity, and the networked world that becomes global and large at the same time reduces to the extent of its own conceptual and narrative perspective which itself abolishes the self-awareness of knowledge and establishes a search instead of finding, fragmentation rather than the entirety. Awareness of construction as the basic constituent procedure that opens a whole new area of creating content of history (time and space) was determined by the Canadian theorist Linda Hutcheon through the term of historiographical metafiction (Hutcheon, 1996). The boundaries between history, memory, fiction and literature become porous, hybridization becomes unavoidable, individual and collective stories lose their clear outlines. Comprehension of the past is always mediated by historiographical texts, oral traditions, traces incorporated in personal, family and national heritage. "The past is always already interpreted, even through the selection of what is written and its insertion into the narration" (Hutcheon, 1996, p. 170).

LA BODA DEL POETA AND *LA CHICA DEL TRÒMBON*

Postmodern, intercultural, metafictional, but also ethnic concepts can consistenly be read in two novels of Chilean writer of Croatian descent Antonio Skármeta.[3] These are

[3] Antonio Skármeta (Esteban Antonio Skarmeta Vrancic), a Chilean writer of Croatian descent, from the island of Brač, from Bobovišća, born in Antofagasta on 7 November 1940. He studied in Chile and the United States. He belongs to the generation of writers that grew up after the boom of Latin American literature in the 1960s. He began his career as an actor and director. From 1967 on, he published narrative prose: with a collection of short stories *Enthusiasm* (*El entusiasmo,* 1967), *Naked on the Roof* (*Desnudo en el tejado,* 1969) and *Free Kick* (*Tiro libre,* 1973), he established himself in the homeland which he had to leave because of the military coup in 1973. He lived in Berlin for 20 years, working with film (he was a member of the committee of the film festival in Berlin and Venice and a lecturer at the Berlin Academy of Film and Television) and writing (other than prose, he wrote radio plays and screenplays). After the short novel *Ardent Patience* (*La ardiente paciencia,* 1985), known as *The Postman,* a movie

the novels *La boda del poeta* (The Poet's Wedding) and *La chica del trómbon* (The Girl With the Trombone). Skarmeta legitimizes the concept of ethnicity by announcing a trilogy in which, according to his own words, "Croatia is mentioned a lot" (Lovrenčić 2009, p. 27). The first two parts are the above-mentioned novels, and the third part has not yet been written. Skármeta explains the influences that have built his literary matrix, on the content, formal and conceptual levels: "The stories of my grandparents and their friends from Brač were scarce or lyrical and long with a glass of wine, or from week to week more contradictory and deformed. Sometimes in these stories there were heroes, sometimes braggarts, sometimes gentle romantics. I learned from them that the settlers have the quite the natural talent of deformed memory that leads to the creation of literary technique in which things are simultaneously concealed and presented." (Lovrenčić 2009, p. 28). *La boda del poeta* introduces us to a love and historical story that takes place on the imaginary Adriatic island of Gema located on the imaginary coast of Malicia. The central event is the wedding of Austro-Hungarian banker Jeronim Frank, who, just before the First World War, left his life characterized by a family tradition in order to build a new life, life of a merchant, but bohemian one, on an island lost in the Mediterranean archipelago, and the young and beautiful island woman Alia Emar. A love triangle between Jeronim, Alia and a local young man named Esteban Coppeta in an atmosphere full of *turumba* dances (with patriotic characteristics) and *turumputa* (with sensual, relaxed notes) is resolved in historical circumstances in which a conspiracy of the island's young men and the incursion of Austro-Hungarian troops on the island turns the joy of a wedding into a tragic act and results in the escape and exile in distant Chile. *La chica del trómbon* is a sort of continuation of the novel *La boda del poeta*. It is set in Chile, and the protagonists are emigrants from Malicia who arrived in that country. On a ship arrives a two-year girl, who may or may not be the granddaughter of Alia Emar, the bride whose wedding was interrupted by the incursion of Austro-Hungarian soldiers on the island of Gema during the turbulent year of 1914 and who was raped on her wedding night by enemy soldiers. The trombonist brings the girl to the immigrant Esteban Coppeta from Malicia who may or may not be her grandfather. The girl, after questioning and constructing her own identity, in the end changes her name to Alia Emar, the name of her possible grandmother, the tragic beauty of Malicia. Both novels are rich in references to Skármeta's roots: Adriatic islands where people go around in delirium, an imaginary island shaped by historical forces, geographical determinants and stories of ancestors, Antofagasta, which is the author's birthplace,

was made — *The Postman* (*Il postino,* 1994) with Michael Radford, which was nominated for Oscar for the best foreign movie. Other important works: *Nothing happens* (*No pasó nada,* 1982), *Matchball* (1989), *The Poet's Wedding* (*La boda del poeta,* 1999), The Girl of the Trombone (*La chica del trombón*, 2001), Victory Dance (*El baile de la victoria,* 2003) and others. His works have been translated into more than 25 languages. (see Hrvatska enciklopedija, Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, http://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?id=56393, 3. 1. 2017. and Lovrenčić, Ž. (2009). *Tragovi iseljenih Hrvata* (u književnosti i izvan nje), Zagreb: DHK Ogranak u Rijeci, pp. 30-34.

the name of Esteban or Antonio that belongs to Skármeta's personal family history. Ethnicity is a term that essentially characterizes this creation. The very concept is dynamic. It is not about "static trait that disappears within a generation or two. Instead, successive generations reshape a continuing discourse as a part of their core identity" (Morpaw, 2016, p. 103). In this context, literature can offer "...a tangible instrument for transmitting and understanding ethnicity as a living force, beginning with the immigrant experience" (Morpaw, 2016, p. 103). The concept of ethnicity persists transgenerationally — those parameters that support and maintain that concept are transferred to the second and third generation, so that the literature that touches ethnicity and the literature that is being touched by ethnicity are recreated. The memory that is not immediate but transferred within the generation diachrony takes on new forms and adds or reduces some contents, creates a new reality that has an equal right to authenticity. This authenticity is not generated by the domicile language, nor personal experience, nor own memory, but only the consciousness and the world built as a narrative structure in which the key concept is storytelling. "Even when writers self-identify as belonging to the dominant social group as a result of education and national integration, their roots may still permeate their world view. They may weave ethnic or foreign memory into the dominant imaginary or culture since there is "no simple 'return' or 'recovery' of the ancestral past which is not re-experienced through the categories of the present..." (Morpaw, 2016, p. 104). Storytelling based on ethnicity expands the space of the structure by blurring the boundaries of historical and fictional. The imaginary Malicia is a clear replacement of the real Dalmatia, and the imaginary island of Gema replaces the real island of Brač. The opening paratext "*Breve historia de Costas de Malicia* and *Historia de la isla de Gema*", written by the meta-historian Antun Damic, alludes to the historical records of the history of Dalmatia and the island of Brač. A multitude of historiographical data in the novel is grounded in real events that have marked this European ground in real historical time, but their reliability is destabilized even by disregarding time-spatial authenticity, and the narrator destabilizes himself as the one who knows everything and has clear knowledge of everything by narrowing continuously his own perspective. Lack of documents, lack of memory, fluid and unstable time raises a question — can we trust anything? After all, history is nothing but the sum of personal stories interlaced into one general story. At the very end of the novel *La boda del poeta*, just before the final exile of young men from Malicia to Chile, the Chilean Consul in Italy says the following: "History is not written, it does not exist. It is a sum of private memories. Do you understand?" (p. 121). And where *La boda del poeta* ends, thirty years later *La chicha del trómbon* starts. An identity quest that lasts throughout the growing up of a girl whose parents, are a secret and we can only guess who the grandparents are ends with a construction of her own identity through the construction of the family's own identity and with her taking the name of the grandmother, Alia Emar. In a very postmodern way, the quest is carried out and legitimized in writing:

> The only thing I know is that, when the war began to rage across Europe and when the Nazis arrived in Gema, I had a bib around my neck with my name embroidered: Alia Emar.
>
> However, my name was not Alia Emar. My grandmother's name was Alia Emar. In war, all sorts of things happen, people lose their lives and names. In addition, people from Gema are imaginative people who glorify that few little things that happen to them, unless in case when they kill them. However, in such cases, no one survives so no one can tell (p. 32).

Because the storytelling is often more important than the story.

CONCLUSION

Operational concepts such as diaspora literature, migrant literature, literature between two homelands, exile literature and literature of emigration cannot describe the complexity of literature written by authors of migrant origin. Unlike the first emigrant generation of writers who are associated with the homeland through themes and language, subsequent generations born in the immigrant countries abandon this concept. Their connection to ethnicity is quite differently articulated even though an indisputable guideline remains the connection with the family, emotional, spiritual, social, intellectual and cultural heritage and, as a constituent component, memory, not one's own memory but merely a retold, inherited memory. Thus, there is a need to establish a new term that would appoint such literature, and the most appropriate is "literature of mediated memory". Its possible determinants are hybridity, interculturality, ambivalence, structure, ethnicity, self-reference, polyglossia, and identity.

For example, the two novels by Antonio Skármeta *La boda del poeta* and *La chica del trómbon* demonstrate the possibilities of interpretation in such a context, primarily through the concepts of intercultural, metafictional, ethnic and identity. A self-referential approach has proven to be indispensable because all writing is, in the end, the search for the evidence of one's own existence.

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Branko KOSTELNIK

POP CULTURE AND POP AUTHORS AND SINGERS FROM CROATIAN MEDITERRANEAN

Abstract

The Jugoton record company was founded in Zagreb in 1947 as the first music publishing company of the then new socialist Yugoslavia. Starting as a folk and Soc-Realist music production company, over decades it became not only the largest production company of popular music in the former Yugoslavia, but also a "socialist giant" among comparable recording companies in Central and Eastern Europe. In contrast to the other communist states of the Soviet Bloc, Yugoslavia was the only communist-led country that developed economic, political and cultural ties with the West early on, following the infamous Tito-Stalin split in 1948 and Yugoslavia's expulsion from the Cominform. As a result, the Yugoslav communist Party was rebranded into the independent League of Yugoslav Communists (LYC) in 1952 — a U-turn that instigated the embrace of new cultural policies, characterized by softer forms of censorship of Western popular culture imports within the broadcast media and publishing firms. Whilst Jugoton reflected the country's dynamic sociopolitical development from the turbulent 1960s and 1970s through the Yugoslav economic crisis of the 1980s, it also became one of the leading institutions responsible for the urbanization and modernisation of Yugoslavia, and the creation of a notable new wave popular culture scene in the 1980s.

Drawing on extensive research and personal experience, my aim in this paper is twofold: to trace the connected developments of Yugoslav pop culture and Jugoton from 1947 to 1991; and to analyse how Jugoton — as the leading institution within the pop culture industry at the time — became a chief producer of the Yugoslav new wave which according to a number of critics was regarded as the leading new wave scene east of Great Britain in the early 1980s. I will base this analysis on a closer case study of the best ten new wave albums that Jugoton released in the 1980s. These albums will be used to analyze the work of key artists and musicians who forged a distinct Yugoslav new wave aesthetic. I will draw on existing research on Yugoslav new wave, as well as on my own interviews with some of the leading new-wave performers. This historiographic research will provide new insights into Yugoslav popular culture, highlighting the ways in which both the development of Jugoton programs over the years, and the quality of its new wave roster, were contingent upon the specific sociopolitical mechanics of Yugoslav self-governing socialism.

The analysis will be based on the ten best Mediterranean pop singers that Jugoton released between 1960 and 1990.

Key words: *pop culture, rock and roll, new wave, discography, Mediterian pop*

INTRODUCTION

Popular music has a long and well-established tradition in Croatia. Under the influence of an autochthonous musical and cultural tradition, but also the Italian *canzona* and chiefly the famous San Remo Festival, foundations were laid as early as the 1950s for the musical expression recognisable as popular music (the so-called soft pop music), which dominated the urban areas of Croatia for decades, aided by a strong support from the media and established societal structures. Two distinct music circles were clearly recognisable: the Zagreb circle, with its distinguishing characteristics and leading exponents — authors and performers; and the Dalmatian one, with all the features of the Mediterranean atmosphere. Soon, in the early sixties, festivals of popular music, based on the model of Italian neighbours and the renowned San Remo Festival, were also launched in Croatia and have since become traditional and, having survived up to the present day, have become institutions within its genre, dictating new trends and introducing new authors. Such festivals cultivated the recognisable sound of soft pop, characterised by a dominant melody and lyrics exploring love themes. In short, it was a musical expression akin to *flower popus* with elements of the Italian *canzona* and, clearly, to all distinct elements of local colour (Kostelnik, 2011, p. 29). The fact is, Croatian popular music became an important factor on the former Yugoslavia's music scene, with a respectable status and admirers in all parts of the country, and it was somehow, as an entertainment factor of the urban middle class, opposed to the folk and contemporary country music consumed primarily by many working and agrarian class people in the more rural, eastern and central parts of the former Yugoslavia. The first celebrities who started appearing on the front pages were born and thus brought certain customs specific to the western star system. This undermined a still rigid socialist system — a society of equality and justice for all working classes (The Little Encyclopaedia of Croatian Pop and Rock Music, 1994, pp. 15-19). The most renowned festivals were undoubtedly the Zagreb Festival, the Opatija Festival and the Split Festival, and performing there was a matter of prestige, since the winners undeniably became the leading names of the contemporary music scene, and winning it opened the door to commercial success on the market. The best-known names that have established themselves as top performers and have survived on stage for over thirty years, thus becoming true legends who could at any moment sell out any concert venue in the country — just like Celentano and Endrigo in Italy — are Ivo Robić, Vice Vukov, Mišo Kovač, Tereza Kesovija, Oliver Dragojević and the unique singer and songwriter Arsen Dedić. The dominant position of popular music has to this day been challenged, rather successfully, by three musical trends from "the outside". In the seventies, this was rock'n'roll, relying on global trends; in the eighties, the Sarajevo pop school triggered off by the much more creative, but unfortunately short-lived new wave; and in the nineties, the Cro-dance music.

Rock music appeared in Croatia towards the end of the fifties, when Karlo Metikoš, a.k.a Matt Collins — the Croatian Elvis, who would later after a great success in Paris and go on the first great Croatian rock tour together with the band Crveni Koralji (1964) — attracted the attention of the audience with performances in the Zagreb Varieté (1958) by successfully mixing elements of the already accepted jazz with new and upcoming musical idioms. It was the time of the first blue jeans, long hair, the first electric guitars and Vespa scooters. Music became loud: *beat, twist* and *rock'n'roll* were the latest craze among the young. The first signs of social stratification appeared. It was a real sociological *boom* in the then-socialist society of a unique kind, the "somewhere-in-between society" that attempted to become a society between a rigid communist regime of the Soviet type and the western capitalist society. Newspapers were full of comments made by "upstanding citizens" such as "all those savages should be arrested" or "the Mop Tops should have their heads shaven" (The Little Encyclopaedia of Croatian Pop and Rock Music 1994, p. 11). The behaviour and dance of the youth, who were incomprehensibly screaming and swinging their hips, appalled the parents and educators, while sociologists wrote their first dissertations. The newly born youth rock culture can be characterised as the hard, solid cornerstone of the rock counterculture.

THEORIES

In his book *Revolt into Style* (Penguin, 1972) G. Melly, like numerous other theoreticians of popular culture, defends popular culture in a most traditional way: by saying that pop music and the related graphic and applied arts are "just as good as the elite art."

However, D. Hebdige in his cult book *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (Methuen & Co.Ltd, 1979) takes the "other" view, explaining that subcultures manifest culture in a broader sense, as systems of communication, forms of expression, and representation. They conform to the structural anthropologists' definition of culture as "coded exchanges of reciprocal messages." In the same way, subcultural styles do indeed qualify as art but as art in (and out of) particular contexts; not as timeless objects, judged by the immutable criteria of traditional aesthetics, but as "appropriations," "thefts", "subversive transformations", as " m o v e m e n t " , concludes Hebdige.

The influence of pop culture on contemporary art of the last few decades is undeniable, yet it is completely understandable that it is differently configured, has a logic of its own and thus requires a different approach and an appropriate critical discourse (Duda: "Cultural Studies" 2002). This approach uses value judgement from the fields that Hall and Whannel cover by the phrase of "popular arts". Such as "good jazz", "European film classics", "Zagreb school of animated films", or, if you insist, "YU new wave" — the forms of popular culture that, like traditional folk arts, create a direct contact between the performer and the community, where the performer is an individualized and stylistically recognizable artist. Popular art does not come directly from "common people", yet it establishes a relationship between the community and the artist who, in his or her particular way, almost by the "process of alienation" interprets the collective experience and values of the community. Certainly, it is to be distinguished from pop products intended for mass consumption, which are worthless, flat, escapist (Duda) and manipulate the most primitive emotions.

Thus, popular culture is not just a concert, a record or an alternative performance, but first and foremost a lifestyle, fashion style or behaviour. Or, as Dean Duda indicates, the case of a group of youth who swap price tags on merchandising products, or a group of young girls driving the shop assistant crazy by trying on clothes with absolutely no intention of buying anything; those too are the practices of everyday popular resistance to the dominant distribution of power (Duda, 2002, p. 116).

The flip side of the claim that mass culture is manipulation, i.e. an idea of popular culture as a kind of resistance strategy in the web of everyday life, assumes that consumption practices are a new form of production, situated in the pleasure area, in a complex set of bodily reactions that become a resistance movement against the dominant culture and social control. Popular culture, through its social exercise of forms, tastes and activities flexibly turned to the present, rejects the narrow access to the cerebral world of the official culture and offers instead a more democratic prospect for appropriating and transforming everyday life. For whatever be its actual limits, "people live *through* culture, not alongside it" (Chambers, 1986, p. 14). Chambers describes the crucial difference between the dominant and popular culture: "Official culture, preserved in art galleries, museums and university courses demands cultivated tastes and a formally imparted knowledge. Popular culture, however, mobilizes the tactile, the incidental, the transitory, the expendable; the visceral. It does not involve an abstract aesthetic research amongst privileged objects of attention, but involves mobile orders of sense, taste and desire. Popular culture is not appropriated through the apparatus of contemplation" (1986, p. 12). What if mass culture became dominant — where could the space for popular culture be found? There can be no dominant popular culture, for popular culture is formed always as a reaction to, and never as part of, the forces of domination (Fiske, 1989, p. 43). The popular is defined as a resistance reaction to domination, and popular culture appears in the conditions of submission, if popular culture is made at the interface between the "cultural resources provided by capitalism and everyday life. The politics of popular culture is the politics of everyday life" (Fiske, 1989, p. 129).

Once the relationship between the counterculture youth and the wretched of the Earth goes beyond the issue of integration, serious problems arise. To those whose attention is understandably riveted on sharing the glamorous good things of the middle-class life, the long-range cultural values of the discontented young must surely seem bizarre. But the binds in which the counterculture finds itself in dealing with disadvantaged social elements is doubled at another level with a painful irony. It is a cultural experimentation of the young that often has the biggest risk of commercial vermination — and hence the risk of having the force of its dissent dissipated. It is the cultural experiments, concludes Roszak (1978, p. 27), that draw the giddy interest just of those middle-class swingers who are the bastion of the technocratic order. And their interest is all of the wrong kind. There is no way around the most obvious answer to the question why it is the young who rise most noticeably in protest against the expansion of the technocracy. The young stand forth so prominently because they act against the background of a near pathological passivity of the adult generation: only by reducing the conception of citizenship to absolute zero would we get our senior generation off the hook for its astonishing default. The adults of the World War II period are trapped in the state of befuddled docility — the condition Paul Goodman has called "the nothing can be done disease". Numerous theoreticians of popular culture in their analyses of pop culture — to compensate for the superficial attention it receives from conservative authors — lose some of their rebellious edge and turn to using the most common defence: that pop music and the related graphic arts are just as good as elite art. However, subcultures are not "cultural" in this sense, and the styles with which they are identified cannot be adequately or usefully described as "art of a high degree". Rather, they manifest culture in a broader sense, as systems of communication, forms of expression and representation and they conform to the structural anthropologists' definition of culture as "coded exchanges of reciprocal messages". In the same way, subcultural styles do indeed qualify as art but as art in — and out of — particular contexts; not as timeless objects, judged by the immutable criteria of traditional aesthetics, but as "appropriations", "thefts", "subversive transformations", as "movement" (Hebdige, 1980, p. 124).

When the Antiuniversity of London, the first English version of American free universities, was opened in early 1968, its prospectus was filled with courses devoted to "anti-cultures", "anti-environments", "anti-poetry", "anti-theatre", "anti-families", and "counter institutions". Similarly, nothing that the adult society had to offer proved acceptable any longer. The superheated radicalism of the school eventually went so far that even the age-old student-teacher relationship came under fire as an intolerable form of authoritarianism. So it too was scraped, on the assumption that nobody had anything to teach the young any longer; they would make up their own education from scratch (Roszak, 1978, p. 43). Unfortunately, the school failed to survive this act of radical restructuring.

The various stylistic ensembles adopted by, for instance, the punks were undoubtedly expressive of genuine aggression, frustration and anxiety. Still, those statements, no matter how strangely constructed, were cast in a language which was generally available — a language which was current. It explains the subculture's ability to attract new members and to produce the requisite outraged responses from parents, teachers and employers, towards whom moral panic was directed, and from the "moral entrepreneurs" who were responsible for conducting the "crusade" against it (Hebdige, 1980, p. 90). In order to communicate disorder, an appropriate language must first be selected, even if it is to be subverted. For punk to be dismissed as chaos, it had first to "make sense" as noise. Many representatives of youth subcultures attempted to negotiate an intermediate space somewhere between the parent culture and the dominant ideology: a space where an alternative identity could be discovered and expressed. They were simultaneously: 1. challenging the traditional puritanism firmly embedded in the parent culture; 2. resisting the way in which this puritanism was being made to signify a certain class in the media; 3. adapting images, styles and ideologies made available elsewhere on television and in film, in magazines and newspapers, in order to construct an alternative identity which communicated a perceived difference: an Otherness (Hebdige, 1980, p. 91).

Tomislav Brlek, in his contribution to the exhibition catalogue *The 80's — Sweet Decadence of Postmodernism*, cites Greil Marcus, who claims in *The History of Rock'n'Roll in Ten Songs*: "(t)he official, standard history of rock'n'roll is true, but it's not the whole truth. It's not the truth at all. It's a constructed story that has been disseminated so comprehensively that people believe it, but it's not true to their experience, and it may even deform or suppress their experience. What if your memories are not your own, but are, rather, kidnapped by another story colonized by a larger cultural memory" (2015, pp. 258-289)?

Should we go that way, Brlek concludes, "we most definitely will not find an answer to the question what certain music from the past means to us today. Not only do the eighties come into view solely with the benefit of hindsight, but it is the only way that they can exist at all. Still, the irrefutable fact remains that, regarding critical reception, albums published in the 1980s stand out among everything else that appeared in the music of this region before or has appeared since. Up to that period, patterns established on the world scene were adopted, and usually with certain delay."

To conclude the theoretical part, I will quote David Leing, who elucidates that "still, some records, in some circumstances, represent something more than the culture of profit, the ideology of passive consumption" (Leing, as cited in Kostelnik, 2011, p. 143). I am inclined to believe that dozens of classic albums from the eighties, namely records by bands such as Azra, Idoli, Šarlo akrobata, Partibrejkers, Haustor, Laibach, Pankrti, Lačni Franz, EKV, for me and my generation represent exactly that: something more. More than a game! They simply changed our lives.

THE JUGOTON STORY

The story of the socialist record label giant Jugoton — which went from a small socialist firm established in 1947 to the largest record label in Eastern Europe outside of the USSR in the 60s and 70s — is, in truth, a story of the growth and development of the pop-culture scene in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, but also a story about all the characteristics and contradictions of that scene which was, of course, a mirror of socialist Yugoslav society of the time. It was established in 1947 with the property confiscated by the new authorities of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. This property was previously owned by two former-era companies — Edison Bell Penkala Zagreb (1926—1937), and Elektroton (Lubljana, Zagreb; 1937—1945—1947). During its 45 years of existence, Jugoton experienced several phases of growth and development. In the first phase, from 1947 to 1950 — until Yugoslavia's split with the USSR — a cultural policy was created based on the USSR model and under the direct influence of the Yugoslav Communist Party, and all spending was suppressed while the cultural policy of the time favored classical Soc-Realist battle and revolutionary songs and marches and traditional music. It did not encourage the development of popular music. The second phase, which lasted from 1956 to 1957, could also be called the watershed phase. In this phase, there was an increasing awareness and the development of society in general. All of this, alongside the adoption of a new cultural policy by the Communist Party, resulted in the idea that censorship of western popular culture was gradually being scaled back and also in a major opening-up of Yugoslav society to Western cultural influences on every level. This greatly contributed to the Yugoslav Communist Party and the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia standing out among all the other countries of the Eastern socialist Bloc, especially in terms of pop culture and music. There were three major events that defined this phase. Firstly, in 1956 the city authorities approved a loan of 49 million Yugoslav dinars to Jugoton for the reconstruction of its factory. With this loan Jugoton purchased the new equipment it needed and this consequentially lead to a significant rise in production and profts (Vuletić, 2015, p. 15).

However, in 1957 the Communist Party of Yugoslavia "clearly acknowledged the influence of popular music in terms of its social and political power, admitting that it was an important form of entertainment for the masses, especially the young. The Party leaders clearly recommended that popular music should be embraced and incorporated into cultural policy. In the new program, adopted five months before the first Opatija Festival in 1958, the party called for more investment in the production of consumer goods and encouraged the further development of film, radio and television. These media, the party's program noted, created huge new possiblities for aquiring new knowledge, broadening cultural habits and learning about other cultures" (Programme of Communist Party of Yugloslavia according Vuletić, 2015, p. 17).

Finally, in 1956 Jugoton signed contracts with the American record company RCA and later with the Italian Italdisco, Sabrina and Durnium; launching Elvis Presley, Paul Anka, Mario Lanza, Mina and many other top performers from the US and Italy onto the nascent socialist Yugoslav market.

In the third phase, which lasted until 1968, with the robust economic growth of Yugoslav society and its rapid urbanization and modernization, the show-business scene quickly developed. This phase is also characterized by the rise of many pop music festivals based on the San Remo in Italy, which in turn gave rise to the emergence of the first show-business stars like Ivo Robić, Vice Vukov, Anica Zubović, Lole Novaković, Dušan Jakšić, Ivica Šerfezij, Ana Štefok, Miki Jevremović and others. This led to the creation of the first real pop-music scene with all of its defining characteristics: tours, records, charts, media, a star system, fan clubs and others. During that time, Western popular music was also increasingly imported. Yugoslavia's pop culture was in line with the country's political status as a society that was somewhere between West and East. Western popular culture was consumed in Yugoslavia much more easily than in the Eastern socialist bloc behind the iron curtain.

This phase was also marked by the emergence of other record companies in major centers across the country, such as PGP RTB in Belgrade and Helidon in Ljubljana.

This encouraged healthy competition and a true fight for market domination, which had not been seen in socialist economies until that point.

Therefore, after the historic rejection of Stalin, a process of opening up to the West began, which was manifested, in terms of of cultural production, in a flood of new media. “Among them, music quickly became one of the most massive [types of media], taking on the kind of proportions that were often equated with Americanization. [The] import of cultural needs and creation of tastes are reflected in a spectrum of events, from pop-music festivals talored to the desire for a Western society of spectacle to rock concerts and the subculture scene which arose during the crisis socialism was experiencing in the 1980s” (Galjer, 2015, p. 27).

The new phase began with the release of the first domestic LP record in 1968 “Naši dani” (Our Days) by the band *Grupa 220*, with frontman Drago Mlinarec, and lasted until 1977. This period was characterised by Jugoton signing contracts with international performers and becoming an associate of EMI, Decca and RCA. At the same time, Yugoslavia was experiencing rapid and robust economic growth, spending power was increasing, as was the demand for consumer goods, and with it the availability of entertainment and pop-culture goods. In the early 70s, Jugoton's record output grew to nine million and it opened shops in every major city centre, from Ljubljana to Niš, Belgrade, Skopje and Priština. Jugoton's releases defined Yugoslavia's rock scene and pop culture. Some of these are: the LP “Čovjek kao ja” (A Man Like Me) by Jugoton’s best singer and songwriter Arsen Dedić, the debut album by the band Time led by Dado Topić in 1972, and, in the following year, the album “Dnevnik jedne ljubavi” (The Diary of One Love) by Karlo Metikoš and Josipa Lisac. A real boom of great rock albums began with the large-scale releases of the band known as the Yugoslav Beatles — Bijelo Dugme (White Button) — in 1974 and 1976, “Kad bi bio bijelo dugme” (If I Were a White Button) and “Šta bi dao da si na mom mjestu” (What I Wouldn't Do For You To Be in My Shoes).

The 1960s were marked by a growing intensity in cultural production. The greatest changes can be seen in new institutional forms such as the Musical *Biennale*, the Festival of Animated and Experimental Film, work done by the Gallery of Contemporary Art, and especially in youth culture events, most notably those organized by the Student Centre organization. Among periodicals for young people, along with the student newspapers *Studentski list* and *Polet*, there was the Pop Express, one of the most attractive newcomers to visual culture in this society (Galjer, 2015, p. 33).

The final phase of Jugoton was also the longest one, lasting from 1977 until the break-up of SFR Yugoslavia in 1991. It can be divided into two stages — the period until 1985 and the period after 1985. Simbolically, the last phase began in 1977 with the release of the first punk single in Yugoslavia, or even in the Balkans and beyond, by the Zagreb punk band Prljavo Kazalište “Televizori”/“Moj otac je bio u ratu” (Television Sets/My Father Fought in the War). The first of the two stages saw the biggest releases and music industry successes by pop singers such as Mišo Kovač, Zdravko Čolić, the bands Novi fosili, Magazin and Hari Mata Hari, as well as singers such as Kićo Slabinac, Neda Ukraden, Doris Dragović, Jasna Zlokić, Meri Cetinić OK led by songwriters Rajko Dujmić, Zrinko Tutić and Tonči Huljić. The number of LP releases by best-selling performers ranged from 300,000 to a record 500,000 records (Proface, 2015, p. 12).

An absolute top-seller was pop performer Danijel Popović, whose album "Bio sam naivan" (I Was Naive) containing the hit Eurovision Song Contest entry "Đuli" in 1983 sold an unbelievable and record-breaking 717,166 copies. A separate chapter in the first part of the final phase (from 1985 onwards) deals with the continuity of album releases by the major stars of Yugoslav punk, as well as the releases by new wave bands such as Azra, Haustor, Idoli, Šarlo akrobata, Električni orgazam, and Partibrejkersi. Of course, alongside its leading members's talent and excellence, there is no question that Jugoton, together with many media outlets and the youth press, was the crucial logistical pillar that embraced the songs and performers of the Former Yugoslav new wave and ushered them into the mainstream. No matter how many Anglo-Saxon rock critics declared Yugoslavia's new wave scene as the "best East of Britain" (Kostelnik, 2004, p. 130), it would not have been able to have such an impact and wide releases if the songs had not frequently aired on domestic radio stations and had they not been released by mainstream lables such as Jugoton. However, not everyone agrees on the role and significance of Jugoton in the development of the Yugoslav rock and new wave scenes in the 1980s (Čulić, 2015, pp. 1-2 and Kršić, 2009, p. 99). In the late 1980s, new bands with large releases arrived on the scene such as Plavi orkestar and Crvena jabuka. However, the crisis of the Yugoslav socialist system, economic troubles, the lack of spending power and the foreshadowing of the war that was to come all had an impact on the record industry and Jugoton. The Yugoslav market dissapeared and the former giant Jugoton was turned into the Croatia records public corporation, which became the largest record company in the new and independent Croatia.

BEST DALMATIAN POP AND ROCK AUTHORS AND PERFORMERS

Jugoton was, and this was no coincidence, the label of choice for most performers of the Dalmatian pop and rock school. Not only did the two grow together, they also contributed to each other's development, providing mutual encouragement. The releases by Dalmatian performers would help raise Jugoton's profile with both sales and popularity, especially in the former Yugoslavia, which was a larger, livelier market, with competing labels from other parts of the country such as the PGP RTB from Belgrade, the ZKP Ljubljana and others. Jugoton soon secured the dominant position in the market. On the other hand, the reputation Jugoton enjoyed helped all Dalmatian performers achieve greater success and boosted their careers. Jugoton was not only a brand, but also a smooth-running professional machine for fabricating pop stars, even in the period of early socialism, and even more in later periods (Jugoton: East of Eden: pp. 7-50).

1. Toma Bebić

One of the most influential and unique singers and songwriters of the Dalmatian circle. A fascinating and unconventional bohemian, he managed to create an authentic expression and poetics that have influenced numerous generations of Dalmatian authors to this day. "He was a Croatian satyr who fused the bizarre and the simple, thus creating a peculiar poetics of the bohemian and the urban" (The Encyclopaedia of Pop and Rock Music, p. 69).

2. Daleka obala

Comprised of skilled musicians, this band fused rhythm and blues with popular music expression. Yet the main characteristic of their distinctive style were the original lyrics and their convincing interpretations by the singer and songwriter Marijan Ban, who successfully pursued a solo career after the band split up.

3. Arsen Dedić

Undoubtedly the finest, most sublime and most prominent author ever to appear not only on the Dalmatian music scene, but also in a broader context — both in Croatia and in this part of Europe. Dedić's idiosyncratic expression, exquisite lyrics, which are in themselves true poetry, and lucid arrangements, place his prodigious *oeuvre* at the very top of European song-writing. As Veselko Tenžera put it: "... And when Dedić unleashed his 'Moderato Cantabile' onto the radio-listening masses, it triggered off a minor revolution which is, true, still embryonic but nevertheless present. Soon the theme of the South, that central topic of the modern pastoral, but also of the philosophical return to the wisdom of the Mediterranean, would start to reverberate all over our music scene in an unprecedented manner, which, unfortunately, has not been followed since" (Tenžera in Mandić, Arsen: 158-159).

4. Dino Dvornik

The uncrowned king of Croatian funk, who occasionally made successful forays into the music of local colour/the Mediterranean, e.g. the now classic song "Ništa kontra Splita" (Nothing Against Split). With a remarkable sense of rhythm — which he masterfully brought to the fore in all his songs — Dvornik represents a contrast of sorts to all other authors and performers in this overview. The sheer strength of his rhythm, his pure energy and musical credibility are pervasive and immense, as is his influence on the new generations of Croatian musicians and new music styles, proving that one can remain an authentic Mediterranean author using modern global experience, as opposed to being stuck in the local music idiom.

5. Đavoli & Neno Belan

Neno Belan is one of the most conspicuous Croatian pop authors of the last 25 years. He began his career with the band Đavoli (The Devils) in the eighties, successfully mixing the aspects of fifties and sixties' rock'n'roll with the sounds of the Italian *canzona* and Croatian pop classics. Within only three years, Đavoli became one of the most profitable Croatian pop bands. During the last two decades, Neno Belan has grown into a subtle and renowned pop author who effectively tinges his personal expression and Mediterranean atmosphere with the experience of mainstream rock.

6. Gibonni (Zlatan Stipišić)

One of the most influential pop authors and performers of the Dalmatian circle, who writes fine lyrics infused with the special smells and colours of the Mediterranean. He managed to develop his own music idiom and style, skilfully combining the influence of mainstream rock, the Italian *canzona* and Croatian pop music. His importance lies in the fact that he managed to create a high-quality yet commercial pop product.

7. Klape — a cappella vocal ensembles

Synonymous with Dalmatia and the Croatian Mediterranean, together with fish, sea, prosciutto and olive oil. The long tradition of an *a cappella* ensemble (*klapa*) singing in Dalmatia is passed on from generation to generation. Several years ago, the *klapa* singing was included in the World Heritage list.

8. Mišo Kovač

The greatest pop star not only in Dalmatia and Croatia, but also in the former Yugoslavia. With his distinctive performances he created an individual style which, combined with his unique voice and catchy melodies, produced astonishing results and sold millions of records. His image — a moustache and a golden chain around the neck — is also recognizable to the average Dalmatian man, thus making him the trademark of Dalmatia, just as a car or a tourist resort would be.

9. Magazin

The most commercialized pop band of the so-called Dalmatian school in the past three decades, they primarily strived to create commercial songs that would sell a lot and bring a large profit.

10. Oliver (Dragojević)

For many, the most authentic Dalmatian pop singer. With a unique hoarse voice and a complete dedication to performing songs brimming with Dalmatian jargon and accents, Oliver managed to create a style which not only sells records — his songs have been on top of all Croatian charts for decades — but is also the trademark of Dalmatia and its regional centre, Split.

11. TBF

One of the best Croatian hip-hop/rock bands of the last two decades. Their remarkable skill, exceptional talent and convincing performances helped them merge global hip-hop and rap trends with local themes of Split and Dalmatia, making use of the Split ghetto slang.

12. Vice Vukov

The legendary singer from Šibenik, who became popular not only for his extraordinary voice, but also for his confirmed display of national consciousness, due to which he was banned from performing in the socialist period.

13. Jasna Zlokić, Doris Dragović, Zorica Kondža, Meri Cetinić

The finest female pop vocalists who established their own styles based on outstanding singing capabilities, Mediterranean charm and their take on the recognisable Dalmatian music idiom.

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Miranda HERCEG

CROATIAN DESIGN AND MEDITERRANEAN HERITAGE: SOMETHING OLD, SOMETHING NEW, SOMETHING BORROWED, SOMETHING BLUE

Abstract

The rugged Croatian coastline with thousands of islands is an area where various influences, rulers, languages and cultures intertwined. Situated at one of the intercultural crossroads of the Mediterranean, this is where the encounters happened, where different ethnic groups met, communicated and traded. One may suggest that the area contains three out of the four elements that bring happiness — something old, something borrowed and something blue. *Something old* implies cultural heritage. *Something borrowed* represents foreign cultural motifs that influenced, shaped and contributed to the existing cultural heritage of the area. *Something blue* simply portrays the Adriatic Sea. These three elements make the Croatian coast one of the most interesting European tourist destinations. Yet, for happiness to last, *something new* is necessary. In this paper *the design* represents "*something new*".

Therefore, a special emphasis will be placed on the ways Croatian design communicates Croatian natural and cultural heritage as well as to how it has enlivened traditional manufacture by the use of local resources. Inspired by natural and cultural motifs, contemporary in its form, design affirms the culture of its origin, for which, at the same time, it has been created. With that said, such design can create new opportunities which might encourage the development of the region for the benefit of the local community.

Key words: *design, spatial graphics, package design, heritage, nature, history, culture, tourism, design hostel*

INTRODUCTION TO DESIGN

The word *design* comes from the Latin word *designare* de- "out" + signare "to mark", or signum — "a mark, sign"). In English, the word *design* contains in its meaning a drawing, marking, planning, a project or a sketch.

Professor Victor Papanek, one of the world's foremost designers and design theoreticians, emphasizes design as the basis of human activity, "…The planning and patterning of any act towards a desired, foreseeable end constitutes the design process" (Papanek, 1973, p. 33, 289).

This ambiguity or multi-meaning of the word *design* gives a clue about design as a discipline and a profession. According to The World Design Organization: "Design is a strategic problem-solving process that drives innovation, builds business success, and leads to a better quality of life through innovative products, systems, services, and experiences" (http://wdo.org/about/definition/). In the field of graphic design and visual communication, communication stands out as a key activity (Payer, 2007). Design (and designer) is in the service of both consumers and producers, trying to meet the need for quality and being obliged to meet the needs of a competitive market. Design also creates the producers' and consumers' identity. Design meets the human need for identity and belonging to a certain group. Apart from meeting the basic purpose, i.e. functions, design has a semantic value that often leads to changes of form rather than being motivated by functional reasons (Šverko, I., 2003, p. 43).

Design is closely linked to economy and culture. Tourism is a field where Croatian design meets economy and culture in its particular potential. In Croatia, especially on the Adriatic coast, tourism is one of the most important industries. Tourism contributed 18.1 per cent to the GDP in 2015 (http://www.mint.hr/default.aspx?id=32920). After World War II, tourism developed rapidly worldwide and in Croatia as well. Travel for pleasure and leisure became one of the most popular and widest spread ways of spending free time. Tourism has induced development in many previously underdeveloped areas (Petrić, 2006).

DESIGN IN THE LATE 20th CENTURY HOTELS

Mass construction of tourist facilities in the 1960s and 70s made design on the Adriatic coast visible, particularly in the hotels' interiors. Among numerous hotels, there were some exceptional architectural and design examples.

The Maestral Hotel in Brela, made by a team of architects — Ante Rožić, Julije De Luca, Matija Salaj and Bernardo Bernardi (1965) — should be mentioned. The hotel's interior was designed by Bernardo Bernardi, a trained architect, but also a practicing designer, the *spiritus movens* of early design in Croatia (Ceraj, 2013).

Bernardi designed the interior of the hotel, mobile furniture and made-to-measure furniture. For mobile furniture, he used some of his previous successful designs for chairs, armchairs and tables, which found an additional marketplace this way. The following Bernardi's design pieces are very famous even now: an A15 semi-easy chair with an armrest (1961), an A6 easy chair and a three-seater (1961), initially designed for Workers' University in Zagreb, armchairs from the Simona line (1963), initially designed for the Zagreb Airport. Bernardi also worked with some of Croatia's most important artists (Jagoda Buić, Vasko Lipovac, Edo Murtić, Aleksandar Srnec). Such hotels often served as modern galleries where both guests and employees could see the best pieces of modern art. The following text appears on the official website of the Maestral Hotel: "The interior of the Maestral Hotel, which reflects functionality and standard, is the work of Croatian architect Bernardo Bernardi. The interior of the Bluesun Maestral Hotel is decorated with artwork by famous Croatian artists Edo Murtić and Vasko Lipovac. Some admirers occasionally visit the Hotel just to see them. Students of architecture also often visit the Hotel during field trips" (https://www.hotelmaestralbrela.com/hotel-architecture.aspx).

THE DESIGNER TODAY

Nowadays, designers also find fruitful ground for their activities in tourist facilities. Therefore, it may be said that tradition of architectural-design practice continues to go hand in hand. That tradition is obvious in the following examples: the Lone Hotel, the Adriatic Hotel, the Amarin Apartment Village in Rovinj, and the D-Resort Hotel in Šibenik, where Croatian designers and some Croatian furniture manufacturers used the opportunity to develop their businesses to a higher level by presenting their previous collections as well as their new products.

The interaction between architects and other creative professions is particularly evident in the projects by the 3LHD architect studio. The title of their grand exhibition at the Museum of Contemporary Art in Zagreb — "Interactions" — seems very logical, because it emphasizes interaction as one of the most important characteristics of their work (Mrduljaš, 2016). Many designers and design studios were involved in furnishing the Amarin Apartment Village: the visual identity and spatial graphics designed by Lana Cavar and Luka Predragović; the illustrations for interior decoration and signage by OKO. The apartments are furnished with *Revolve* sofa beds by Croatian manufacturer Kvadra, designed by Numen / ForUse + Bratović & Borovnjak and *ILI_ILI* lamps designed by design studio Grupa. In the Lone Hotel, the interior is the work of 3LHD and Numen / For Use, the furniture the design of Numen / For Use, design and selection of textile items by I-GLE, artwork of Ivana Franke, Silvio Vujičić, Martina Vrdoljak Ranilović, Nataša Mihaljčišin, and the visual identity of Bruketa & Žinić (http://www.3lhd.com/hr/projekti/turizam).

Designers' activity field is much wider today, as cooperation with small and medium enterprises, service providers and manufacturers of various products (mostly foodstuff) has increased. *Croatia in a Box* by Izvorka Jurić, *Aroma Ragusea* by Orsat Franković and Studio Flomaster, *OH! — Okusite Hrvatsku! (Taste Croatia!)* by Studio Bestias, *Brachia olive oil* by Izvorka Jurić, *First night* — olive oil by Designsystem.

A designer is often also an entrepreneur, engaging in the design, production and sale of his own self-initiated products. There are a lot of successful examples of souvenirs and original Croatian products that have found their place in the market: *Boya* by Maja Mesić, *Croatia à la carte*, a cooking card game, and *Croatia as It Is* — bags by Superstudio; *Anek* kitchen towels inspired by Dalmatia by Ana Žaja Petrak, *Kreativni dnevnik/Creative Diary* by Miranda Herceg, *Memorize Croatia* — memory game by Pliketi Plok.

There are also excellent design works in the categories of design for public buildings and spaces, cultural, sporting or wider social purposes e.g. museums, parks, beaches, promenades such as the Museum of Apoksiomen in Mali Lošinj, the Betina Museum of wooden shipbuilding, the Split Riva, the Zadar Riva, and the Mljet National Park.

It should be noted that professional design associations recognized the potential of our coast and tourism and launched a number of important initiatives in the area of design in tourism. For example, the project of the Croatian Designers Association — Design Tourism — includes three different topics and slogans: *Croatian Holiday*, *Hungry Designers*, *Design under the Sun*, and aims to encourage the recognition of design as an important factor for cultural and economic development of the country and a strategic tool for the sustainability of local production. Products and concepts generated within the Design Tourism project were successfully exhibited at various international exhibitions and events such as Ventura Lambrate at Milan Design Week, Mikser - Beograd, Sofia Design Week, Vienna Design Week, Skopje Design Week, and Paris Design Week (http://dizajn.hr/blog/category/projekti/dizajn-turizam/).

Within the context of the Croatian design *activities* on the Adriatic coast, this paper will present two projects that were developed due to the mutual recognition of investors and designers. These are positive examples of how design was recognized as a profession and how it created value-added products and services, improving business management, contributing to the extension of the tourist season, as well as to the preservation and presentation of heritage. One example is the design of a tourist facility, and another one is the design of products in agriculture and food production.

HOSTEL DESIGN — DESIGN AND CULTURE OF URBAN LIFE

In the spirit of the urban traditions of the city of Split, whose historical center is a good example of urban regeneration, the Goli±Bosi Design Hostel appears as an architecturally recycled facility in the greater historic center of the city (Mrduljaš, 2011), at the Morpurgova poljana, in the western part of the Diocletian Palace.

The hostel is located in a Secession building built in 1912, designed by architect Kamilo Tončić from Split. It is also known as the Savo building, named after the first owner, merchant Dujme Savo. The interior of the building has a history of several conversions and adaptations. In 1978, the attic was built. In the early nineties, the building was turned into a shopping center, and in the center of the building, a glass elevator, an escalator and a staircase were set. The current owner of the building and the investor decided to convert the building into a design hostel in 2010.

The investor's idea was very original and brave for Croatia at the time, not just because of the global economic and financial crisis in 2009, but because most of the hotel projects in Croatia were a result of the generic standards of the highly standardized tourist industry, which was not peculiar to Croatia, but a reflection of global trends (Mrduljaš, 2011). Architects from the Studio Up — Lea Pelivan and Toma Plejić — and the authors of the visual identity, signage and spatial graphics of the hostel — designer Damir Gamulin and copywriter Nenad Vukušić — also showed exceptional courage in their work.

The originality and quality of this concept lies in the creative combination of spatial-visual components. In addition to achieving maximum speed performance (100 days), as well as simple and inexpensive implementation, this project made an original and attractive breakthrough in the area of design and equipping of tourist facilities in Croatia. This bold, but also obviously successful architectural design solution was quickly recognized and it soon became the trend driver of design and boutique hotels in Croatia.

The building's exterior retained its original shape and the subtle Secession facade. The building planners intervened inside the building: the elements typical of commercial buildings, such as the glass elevator and escalator, were retained, rendering common areas around themselves appealing. Accommodation units generated by reconstruction and by setting up a system of walls within the former sales and storage areas maximized the value of existing spatial capacities. The interior is minimally equipped, with almost no furniture, highly functional and almost ascetic. Rooms for additional visitors who sleep in niches are located on the first and second floor and the two-level studios are in the attic. Rooms for more visitors are reminiscent of a ships's cabin and of the Japanese sleeping room, the so-called Capsule hotels (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capsule_hotel). This spatial solution is a logical solution to the tight-space resources, but there is more to it — they are a part of the spatial-visual concept. With an excellent organization of space, the use of lights and visual signalization, the functionality of the design does not eliminate comfort, and at the same time, it enables the guests' intimacy and communication.

The bright yellow color, "broken" with signs and descriptions in black, dominates the interior of the hostel. The color yellow relates to the sulfur baths of Split known since ancient times. Near the hostel, about a hundred meters away, there is a well-known Split sulfur spa[1]. Some historians claim that the Emperor Diocletian built his palace on this spot because he wanted to treat his gout problems with sulfur baths, while others claim that Diocletian had his palace built here because of the good opportunities for textile production (http://www.jutarnji.hr/arhiva/dioklecijan-je-u-split-dosao-zbog-mirisa-novca-a-ne-brnistre/4005156/).

Using the colors yellow and black, that is, the relation between the yellow background and black signs, particularly emphasizes the signage design as a dominant feature of interior equipment. This ratio is characterized by best color readability (Tanhofer, 2008; Luckiesh, 1965) and is commonly used in signage and wayfinding design in public spaces, for example, at railway stations and airports. The most famous examples are the Amsterdam Airport Schirpol, the London Heathrow, and the JFK International Airport in NY.[2]

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[1] Sumporne toplice Split, Marmontova ulica 4, 21000 Split.

[2] Visual artists (e.g. Johannes Itten, Josef Albers) and scientists have dealt with colors and their relation. The most important among the scientists is physicist Matthew Luckiesh known as the "Father of the Science of Seeing". The results of his extensive research in the field of light and vision are presented in his book *Visual Illusions*. Luckiesh created tables of different combinations of colors based on acuity and readability according to which the black on yellow is in the

The concept of signage and environmental graphics design is developed through three levels of graphics. The first level — numbers of large dimensions — is applied in the way of Supergraphics (Julier, 1993). Within a set of interlocking staircases, escalators and panoramic lifts, big black and visually very expressive numbers bend with the geometry of the yellow space. The second level of information — marking of rooms — is narrative. Namely, instead of the usual hotel room labels and numbering, visual signalization writes out the history of Split, so the rooms of the hostel are named after the years and famous names from Split's 2000-year-old history. The third level of labeling is carried out through a system of linear pictograms which describe connections between the guest's bed and the corresponding cabinet, mark the table, chairs and shower.

Narrative labeling of the rooms represents a kind of a "timeline" of the city's history. It talks about Split, its past and present, about the character of the city and its residents. The use of rich and colorful Split jargon and avoidance of Croatian standard speech highlights the uniqueness of the site and its cross-cultural and intercultural history. Despite the lack of wordplay in the (standard) English translation, guests may still find this text interesting. Both foreign and domestic guests might particularly like the fact that the information, which is conveyed in this signage dimension, is actually a kind of a city guide designed in the space, rather than in a book, which was also the designer's intention.

On the first floor, the room numbers go from the year 1000, representing the years of major events in Split; on the second floor from the year 2000; and on the third floor the rooms have names of well-known Split couples.

1st floor

— 1843

Peškarija je otvorena te godine. Podno nje je Matejuška sa sumpornin izvoron. Mirisi govore više od riči.

The fish market was opened that year. Matejuška with a sulfur spring is right there underneath. Smells speak louder than words.

— 1911

Studenti iz Praga donili balun i zaigrali nogometa. Tako je nasta Hajduk.

College Students brought a football from Prague and started playing the game. That is how Hajduk was etablished.

2nd floor

— 2006

Blanka preskočila 205 cm i opet i opet i opet. A kaće 210 ne znamo.

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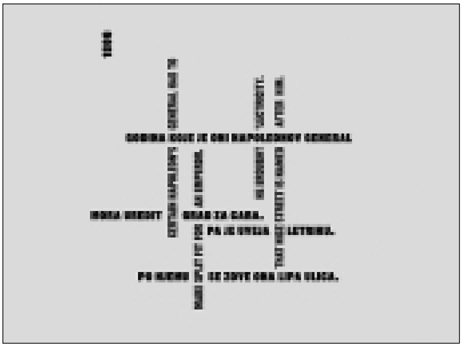
first place. Nikola Tanhofer, in his book *On color* (*O boji*), devoted an important part to the relation of colors due to the sharpness and readability, specifying that the best relation of colors is black on yellow.



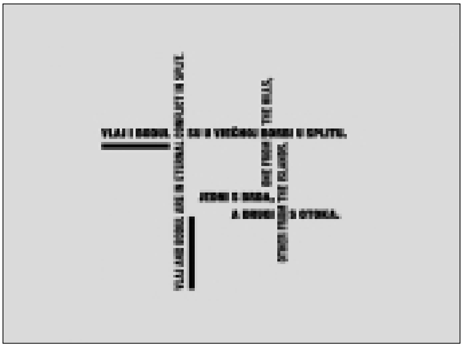


Photo by Damir Gamulin and Miranda Herceg

Blanka jumped 205 cm and again and again and again. When she will jump 210, we have no idea.

— 2007

Otvorena je nova riva. Stara je bila cesta od asfalta. Nova, kažu, blišti previše. I loši su štekati.

The new Riva was opened. The old one was just an apshalt road. The new one, they say, is too shiny. And the cafés are boring.

3rd floor

Judita i Marul su lik i pisac. A reka bi čovik da su muž i žena.

Judita and Marul are a character and her writer. And you would think they were married.

Vlaj i bodul su u vječnoj borbi u Splitu. Jedni su s brda, a drugi s otoka.

Vlaj and Bodul are in an eternal conflict in Split. One is from the hills, and the other one from the islands.

In the central part of each floor, there is a common area where guests can work, watch movies, hang out or eat together.

Ovo je tinel. Neki će vam reć da je tinel isti ka dnevni boravak, ali to baš nije tako. U tinelu moš i radit i čitat i prigrist nešto.
This is our guest room. Some will say it is the same as the living room, but this is not so. In the guest room you can also work, read or have something to eat.

Visually strong signage and graphically designed text attract the visitor's attention, "making him aware of the space he entered" (Blažević, 2011, p. 13). The printed word and an emphasis on the visual extricate eyesight from other senses (Mekluan, 1973) and contribute to the creation of visual perception and memories. The design task of equipping space has been solved with the basic idea to problematize space itself, referring to what has become a challenge to social and geographical studies from the late 20th century until today, such as "questioning the life, experience of space and time in conditions of modernity, late capitalism and postmodernity" (Čapo, & Gulin Zrnić, 2011, p. 11). This design concept of using aesthetics of non-places, design elements of supergraphics and signage, and bringing text that describes the location, history and character, openly challenges concepts that actually represent a non-place — the isolation from the outside world with intense consumerism and hedonism packed in a uniform hotel design standard. In the hostel Goli±Bosi, "the city enters the hostel" (Blažević, 2011, p. 14).

NOTICEABLE DESIGN, AWARDS AND MEDIA

"In 2011, Goli±Bosi has been recognized as one of the best hostels all over the world by VirtualTourist."

This phrase is used on all portals and websites dealing with hotel and hostel room booking (http://www.visitecroatia.com/en/tour/golly-bossy-design-hostel/).

According to readers of the website "pogledaj.to" the Goli±Bosi Hostel presented the best achivement in design and interior design in 2011 (http://pogledaj.to/arhitektura/dizajn-hotel-5-dvorisnih-kucica-te-bosonoga-splitska-atrakcija-2/).

At the Piran Days of Architecture, one of the oldest international architectural conferences in the world, the project of the Goli±Bosi Hostel was awarded with a special mention — the Piranesi Mention 2010 — by the international jury (https://www.pida.si/awards-2010/piranesi-mention-2010-1).

The Goli±Bosi Hostel won the ARTUR award in 2014 in the category of "tourist object" (http://www.mint.hr/default.aspx?ID=15011). The award was presented by the Association of Architects of Zagreb as part of the ARTUR project (Architecture and tourism) and generated in cooperation with the Institute for Tourism, The Croatia Green Building Council, the Association of Architects of Zadar, the Dubrovnik Society of Ar-

Photo by Damir Gamulin and Miranda Herceg

chitects and the Society of Architects of Istria. Prizes are awarded to projects which promote the development of local communities, contributing to the quality of the tourist area (http://artur.d-a-z.hr/split-design-hostel-golly±bossy/).

The visual identity and signage of the hostel was exhibited at the Croatian Designers Society exhibition *1112* at the Museum of Arts and Crafts, Zagreb, 2012 (Pregled hrvatskog dizajna 1112, 2012).

Various travel, architecture and design magazines, newspapers and web portals mentioned and wrote about the Goli±Bosi Hostel, and thus ranked it high among the media's most prevalent tourist facilities.

Oris n. 67 (2011), Arhitekst, Zagreb; Projekt n. 25 (2011), UPI-2M Plus;

http://www.designagenda.me/commonsenseandsensibility/design-stories/design-hostel-golibosi-architecture-in-tourism/
http://www.archdaily.com/185306/hostel-golly%25c2%25b1bossy-studio-up
http://leibal.com/architecture/goli-bosi/
http://pogledaj.to/drugestvari/split-celebrates-in-piran/
http://www.jutarnji.hr/vijesti/ante-kotarac-informaticar-u-turizmu.-kljuc-uspjeha-inovacija/1741185/

Such a radical design concept visually stands out from other hotel concepts. When browsing web pages with tourist offers, the photos of the hostel's interior stand out from the rest and capture our attention, because of their strong visual expression. Its presence in the media, festivals, exhibitions and competitions in the field of architecture and design also contributed to typical tourist promotion, placing this hostel among the distinctive and desirable destinations. The Goli±Bosi Hostel combines history and contemporary needs. It interprets the heritage in a new creative way and represents one of the most successful examples in terms of architecture, design, economy and culture on the Croatian coast.

PACKAGING DESIGN OF OLIVE OIL BOTTLE

The story about the packaging design of Oleum Viride Belić's olive oil bottle began with the following words of Professor Peter Zec, the Founder and CEO of the global design event Red Dot and the editor of the event's supporting professional publication International Yearbook Communication Design, published by Red Dot edition: "Especially in times of crisis, packaging design is very important. The high recognition value of a brand is an essential factor for successful positioning on the global market. Design aims at high functionality, which means that packaging has to optimally protect product: it must also be easy to open and stack. Packaging has to be convincing at first glance and appeal to emotions. In this context, environmentally friendly and reusable packaging solutions are the primary focus. Distinct minimalist design solutions increase the product value and emphasize its content" (Zec, 2009, p. 332).

The story of the Oleum viride Belić extra virgin olive oil, made by the Olea B. B. company, owned by the Belić family, based in Rabac, began when Mr. Belić gave a small olive grove to his wife for their wedding anniversary. The company was founded in 2002 as a small producer of extra virgin olive oil based on the owners' own olive production. They started with 2 hectares and 800 olive trees and gradually the production grew. Today, their olive groves are located at five locations across 12 hectares of area with 4,500 olive trees. The Olea B. B. company has six employees and a dozen seasonal workers during pruning and harvesting seasons.

Alongside viticulture, olive cultivation is one of the oldest agricultural activities on the Adriatic coast. Archaeological findings and numerous records document a long history of olive growing on the Croatian coast. Throughout the centuries-long history of the Croatian coast, the tradition of olive cultivation has managed to survive to the

Photo by Damir Fabijanić

present day. The most difficult period for olive cultivation in Croatia was after World War II and it was not before the 1980s that an attempt of recovery in olive cultivation, especially among Istrian olive producers, started. However, Italian and French varieties were introduced, which led to further disappearance of native varieties (http://www.mps.hr/UserDocsImages/HRANA/ISTARSKO%20ED%20MASLINOVO%20ULJE/2015-12-23-IEDMU%20-%20IzmIjenjena%20Specifikacija%20proizvoda.pdf).

Therefore, the importance of revitalizing the native varieties of olives in Mrs. Belić's olive groves should be emphasized. The revitalization of native varieties initiated the idea of discovering the authentic taste of a one-sort olive oil. So, among various Oleum Viride oil products, there are four native one-sort oils (Buža, Istarska Bjelica, Rosulja and Vodnjanska crnica), nine introduced varieties, and an ideal combination of all varieties called "Selekcija Belić".

In accordance with the latest trends in tourism, tourists seek authentic products and experiences typical for the location. Thus, growing native varieties and producing one-sort oil proved to be an excellent move. It is also worth noting that this also contributes to the preservation and presentation of natural heritage.

Product quality was recognized and evaluated by the food processing sector. We will single out a few awards and recognitions from national and international olive oil competitions: Flos Olei, a bilingual Italian-English guide to the world of extra virgin olive oils, highly appreciated in the gastronomy sector, has already included the Belić family's oil several times on its list of the best olive oils, awarding them and putting them in its best class: "really excellent oil" (http://istra.hr/.app/upl_files/FlosOlei 2017.pdf). The same guide in 2009 included Buža among the top 15, and in 2012 among the top 20 olive oils in the world (http://www.oleabb.hr/oleabb.hr/nagrade.html).

At the biggest Olive Oil Competition in Asia, the Olive Japan International Olive Extra Virgin Olive Oil Competition 2013, Oleum Viride Belić won a gold medal (http://olivejapan.com/en/).

COLORS OF NATURE AS DESIGN CONCEPTS

Mrs. Belić says that since the company's very beginning, the strategy has been to produce a product of high quality in excellent packaging, and it worked, thanks to designer Ksenija Jurinec.

Ksenija Jurinec took part in the project from the very start. She created the visual identity of the company, bottle labels, gift boxes, transport boxes, brochures, furniture for the show room and the Olea shop. However, the most important was the packaging design and a series of bottle labels which were were immediately noticed among designers and gastronomic experts.

The originality of this solution lies in the concept that every single oil variety is given a particular color. This concept was new at the time on the olive oil market and producers generally had the same design for a series of products in which the individual products differed only by name. Basic principle is biologically inspired design and the colors were defined by imitating Nature. The color of each label is based on the most intense color of an olive variety in its early and late stage of maturity. The designer used real fruits, photos of the fruits and descriptions in the reference literature.

By defining color values in the clearest tone, while being as close to the primary and secondary colors as possible (Tanhofer, 2001), the color selection indicates the uniqueness of each variety and a clear distinction between oils. In order to achieve uniqueness and brand recognition, all labels have a background on which subtle variations of the vertical grid line in all colors of oils exchange, which forms a synergy of varieties and further defines the visual identity of the oils.

PROMOTION OF DESIGN — PROMOTION OF PRODUCTS

The wide presence in the media that occurred due to the design success of the project contributed to the promotion, positioning, and development of production and to market expansion. According to Mrs. Belić, what attracted the Japanese customers was the design of the label, with an interest in oil quality as well, but the design was the deciding factor.

The packaging designs of the Oleum Viride Belić olive oil were exhibited at many exhibitions and professional events in Croatia and all over the world: Exhibition of the Croatian Designers Society 0910 at the Museum of Arts and Crafts, Zagreb 2010; the exhibition "The Community of Industrial Design", the Design Center of the Croatian Chamber of Commerce in 2014; Croatian professional awards for packaging design CroPak 2009 and the international awards Red Dot Communication Design Award 2009, which should be particularly singled out.

The Red Dot Design Award is an example of how a design event can serve as an excellent platform for the presentation of a product. With its origins dating back to the mid 1950s, the Award is organized by the Design Zentrum Nordrhein Westfalen and is one of the best-respected design competitions in the world. Today, with more than 17,000 entries from over 70 countries, it is divided into three disciplines — Production Design, Communication Design and Design Concept. In the competition discipline Communication Design 2009/2010, 6112 works from 42 countries were received (Zec, 2009).

Due to a large number of activities covering the event and many PR activities and the media's presence, the Red Dot Design Award gives many opportunities for the promotion of designers and products.

It is a tradition to honour the laureates at the grand awards ceremony — the Red Dot Gala. The Red Dot Gala of the Red Dot Award: Communication Design, and the winners' exhibition "Design on Stage" have been held in Essen since 2011, whereas the Exhibition in the Museum for Communication is located in Berlin. The awarded works are presented in the Online Presentation and in the large professional catalog Red Dot Design Yearbook. The Red Dot organizes numerous special design tour exhibitions and events around the globe, ranging from their Red Dot Design Museum Essen to Red Dot Design Museum Singapore (http://en.red-dot.org/red-dot-2016.html). By having their label featured in the Red Dot's own marketing and communications, the laureates can distinguish themselves from their competitors. Because of its international reputation, the Red Dot label contributes to raising the level of awareness about products. Thus, it was after the design of the Oleum Viride Belić olive oil won the Red Dot Award that the media coverage followed and the final product was raised to a new level.

The sale strategy for the Oleum Viride Belić oil is based on both wholesale and retail, as well as on export. About 40 per cent of goods are exported mostly to Japan, followed by Mexico, Singapore, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Great Britain, the Netherlands and Montenegro. In Croatia, the goods are sold in wine shops, food and gift shops, hotels and restaurants, and wherever design is an important factor.

Due to its superior quality and design, a gift box with the Oleum Viride Belić allsorts oil was given to Pope Francis by the Croatian Ambassador to the Vatican. Judging by the photos published in L'Oservatore Romana, Pope Francis, when he saw the gift, had a spontaneous and cheerful reaction of genuine happiness. It was, indeed, a great honour for the Belić family.

CONCLUSION

Designs in the given examples use elements found at natural and cultural heritage sites, keep them, interpret them and present them in new forms. In accordance with tourists' interests and requirements for authentic products and experiences, design finds constant ways for presentation of natural and cultural heritage.

Design contributes to defining products and services and to their better visibility on the market. The presence at professional design events, professional awards and accompanying media activities become an additional communication channel for further promotion of product and services. Therefore, it can be concluded that the design contributes to the cultural and economic progress of the community.

The above examples are illustrative of the elements mentioned in the introduction of this paper, and all of these elements — “something old, something blue, something borrowed and something new” — are necessary for happiness.

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BEYOND NATIONALISTIC *ISOLA*TIONISM: OUR SPECIES' BRAIN DREAMS AND NIGHTMARES

Reembodying Daemonic Ontologies in the Mediterranean South of the Alps for the 21st Century

Abstract

Following in the footsteps of *Alpes orientales* (Kretzenbacher, 1941) — when the biggest step in the history of mentalities, comparable to Braudel's Mediterranean economics (1972—73), was achieved near the end of the 20th century by Ginzburg (1991) — we will connect, via the alpine Julian-Dinaric dorsal spine, along the Adriatic coast and islands, the main issues still addressed in the Friulan, Slovenian and Croatian beliefs, which focally concern good/evil dichotomies such as *benandanti:malandanti* and *kresniki:vedomci* (Bošković-Stulli 1960, 2006; Kropej 2012). In our new neurocognitive framework in anthropology for grounding over-intuitive experience reports (BRAINCUBUS since Cathiard et al., 2011), the focus will be put on experience-centered narratives about "nightmares", more specifically, those relating to the sleep-paralysis syndrome. Such narratives found their closest neural match in two types of dissociated states of the brain: the right one called OBE (out-of-body experience), and the left one which we later dubbed AP3S (alien presence sensed from self-shadowing). It happens that the "alien" in AP3S embodies the actual neural map of the shadow of the self… without recognizing your "self" as such, but rather as an enemy. This is the necessary mind reservoir for reembodying the numinous of the dæmonic ontologies under consideration here (both *dæmon* and *δαίμων*), with a chance that a fair prevalence of sleep paralysis (up to 40%) would not produce more alien fiends (AP3S) than the friendly "self wingless night flights" (OBEs).

Key words: *dæmonic phantom bodies, Friulan-Dinaric connection, island-inland connectivity*

FOREWORD

Just one month after the Vis meeting, Leyla Dakhli, a Contemporary Arab World historian with fair media visibility — who presently seconded a French researcher at the Berlin Marc Bloch Center, but was seemingly oblivious of Braudel's Mediterranean as "économie-monde" (including Ragusa-Dubrovnik archives) — claimed in the prominent TV-magazine *Télérama* (October 22-28, 2016, pp. 34-37), under the heading "Mediterranean is an utopia", that instead of uniting, this sea is the locus of all cleavages. In sum: "a lot of small countries, including about 5000 islands [more than 1000 in the Dalmatian Archipelago], are each irreducibly different," and this is enhanced by adding Heinrich Hammer's *Insularium illustratum*. Tellingly? The irony is that Hammer, in addition to peninsulas, designed updated world maps similar to those that Columbus used in order to support his utopian westward travel toward the East Indies. In *Insularium* he quoted Pope Pius II's (whose tomb was erected by Ivan Duknović) *Forma mundi*, with the caveat that, since the highest Antiquity, it was known that whatever direction you take on Earth, you would realize that you were on an… island (still recalled in modern geographic definitions). Dakhli, speaking of the "typical" (her vision of the "islands of grace", here Albera) or the "common" for the Mediterranean, forgets everything else: "the Mediterranean is a succession of special cases." With no evaluation of their differences, this stance meets tourism brochures, which claim that each of the Cyclades is "a unique dream." Hence no true comparison, clustering or networking contrary to what is currently done in geography, history (according to linguists, the Cyclades Archipelago spoke Ionic-Attic, unlike Arkadocypriotis). Dakhli thus flatters our "imaginative" prejudice about an "insulating isolationism", in spite of no such built-in anthropological insularity. The prestige of non-indigenous, even supernatural, national heroes, is pervasive indeed: the Illyrian queen Teuta and Vercingetorix (a Gaul king), came significantly before Croats and Franks, better eponyms as *last newcomers*. And people do not claim that they never moved: it has been known since ancient times that the Ligurian Corsa accosted Corsica following her obstinate runaway swimming bull; and Savoy cowherds, crossing a pass behind their runaway grey cow, settled in Valgris-enche (Aosta); both reminding Europa who was abducted by Jove as a bull to Crete. In fact, deep case studies, a *microstoria à la* Ginzburg, are not at all contradictory with a long-range comparative *macrostoria*. In the economy of Vis, innovative marine connectivity ranged from the original local salted-sardine pie from Komiža (taste this *pogača*!) and the first Mediterranean cannery Neptun (Vice Mardešić), to the glocal saga leading to the San Pedro (Ca) community, around the success of giant Star-Kist Foods, via former French Sardine Company (Martin Bogdanović). The islands of Vis is decidedly to be placed in the World *insularium* — where its migrants overseas meet, from Atlantic Iberia to Pacific America, the sea: hence not at all an "insulate isolate" (*pace* tourism brochures and pamphlets for nationalistic *isolat*ionism). This is a common topic for many online "history-casters" who complain that the Mediterranean is no more the world's center, which no more unites but divides (trading, hence struggling?), as Dakhli claimed when referring to the human toll of the "Arab Spring" revolutions, the revival of the Caliphate utopia, and the cross-Mediterranean emigration (without forgetting the liabilities of recent preceding wars). Few commentators noted that one of the recent outcomes of the Syrian Civil War was to reinforce the role of pipeline harbors, even before Russia anchored its main naval base in Tartus after it had annexed Crimea. Now imagine somebody complaining that Vis is no longer a forbidden military island in the Mediterranean, or a Cold War pivot place? This is certainly not a "long-term" historical stance that Braudel contrasted with "micro-histoire", which he used for classical event-driven approaches. To overcome this recurring tug of war due to the state of knowledge in history, which remains a weak scientific approach in (social) psychology, we will use a neurocognitive framework in comparative anthropology. Tackling this issue in the core of mental data — those goals and strategies, the roots of our overt behavior, for food and love, friends or fiends — via individual cases in their *microstoria*, and long-range evolutionary phenomena, this contribution will deal in the least possible vagueness with *duh* ("mind", see Wundt's 1880 famous text translated as *Mozak i Duša,* Belgrade, 1921). Hence we will address this issue in a most experiential way, as it can be felt in the so-called *(noćna) mora* (now fairly reported on blogs), *i.e.* a nightmare neurally identified as occurring within the sleep paralysis state of the brain, by its specific phenomenological components. It is universal as a *syndrome*, but as such it does not occur to each individual. However, it is fairly prevalent: up to 40% of people have experienced it at least once in their lifetime. There are two main experiential points of view: the patient or the agent (*incubus*). In order to reinforce our confidence in what people still talk about in their individual report narratives, these will be coupled with *mozak* (re)activity. Only such phantom bodies, as defined by their cortical mapping — as for phantom limbs — will ensure significant success to our comparative approach, in the neighbor-to-neighbor connectivity from islands to Julian-Dinaric alpine "inlandsis", and by doing so, we will not try to avoid the relatively "disgracious" protective SELF/ALIEN defense, which is a part of the properties of the brain. We must not forget that ethnographic information — as old as the sardine saga regarding its collection, but of course more in *longue durée* — remains quite unknown outside Dalmatia, even for publications in English (even more than the *Klapa* song revival, by renowned ethnomusicologist Joško Ćaleta, known in Paris, mentioned to Christian Abry by his brother Jerolim, a clever waiter adviser at the Split Airport Restaurant). Detailed reports, as weird as they may seem, are absolutely necessary, since we will demonstrate here that ignoring them led to blatant misleading conceptions, from historians and anthropologists of mentalities (eminently Ginzburg), neurologists and neurophilosophers of the Mind group (Metzinger, in spite of his collaboration with specialists in neural *Phantomology*), and linguists (under Lakoff's persuasion for "embodied cognition").

GINZBURG'S REOCCURING ERROR: "ECSTASIES" WITHOUT SLEEP PARALYSIS

> *Jedan moj pradjed bio je krsnik. [...] Jedanput, kad je nastala oluja, ušao je u more do koljena i bacio svoj nož u zrak jer su u oblaku bile štrige. Oluja je prestala*[1]

The starting issue of our contribution is to question Croatian and Slovenian beliefs, in connection with the Friulan good/evil dichotomy, *benandanti:malandanti*, which relatively correspond to the dichotomy *kresnici:vedomci*. According to Carlo Ginzburg

[1] As an apotropaic behavior anchored in its marine shore milieu, Bošković-Stulli (1975, p. 212) reports that the great-grandfather of her informant was a *krsnik*: once, when the storm was coming, he entered knee-high into the sea and threw a knife in the air, because he saw *štrige* in the clouds. Then, the storm stopped (because the iron blade wounded the witches in whirlwind).

(1991 [1989]), these mythological figures that belong to the folklore of the Eastern Alps share important features that justify ultimately linking European witchcraft accusations to Central Asian shamanism. Ginzburg sought to find evidence for numerous resemblances "isomorphic series" based on distinctive features: a) periodic battles, b) in an ecstatic state, c) for the fertility of the land, d) against supernatural fiends (from enemy villages). To gather these elements around a central core, Ginzburg used the logic of "family resemblance", analyzed by Wittgenstein (2001) and later criticized in anthropology by Needham (1975). According to Ginzburg, this type of transcultural comparativism is not a reliable method because it is in danger of polythetism, ultimately connecting by pure contiguity objects that have nothing in common. In our contribution, we will use a new neurocognitive framework in anthropology called BRAINCUBUS (elaborated since Cathiard *et al.*, 2011, see 2014) for grounding over-intuitive experience-centered narratives. It allows to avoid polythetism by considering only homologous phenomena (proven to be of the same structural origin), in order to process objects of the same nature, in our case physical bodies with their "phantom" bodies, appearing in the same sleep-paralysis syndrome in homeotherms, here humans.

We will start our investigation focusing on the Croatian and Slovene folklore of the *kresnik* (Croatian variants: *krsnik*, *kršnjak*, *krisnik*, *skrisnik*, *grišnjak*) (Bošković-Stulli, 1975, 1988). The word *kresnik* derives from a Balto-Slavic root, *kresze*, related to a fire-festival among the Balts, an "*ignis festivus johannisfeuer*" (Miklosich, 2015, p. 138). As Monika Kropej (2010, 2012, p. 35) observed, the *kresnik* appears during the summer solstice, in Slovenian *kresni dan*. During the ancestral celebrations for fertility in this period — especially on Saint John's Eve — bonfires are still lit. As we will see later, this link of *kresnik* with the summer solstice is also supported by its other names *šentjanževec*, Janez Krstnik, Saint John.

The "ecstatic" tradition is locally grounded and two opponents struggle to take away the harvest from the rival's village. If we focus more on Croatian and Slovene folklore, we will encounter the figure of the *vedomec*. Folklore reports about these supernatural fights share their roots on the border between Italy and Slovenia, with the nearest Istrian and Dalmatian regions overlooking the Adriatic (Jadro) and its islands (cf. Šmitek 2003, p. 5). Indeed, this tradition reminds us of the evil dichotomy *benandanti*:*malandanti* (Friuli) or *zduhać*:*vetrovnjak* (Montenegro, eastern Herzegovina, Sandžak region of south-western Serbia), both homologous to antagonists in the Croatian and Slovene folklore we address in this contribution.

We will question such dichotomies by confronting them with a "reality check" with the neural matrix that makes this belief about such ecstatic battles that are fought in the air possible: OBE, out-of-body-experience, experimentally induced by cortical mapping in the early 1940s by the great surgeon Wilder Penfield. Ginzburg constantly reiterated until recently (Dufoix, 2014) that he believed "emically" what the Benandanti told the Inquisition and were neither epileptics nor psychiatric patients… Try to imagine what an anthropologist who does not limit himself only to Humanities — fear-ing he might be accused of being a “reductionist” — could say, if biologists told everybody that the “devil fish” reports from the Newfies (the residents of New Foundland), who regularly found dead *Architeuthis* giant squids washed up on Newfoundland beaches, were real (all the more that some naturalists dragged their feet until 2007, long after neurologist Francis O. Schmitt used them at MIT in the 60s for their giant axons)? Would this anthropologist say, like Ginzburg, that he still believes the Newfies — infamous all over North America, for their numskull stories — according to Davidson’s “charity principle” in the same “emic” foot stance? Narcolepsy (from Westphal and finally Gélineau’s naming of syndrome in 1880) and sleep paralysis (in 1928 by Kinnier Wilson) had all been well established in neurology, when Hufford (1982) took account of such states of the brain to process Newfoundland folklore archives and medicine students’ reports on “Old Hag” experiences. *Benandanti* were decidedly not “epileptics” (two cases in Ginzburg; idem for the Serbian *aloviti* in the region of Boljevac *pace* Tolstoy & Tolstaya, 1981, p. 104), a wrong diagnostic based on spectacular cataplexy, while narcoleptics were stuck in their bed and still not diagnosed. It’s time for history to move with the development of Mankind-Brain-Mind knowledge.

BODY AND SOUL-PHANTOM BODY CORTICAL MAPS: ENDOGENOUS CORE EXPERIENCE OF ECSTATIC TRAVELS

To ground the narrative motifs related to Out-of-Body Experiences (e.g. *Motif Index* G229.1. *Soul of witch leaves the body*), we need to frame such a belief within a certain “theory of soul” that accounts for the possible *dissociation* between the *physical body* and its *phantom body*. Which meets Kelemina (1930), Copeland (1931, p. 410) when he recalls that, in Slovene tales and traditions, “the spirit is independent of the body, able to leave it during sleep and embark on experiences and adventures of its own, while the body lies stark and unconscious”. Lipovec Čebron (2000, p. 25; see also 2003) relates that to Istria, “*Istrski kresniki so resda (za)spali doma, vendar je njihov duh (“drugo telo”, kot senca) medtem potoval po svetu*”, Istrian *kresniki* fell asleep/ slept at home, while their spirit (*duh*) traveled around the world. However, Lipovec Čebron compared this wandering spirit as “*drugo telo*”, the “*other body* or the *second body”*, to a shadow (*senca*). This information of primary importance helps us to detail the neural correlates supporting these experiences. In the case of OBE, we can recognize a disembodied phantom body, generated by a dissociation of two types of cortical maps, those of haptic body (proprioceptive, sensory-motor) and an optic body (visual). Thus, in Out-of-Body Experiences, we can distinguish two bodies: a physical body lying motionless — in sleep paralysis — on the bed, and a *phantom body* inhabited by the Self, this second body (*drugo telo*) hovering and looking down at at the physical body which is in the supine position.

Such antagonist activities between the Slovene *kresnik* and *vedomec*, sharply separate the roles of these two figures, as well as their homologues in the Slavic linguistic domain. As it is the case with Slovene folklore, in Croatian folklore *kresniki* are considered as helpers, those who ensure good crops against the assaults of the harmful *vedomci*. *Vedomci* can also be dangerous for the health of the people: in one of the oldest documents attesting this belief, Johann Weichard Freiherr von Valvasor (Valvasor, 1689, p. 282) mentioned that on Christmas Eve in Kranjska and Pivka, a regular battle between *šentjanževci* and *vedavci* took place, with the latter sucking the blood of children (based on *child mastitis*, see below Vinšćak, 2005, p. 225). Lipovec Čebron (2000, pp. 28-29) recalls that a *kresnik* can operate at these two levels: at a macro-level, for the protection of communities from adverse weather conditions that can destroy the harvest; and at a micro-level, focused on the protection of a single individual against the manifold attacks of *vedavci* and *štrigoni*. In this role of the protector, the *kresnik* becomes a *vedògonja*, the one who drives (Sl. *goniti*, to drive) away an evil spirit. The etymology for *vedomec* and its numerous variants helps us better define this representation. The Croatian and Serbian term for a witch, *veštica* (*vještac*, *vještica*), derives from the Proto-Slavic root **věščь*, meaning knowledge (Derksen, 2008, p. 518), cf. Slovene *vedeti*, to know. These figures can thus be considered as seers, people who developed a specific supernatural knowledge that they used to do harm or to protect. We will later analyze their special power to control the weather, the driver and protector of fertile clouds and, more generally, of atmospheric elements.

The important work of Maja Bošković-Stulli on *kresnik-krsnik* in Croatia strengthened the role of the protector attributed to this figure, whose existence is needed to counteract *čarovnika* or *štrigona*: "*Krsnik v ljudskem verovanju pravzaprav ne obstaja brez svojega antipoda čarovnika, štrigona, ki mu je v vsem negatavno paralelen*" (Bošković-Stulli, 1975, p. 208). This tradition is particularly preserved in Istria and Dalmatia, where the main adversaries are *štrige* and *štrigoni*. Vinšćak (2005, p. 232) provides us a telling example of this dichotomy focusing on the particular narrative motif of a child born en-caul and exposed (Motif S325.0.1.1.): "*Krsnik se rađa u bijeloj košuljici, ili sa crvenom kapicom. I košuljica i kapica se zakrpaju pod pazuhom ili objese oko vrata kao kolajna. To se zove janjuš.*" For such an exceptional newborn, the predestination of the supernatural power to engage in an aerial battle is here expressed by the fact that *kresnik* had a white caul (*bijeloj košuljici*), while his adversary a red one (*crvenom kapicom*).

METZINGER'S 1st NEGLECT ERROR: INVISIBLE SOUL? SOUL (PEST) INSECTS AS EXOGENOUS CONCEPT ADAPTATION

Metzinger (2003), from a collaboration with colleagues experimenting in phantomology (Peter Brugger and Olaf Blanke), in his endeavor to contribute to neurophilosophy of the soul by using neurology, abstracted the core phenomenology and inference in the following statement: "*Taken as an ontological metaphor, the phenomenology of OBEs inevitably leads to dualism, and to the concrete idea of* an invisible, weightless, but spatially extended second body [our emphasis]" (p. 505). Since he stayed overwhelmingly outside of what we focus on in this paper as precise documented field folkloristics, we will question both "weightless", as a core endogenous experience, and "invisibility" as concept adaptation meeting exogenous experience.

Ecstatic aerial battles fought are described by Marjanić (2006) as a "zoopsychonavigation" phenomenon. By this term, she sets out the notion of a "psychonavigation of the soul in an animal existence" characterized by a "zoometempsychosis (shape-shifting of the soul into an animal form) that takes place in the experience of lethargy among supernatural persons and mythical beings" (p. 175). An important notation that offers a process for the ability of *kresniki* to leave their physical bodies and wander in the sky can be found in Žiža (1913, p. 192). In Istria, before a fight against the *štriga*, taking place near the ninth confines (*na deveti konfin*), a *grišnak* goes to sleep on his back (*da zaspi nauznak*), in the supine position. So then, a big black fly, called "*parina*", comes out from his throat (*a iz grla mu izlazi velika i crna muha, koju zovu "parina"*). We recognize in this document the narrative motif G229.1. *Soul of witch leaves the body*. This is a clear description, in *over-intuitive* terms, of a typical OBE. Vinšćak (2005, p. 225) confirms the dissemination of this belief in Istrian traditions: "*krsnici imaju sposobnost napuštanja tijela za vrijeme sna ili prilikom gubitka svijesti. Tada im iz usta izlazi neki insekt, gusjenica, bakula ili štriga.*" *Kresnici* reveal their ability to leave their body (*napuštanja tijela*) when they are asleep (*za vrijeme sna*) or when they have lost consciousness (*prilikom gubitka svijesti*). Then some insects come out from their mouth: a caterpillar, or a larva member of Lepidoptera order (*gusjenica*), an oriental cockroach (*bakula*) (Borčić, 2009, p. 38), more generally, the *štriga*.

If in these documents we find only the description of the moment when the soul leaves the body (witnesses are not always present for the return of the soul), other narratives will tell us about its reintegration (narrative motif G251). *Witch recognized by seeing wandering soul return*. An informant of Vinšćak (2005, p. 225) related this to an episode where his grandfather lay down to rest after mowing grass with a friend of his who was a *kresnik*. Grandfather woke up first and noticed a *bakula* (or a *gusjenica*) going towards his still sleeping friend's mouth (*bakula ili gusjenica ide prema prijateljevim ustima koji je još uvijek spavao*). He tried to remove the insect, but it was persistent to move inside the mouth. Finally, the *bakula* succeeded to enter in the *kresnik*'s mouth and the man was able to open his eyes and to wake up (*bakula ipak ušla u krsnikova usta, ovaj je otvorio oči*). Once he was conscious again, the *kresnik* told his friend: "*da nisi pustio bakulu da mi uđe u usta ne bi se nikad bio probudio,*" that if he had not let the insect come back into his mouth, he would never have woken up. Then he explained that while he was asleep, he went to meet some other white *kresnici* (*bijeli kresnici*) at a crossroad where they fought against black *kresnici* (*crni kresnici*). Šeso (2002, p. 38) explains that it is clear that a fly (*muha*) coming out from the mouth of a *kresnik* or a *štrigo* asleep is actually his soul (*duh*) that departs from the body to fight against evil or to commit evil from a distance (*boriti protiv zla, odnosno činiti zlo "na daljinu"*).

The supernatural capacity of the *kresniki* to go into an insect form to fight evil is shared by *čarovnika* or *štrigona*, their negative opponents. Vinšćak (2005, p. 228) tells a story about a young man that fell asleep under a tree: a big fly flew into (*uletjela*) his mouth, and after some time flew out (*izletjela*). People who witnessed the scene thought that he was a *štrigo* and, later, they learned that, during this wandering, he killed a pregnant woman on the bridge to Kopru. Tomšič (1989, p. 58) mentions another Istrian story about a *čarovnik*, whose spirit in the form of a hornet (*sršen*) flew from his mouth and went to the village of Pazin where it killed the fetus of a pregnant woman. This document adds an important motif to the previous document. At the end, the *čarovnik* answers to people that question him about what would happen if they shifted his sleeping body just a little bit [before the hornet could reintegrate it]. He answered that he would immediately die, because the hornet, his soul, could not find anymore its way back to the physical body (*ko bi me vi samo malo premaknili, bi takoj umrl, kajti oni sršen, ki je bil moja duša, ne bi več našel poti nazaj*).

METZINGER'S 2nd NEGLECT ERROR: SOUL WITH NO WEIGHT? CONTRARY TO ENDOGENOUS CORE INCUBUS EXPERIENCE

If we forget traditional reports about the soul's visibility in the form of (pest) insects or small animals (see Latin *larva* as also ghost, specter…) — which is not, of course, a core endogenous experience like an OBE, but a mundane one attested worldwide (known in Europe, we encountered it personally in the Alps and Himalayas [Armand (2016)], and landmarked it in Amazonia, Australia…) — this also means that we are forgetting naïve biology as a means of explaining soul exit/re-entry as an adapted concept to a long-term human milieu with many little parasitic commensals (flies, mice, etc.). With Metzinger's claim of a weightless soul this is all the ubiquitous experience of sleep paralysis that is forgotten. Note that Ginzburg — who focused on "ecstasies" (OBEs), while ignoring the fact that they originate from narcolepsy and its ancillary syndrome, sleep paralysis — only reported two incubus cases in total (persons "*pesti dai morti*").

Given the universal incubus phenomenology, we will present only a couple of Istrian reports from Vinšćak (2005, p. 225), which highlight the ability of *vedomci* and *štriguni* to act precisely as oppressing *incubi*. An informant about Motovun, told him that in Central Istria, a *štrigun* killed ten or twelve children in the small village of Bartolići. He came at night to torture and suck on their breast (*mučiti i sisati prsa i ostaloj djeci u selu*). The same narrator remembered that, when he was a child, at night he felt someone was sitting on his chest as if he wanted to kill him (*netko sjedi na prsima i mori ga*). And when he woke up in the morning, his nipples were swollen (*child mastitis*). Another informant told Vinšćak (2005, p. 227) that when he was child, he was bitten by a *štriga*: he was able to fight it, but his younger sister could not, and in the morning, she was overwhelmed with bruises on her arms, on her chest and on other parts of her body. Then, she was oppressed her whole life by *štrige*.

SLAVIC SOUL IN CROATIAN, RUSSIAN AND POLISH: WEIGHTLESS AND NOT VISIBLE AS INSECT (AS PER LAKOFF)?

As repeated by Štrkalj Despot (*et al.*, 2014, p. 466), "Slavic words for soul are derived from Proto-Slavic **duxъ* with suffix *-j-a* (Proto-Indo-European **dhousiā) and the meaning is related to breathing and blowing, which is common in many Indo-European languages* and hence refers to the vital breath, the animating principle." All of this semantic field from spirit(s) to sprites, in the modern issue of legal death, will be restrained from the intuition of naïve biology to a "vegetative" state, with cerebral death (with locked-in state therapy and near-death cases). What is surprising in this contribution is glossing over all the documentation we have just mentioned. Among the many examples we presented, "My nightmares are the memories of the previous incarnations" says nothing about incubus oppression; neither "at some point in my childhood my soul cracked under the weight of a huge German album, devoted to the mammoth hunters culture"; "and here such psalm begins to penetrate the soul like a worm", cannot be considered as an insect worm-soul. Needless to regret that nothing is said of the huge heritage about the double, as *senca* we glimpsed above from Istria. All in all, their inspiration from "language metaphors in embodied cognition" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999) gave no access to the core semantics we met in the rich traditional accounts of OBE and AP3S brain experiences in Slavic lore, since this richness was glossed over here with no regard.[2]

Forward. How to understand in our present future the most famous dictum by André Malraux: "The 21st century will be spiritual or it will not be"? In 1975, Malraux told his friend and Japanese translator Tadao Takemoto that he was credited with a "religious" (instead of spiritual) "prediction", though he simply regarded as possible that the reintegration of "demons" in Man — as it had been claimed since Freud's "Copernican revolution"— could be followed in 2000 by the reintegration of Gods in us (an answer he wrote to the Scandinavian newspaper *Daglige Nyheter*, in 1955, about half a century after *Die Traumdeutung*). Surely a modern historian like Yuval Noah Harari ignored that Malraux had predicted his *Homo Deus* bestseller (Harari, 2016), *A Brief History of Tomorrow*, sort of sequel to his *Sapiens: A Brief History of Humankind* (Harari, 2014). As just another apocalypse scenario with quite a casual ending — not even with Gilgamesh's dead end, but Harari's immortality for the rich, enslaving the poor — it cannot, as such a NBIC cocktail, render obsolete Malraux's balanced ethical formula by itself. Malraux poses a question: "Would the 21st century experience a spiritual revolution — what I think perfectly possible — I believe that such a spirituality would belong to the domain of what we can glimpse at today, without knowing exactly what it

[2] This is in no way a test for cognitive linguistics. E.g., what is interesting in this paradigm, for *mental time travel* toward the future, Miles (*et al.*, 2010) measured a significant forward sway in bodily posture.

is, no more than the 18th century foresaw the potentialities of electricity from the lightning rod. Then, what could give rise to a new outstanding spiritual era? *It would happen obviously what happened in science* [our italics]" (*Cahiers de l'Herne*, n°43, 1982, pp. 396-399). Thus he made lie in advance French essayist Régis Debray, who portrayed Malraux as a pure writer who would ignore "half of Humanity", the Muses of Nature Sciences. NBIC is just a casual technology convergence following the tremendous success of electrical power, theoretically Maxwell's unification with magnetism, all unexpected from the first curio cabinets in the 17-18th century. The huge steps in brain neurosciences, notably the main advances due to neuro-electrical activity and stimulation, culminated with Penfield's *cortical mapping*, in this mid 20th century, which told us more specifically about a way to aim at "spirituality" via electricity.

The predictable bad news for Harari is that nothing from his future is testable (except his main error for the past, which he propagated from second-hand paleogenetics, claiming there had been no interbreeding between the *Sapiens* and *Neanderthal* since the first edition of this book in 2011). Malraux had an unexpected chance to confidently bet on the Freudian revolution for our *psyche*... And in spite of the rejection of any falsifiability by orthodox psychoanalysts, it was the intuition of his dissident disciple Jung that was induced in cortical stimulation by Olaf Blanke's team (Arzy *et al.*, 2006). That's why, due to Abry (2011), it was dubbed AP3*S*: Alien-Presence-Sensed-from-Self-*Shadowing*. This *Schatten* (*senca*) "dangerous" affiliation was not at all acknowledged as such by Blanke's team, who just called it schizophrenia (too well-known to be worth mentioning in Jung and Bleuler's vicinity, see Cathiard, 2015). This is good news for our research, since there are a lot of issues to be explored, especially laterality for therapy against hostility (Giardina *et al.*, 2011, Blanke *et al.*, 2014) in order to deal with such demonic ontologies generated in left TPJ by our brain. The other good news came just before Malraux's mid-century position, pointing out that his prediction became scientifically within our brain's reach when Penfield induced in 1941 this very heavenly experience, namely OBE (Out-of-Body; replicated only at the very beginning of our century by Blanke's team in 2002). This is a *wingless* flight (no wingsuit!), a true oneiric flight as described by Charles Nodier in the first part of the century after the Montgolfiers, an intuition extended by Bachelard (2011, p. 27), appeared in his book *Air and Dreams*. And more than fifty years later, it was shown how this Superman Virtual Reality air trip experience as a savior can enhance prosocial (altruistic) behavior in daily activity (Rosenberg *et al.*, 2013). Now that you read Miroslav Radman (2011), a fisher's son in Maslinica on the island of Šolta, then on Hvar, both on the way to Vis — who became one of the most internationally distinguished researcher on aging in France, now works at the Mediterranean Institute for Life Sciences in Split — you understand that no NBIC tinkered heritage of a Mediterranean immortal little *Turritopsis* jellyfish could prevent a human brain to host a whistle-blower hacker, unpredictable for any "mindreading" system concocted by too unimaginative historian-prophets *à la* Harari.

A c k n o w l e d g e m e n t : To Rino Medić from the VERN University of Applied Sciences, a Vis Conference Coordinator, for his welcome and patient care of our first scientific trip in the footsteps of fishers, among them *krsniki* who could enter knee-high the sea to stave off ill storms threatening their ships and terraced crops.

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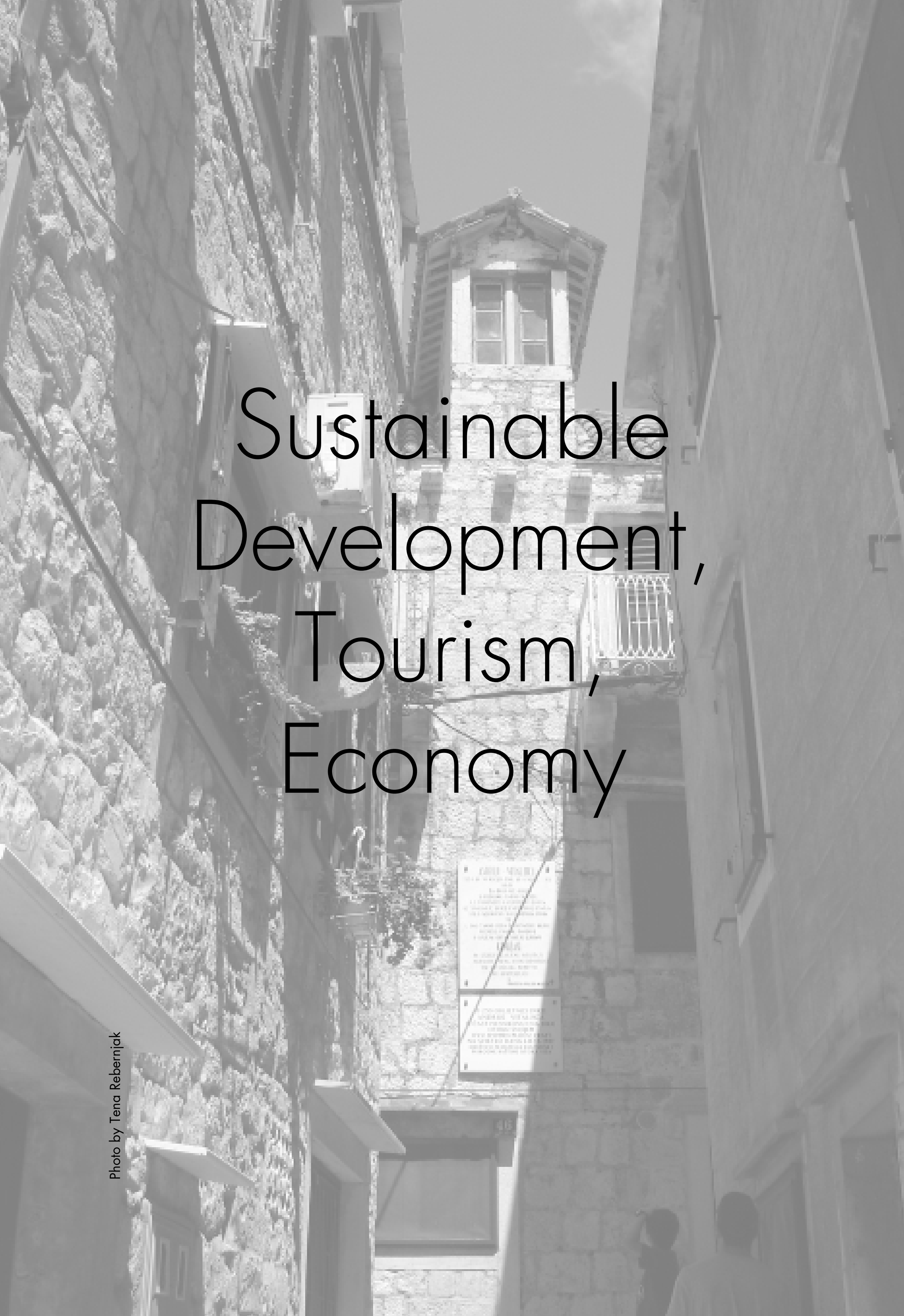

Sustainable Development, Tourism, Economy

Photo by Tena Rebernjak

Vlado ŠAKIĆ, Stanko RIHTAR, Mirela CRLJEN

WHO GOES WHERE? A COMPARATIVE PROFILE OF DOMESTIC GUESTS OF CROATIAN ISLANDS AND OTHER TYPES OF LOCATIONS

Abstract

A survey on a representative sample of the general adult population in Croatia, conducted in 2016, examined preferences for certain types of tourist destinations: mainland, coast, islands and destinations abroad. In addition, data on visitors' status — objective (such as socio-demographic, residential, economic, etc.), as well as subjective (lifestyles) — were collected, which enabled the development of a comparative profile of visitors who prefer islands or coastal destinations. In this context, the preliminary characteristics of the domestic "emissive market" of islands was identified and compared with those of coastal destinations. The results might be helpful for the branding/promotion of islands, e.g. they could answer questions such as — is a unified branding/promotion of islands enough or should they be promoted separately by types or clusters.

Key words: *Croatian coastline, Croatian islands, touristic destinations, domestic guests*

INTRODUCTION & RESEARCH QUESTION

There are 718 islands and islets, 289 rocks and 78 reefs along the Croatian coastline (Croatia is often called the "Land of a Thousand Islands"). About fifty islands are inhabited, and, according to the 2011 population census, 132,443 people live there. The recent share (2015) of tourist overnight stays recorded on the top ten islands (over 1% per island) comprises about 22% of the total number of overnight stays recorded in Croatia, or about a quarter of stays recorded at seaside destinations (Croatian tourism in numbers, 2015, 2016).

Mostly small, idyllic and peaceful, islands are more ambiently preserved than the coastal destinations, which are easier to reach and more oriented to the mass tourist market in general. Although partially developing in the same direction (Mikačić, 1994), there is almost a consensual attitude among experts that islands should take a different, more sustainable route (e.g. Vidučić, 2007; Šistov, 2011).

Sustainable development means, among other things, a less intensive tourist exploitation, which includes making islands attractive to a smaller number of more demanding guests. Is that already the case? Is there a difference between guests who prefer islands for vacations and those who prefer coastal destinations? In this short paper, we will try to give an initial empirical answer, which may have implications for further research and branding of the islands.

METHOD / DATA SOURCE

Data for the analysis were gathered during the spring of 2016 by a face-to-face survey on a representative sample of the adult population of Croatia (18 years old and over) that included 750 respondents. The survey was conducted by the Ivo Pilar Institute of Social Sciences for broader research purposes (http://barometar.pilar.hr/en).

The survey question "Where do you most frequently go on summer vacation?" was used as a selection variable, and for the purpose of the analysis, two subsets of variables were selected: sociodemographic and lifestyle indicators.

Sociodemographic indicators included sex/gender, age (from 18 to 88), education (from 1 — primary school or less to 5 — doctoral degree), marital status (unmarried/married), personal steady income (no/yes), income per household member (from 1 — up to HRK 500 to 8 — HRK 5000 or more) and place of residence (from 1 — non-urban to 3 — large city).

From a broader set of lifestyle indicators, four indicators which refer to cultural consumption and four which refer to active-passive lifestyle were selected. Indicators were measured using the frequency of specific spare time activities, and answers ranged from 1 (never) to 8 (every day).

The principal component analysis confirmed the initial division of indicators (Table 1) and for further use, two lifestyle dimensions (cultural consumption and active lifestyle) were computed as reliable average scale values (total sum of scores divided by the number of items), ranging from 1 (low) to 8 (high).

Table 1 How frequently do you engage in the following activities?
(From 1 — Never to 8 — Every day)

		PC 1
Cultural consumption	Go to the movies	0.835
	Go to the theatre	0.886
	Visit an art exhibition	0.836
	Go to concerts	0.827
	Eigenvalue	2.865
	Explained variance (%)	71.6
	Reliability (Cronbach alpha)	0.865
		PC 2
Active lifestyle	Play sports	0.823
	Go on trips/outings	0.719
	Visit coffee shops, clubs, pubs	0.714
	Engage in a hobby	0.714
	Eigenvalue	2.213
	Explained variance (%)	55.3
	Reliability (Cronbach alpha)	0.719

In addition to lifestyle indicators, media exposure/use was recorded (TV, radio, press, Internet) using scale ranging from 1 (never) to 5 (every day).

RESULTS

How Many and Where to?

As it can be seen from the data presented in Table 2, most respondents (almost 40%) prefer coastal destinations, which are easier to reach (cheaper and faster). Islands are much less preferred, about 12% of the respondents usually spend their vacation there. These two groups of tourists, visitors to Croatian islands and coast, were included in the subsequent analysis (subsamples of respondents who usually visit other types of locations are too small, and the types of destinations are too heterogenous to be combined).

Although a relatively small proportion of domestic tourists prefer islands for summer vacations, when it comes to their (developmental) destiny, public opinion polls show that the general public considers them to be a national family treasure, like water sources, forests or most agricultural lands: only 5% of the respondents think that islands should be sold or offered in concession, including those mostly depopulated ("What should be done about the islands?", 2016; "What should be done about the following properties?", 2015).

Table 2 Where do you most frequently go on summer vacation? (n = 750)

	Percentages
To Croatian islands	12.1
To the Croatian coast	38.8
Croatia's interior	3.8
Abroad	2.2
Variedly	11.1
Nowhere	32.0

Who Goes Where?

In order to answer this question, objective (sociodemographic) and subjective (lifestyle) profiles of visitors who prefer islands and of those who prefer the coast were compared.

As it can be seen from the sociodemographic comparison (Table 3), the objective status of those who prefer islands is slightly higher — in average, they are more educated and have a higher income per household member. Although not significantly younger, tourists who prefer islands are also less frequently married and have fewer children than those who prefer coastal destinations. All in all, the significant differences suggest that those who prefer islands might be more demanding when it comes to ambience (including preserved natural, cultural and historical heritage), and also (on average) more mobile or more prone to adventurous tourism (or actively spending their holidays).

Table 3 Sociodemographic (status) comparison

	Respondents who prefer		
	islands %	coast %	Chi-square
Sex/gender (males)	47.3	44.5	0.209
Marital status (married)	39.6	53.4	5.208*
Personal steady income	64.8	66.0	0.040
	M	M	t
Age	42.0	43.7	0.916
Education	2.95	2.62	2.731**
Number of children	0.84	1.26	2.902**
Income per household member	5.84	5.29	2.599**
Place of residence	1.94	1.84	0.948

Significant differences: **p < 0.01; *p < 0.05

The comparison of lifestyles, although not directly, confirms both suggestions mentioned. Islands are more attractive to the respondents who are oriented to a higher cultural consumption and more active lifestyle (Table 4). These respondents also use the internet and interactive media more frequently (at least in comparison with traditional media, such as TV, radio or press; Table 5), which may be relevant for the promotion of islands.

Table 4 Comparison of lifestyle dimensions

	Respondents who prefer		
	islands	coast	t
Cultural consumption	4.26	3.69	3.607**
Active lifestyle	2.54	2.28	2.601**

Significant differences: **p < 0.01; *p < 0.05

Table 5 Media exposure/use

	Respondents who prefer		
	islands	coast	
How often do you use…	M	M	t
TV	3.63	3.88	1.812
Radio	3.23	3.22	0.068
Internet	3.91	3.56	2.073*
Press	2.79	2.91	0.885

Significant differences: **p < 0.01; *p < 0.05

CONCLUSION & FURTHER RESEARCH

Although based on a relatively small absolute number of respondents who usually spend their summer vacation on islands, the identified trends are consistent and should be verified in further research which should: (1) be conducted on islands during the season and (2) include more (domestic and foreign) respondents. Further research should also take into consideration different types of islands according to (at least) two criteria: (1) distance from the coast and (2) size of destinations for a further differentiation between relatively 'higher class' tourists. The results might be helpful for the branding/promotion of islands, e.g. they could answer questions such as: is unified branding/promotion of islands enough or should they be promoted separately by types or clusters.

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AGRO-PASTORALISM AS AN ASSET FOR SUSTAINABLE MEDITERRANEAN ISLANDS

Abstract

The Mediterranean represents a rich and fragile setting, in agro-ecological, as well as in socioeconomic terms. The region is increasingly beset by a growing human presence, as well as by climate change dynamics. A number of complementary and contradictory trends are putting huge pressure on the natural resource base, the traditional systems of resource utilization and management and the overall sustainable development dynamics of the region. Despite the fact that their economic importance decreases within the development process, agro-pastoral production systems are still important activities on Mediterranean islands in terms of employment and income, but also for the functioning of the ecosystem and landscape management. Traditional agro-pastoral systems have gone through important reshaping in recent decades, and today they have to confront with a number of factors which challenge their future development patterns. Tourism development in many areas represents an interesting opportunity to link traditional production systems with wider market opportunities, while the migrant labour force holds an important potential in tackling the generational renewal problem. Based on a territorial-development approach, the paper looks at the potential and challenges of agro-pastoral systems in averting agro-ecological and socioeconomic desertification processes on Mediterranean islands.

Key words: *pastoralism, Mediterranean, biodiversity, agriculture, cheese*

INTRODUCTION

The restructuring of the agricultural world that has characterized economic development patterns in the last decades has contributed to the intensification of social and spatial differentiations in the rural world. In the Mediterranean, this phenomenon is particularly intense due to the features of the region and to the environmental change caused by demographic pressure and climatic patterns. The main problems that rural communities and agricultural enterprises face today in Southern Europe relate to the decreasing economic viability of agricultural production, which triggers the exodus of rural youth in search of a more promising future away from the countryside, leading to demographic ageing and problems of generational renewal.

Mediterranean islands are particularly exposed to dynamics relating to agro-ecological as well as sociocultural and economic drivers. In particular, Mediterranean islands have increasingly suffered from patterns of dualistic, asymmetric development. Coastal areas face urbanization, while traditional livelihood systems are based in the inlands, where agro-pastoral activities tailored to the local climate and soil conditions constitute the main economic activity. In recent decades, the core of the local economies has shifted significantly towards the coastal, touristic areas which are crowded by tourists in summer and attract more and more permanent population throughout the year due to economic development and diversification. As a result of these discrepancies, problems of poverty, abandonment and population ageing have been increasingly appearing in inland areas, whereas income and employment opportunities become scarcer. The primary sector has lost dynamics vis-a-vis tourism-related activities, and the fact that local food value chains are not adequately connected to the booming opportunities developed by the tourism industry lies behind these developments.

Agro-pastoralism represents a key practice to maintain large parts of the Mediterranean alive and productive by providing income and employment, contributing to the management of the rich-but-fragile natural resource base and also defining a part of the local identity and sociocultural heritage. This activity shows interesting signs of resilience and adaptation to the restructuring that has recently affected the livestock sector. However, modern agro-pastoralism faces degrees of unpredictability and risks that relate not only to ecological and climatic factors, but also increasingly to the factors originating in the political, commercial and administrative spheres. Paradoxically, the products and services of agro-pastoralism have been increasingly appreciated by modern society (quality proteins, organic production, biodiversity, ecosystem services, landscape and culture, etc.), but the number of flocks and shepherds has been decreasing all over the countryside. Foreign workers have played an important role in maintaining inland areas and agro-pastoral settings alive and have thus importantly contributed to the maintenance and evolution of this traditional practice process. Notwithstanding these trends, agro-pastoralism remains the most important asset in tackling climate change and desertification patterns affecting marginal territories in the Mediterranean (Nori & Davies, 2007).

The purpose of this paper is to provide insights into the role of agro-pastoral activities on Mediterranean islands and particularly to discuss the potential of these activities to contribute to the islands' balanced development. The multifunctional outputs of these systems represent valuable resources for supporting territorial development; the paper discusses ways and strategies to initiate social innovation in these environments, which will assist locals to recognize these outputs as development assets and integrate them into the vibrant tourist activity of the islands.

PASTORALISM ON MEDITERRANEAN ISLANDS

The rearing of small ruminants represents the most traditional production system on Mediterranean islands, and it still constitutes an activity critical to maintaining their inland territories inhabited and productive. In general, small ruminant production systems vary from extensive sheep and goat farms, which make small investments in infrastructure and take advantage of natural vegetation and autochthonous breeds, to intensive farms, which rear improved breeds and are based on forage and concentrates. The latter type is emerging in some areas in order to contribute in achieving nationwide goals (e.g. Cyprus), or as a result of changes in economic activity and social models, e.g. Greece (Ragkos & Abas, 2015) and Sardinia, Italy (Pulina & Biddau, 2015; Meloni & Farinella, 2015; 2017). However, agro-pastoral systems — the most important among extensive livestock production — are the most abundant. In particular, agro-pastoralism is an extensive livestock system, a traditional practice in all countries bordering the Mediterranean, where much of the animal feed is obtained from grazing. Such systems enable the development and management of natural resources in marginal territories, whose agro-ecological characteristics hinder agricultural intensification. In the Mediterranean context, these include mountain areas or semi-arid lands and many island territories. Most agro-pastoral enterprises lie somewhere along the intensive-extensive continuum, involving specific managerial features, product qualities, as well as socioeconomic and environmental implications, and move along the different options according to existing opportunities (i.e. farm gate price of organic production, price of fodder etc.). Pastoralism has been increasingly appreciated in Europe and elsewhere for its primary (quality animal proteins), as well as for its secondary products (ecosystem services); however, as it will be discussed in the subsequent section, this awareness is not reflected in the European Union's (EU) policies and in the prices of these products.

Agro-pastoralism is multifunctional; as a working definition, this corresponds to the fact that agro-pastoral systems produce a wide range of goods and services alongside food — milk, meat, dairy products, etc. (Meloni & Farinella, 2017; Meloni et. al., 2015). The former outputs are non-traded, which means that they have public-good characteristics or are externalities, affecting various aspects of human activity (Ragkos & Nori, 2016). The multifunctional character of agro-pastoralism manifests itself through numerous situations and characteristics of inland territories of Mediterranean islands, which are very briefly outlined below

- Mediterranean islands are rich territories in terms of the *biodiversity* of flora and fauna species, and the territories there are a result of long-standing and intricate human-nature interactions. Agro-pastoralism is a traditional activity in these areas, and sheep and goats which roam and graze have greatly contributed to the development of local landscapes, important natural parks and reserves. In addition, experience shows that ecosystems degrade fast once human presence disappears and risks of wildfire and hydro-geological hazards grow proportionally. Moderate livestock grazing plays an essential role in the management of natural rangelands, and thus contributes to the protection of floristic diversity and to the natural renewal of vegetation, and provides a most effective way to store CO_2.
- *The socioeconomic role of pastoralism* is of the utmost importance for inland areas where the economic activity is not sufficiently diversified, as it provides employment and income. Due to this socioeconomic role, agro-pastoralism is a pillar which protects livelihoods in inland areas and averts depopulation. Interior portions of these islands have in fact suffered severe abandonment in recent dec-

ades, with consequences for the economic tissue, socio-cultural diversity and for the management of natural resources alike; nonetheless, these issues would have been much more pressing nowadays if agro-pastoral activities had been abandoned.

• *The agricultural cultural heritage* of pastoralism and the heterogeneity of its sociocultural contributions are some of the multifunctional features that have characterized the islands' pastoral territories up to now: tacit knowledge concerning the functioning of local ecosystems, herd and rangeland management (e.g. survival and reproduction strategies, family labour management and the role of female members, etc.), valuable practical knowledge of natural processes and of flora and fauna species, habits and customs, traditions, norms and tacit rules, and especially processing skills, including the manufacturing of typical dairy products (Meloni et al., 2015). These features comprise Intangible Cultural Heritage which encompasses many traditions, practices and customs, stories and family/community events, languages, etc. Commonly intangible cultural heritage is described as a list and there is no comprehensive definition to be provided (Kurin, 2004). The reproduction of pastoral farms essentially involves passing not only the farm to future generations, but also a whole range of cultural and traditional aspects which characterize rural life in these areas.

• The relevance of pastoralism is also reflected in the production of *high-quality typical dairy products*. Traditional products from Mediterranean islands are often certificated as PDO/IGP and characterize the local territories; more often than not, these products and their production process constitute intangible cultural heritage. Local diet and traditions on each island are enriched by characteristic cheeses (i.e. Halloumi cheese in Cyprus, Graviera in Crete, Fiore Sardo dei Pastori in Sardinia, Mahón in Baleares, Paški in Pag, Flor de Guía in Gran Canaria, Toma in Sicily, the PDO Fiore Sardo), but also other local cheeses such as S'Axridda or Su Casu Marzu which have important marketing potential.

The effects of these local collective goods reach society through complex chains with multiple stakeholders. In fact, the values of non-traded outputs of agro-pastoralism are incorporated in its products; thus, agro-pastoralism generates food value chains endowed with particular social, economic and environmental features, which are not properly priced through market mechanisms. As a result, the true contribution of agro-pastoralism to societal objectives is not fully accounted for, which provides an explanation for its decreasing role on Mediterranean islands over time. In fact, the implicit values of agro-pastoral multifunctional outputs are not fully transmitted along the links of the value chain, because they are not properly valued and appreciated due to market failures. Most social, environmental and cultural values of agro-pastoral products are thus "lost" across the value chain and the final consumer is often unaware of this whole range of features.

SECTOR RESTRUCTURING

The economic role of the islands' agro-pastoral systems has decreased during the past several years, following the trend of the primary sector on Mediterranean islands. This phenomenon characterizes the rural world in general, with a specific impact on family agriculture and extensive systems. This traditional practice has suffered a dramatic decrease in terms of animal and people consistency, with about one fourth of the EU flock lost in the last two decades, according to FAO (2011). The sector, as it is, does not seem to ensure decent living and working conditions for its operators. Since agro-pastoralism is facing critical times, the food value chains it supports have also lost pace in recent decades, thus reducing its overall contribution to the development of island territories.

At the production level, most agro-pastoral farms suffer from structural and institutional deficiencies including: low productivity, inadequate marketing, high production costs (especially due to a limited production of feedstuff, whose importation involves economic and environmental costs), problems in generational renewal, changes in land uses (protected areas, energy generation, etc.), competition from large-scale producers, dairy imports and distribution chains which have accompanied the commoditization of sheep milk products in the global agri-food business.

Despite the fact that market arrangements have been taking place in certain areas to enhance adaptation to this context, agro-pastoral products typically face difficulties in receiving the economic share they deserve: conventional marketing channels, unfair commercial practices and the development of mass tourism have steered businesses away from the local production of quality. Low-cost tourist packages call for industrial products, which are cheaper, but of inferior quality, as their consumers are not interested in the 'story' that agro-pastoral dairy products 'narrate'. Having to compete in such a setting, local products are not paid for according to the qualities they have and are gradually excluded from local tourism businesses, ultimately not contributing to the local economy, society and ecosystem management according to their potential.

The main reasons for the recent restructuring of livestock production and the decline of its extensive sector are to be found in the recent agricultural and trade policies that have contributed to transforming not only the agricultural economy, but rural society as a whole in all countries of the Mediterranean, with little regard for sociocultural and ecological variables. As it is the case elsewhere in the region, the polarization of agricultural development has widened the gap between the intensification of agricultural production in the plains and coastal zones, and it has sparked a gradual abandonment of marginal areas (Gertel & Breuer, 2010; Mahdi, 2014; Nori, 2016). For agro-pastoralism, a practice forged to make marginal ecosystems productive, it is obviously difficult to remain competitive within parameters defined solely by performance based on productivity. Through this restructuring, working and living conditions of shepherds have hardly improved in the face of a significant increase in their tasks and responsi-

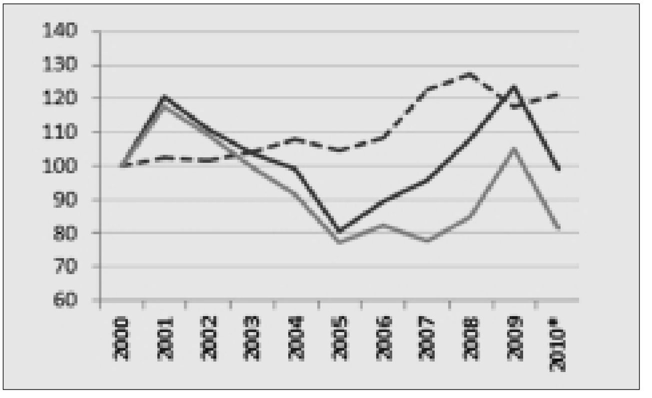

Figure 1 Decreasing profitability of dairy sheep farming in Sardinia
(ISMEA, 2013) (rate for products prices, production costs and overall balance)

bilities. The prices of small ruminants' milk and meat have fluctuated, while production costs have increased steadily (ISMEA, 2010).

Compliance with regulatory requirements constitutes an additional constraint both for agro-pastoral farmers and for the value chains they support. Indeed, awareness for agro-pastoralism is not reflected in European legislation and this is partially due to the low recognition of the multiple roles that Mediterranean agro-pastoral systems play, including ecological and sociocultural roles. The reality is that, despite assertions and intentions, the recent reform of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) has provided little improvements — if any — to extensive livestock systems. Except for a particular reference to extensive grazing systems, the new CAP income support schemes (Reg. EC/1307/2013) do not make an actual distinction between intensive and extensive livestock farming, implying that they have the same needs. For rural development policies (Reg. EC/1305/2013), it is much the same — agro-pastoral farmers are eligible for financial support, but structural and system-specific problems are not addressed or are disregarded. In addition, Reg EC/1305/2013 favours short supply chains linking territorial actors with pastoral farmers, aiming to generate added value for local actors, but does not provide tools especially designed for this purpose.

RURAL MIGRATORY FLOWS

Overall sector restructuring has contributed to the creation of unattractive conditions for new generations, who often decide not to follow in their fathers' footsteps, and to the avoidance of engaging in a profession with uncertain prospects. Through this lens, one can understand the relative problems of generational renewal which affect this sector and challenge its reproduction and development. Despite the EU's important policy and financial commitment through its CAP[1], the decline and ageing of rural popu-

[1] which accounts for about 40% of the overall EU budget.

lations represents the main element of concern for policy-makers at different levels — particularly for marginal territories where pastoralism plays a primary role in the local socioeconomic and ecological setting. At the same time relevant proportions of migrants have come to inhabit and operate in the EU countryside in the last twenty years; flows of immigrants from other Mediterranean rural settings have contributed significantly to tackling the social and economic mismatch of the labour markets by filling the gaps left by the national population in the rural world (Kasimis, 2010).

Pastoralism in Mediterranean islands is no exception to this rule, but rather an extension of this phenomenon. In order to deal with the scarce availability of human resources, the supply of immigrant labor has, in fact, been fundamental in many cases, and today most shepherds in Southern Europe are of foreign origin. Even though the entrepreneurial trajectory pursued to adapt to the sector's restructuring, foreign shepherds have represented quite a skilled labor force at a relatively low cost and have enabled many farms to endure through difficult times; without foreign workers, many pastoral farms would today face great difficulty in pursuing their activities. Actually, migrant workforce also represents a critical asset for young European entrepreneurs who take up this activity (INEA 2009; Nori & Marchi, 2015). The typical profile of the immigrant who works as a salaried shepherd is that of a man between 25 and 40, a native of a country in the Mediterranean region, predominantly from Romania, Morocco, FYROM or Albania, often with previous direct exposure to extensive breeding, although with smaller herds and limited distances. Immigrant shepherds are appreciated for their endurance, flexibility and adaptability, and today represent a critical asset for agro-pastoral production systems in most islands (Nori, 2016). Nowadays this issue is more relevant than ever due to the specific exposure of Mediterranean islands to migration flows (i.e. Malta, Sicily, Lampedusa, Lesvos). However, the presence of immigrants in rural regions and agriculture is complex and contradictory (Corrado et al., 2016). Some research on Romanian salaried shepherds in Sardinia (Mannia, 2011; Contu, 2013; Farinella & Mannia, 2017) shows these workers are willing to accept working conditions and salaries usually rejected by the local people, but for this reason, their presence is only temporary. Their goal is often to earn money and to reinvest them in Romania, and they complain to having limited chances to upscale and graduate in Sardinia.

Table 1 — Main features of agro-pastoral systems in Crete and Sardinia

CRETE		SARDINIA
0.630 m	*Population*	1.663 m
1,1 m*	*Sheep*	3.15 m
4.800	*Farms*	11.213
229	*Average size — heads/flock*	280
13% flocks	*Transhumance*	
Autochthonous breeds (Sfakiano, Anogeion)	*Breed*	Sardinian, milk focus

Multifunctional (also milk and meat, cheese, olive oil and wine, tourism)	*Production focus*	Milk for Pecorino Romano cheese
25% at local mitata level	*Dairy processing*	Mostly through industries
Mostly through cooperatives	*Marketing*	Industry controls
4 PDOs	*Cheese market certification*	3 PDOs
30%, mostly Albania, Bulgaria	*Role of immigrants amongst salaried shepherds*	20%, mostly Romania

Sources: Piteris, Ragkos, and Lagka (2015); www.metakinoumena.gr;
*This figure also includes goats (approximately 70% sheep — 30% goats)
**Estimation of the true number of farms (i.e. co-located farms are counted a single farm)

DEVELOPMENT IMPLICATIONS

Within the context set by the drivers previously discussed, Mediterranean islands are in search of a sustainable pattern of development which is going to mitigate the differences between inland and coastal activities so as to ensure benefits for the local societies and environment. The concept of "territorial development" (Perqueur, 2013), which has lately emerged, pertains to this objective. This type of development occurs through two pillars, i.e. the social capital in an area and the production of specific products characterizing local territories. The innovative element of this model is that it allows one to 'build' development socially through cooperation and networking among stakeholders in a specific area. Territorial development requires to detect and focus on territorial-specific characteristics which can be used as development resources. The process of discovering and focusing on such resources constitutes a *social innovation*; it is social because it is not limited to a particular group but can rather be developed by the vast majority of members of a rural society. In the context of Mediterranean islands, agro-pastoral products — especially dairy products — constitute such type of resources, which can represent a pillar of local development strategies. Based on these concepts, effective and sustainable development policies for islands should be sought and designed with a view to balance geographical, as well as socioeconomic patterns, towards a more symmetric and inclusive territorial development. In this regard, market-focused policy measures for value chain stakeholders, combined with integrated strategic planning and an enabling legislative framework, seem more appropriate than distortive subsidization schemes and income support measures.

The Greek island of Crete constitutes an example of this sort, since in the last several years, an integrated strategic plan is being implemented in order to promote local diet and locally produced food — of course including cheese and other agro-pastoral products. The "Cretan Quality Agreement" (http://www.cretan-nutrition.gr/) aims to achieve territorial development predominantly favoring the inland areas of the island,

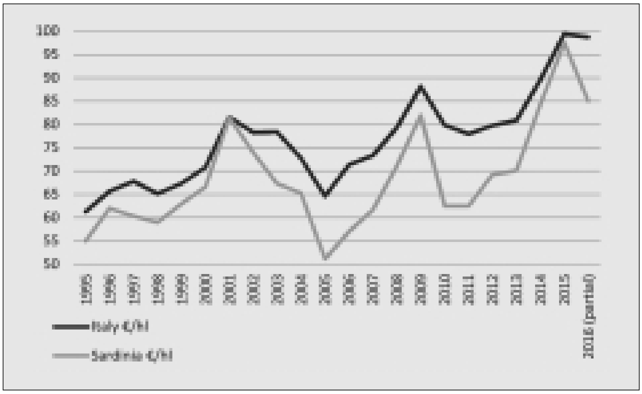

Figure 2 Volatile performance of the price of sheep's milk in Sardinia
(Source: our elaboration on ISMEA data)

where tourism is not the prevailing economic activity. Through diverse activities including food fairs, brand names, designation of PDO/PGI products, farms and manufacturing businesses available for tours, and the protection of indigenous flora and fauna, all actors are organized around these territorial resources and aim at development collectively. These actions are supplemented by other measures and funding tools at the regional level including RIS3 actions for smart specialization.

In Sardinia, the structure of dairy production systems is mainly oriented to the mono-production of *Pecorino Romano* for the US market, an industrial cheese which is very salty, used to flavor junk food. This provokes a volatile and a frequent fall of sheep milk prices (Figure 2) (see Idda, Furesi, & Pulina, 2010; Pulina & Biddau, 2015; Meloni & Farinella, 2015). In the last ten years, the Sardinian Regional Government has approved several measures with a view to tackle this negative effect in order to improve milk quality and to sustain the cooperative system and small farmers. These measures include Regional Law 15/2010 on production diversification (through which monetary incentives are proposed to diversify dairy production, which is mostly based on Pecorino Romano); Measure 215 on animal welfare (in the Regional Development Plans in 2007—2013 and in 2014—2020); Measures 4.9 (Investments in farms) and 4.10 (Improving the competitiveness of the agricultural and agro-industrial systems in the context of supply chain) (POR 2000—2006), through which many mini-dairies for artisanal cheese production have been established. Regional Law 3/2008 (art. 7) promotes and supports Producers' Organizations, as well as other initiatives for organic production and for preserving local breeds at risk of extinction. The implementation of these measures has often been problematic, inefficient and has not provided the expected results: e.g. most mini-dairies are actually closed, due to a lack of both managerial skills of the shepherds and of regional marketing policies. These laws often represent missed opportunities that provide food for thought so as to improve the design of future policies. On the contrary, interesting good practices have emerged at the local level, often through the initiatives of the farmers themselves:

- the artisanal production of raw-milk cheeses, as well as vegetable rennet, marbled and/or myrtle flavoured cheeses;
- the valorization of the natural grazing and extensive breeding through, e.g., the competition "Pascoli fioriti" from the GAL Marghine (PSR 2007—2013) (Gal Marghine, 2015);
- the rediscovery and recognition of historical cheeses that were almost lost: e.g. the cheese S'Axridda (made in Escalaplano, Gerrei), which obtained the national designation of PAT (Traditional Agrifood Products).
- strengthening the links between farming and sustainable tourism, with several farmers that start tourism activities, tourism linked to food, educational farms (Farinella et al., 2013; Porqueddu, 2014; Meloni et al., 2015; Meloni & Farinella, 2017).

Drawing on the examples of these two main Mediterranean islands, important proposals can be deducted for the future of Mediterranean agro-pastoralism in general and for its co-existence with tourism development in particular. First and foremost, regional strategic design should integrate the agro-pastoral products — and possibly also its services — into the tourism industry of coastal areas to revert/buffer asymmetric development. With such an orientation, the prevailing pattern of tourism development will also shift from the "traditional" "3S" *sea, sun, sand* to a more inclusive model with two more "S" that need to be added to the model — *society and sustainability.* This model will incorporate landscapes, environmental assets, intangible cultural heritage and local products (McKercher et al., 2002). A recovery of the agro-pastoral economy will also contribute to buffering the islands' depopulation trends, whereas opportunities for entrepreneurial skills development of new generations and newcomers could be pursued accordingly. Ensuring decent living and working conditions for agro-pastoral operators and actors at all levels, together with prospects of upgrading in social and economic terms, represents priority concerns to revert ongoing abandonment processes and to tackle the problems of generational renewal of islands pastures. Specific schemes addressing the specific technical and socioeconomic needs of immigrant shepherds would also represent a valuable opportunity to incorporate and integrate young and skilled workforce into this strategic sector.

CONCLUSION

Mediterranean islands today face a variety of dynamics and problems that render their development challenges unique in social, environmental, economic and political terms. The multifunctional character of agro-pastoralism provides important opportunities for the sustainable development of these territories by protecting rural livelihoods, averting depopulation, while also producing important environmental externalities, managing public goods and, of course, providing healthy and nutritious animal proteins. Enhancing the functioning of the value chains of dairy products, as well as their integration in the modern vibrant tourism sector, holds the potential to improve agro-pastoral contributions to islands' territorial development through inspiring social innovations.

Much alike the LEADER programme, such improvements could be achieved through participatory schemes and networks which bring together development actors from different islands — producers, manufacturers, public services, local authorities, associations, traders, tourism agencies and operators, etc. — in order to improve public awareness of agro-pastoral multiple benefits and its potentials in terms of local development. In this way, not only can the merits of local products be properly acknowledged (e.g. certifications and brands) and included in tourism routine operations (e.g. hotels and restaurants), but agro-pastoral activities should be integrally incorporated into the tourism industry through the provision of agro-tourism services and tailored packages offering tours and visits to the agro-pastoral areas in the interior. A performing, sustainable and inclusive agro-pastoral sector represents the best ticket to the future of most Mediterranean islands.

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Jeronim DOROTIĆ

CROATIA'S ENCOUNTER WITH "EU ISLAND POLICIES": TOWARDS NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OF CROATIAN ISLANDS

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to provide insight into the recent developments of evolving "EU island policies" with the purpose of introducing them as new opportunities for the sustainable development of Croatian islands. This paper consists of two main parts. In the first part, the review of the recent EU legal instruments and initiatives devoted to islands is presented with the purpose of illustrating the elementary features of the current state of what can be regarded as "the EU policy framework for islands", as well as of indicating the recent steps taken at the EU level towards creating a more coherent, and inevitably sustainable "EU island policy". In the second part of the paper, after offering an overview of the Croatian legal framework for islands, implications of Croatia's encounter with the current "EU island policy" framework is presented in the light of the evolving process of Europeanization of Croatian island policies, which indicates that the implementation of the current "EU island policy" framework in Croatia is still limited. This part of the paper is complemented by the reflections coming from the representatives of the Croatian public and the civil sector involved in this process. Taking into consideration that "EU island policies" are still evolving, as well as taking into account still a limited current state of their implementation in Croatia, the results of this paper indicate that it is of a particular importance for Croatia to utilize current and influence further policy making in the field of "island policies" at the EU level.

Key words: *Island policies, European Union, Croatia, Europeanization, sustainable development.*

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to provide insight into the recent developments of evolving "EU islands policies" with the purpose of introducing them as new opportunities for the sustainable development of Croatian islands. In order to reach comprehensive results, this paper will consist of two main parts. In the first part of the paper, the review of the recent EU legal instruments and initiatives devoted to islands will be presented with the purpose of illustrating the elementary features of the current state of what can be regarded as "the EU policy framework for islands", as well as of indicating the recent steps taken at the EU level towards creating a more coherent, and inevitably sustainable "EU island policy". This section of the paper will be concluded by signifying that "sustainable development" is an integral feature of the EU policy framework for islands. In the second part of the paper, after offering an overview of the Croatian legal framework for islands, implications of Croatia's encounter with the current "EU island policy" framework will be presented in the light of the evolving process of Europeanization of Croatian island policies. This part of the paper will be concluded by offering insight into the reflections by the representatives of the Croatian public and the civil sector involved in this process. In the conclusion, final remarks will be made in regard to the results of the inquiry.

REVIEW OF RECENT EU LEGAL INSTRUMENTS AND INITIATIVES DEVOTED TO ISLANDS: FROM MULTI-SECTORAL APPROACH TOWARDS COHERENT "EU ISLANDS POLICY"?

Islands in the Context of the EU's Cohesion; Agricultural, Fisheries and Maritime Policies

The legislative framework which constitutes the basis for more explicit island policies at the EU level is articulated within the body of the EU's primary and secondary legislation covering various policy areas, but mainly belonging to the EU's cohesion/regional policy, the common agricultural policy, the common fisheries and integrated maritime policies under the current programming period for the European Structural and Investment Funds (ESI Funds) 2014—2020. Notable dedication to islands within the EU's primary legislation is explicitly expressed in Article 174 TFEU (ex. art. 158 TEC), being the first of the five TFEU articles (i.e. from art. 174 until art. 178) devoted to the EU's cohesion/regional policy (Regional policy, n.d.; Moncada et al., 2010, pp. 61-64; Margaras, 2016, pp. 3-4). More precisely, in Article 174 TFEU, which can be regarded as a basis for the "EU islands policy", it is explicitly stated that the EU shall pay particular attention to its disadvantage areas including islands in the context of strengthening "its economic, social and territorial cohesion".

In this regard, it is necessary to note that the current EU cohesion/regional policy is being implemented through the European Structural and Investment (ESI) Funds (hereafter the ESI Funds) which are under common provisions aligning regional and rural development policies including social, agricultural, fisheries and maritime policies through the following five constitutive funds: the European Regional Development Fund (hereafter the ERDF), the European Social Fund (hereafter the ESF), the Cohesion Fund, the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (hereafter the EAFRD) and the European Maritime and Fisheries Fund (hereafter the EMFF) (European Commission, 2015, pp. 8-9). For the purpose of clarifying policy fields under which a specific ESI Fund falls, it is important to note that the ERDF, the ESF and the Cohesion Fund support cohesion policy, whereas the EAFRD falls under the second pillar of the common agricultural policy. Lastly, the EMFF falls under the common fisheries and integrated maritime policies (European Commission, 2015, pp. 8-9).

To further articulate the application of the ESI Funds on islands, it is necessary to refer to the secondary EU legislation devoted to islands and insular regions within the

EU's Regulations on the ESI Funds covering cohesion, agriculture, fisheries and maritime policy fields. More precisely, in the preamble of the ERDF Regulation it is explicitly stated that "the ERDF should also address the specific difficulties encountered by "certain islands" among other disadvantageous regions (EU Regulation 1301/2013). Likewise, the preamble of the EAFRD Regulation is also calling for a special approach of the EAFRD to insular regions by stating that "in order to mitigate the specific constraints resulting from the level of development the remoteness and *insularity*, an appropriate EAFRD contribution rate should be set" (EU Regulation 1305/2013)… Furthermore, the EMFF Regulation refers to insularity in the context of defining the Integrated Maritime Policy (IMP) (in art. 3) and by articulating support provided via the EMFF to the IMP (in art. 82) (EU Regulation 508/2014). In the same context, it is also important to note that the EU Regulation on common and general provisions[1], whose purpose is to ensure coordination between all ESI Funds, also contains in its preamble a specific reference to islands in regard to the modulation of the co-financing rates from the Funds in cases of disadvantageous areas, among which there are certain types of islands (EU Regulation 1303/2013, art. 121).

Islands in the Context of Other EU Legal Instruments and Policy Fields

Besides the mentioned Article 174 TFEU, particular attention is also given to islands within the primary EU legislation — in Article 170 TFEU (ex. art. 154 TEC), which is one of the three TFEU articles (i.e. art. 170, 171 and 172) that refer to Trans-European Networks in the areas of transport, telecommunications and energy and form a common policy framework on infrastructure (Moussis, 2011). More precisely, in Article 170 TFEU it is specified that besides other disadvantaged areas, the Union "shall take account in particular of the need to link island" regions. Moreover, primary legal provisions in the TFEU that may include islands are also articulated within Article 107 TFEU (ex. art. 87 TEC), which is devoted to the issue of state aid for disadvantageous regions. Lastly, in the context of Article 349 TFEU (ex. art. 299 TEC) special attention is also given to the EU's outermost regions which are characterized among other disadvantageous features by their remoteness and insularity. In addition to the mentioned primary EU legislation, other secondary EU legal provisions with "island dimension" that can be singled out are the EU Regulation on regular connections with island territories (EU Regulation 3577/92) and the EU Directive on special taxation agreements for certain islands (EU Directive 2006/112/EC).

Recent Initiatives Directed Towards a More Coherent EU Policy Framework for Islands

The aim of this overview is to show that in spite of indicating still a limited impact of the EU policy framework on islands, selected initiatives (i.e. studies on European islands — EUROISLANDS (2011), EESC Opinion on Smart islands (2015) and EP resolu-

[1] Common Provisions Regulation — CPR (European Commission, 2015, p. 8).

tion on islands (2016)) have also provided concrete suggestions directed towards a more coherent "European island policy". More precisely, under the EU ESPON 2013 program, a targeted analysis named *"EUROISLANDS — The Development of the Islands — European Islands and Cohesion Policy"* was conducted during the years 2009 and 2010 with the purpose "to deliver an appropriate reference work and a set of policy recommendations and strategic guidance to foster the sustainable development of the European islands within the framework of the Single Market" (EUROISLANDS, n.d.). In the context of evaluating existing EU policy measures and policy options for selected European islands (as case studies) in five policy areas (i.e. the Environmental Policy, Regional Policy, Competition, Transport and Energy, and Regional Policy), general conclusions coming from the conducted analysis have confirmed a limited impact of EU sectoral policies on territorial cohesion, islands' attractiveness and sustainability (EUROISLANDS, 2011, p. 66). Also, the analysis has confirmed that EU sectoral policies are inadequate "for changing islands' attractiveness and state", as well as they are discriminating specific territories such as islands by not making necessary territorial differentiations (EUROISLANDS, 2011, p. 66). Moreover, this analysis has shown that different impacts of European sectoral policies towards different territories have not been considered, and it has indicated that the "EU policies have no territorial coordination — integration" (EUROISLANDS, 2011, p. 66). In general, the analysis of the study has shown that European islands are lagging behind European continental regions due to their various characteristics caused by insularity, as well as because of the "lack of adapted or insufficient implementation of European policies" (EUROISLANDS, 2011, p. 71). For these reasons, the study calls for a redefinition of the European policy framework for islands and suggests concrete measures in this direction (EUROISLANDS, 2011, pp. 71-80).

What follows is an overview of two recent EU initiatives directed towards the European Commission, which can be viewed as steps towards a coherent EU islands policy. The first of the two initiatives refers to the European Economic and Social Committee's (hereafter the EECS) own-initiative *Opinion on Smart islands* (hereafter the Opinion) adopted in 2015. As a consultative body of the EU, the EECS drew up the Opinion, which includes recommendations for the European Commission regarding European islands, covering all relevant policy areas for islands with an intention to turn their problematic characteristics into opportunities (EESC Opinion, 2015, p. 2). Taking into account the specific features of European islands, the Opinion consists of a wide set of recommendations which cover a broad range of policy fields intended to foster the overall development of islands (EESC Opinion, 2015, pp. 2-3). Besides indicating the main areas of needed intervention to foster the development of islands by offering creative and sustainable policy ideas, one of the most important features expressed in the Opinion refers to a suggestion pointed towards the European Commission to introduce and implement an "Island Test". In other words, the purpose of applying an "Island Test" through all DGs would be to test whether any EU policy takes into consideration "the island dimension" (EESC Opinion, 2015, p. 2).

The second recent EU initiative directed towards a more coherent EU policy framework for islands is the *European Parliament resolution on the special situation of the islands* (2016) (hereafter the Resolution). Notable indications expressed in the Resolution which may lead to a more explicit "EU island policy" refer to suggestions to constitute "an 'EU Strategic Framework for Islands'", as well as to "establish an 'islands desk' linked to the Commission's Directorate-General for Regional and Urban Policy (DG REGIO)". Furthermore, the European Parliament has called upon the Commission to deliver a communication recorded on the „Agenda for the EU islands", as well as a White Paper on the development of islands. Moreover, with an aim to raise awareness about the specific needs of islands, the European Parliament has in the Resolution called upon the Commission to suggest a celebration of the European Year of Islands and Mountains. Finally and most importantly, the Resolution has invited the Commission to take into account the "specific situation of islands when preparing the proposal for the next multiannual financial framework" (European Parliament resolution, 2016).

"Sustainable Development" as an Integral Feature of the EU Policy Framework for Islands

As a final point to the first part of this paper, it is necessary to signify that "sustainable development" is an integral feature of the EU policy framework for islands. In this context, it is significant to note that in the framework of the Europe 2020 strategy (2010) all EU policies — including policies devoted implicitly or explicitly to islands — should integrate the "sustainable component" (Europe 2020, 2010, p. 18). This is explicitly evident within the preamble of the already mentioned EU Regulation 1303/2013 on common and general provisions for all ESI Funds, but also within the previously analyzed EESC Opinion (e.g. in the context of climate change, transport, mobility, water management and energy policies on islands) (EESC Opinion, 2015, p. 2), and in the EP Resolution (2016) on islands (e.g. by referring to the great potential of utilizing renewable and alternative energy sources on islands for the benefit of the Union) (European Parliament resolution, 2016).

CROATIA'S ENCOUNTER WITH "EU ISLANDS POLICIES": TOWARDS NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OF CROATIAN ISLANDS

Overview of the Croatian Legal Framework for Islands

Croatia is an EU country with an explicit insular dimension containing around 1200 islands, about 50 of which are inhabited (Klemenčić et al., 2013, pp. 19-20). This specificity of Croatia is explicitly emphasized and protected by Article 52 of the Croatian Constitution, where "the sea, seashore and islands" are recognized, among other natural and cultural resources, as national treasures of special interest for the Republic of Croatia (Constitution, 2010, art. 52). Moreover, the law concerning Croatian islands is primarily regulated under the Islands Act (NN 34/99) which was amended several times since it was adopted in 1999 (i.e. by the end of 1999, in 2002 and for the last time in 2006). Document which preceded the adoption of the Islands Act in 1999 was the National Island Development Program[2], adopted by the Croatian Government in 1997 (NPRO, 1997).

Even though the Islands Act was adopted in 1999, its adoption confirms the importance given to the sustainable development of Croatian islands (chapter II), as well as to other important areas of regulations for islands such as: traffic integration regulating the systems of sea, air and road traffic (chapter III); hunting and non-professional fishing (chapter IV); economic growth and government incentives (chapter V); state islands development programs (chapter VI); and other state incentives (chapter VII) (NN 34/99). The subsequent legal framework for Croatian islands since 1999 refers to various strategic and legal provisions concerning specific conditions that islands face, such as the following: free public island road traffic (NN 82/07, NN 35/11), a methodology for the creation of programs for the sustainable development of islands (NN 94/02), the implementation of drinking water supply on islands (NN 35/11), conditions for state aid to employers on islands to preserve work places (NN 66/07), conditions for labeling "Croatian Island Product" (NN 47/07), rules for Committee for islands (NN 48/03), a state program regulating ownership on islands (NN 7/00), and the State program for the protection and use of small, occasionally inhabited and uninhabited islands and surrounding sea (2007) (Strateški dokumenti i propisi, 2017).

Even though the briefly presented contemporary legal framework constitutes a normative foundation for further development of Croatian islands policies, it is also obvious that further updates and redefinitions are needed in this regard to meet the needs of Croatian islands at this very moment. In this context, according to recent announcements of the current Croatian Government, these changes will occur by the adoption of a new law on islands by the end of the 2017 (Government, 2016). Even though it is hard to predict, it can be expected that new Croatian law on islands will make "stronger" reference to the current EU policy framework for islands as complementary to existing national tools which may positively contribute to further sustainable development of Croatian islands.

Towards the Europeanization of Croatian Islands Policies

Croatian membership in the European Union, achieved in 2013, has had and will continue to have a long-term impact on the transformation of Croatian public policies, including Croatian islands policies via the process of Europeanization[3]. Therefore, it can be claimed that, from a legal point of view, the Croatian policy framework for islands

[2] Hr. Nacionalni program razvitka otoka (NPRO).

[3] Due to the limited format of this paper, it will only be emphasized that Europeanization is a complex conceptual framework which, in general, refers to the "impact of European Union on changes of national policies" (Saurugger, 2013, p. 170).

started to become "Europeanized" already during the negotiations process to enter the EU, that is, due to the alignment of Croatian law with acquis provisions referring to islands. In other words, during the period of negotiations to become the 28th EU Member State between 2005 and 2011, Croatia had to align with the Community acquis which constitutes the body of the European Union law (MVEP, 2017), including the multisectoral EU legislative framework for islands. Nevertheless, the overview of 35 policy areas covered by the acquis reveals that Croatian islands were explicitly mentioned only within the negotiation of Chapter 13, which was devoted to the common fisheries policy. In this regard, the remote Croatian islands of Dugi Otok, Vis, Mljet and Lastovo, together with remote Greek islands, were given specific aid up to 85% instead 75% for subsidizing projects from EU Funds under the European Maritime and Fisheries Fund (Što donosi članstvo, 2012, p. 34).

Moreover, as an EU candidate country, Croatia was eligible to use numerous EU programs including the CARDS, PHARE, ISPA and SAPARD EU assistance programs, which were in 2007 replaced by the Instruments for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA), as the main EU tool to prepare Croatia for EU membership and for using EU structural Funds (EU fondovi, 2012). In the context of this paper, it is important to note that certain projects on Croatian islands already benefited from using the mentioned EU programs[4]. By joining the EU, Croatia became a full user of EU Funds, including ESI Funds as the primary tool for the support of European islands at the EU level. In the financial period 2014—2020 Croatia has 10,676 billion euros available from ESI Funds, which are implemented by three Operational programs (i.e. the Competitiveness and Cohesion 2014—2020 program, Effective Human Resources 2014—2020 program and the Rural Development Program of the Republic of Croatia 2014—2020) (EU fondovi, 2012).

Similarly as it is the case at the EU level in regard to management of multisectoral islands policies, the main Governmental bodies responsible for islands, as well as for the implementation of the EU policy framework for islands at the national level, are ministries covering the sectors of regional development, agriculture, maritime affairs and fisheries. In other words, the main governmental bodies in regard to islands policies are the Ministry of Regional Development and EU Funds, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Maritime Affairs, Transport and Infrastructure. Of the aforementioned ministries, the Ministry of Regional Development and EU Funds represents the central governmental body and is explicitly responsible for both — development policies for Croatian islands and the implementation of ESI Funds in Croatia (EU fondovi, 2012; Djelokrug, 2017). Finally, besides stakeholders from the public sector, it is important to signify that there are numerous representatives of the Croatian civil sector who

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[4] Notable examples of recent island projects funded through the IPA are project "Vrtovi lunjskih maslina" (eng. "the Olive Gardens of Lun", which took place on the island of Pag) and the project Adristorical Lands — History, culture, tourism, art and ancient crafts of European Adriatic Territory, which took place on the island of Hvar (Najuspješniji lokalni EU projekti, 2015).

either participate in islands policy making at the EU level[5] or just benefit from EU programs and funds by receiving their support to implement projects of value for Croatian islands[6].

Reflections on Implications of Croatia's Encounter with the EU Policy Framework for Islands

What follows is a summary of semi-structured interviews conducted with the representatives of the Ministry of Regional Development and EU Funds (hereafter the Ministry) and the representatives of non-governmental organization *Otočni Sabor* with the purpose of shedding more light on the implications of Croatia's encounter with the EU policy framework for islands. According to the officials from the Ministry[7], for now, there are only announcements for making stronger links with EU policy instruments devoted to islands in the near future. What contributes to the current position is the fact that the current Croatian Government was just recently elected in October of 2016 and it needs some time to consolidate, as well as the fact that EU policy instruments for islands are still in the process of development. Moreover, the Ministry is in the process of setting up the Department for Islands, and Croatian Government is planning to adopt a new law on islands during 2017.

In the context of initiatives within the Ministry that link the development of Croatian islands with EU funds, there was a planned initiative in 2015 named "Project Islands". The aim of this initiative was to collect project ideas of value for Croatian islands that were applicable for the EU Funds, but for all the above-mentioned reasons, the initiative is in a "standstill" position, and it will possibly be redefined. The officials from the Ministry are also stating that as an EU Member State, Croatia should now also contribute with its knowledge and experience to the European policy framework for islands. Moreover, according to the officials, ESI Funds don't highlight EU islands policies from the strategic point of view in the current EU financial framework 2014—2020. This indicates the financing of islands policies at the EU level from ESI Funds was not specifically developed, even though at the level of implementation of ESI Funds, there are certain projects devoted specifically to islands, while at the same time islands can benefit from all ESI Funds in the same manner as the rest of Croatia. Nevertheless, this could possibly change in the new EU financial period, which will not be planned before 2018. Since Croatia is now an EU Member State, it will be able to participate in

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[5] Distinguished Croatian NGO active at European level is NGO "Otočni sabor — udruga za razvitak hrvatskih otoka", eng. The Island Parliament — Association for Development of the Croatian Islands (Otočni sabor, 2017).

[6] Distinguished examples of Croatian CSOs which benefited from EU programs and funds by receiving their support to implement projects of value to Croatian islands are NGO "Buđenje" — with project "More mogućnosti" (eng. "The sea of opportunities") financed through ESF (Projekt "More mogućnosti", 2017) and NGO Argonauta — with project "Oživi, održi otok!" (eng. "Revive, sustain island") financed through IPA (Svi rezultati projekta, 2016).

[7] Interviewed via phone and e-mail correspondence in January 2017.

and contribute to negotiations on the new EU financial framework and ESI Funds, which will inevitably have effect on Croatian public polices, including possibly islands policies.

Apart from officials from the Ministry, according to a CSO representative[8], *Otočni sabor* is very well informed and active in the field of island policies at the EU level. In other words, as the only Croatian representative, *Otočni sabor* is an active member of ESIN — the European Small Islands Federation — as well as the Transparency Register in the European Commission and the European Parliament. Also, *Otočni sabor* participated in the preparation of the recent EP Resolution for islands (2016) and was engaged in the activities of Croatian MEPs Mrs. Ruža Tomašić and Mr. Tonino Picula regarding the problems of small-scale fishing. According to the CSO representative, even though membership in ESIN is opening new possibilities for Croatian islands to cooperate in common projects with other European island countries, for now, cooperation at this level is limited.

One of the biggest problems in this regard is due to the local political situation on Croatian islands. In other words, at the European level islands are seen as a whole, whereas in Croatia almost every island has several units of local government which are often governed by different political options. Also, activities of *Otočni sabor* at the EU level take place independently and without any coordination with the Croatian ministries, which is not the case in other European island countries. Further reflections of the CSO representative refer to an indication of good practices at the EU and international levels which may be applied in the Croatian context. Some of these good practices refer to the absence or a 50% reduction of VAT, joint actions between the islands' local governments and businesses in order to retain the population on islands, implementation of high-speed Internet on islands, subsidies given for the transport of goods to the mainland and free ferry services. Finally, according to the CSO representative, the EU's approach towards islands has recently changed in a positive way due to the cooperation between civil society and policy makers, which was directed towards the European Parliament. However, in spite of all the efforts made at the EU level to support islands, concrete changes will occur only by involvement of member states' authorities.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this paper was to provide insight into the recent developments of evolving "EU islands policies" with the purpose of introducing them as new opportunities for sustainable development of Croatian islands. The results of the inquiry confirm that even though the current EU policy framework for islands is limited and in the process of development, it can still be regarded as a specific multisectoral policy field which has a tendency to evolve into a concrete "EU island policy". Moreover, in this paper it

[8] President of the NGO *Otočni sabor* Denis Barić, interviewed via phone and e-mail correspondence in January 2017.

was confirmed that the current implications of Croatia's encounter with the EU policy framework for islands can be viewed in the light of a still evolving process of Europeanization of Croatian island policies, which indicates that implementation of the current "EU island policy framework" in Croatia is still limited with potential to intensify by time. Taking into consideration that "EU island policies" are still evolving, as well as taking into account still a limited current state of their implementation in Croatia, the results of this paper indicate that it is of particular importance for Croatia to utilize current and influence further policy making in the field of "island policies" at the EU level.

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Josip JEŽOVITA

UNEMPLOYMENT TRENDS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF UNEMPLOYED PEOPLE ON CROATIAN ISLANDS IN THE PERIOD 2004—2015

Abstract

Unemployment is a phenomenon that is present in the entire Croatian society and this paper is focused on the analysis of the characteristics of this phenomenon on Croatian islands. Islands may be considered as separate systems that function in accordance with the circumstances and specifics of the environment in which they are located, but also as systems that are in a dynamic interaction with their wider surroundings. The two listed characteristics have effect on the image of unemployment. The aim of this paper is to present certain patterns and explain unemployment on islands by means of a range of different influences and characteristics that affect the described phenomenon. Some of them are sociodemographic characteristics of islanders, economic activities specific to islands and the impact of the success of tourist season on the total number of unemployed. Also, the goal is to present the trends and potential projections of the number of unemployed in the period to come.

In order to achieve the stated, a range of statistical methods were used in the analysis of the data collected on a sample of 18 islands, a group of islands and municipalities. The tests that were used are: a correlation coefficients analysis, the Chi-square test, a regression analysis, the t-test, different polynomial functions and the curve estimation method.

The analysis has shown that it is possible to differentiate between vulnerable groups of the unemployed in relation to their gender, age, level of education and profession. Also, it has shown that it is possible to characterize the trend of the unemployed in the observed period relative to the mentioned characteristics. The most vulnerable groups of unemployed people on Croatian islands are women, young people, those with a secondary level of education and people who are in the profession group "service and sales workers".

Key words: *Croatian islands, unemployment, characteristics of the unemployed, trends in unemployment, seasonal work*

INTRODUCTION

Because of their specific characteristics, islands require a special interdisciplinary approach for the study of any subject related to them. According to the systems theory approach, islands can be considered as separate systems with their own parts, but at the same time as open systems due to the social and economic ties with the mainland (Šimunović, 1994).

Unemployment on Croatian islands, the subject of this paper, can be considered as a dynamic phenomenon that correlates with many factors, such as sociodemographic characteristics of islanders (age, formal education and profession), population size, the characteristics of islands and the specific characteristics of islands' economy. Compared to the mainland and given to islands' environment, the insular economy is generally simpler. As a result, the course of history can be seen with large fluctuations in the rise or decline of economic activities on islands, sometimes larger than those on the mainland. Great economic ups can be attributed, among other things, to the sale of specific island products such as olive oil, red wine, etc., while the downs can be observed through a low adaptive capacity to the rapid changes in the economic market, relative to the mainland (Starc, 2002).

Also, in addition to a lesser adaptability to change, the problem has a demographic component. Young people leave islands and in parallel the population ages (Babić & Lajić, 2004). A study conducted by Babić and Lajić showed that about half of the respondents with a primary or secondary level of education wanted to leave their islands because of, as one of the reasons stated, the continuation of education (Babić & Lajić, 2002). Also, research has shown that young people prefer to choose the tertiary sector (tourism) over the primary sector (agriculture, fishing and animal husbandry), and this trend can be seen as one of the important factors in stopping the depopulation of islands (Babić & Lajić, 2004); but according to the authors Zupanc, Opačić and Nejašmić (2001), the described shift is still elemental and under uncontrollable influence. Because of the above, tourism and reliance only on seasonal work bring with them certain dangers. Any disruption in the broader economy can greatly undermine islands' economies, and an example of this is a still active recovery of islands after the war in Croatia (Zupanc, Opačić & Nejašmić, 2001).

This paper deals in a relatively direct manner with all of the mentioned problems, but through the prism of the problem of unemployment on Croatian islands.

AIMS AND METHODOLOGY

The aim of this paper is to analyse the characteristics of the unemployed on Croatian islands based on different criteria and indicators, including gender, age, the educational structure of the unemployed and their professions. Also, the aim of this paper is to analyse the likelihood of a correlation between the changes in unemployment and the changes in the population number, all in relation to the above-listed characteristics. During the analysis of the unemployed and their employability, special emphasis will be placed on seasonal employment as an important part of the tourist and economic activities of any island. Finally, an analysis of the trend projections about the number of unemployed in the periods to come will be made. All these results can be used to differentiate vulnerable groups of the unemployed so that new active employment policies can be created.

The mentioned aims will be analysed by using descriptive statistics on the nature of the unemployed. Calculations of the correlation coefficients between the specific variables will be made to investigate the direction and strength of the correlation between the characteristics of the unemployed, different economic indicators and changes in the population number. Also, to examine the likelihood of association between the changes in the population number and in the number of the unemployed, a chi-square test will be used. To examine the trend associated with the average number of unemployed, linear or quadratic functions in scatter-plots will be studied. Another method, multiple linear regression, will be used to examine which subgroup of the characteristics of the unemployed has the biggest impact on overall unemployment. In the end, the curve estimation method with the cubic function will be used to make projections about the number of unemployed in the periods to come.

The data that will be used for the analysis consist of variables that describe the characteristics of unemployed people registered at the Croatian Employment Service and the people that are no longer in the register, either because of work or other reasons, all monitored on a monthly basis from 2004 to 2015. For the purpose of the analysis, monthly data or computed annual averages of these data will be used.

For the purpose of this paper's convenience, a sample of 18 islands or groups of islands and municipalities on the Adriatic coast, located in five Croatian counties, was included in the analysis. The Primorsko-goranska county: the islands of Krk (the Baška, Dobrinj, Lopar, Malinska—Dubašnica, Omišalj, Punat, Vrbnik municipalities), Cres, Rab (the Lopar Municipality), Mali Lošinj (the islands of Lošinj and Susak). Zadarska County: the islands of Dugi otok (the Sali Municipality), Pag, Pašman, Vir, the Preko Municipality — the islands of Ugljan (the Kali and Kukljica municipalities), Sestrunj, Rivanj, Galevac and Ošljak. The Šibensko-kninska County: The Murter-Kornati and Tisno municipalities. The Splitsko-dalmatinska County: the islands of Čiovo (the Okrug Municipality), Šolta, Brač (the town of Supetar, the Bol, Milna, Pučišća, Postira, Nerežišća, Sutivan and Selca municipalities), Hvar (the towns of Hvar and Stari Grad, the Sućuraj and Jelsa municipalities), Vis (the towns of Vis and Komiža). The Dubrovačko-neretvanska County: the islands of Lastovo, Mljet and Korčula (the town of Korčula, the Blato, Lumbarda, Smokvica and Vela Luka municipalities) (Statistički ljetopis RH, 2015). The above-mentioned islands were taken into account on the basis of the criterion that they were in the online database of the Croatian Employment Service of cities/municipalities.

RESULTS

Unemployment on Croatian Islands

Of all the islands, the highest average number of unemployed in the twelve-year period can be found on the island of Korčula, 1040.3. Compared to the average number of unemployed on all the islands together (303.7; s.d. 276.2), the island of Korčula has

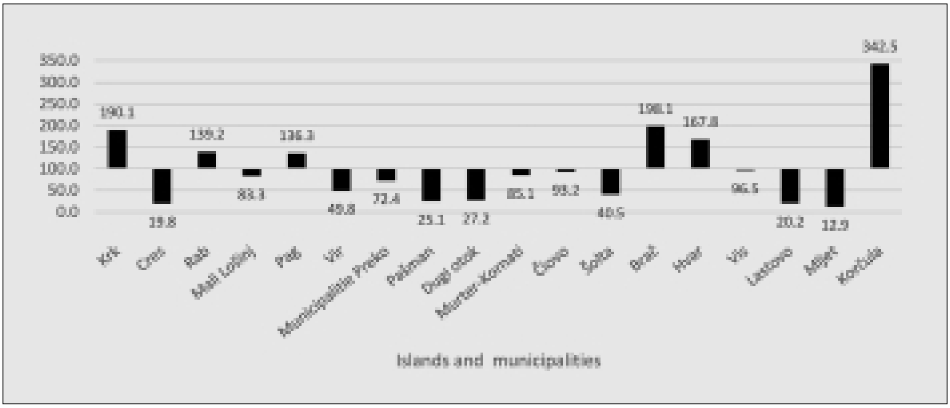

Fig 1 Index values for the average number of unemployed (303.7=100)
Source: author's calculations based on the data from the Croatian Employment Service

242.5% more registered unemployed people (Figure 1). Of course, the results above must be considered relative to the size of a particular island.

Table 1 Descriptive indicators of unemployment on islands

	12-year period average							
			Significance 5%					
Municipality	Mean	Std. Dev.	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Men	Women	I (Average 303.7=100)	Proportion of women
Krk	577.4	194.8	545.3	609.5	244.4	333.1	90.1	57.7
Cres	60.0	28.1	55.4	64.7	21.2	38.8	-80.2	64.7
Rab	422.7	209.7	388.2	457.3	195.4	227.3	39.2	53.8
Mali Lošinj	252.9	107.7	235.1	270.6	104.8	148.1	-16.7	58.5
Pag	414.0	97.8	397.9	430.1	170.1	243.9	36.3	58.9
Vir	151.3	32.4	146.0	156.7	69.0	82.3	-50.2	54.4
Preko	219.9	39.6	213.4	226.4	85.0	134.9	-27.6	61.3
Pašman	76.2	19.0	73.1	79.3	30.9	45.3	-74.9	59.5
Dugi otok	82.6	32.7	77.2	87.9	35.3	47.2	-72.8	57.2
Murter-Kornati	258.6	86.0	244.4	272.7	116.9	141.6	-14.9	54.8
Čiovo	283.1	55.0	274.1	292.2	112.3	170.9	-6.8	60.3
Šolta	123.1	24.6	119.1	127.2	59.9	63.2	-59.5	51.3
Brač	601.7	179.7	572.1	631.3	273.3	328.4	98.1	54.6
Hvar	509.7	157.9	483.7	535.8	238.0	271.7	67.8	53.3
Vis	293.0	67.8	281.8	304.2	151.8	141.2	-3.5	48.2
Lastovo	61.4	17.8	58.5	64.3	27.3	34.0	-79.8	55.5
Mljet	39.2	14.6	36.7	41.6	15.1	24.0	-87.1	61.4
Korčula	1040.3	247.5	1040.3	1081.1	433.9	606.5	242.5	58.3

Source: author's calculations based on the data from the Croatian Employment Service

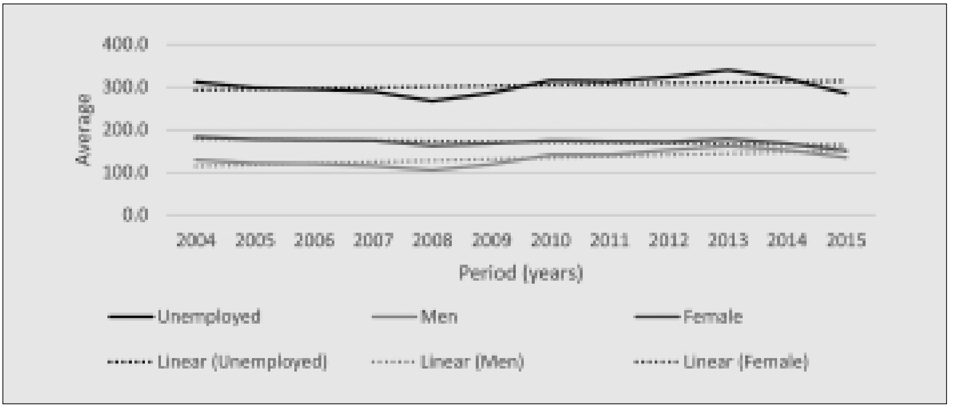

Fig 2 The average number of unemployed in the period of 12 years on all islands
Source: author's calculations based on data from the Croatian Employment Service

As it can be seen in Figure 2, the linear function for the unemployed shows a very mild positive trend in the twelve-year period, at least until 2013. The same conclusion goes for unemployed men and women.

Direction of Movement of the Number of Unemployed

In order to investigate the direction of the movement of the number of unemployed for every island separately, two sets of data were used. The first set, the data that show the overall average number of unemployed over a twelve-year period by month (2004—2015), and the second, the data that show the annual average number of unemployed for the same period of time. Regarding the first set of data, the linear function depicted by using scatter plot has shown that 66.7% of analysed islands have a slightly positive trend of unemployment growth. Also, the same conclusion was made using linear and quadratic functions on the second set of data. In order to ensure that the monthly and annual average data were comparable, the Pearson correlation coefficient was calculated between this two sets by using their coefficient of determination values computed from linear functions for all the islands, and the result was a strong positive correlation (r=0.787). Regarding the second set of data, the average value of the coefficient of determination computed with linear functions for all the islands was 0.430, and with quadratic 0.607. Although there are some differences in the results of the two functions used, in 77.8% of all the cases they show the direction of the unemployment trend unambiguously. In addition, a moderate positive correlation (r=0.670) was found between the values of the coefficient of determination between the linear and quadratic functions for every island, which implies that two selected functions lead to similar conclusions.

In the next part of the analysis, dichotomous variables “Changes in unemployment” and “Changes in population size” (categories: positive/negative changes) (N=18) were used to calculate the Chi-Square value. The latter variable was computed using

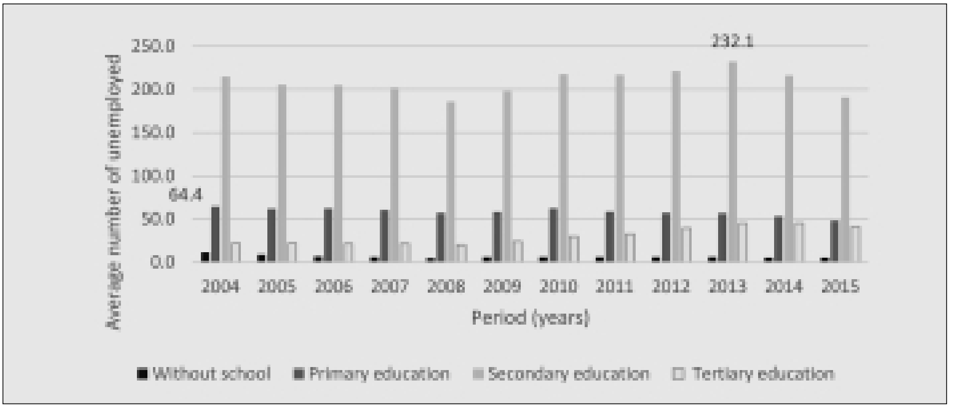

Fig 3 The average number of unemployed in relation to the level of education
Source: author's calculations based on data from the Croatian Employment Service

index values by comparing the number of island residents in the year 2011 in relation to the year 2001 (Statistički ljetopis RH, 2015). For the purpose of the analysis, a Chi-Square test was used, but due to the violated assumption of expected frequencies to be at least five, Fisher's Exact Probability Test was used as a test that goes well with small expected frequencies (Howell, 2009, pp. 139-179). The results have shown that there is no significant correlation between the two variables tested (Fisher's Exact Probability=0.6 for a two-tailed hypothesis) (Dancey & Reidy, 2008, pp. 263-298).

Unemployment and Gender

When observing unemployment on islands by gender, there was a slightly higher proportion of women, 6.9% more on average. Also, at the moment of the analysis, the island of Cres had the highest proportion of unemployed women, 64.7% (Figure 1) in relation to other islands.

Unemployment and Level of Education

Given the results in the previous sections, further analysis was concentrated on the hypothesis that unemployment tends to change depending on the level of education. Four levels of education were used for the analysis: without school, primary education, secondary education and tertiary education (Figure 3).

A multiple linear regression analysis has shown that the variables "Unemployed without education" (ß=0.395) and "Unemployed with a tertiary level of education" (ß=0.495) have the smallest values of beta coefficients in relation to the dependent variable "Number of unemployed people" for all the islands analysed separately. In comparison, variable "Unemployed with a secondary level of education" has the biggest regression coefficient value (ß=1.139), which suggests that the greatest impact on the overall unemployment comes from this level of education.

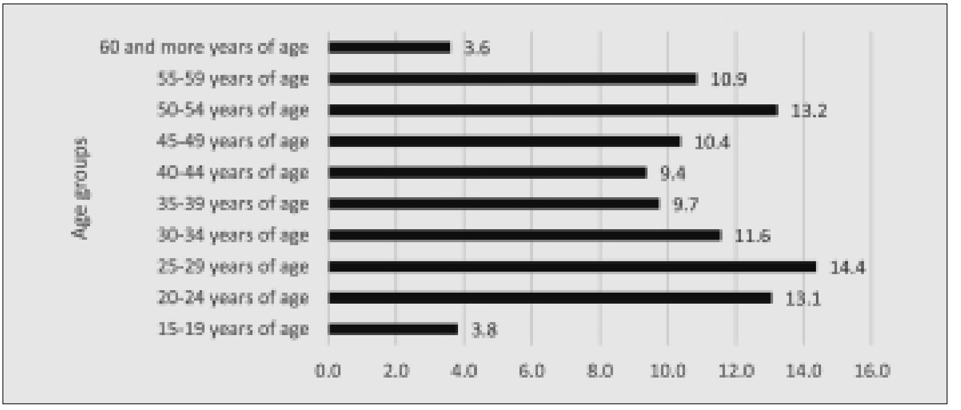

Fig 4 Share of the unemployed by age groups
Source: author's calculations based on data from the Croatian Employment Service

It's not unusual that the unemployed without education have little impact on overall unemployment and the mentioned phenomenon will be further described later in the paper. To explain why the unemployed with tertiary education level also have a small impact on overall unemployment, the Pearson correlation coefficient analysis was carried out and the results have consistently shown that the unemployed with the described level of education have the lowest, if not even negative in some cases, correlation with the overall number of unemployed (average r=0.01), while the unemployed with secondary education have the highest correlation value (average r=0.97). One can conclude that the number of the unemployed with the tertiary level of education has an increasing or decreasing direction relative to the observed period. The decreasing period lasted until the year 2008 when the global economic crisis affected the unemployed at every level of education.

Unemployment in Relation to Age

In order to further explain the results of the previous part of the paper about the level of education of the unemployed, the variable "Age" was introduced into the analysis. When observing the unemployed by age groups, the most prevalent age groups on the islands are: 25-29 years of age (14.4%), 50-54 years of age (13.2%) and 20-24 years of age (13.1%) (Figure 4).

Pearson's correlation coefficient, calculated between variables that describe the age groups of the unemployed and the level of their education, has pointed to some important conclusions. As stated before, the unemployed without education have a relatively small impact on overall unemployment. To build on this information, additional results have shown that the variables "age group 60 and more" and "unemployed without education" have a smaller value of correlation coefficient than the age group "55-59 age — no education" (29.8% decrease), which leads to the conclusion that the older someones gets and with no education, the less impact they have on overall un-

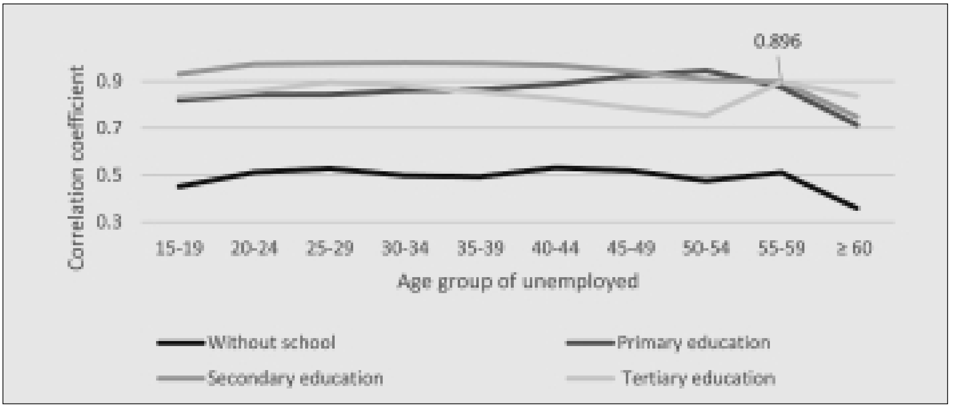

Fig 5 Index trend of correlation values between one's level of education and age group
Source: author's calculations based on data from the Croatian Employment Service

employment. The described phenomenon can be seen as a trend for the unemployed without education who are aged 40 years and over, except for the age group "55-59", in which the coefficient value has increased by 7.37% compared to previous age group (Figure 5). Next, by analysing the level of education (secondary level) that has the greatest impact on overall unemployment, Figure 5 shows that with the transition to the next higher age group (groups from 15 to 34 years of age), the impact on overall unemployment grows, and after that life period, the influence slowly starts to fade. Finally, by analysing the unemployed with a tertiary level of education, as shown in Figure 5, until reaching 30 years of age, people with that level of education have an increasing impact on or a stronger connection with overall unemployment, and after that life period, the impact starts to fade, except for the age group "55-59 years old" relative to the younger age group (18.83% increase). The given result can be explained by the fact that young people are still mostly in the education system until their late twenties and they have a bigger chance to be unemployed until some life period in which they find their first job or business opportunities. After that period, their impact fades given the assumption that they already have some working experience and a better chance to get an employment contract.

Unemployment in Relation to Profession and Seasonal Work

The next part of the analysis was concentrated on the explanation of the highest impact on overall unemployment by the unemployed with a secondary level of education. For this purpose, two new variables were introduced into the analysis: "exit from the CES register" and "seasonal employment", which is a distinctive way of employment on islands and in tourist areas in general. The results have shown, when observing the average number of unemployed on islands during a twelve-year period, the unemployed in the "service and sales workers" group of occupations are the most fre-

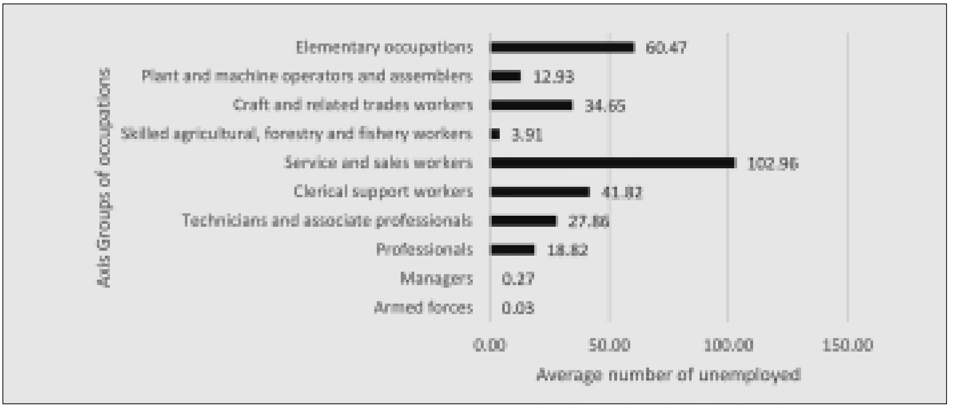

Fig 6 The average number of unemployed during a 12-year period on all islands in relation to the occupational group (NKZ, 2010)
Source: author's calculations based on data from the Croatian Employment Service

quent (mean=102.96) (Figure 6). Also, when observing the values of the correlation between the occupation groups of the unemployed and the variable "seasonal employment", the biggest value of the coefficient can be found for the group "Craft and related trades workers" (r=0.335). On the other hand, when observing the variable "employment, but not seasonal", the biggest correlation can be found with the unemployed from the occupational group "Professionals" (r=0.606), which implies that that group does not use seasonal work as opportunity for employment relative to other occupational groups. Further analysis has shown that the variables "exit from the CES register" and "seasonal employment" show the highest correlation with respect to the occupational group "Service and sales workers" (r=0.930). All those results lead to the conclusion that those that are unemployed and those exiting the register greatly depend on seasonal employment, which is not surprising if one takes into account the distinctive characteristic of the islands' economies. Further confirmation of this thesis can be found in a strong positive correlation between "seasonal employment" and "way of employment — temporary jobs" (r=0.960) relative to other ways of employment: steady job and employment based on other business activities.

Estimation of the Number of Unemployed in 2016

To estimate the number of unemployed in the year 2016, the cubic function (R^2=0.747) was used in the curve estimation analysis. The results have shown that the average number of unemployed on Croatian islands in the year 2016 can expect a reduction of 13.5% relative to 2015 (Figure 7). In the interpretation of the given results, it is necessary to emphasize the fact that this is not about unemployment rates, since the last data about the labour force on Croatian islands was obtained in the 2011 census for that year alone.

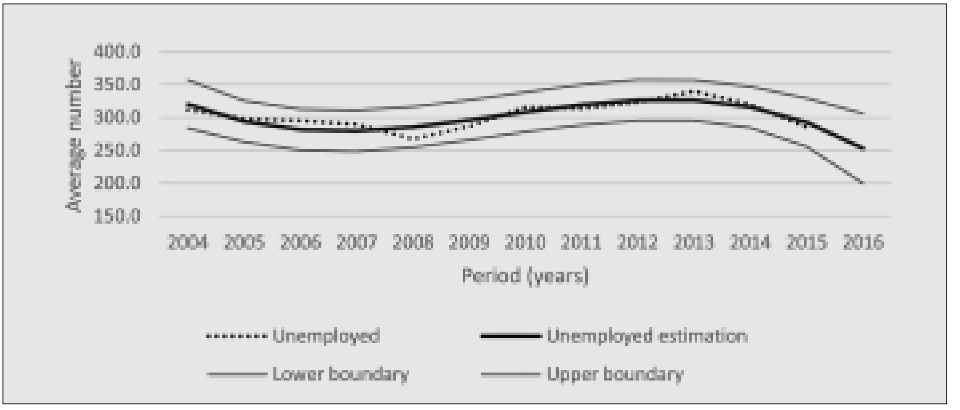

Fig 7 The average number of unemployed during 12-year period on all islands
Source: author's calculations based on the data from the Croatian Employment Service

CONCLUSION

Unemployment and various indicators related to the unemployed were analysed based on the data for Croatian islands in the period between 2004 and 2015, with the aim to detect certain trends and patterns related to the above-mentioned phenomenon. As for the descriptive indicators, the average number of unemployed on all the islands was 303.7 with the standard deviation of 276.2. The high value of s.d. can be contributed to the high dispersity between the size and number of the unemployed on islands. Also, when observing the unemployed by gender, there was a slightly higher proportion of women, on average 6.9% more, while the analysis by age showed that most of the unemployed were in their twenties and fifties. Considering the level of education of the unemployed, the conclusion can be made that the unemployment trend had growing tendencies regardless of one's level of education, especially after 2008/2009, when the economic crisis on a global scale began; but after the year 2012, the trend began to take on a downward path. By differentiating levels of education, the conclusion can be made that those with a secondary level of education had the greatest impact on overall unemployment. The results are not surprising if one considers the fact that the islands' economies are mainly based on the tertiary sector, i.e. on tourism, mainly through seasonal modes of employment. With this type of employment, the highest correlation value was achieved between "way of employment — temporary jobs" and the profession "service and sales workers". When interpreting the given results, we need to take into account two facts. The profession that was mentioned provides mainly tourist-oriented services, but the authors of previous research have suggested that although a part of the islands' population can be engaged in tourism, it is often officially registered in agriculture, forestry, etc. Also, it is necessary to take into account the fact that there is a significant number of seasonal workers on islands from all over Croatia due to the insufficient work potential of the islands' population during tourist season (Zupanc et al., 2001).

Looking at the trend of the unemployed through linear and quadratic functions for each island in particular, 66.7% of them have shown an upward trend in terms of an increasing number of unemployed, but not through the entire period as it will be explained later. To further explain the given trend, other indicators like population size were included into the analysis. The results have shown that there is no likelihood of a correlation between the changes in unemployment and in the number of inhabitants on islands, but the given result is not surprising if one considers that in recent Croatian history, there were two "artificial" population growths on islands. The first one in the year 1991, when most of the population growth consisted of people from abroad and immigrants, while in 2001 and 2011, the population size was artificially inflated with new homeowners (Lajić & Mišetić, 2013) in the sense that weekenders became permanent residents (Zupanc et al., 2001) and the reason for that can be found in the new tax policy in 1993 for holiday homes (Lajić & Mišetić, 2013).

In the end, the conclusion can be made that the patterns, positive or negative oscillations and their intensity in the trend of unemployment depend largely on the two known facts from this study. Firstly, the description of the oscillations depends on the methodology used, because different approaches and data designs give more or less conclusive results. Secondly, the mentioned descriptions depend on a variety of indicators used to explain unemployment. Regardless of that, a general conclusion can be made. By observing the average values of the unemployed on all islands on an annual basis, a slight decrease in the number of unemployed until the year 2008 can be seen, which is especially true for the unemployed with a tertiary level of education. After that period, i.e. after the outbreak of the global economic crisis, the unemployment trend began to show growing tendencies. At the end of the observed period, after the first effects of the crisis started to fade from 2012 until now, the number of unemployed again slowly started to drop. This trend is not surprising if one takes into account that seasonal employment is directly related to tourism activities.

Based on all the evidence, projections for the year 2016 suggest that the described trend should continue, i.e. the number of unemployed should continue to fall, and based on the data, that fall should be greater than 10% relative to the previous year.

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Daria KRSTIČEVIĆ

CROATIAN MIGRATIONS, CROATS ABROAD, LEGAL AND INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR COOPERATION

Abstract

Migrations are one of the greatest challenges of the modern world. The Republic of Croatia has a large and centuries-long experience in this area. More than three million Croats live outside the Republic of Croatia. This was the reason for the adoption of the Act on the Relations between the Republic of Croatia and Croats Abroad, and for the establishment of the State Office for Croats Abroad as a central state administration body responsible for the implementation of national policies towards Croats abroad. As well as other members of the European Union, Croatia too is faced with a very serious problem of depopulation. It is therefore very important for Croatia to use the human potential existing outside its borders and effectively encourage their return to Croatia. Today it is possible to turn the negative consequences and aspects of emigration into comparable advantages. Will Croatia know how to and will it succeed in using the huge human potential it has outside its borders? We believe it will, through a coordinated, systematic and institutional implementation and harmonisation of all other regulations and policies with the Strategy and the Act on Relations between the Republic of Croatia and Croats Abroad.

Key words: *migrations, return, Croats abroad, diaspora, legal and institutional framework*

INTRODUCTION

Croats, who for centuries lived in states and legal communities which did not provide peace and prosperity, have often found refuge outside the borders of their homeland.

The first large wave of emigration started in the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century, when the Turkish army occupied a big part of Croatian lands. Since then, and in the following few centuries, the emigration of Croats has become a persisting phenomenon. This phenomenon was at times so large that in certain crucial periods one third of Croats, and sometimes more than that, were outside the borders of their homeland. There are few nations which have managed to survive until modern times and contemporary forms of social organisation in such complex historical circumstances (Holjevac, 1968, p. 9).

In the period between 1900 and 2001, about 2.3 million people emigrated from the territory of today's Republic of Croatia (Nejamšić, 2014).

As time goes by, economic and demographic problems become increasingly more complex and solving them becomes more challenging. It is wrong to believe that economic development will be spontaneous, i.e. that it will occur on its own, and that it will stop and reverse unfavourable demographic processes (Wertheimer & Akrap, 2014,

p. 51). Experts furthermore believe that the wide-spread idea that according to demographic trends Croatia only follows the European trends is not completely accurate. Namely, nine out of the twelve most developed countries in Europe also have the best demographic trends (Akrap, 2015, p. 865).

As a consequence of this centuries-long emigration lasting until the present day, more than three million Croats live outside Croatia in almost all countries of the world (www.hrvatiizvanrh.hr). This fact alone shows that we are dealing with an extraordinary potential (human, scientific, economic, lobby) which Croatia has outside its borders and which can and should play an important role in Croatia's overall progress, but also in the demographic revitalisation.

The relationship between the motherland and its people who live abroad has throughout centuries been marked by a number of ups and downs, but it has nevertheless remained firm and alive. This relationship became particularly dynamic and strong in the time when Croatia was becoming an independent state and defending itself against the aggression it was exposed to in 1990s. The contribution of the Croats living abroad to the establishment and defence of Croatia is immeasurable.

The Act on Relations between the Republic of Croatia and Croats Abroad (hereinafter: the Act) stipulates in Article 4 that Croats abroad are an equal part of one and indivisible Croatian nation. The Act differentiates three groups of Croats abroad considering the diversity of their position in the countries they live. According to Article 2, those who are the members of the sovereign and constituent Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereinafter: Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina), the members of the Croatian minorities in European countries (hereinafter: Croatian minorities) and Croats who emigrated overseas and to European countries and their offspring (hereinafter: Croatian emigrants/diaspora).

The aim of this paper is primarily to point out the stance of Croatian national policies towards this exceptionally important issue and the wealth existing outside its borders. Furthermore, the aim is to offer suggestions on how to try to transform the negative aspects of emigration into comparable advantages. Only certain aspects of the legal and institutional framework of promoting cooperation with Croats abroad have been dealt with in this paper, because neither the size nor the purpose of the paper allowed for a comprehensive analysis of this complex and utterly important task of the Croatian national politics.

LEGAL AND INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

"The Republic of Croatia shall safeguard the rights and interests of its citizens living or residing abroad, and shall promote their ties to their homeland. The Republic of Croatia shall guarantee particular care and protection to those portions of the Croatian nation in other countries." (Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, Article 10)

Pursuant to the above sentences, the Government of the Republic of Croatia has adopted the Strategy on the Relations between Croatia and Croats Abroad (hereinafter:

the Strategy)[1]. The Strategy has set four basic aims. Its short-term aims are to establish a legal and institutional framework for cooperation with Croats abroad, adopt the Act, establish a central state administration body responsible for relations with Croats abroad and establish the Council of the Government for Croats Abroad (hereinafter: the Council). The three long-term aims are to protect the rights and interests of Croats abroad and strengthen their communities, develop a systematic cooperation with Croats abroad and encourage the return of Croatian emigrants and their offspring to Croatia.

The first aim was reached rather quickly. In the same year, the Croatian Parliament adopted the Act[2], which was followed by the foundation of the State Office for Croats Abroad[3] (hereinafter: the State Office), a central state administration body responsible for the relations between the Republic of Croatia and Croats abroad, as well as the foundation of the Council of the Government[4], an advisory body whose task is to assist the Government of the Republic of Croatia in creating and implementing policies, activities and programmes related to Croats abroad. This created an appropriate legal and institutional framework for the promotion and strengthening of cooperation with Croats abroad as the basis for the realisation of the above-mentioned long-term aims of the Strategy and hence also the Act.[5]

The adoption of the Act and the foundation of the State Office represent the first instance in the history of democratic Croatia of regulating relations with Croatian communities throughout the world in a systematic manner, which is a guarantee and prerequisite for a successful partnership and cooperation as well as for the realisation of Croatian national interests. A special value can also be found in the fact that the adoption of the Act and the Strategy was preceded by a broad public discussion where all relevant the people within and outside Croatia participated (Croatian communities throughout the world and Croatian catholic missions).[6]

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[1] The Strategy was adopted at the meeting of the Government of the Republic of Croatia held on 5 May 2011.

[2] The Croatian Parliament adopted the Act on the Relations between the Republic of Croatia and Croats Abroad on 21 October 2011.

[3] The Croatian Government adopted the Decree on Internal Organisation of the State Office for Croats Abroad on 3 May 2012.

[4] The Government adopted the Decision on the Foundation and Appointment of Members of the Council of the Government for Croats Abroad on 6 June 2013, and the first constituent meeting of the Council was held on 19 December of the same year in Zagreb.

[5] Until then, Croatia had spacial or partial laws and bylaws, as well as international legal instruments, which directly or indirectly regulated the relations with Croats abroad. In terms of institutions, this issue was dealt with by the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of the Republic of Croatia and the Croatian Heritage Foundation as a public institution.

[6] Throughout centuries, Croatian catholic missions worldwide played a key role in preserving Croatian identity, tradition and culture among the members of Croatian emigrant communities throughout the world.

PROGRAMMES AND PROJECT OF THE STATE OFFICE FOR CROATS ABROAD

Since Croats abroad live in very different circumstances, a different approach to every community is also required.[7] For example, Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina are a constitutive nation and Bosnia and Herzegovina is their homeland and it is therefore in Croatia's interest to preserve and strengthen their position and to ensure that they stay in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the case of Croatian emigrants, the Croatian interest, apart from protecting their rights and strengthening Croatian communities, is that they return to Croatia. The Croatian minorities who have lived for more than five centuries in twelve different countries also require a special approach.[8]

According to a clearly defined strategic framework, the State Office implements a number of programmes, projects and activities in order to achieve the Croatian national interests from the above-mentioned legal instruments. The State Office supports, through different programmes and projects, numerous activities of Croats abroad which enable a more successful preservation and strengthening of Croatian identity and prosperity, as well as the establishment, maintenance and promotion of relations and strengthening of mutual cooperation in the area of culture, education, science, health, economy, sport, etc. (Activities and achievements (2015), p. 10).

Supporting the return and survival of Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the realisation of their full equality, is a strategic interest of the Republic of Croatia. Therefore, the State Office implements programmes of support for the Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina by co-financing larger, strategically important cultural, educational, scientific, health and other projects and programmes which contribute to the strengthening of their position and to their survival in Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the same time, these projects contribute to the prosperity of the entire Bosnia and Herzegovina, with Croats as its indivisible and constituent part.[9]

Special programmes for Croatian minorities have also been implemented with the aim to strengthen the relations with Croatia, as well as to additionally stimulate the realisation of their minority rights guaranteed by multilateral international agreements and

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[7] For this reason the term emigrants or Croats abroad is not used because Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina are a constitutive nation whose homeland is Bosnia and Herzegovina.

[8] Croatia signed agreements on the mutual protection of minorities with Montenegro (2009), Hungary (1995), Macedonia (2007) and Serbia (2004). Intergovernmental committees were established in order to monitor the implementation of the agreements at governmental level. The State Office for Croats Abroad is a body responsible for coordination, preparation and implementation of meetings of intergovernmental committees, and the Head of the State Office is the co-chair of all intergovernmental committees for the protection of minorities.

[9] This is especially important considering the stability of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a neighbouring and friendly country, with which Croatia has the longest border (more than 1,000 km long), which also became the border of the EU when Croatia became an EU member in 2013.

bilateral agreements which Croatia signed with certain countries where Croatian minorities live.[10]

For the first time ever, there is a programme of support for the projects of Croatian communities in diaspora. Also for the first time, there is a programme of support for publishing done by Croats abroad. These programmes are very important for several reasons. For centuries, until the independent and autonomous Republic of Croatia was estalished, the Croatian emigration has, independently or with the help of Croatian catholic missions, taken care of (and managed to preserve) the Croatian language, culture and tradition by using its own resources (time, money, energy). Furthermore, these activities contribute to a further strengthening of Croatian communities in diaspora, to the strengthening of Croatian togetherness and of mutual trust and partnership.

A particularly important programme is the programme of scholarships for learning the Croatian language by financing a two-semester course at the faculties of humanities and social sciences at the universities of Zagreb, Split and Rijeka. This programme enables Croats from all around the world to learn the Croatian language and about Croatian culture and it also contributes to the creation of stronger connections, as well as to a better mutual understanding. As an expression of a permanent care for younger generations, there is also a programme of scholarships for the members of the Croatian constituent people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the financing of their education in the Republic of Croatia.

Media projects, whose aim is to contribute to a better informedness of Croats abroad about the events in Croatia, to a better informedness of Croatian citizens about Croats abroad and to the mutual exchange of information and relations between Croatian communities worldwide, have also been launched and financed.

A welcome office was established within the State Office and its aim is to facilitate the return of Croatian emigrants and to offer them all the necessary support when they return to Croatia. The Act also provides them with a mentor/counsellor who assists the returnees in the process of integration (Article 57).

Although for the time being we will put the analysis of numerous very interesting theories about the return (Kunuroglu, F., van de Vijever, F., Yagmur, K., 2016; Cassarino, 2004) and the typology of the returnees aside, the fact still remains that each return, as well as each departure (provided of course that we are dealing with voluntary departures and returns), is a highly complex process that requires serious preparations. This process is much easier if the information about the country of origin is very detailed and the connection between countries permanent (this is also an important task performed by the State Office through its welcome office).

In May 2015, the State Office organized a round table named *Croatia is my choice — advantages and possibilities of return to the Republic of Croatia* with discussions

[10] Croatian minorities live in 12 countries: Austria, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, the Czech Republic, Montenegro, Romania, Macedonia, Hungary, Italy, Kosovo and Bulgaria.

about important issues related to the return (citizenship, Croatian language and the role of the media in creating a positive environment for encouraging the return). The participants (state officials, representatives of the media and young returnees) have provided some very interesting and predominantly positive conclusions about the possibilities of return and the justification of their decision to return.

It can be concluded that the Croats abroad represent a large asset and that by adopting the Act that established the State Office, Croatia has made an important and valuable step. Migrations are not necessarily negative or final because the acquired knowledge and experience of returnees contribute significantly to the development and prosperity of Croatia. It is important to cherish good and healthy relations in order not to lose the connection with the homeland. Regular information about the possibilities of a return and returnees and the related positive environment are important factors in encouraging returns (Activities and achievements (2015), p. 83).

Pursuant to the Act and in cooperation with the competent ministries and other institutions, the State Office coordinates the solving of issues about the status, encourages economic cooperation, provides important information about the rights of returnees, assists them in this process and offers support and assistance in emergency situations (floods in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2014). Furthermore, it supervises the implementation of international agreements on the protection of minorities' rights, organizes video conferences in order to inform the members of the Council of the Government and performs numerous other activities with the aim to promote the relations and to strengthen the connections between Croatia and Croats abroad (Bošnjak, Ćorić, 2014).

The Strategy and the Act are comprehensive and cover all aspects of the relations between Croatia and Croats abroad. If we compare the Irish strategy for relations with emigrants (Global Irish), we can see many similarities and analogies. Even though in terms of numbers the case of Irish emigration is similar to Croatian, there is one very important difference. When they return to their homeland, the Irish emigrants are not faced with the problem of language, which is not the case with the numerous Croatian emigrants/returnees, especially with the second and the third generation of Croatian emigrants. That is an important difference. Croatia spends substantial financial and human resources to preserve the Croatian language as the basis of Croatian identity. Through the Ministry of Education, Croatia organizes additional Croatian language education in more than 20 countries worldwide. The State Office finances Croatian emigrants to learn Croatian at the universities of Zagreb, Split and Rijeka. Croatian language courses are also organized in cooperation with Croatian communities, especially in South American countries.

CONCLUSION

It is not necessary to additionally elaborate the value of the potential Croatia has outside its borders. Furthermore, the fact that so many Croatian people live abroad implies that they are connected in numerous ways with their homeland, that they need it, that they have certain expectations from it, and certain needs. We can therefore conclude that Croatia must have an answer to those questions and needs, and that it must regulate the relations with its compatriots who live abroad in a systematic and institutional manner. Additional complexity lies in the fact that Croats abroad have different positions in the countries they live in, so we can differentiate between three groups of Croats abroad. Their needs are in most cases rather different and require various projects, programmes and adjustments in the work being performed.

Croatia has therefore rightly and responsibly decided to revive its constitutional obligation to establish a systematic cooperation with Croats abroad, thus creating primarily a legal and then an institutional framework which was preceded by a consensus between all political parties. The Strategy is not just a dead letter. Out of its four set aims, the first one (the short-term one) has been completely realised, and the realisation of the three remaining aims is a continuous and long-lasting process.

The State Office for Croats Abroad, as a central state administration body responsible for the relations with Croats abroad, realises the three basic aims of the Act through a number of projects, programmes and activities. The aims are the protection of the rights and interests of Croats abroad and strengthening their communities; promotion of scientific, educational, cultural and economic cooperation, as well as a cooperation in sport and in other areas; also encouraging and assisting the return of emigrants and their offspring.

According to the conclusions of the participants of the round table *Croatia is my choice — advantages and possibilities of return to the Republic of Croatia*, it is obvious that the young offspring of Croatian emigrants are returning, recognizing the advantages and the quality of life in Croatia as a European and a Mediterranean country. They bring new ideas, new knowledge, new experience and a network of their social contacts from the world and countries they were born in. Precisely this is the largest asset that Croatia has, this huge network it has throughout the world, regardless of the return. The largest extent of this strength was demonstrated during the foundation and defence of the Republic of Croatia. We need to strengthen the cooperation with these people, to cherish contacts, communicate, provide mutual information, strengthen mutual trust and partnership.

What we hold important is the fact that the Republic of Croatia has, by creating a legal and institutional framework for the promotion and strengthening of cooperation with Croats abroad, made an important step forward, created solid foundations and shown maturity and responsibility of the Croatian national policies in this important area. We believe that a consistent, systematic and institutional implementation of all aims defined in the Strategy and the Act will result in success. Even though Croatia, as a Mediterranean country and a member of the European Union, is very attractive to live in, it is difficult to expect a massive return to Croatia without a comprehensive and serious immigration policy, special programmes and incentives, as foreseen in the Strategy.

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VOLUNTEERISM AS A CONTRIBUTOR TO LIFE QUALITY: A CASE STUDY OF THE ISLAND OF VIS

Abstract

Life on Croatian islands is characterized by certain features that make it quite different from life on the mainland. People on islands, especially those that are distant from the mainland, have a strong sense of isolation. They are more oriented towards and focused on themselves. They tend to have strong feelings of isolation no matter how well-connected they are to the mainland. This has a critical impact on their quality of life.

Our research question here is: to what extent might volunteerism add to the quality of life on Croatian islands?

Volunteerism is a complex concept which has been defined in different ways and used to describe various types of activities. Most definitions of volunteerism are focused on the notion of helping others without receiving material reward, with an emphasis on the free will of the volunteer.

Volunteerism could be one of the keys for improving the quality of life on Croatian islands because of the social nature of being a volunteer. Volunteerism could break down the sense of isolation and re-orient people toward each other. Helping other people in the community could also help with the quality, sustainability and existence of life on these islands.

This paper explores possible ways that volunteerism could contribute to the quality of life quality on Croatian islands. The literature review focuses on quality of life and volunteerism. The paper suggests a few examples of how volunteerism could affect life on the Croatian island of Vis. This paper describes some small but important steps of volunteer activities and explains how these activities might impact the quality life of the people who live on the island of Vis.

Primary research has been conducted by observing volunteer activities on the island of Vis.

Secondary research in this paper considers life quality and volunteerism and applies that to life on the Croatian island of Vis.

Key words: *volunteerism, life quality, sustainable development, island of Vis*

CROATIAN ISLANDS — THE ISOLATED BEAUTY

Croatian islands have contrasting styles, with some similarities and some significant differences. They have attracted attention throughout human history from explorers, poets and various artists who have been intrigued by these interesting areas. According to Božanić (1996, 65, 66, Podgorelec, 2008, p. 13), the old Greek language described the islands with the word "nesos" which means "something which flows", while the Romans described the islands with the word "insula", i.e. "in salo", which means "something immersed into the sea". From that word (insula), many national languages also derive the word "isolation". People from the coast see an island as an area that is isolated, not connected with the land and judged on by the loneliness of the people there.

According to Anne Meistersheim (1994, Petak 2001, p. 7, Podgorelec, 2008, p. 13) there are three main approaches to studying Croatian islands. First, there are economic approaches which focus on isolation and restricted resources. The second is policy approach which uses the term "insularism" to describe life on islands. The third involves the sociological and psychological issues which arise from living in the isolated environment of an island.

According to the same author, insularity depicts the social role of individuals on islands. It is also a feature of other similar communities. It decreases social solidarity, social capital and social control. It is a unique characteristic that has a major impact on the traditional culture and worldview, as well as on the value system of communities on islands (Podgorelec, 2008, p. 13: Meistersheim, 1994; Petak, 2001, p. 7).

Insularity is also described by and associated with social distance, isolation, control and contact (communication) between individuals and between different groups (Podgorelec, 2008, p. 13; according to Petak, 2001, p. 8). These authors suggest that isolation is a characteristic which is connected to islands. No matter how well islands are connected with the mainland, the people who live on them have strong feelings of isolation. It is something they cannot avoid. It can be said that isolation is their destiny. It strongly defines them, their culture and their behavior. The next question is what effect this isolation has on the quality of life on islands and how it can be mitigated.

QUALITY OF LIFE

The concept of quality of life has changed throughout history. In the middle of the 20th century, the term quality of life was usually equated with the economic situation. The stronger the economy, the better, it was assumed, quality of life would be. This explains how quality of life was studied as a regular part of economic research. Other variables associated with quality of life were not included in the earliest studies of islands.

More recently, researchers have realized that economic factors are not the only ones which are relevant and that other factors should be included, such as quality of life. Quality of life was not seen so much as an objective category. It could not be easily measured by economic and social conditions. People with similar economic conditions might report that they were differently satisfied and therefore might perceive different levels of quality of life. It seems that individual characteristics of a person may have a greater impact on the perceived quality of live than the economic situation of the place where that person lives.

There are differences in defining the concept "quality of life". For example, Bowling (1991, according to Man Cheung Chung, 1997, p. 81) defines it in terms of how individuals respond to physical and emotional illnesses, while Fallowfield (1990, according to Man Cheung Chung, 1997, p. 81) sees quality of life as successful functioning in psychological, social, occupational and physical domains.

However, most authors agree that there are subjective and objective categories in many quality-of-life dimensions. The subjective dimension considers an individual's ability to perform and enjoy different roles, such as work; social, family and community roles. It also considers incorporated personal satisfaction, "spiritual rewards", moral and social well-being. As we already mentioned, economic status contributes to quality of life and it represents its objective dimension. For example, Kaplan et al. (Kaplan, Bush and Berry, 1976, according to Man Cheung Chung, 1997, p. 81) write about the impact of health on well-being and conclude that access to health care can significantly improve quality of life.

Many researchers recognize the perceived value of studying quality of life (Pastuović, 1993, p. 473). Sociologists and economists note how quality of life can be conditioned by various aspects of people's environment. Some authors define quality of life as a complex experience of each person's satisfaction or discontent with meeting their personal needs and whether they consider themselves a personal success or not (Pastuović, 1993, p. 474 according to Krizmanić and Kolesarić, 1989.). Quality of life is a complex phenomenon which includes one's environment, the perceived experience of that environment and the extent to which a person's needs are satisfied.

VOLUNTEERISM — A CONCEPT THAT MAKES THE WORLD A BETTER PLACE

What is volunteerism? Why is it important? Does volunteerism improve quality of life? What is its impact on the lives of people who live on Croatian islands? These are just some of the questions that have intrigued the authors of this paper. The research question here is whether volunteering activities on islands can improve the quality of people's lives.

Most definitions of volunteerism are focused on various aspects of helping others without receiving a material reward. The word "volunteer" itself suggests in its roots the importance of volition, or free will (Haski-Leventhal, D. 2009, p. 272). Some researchers suggest volunteering consists of four major components: (1) behaviour characterized by free will, (2) the lack of financial gain, (3) the goal of helping others and (4) that it takes place in a formal setting (Haski-Leventhal, D. 2009, p. 272).

Perhaps one of the most appropriate definitions of volunteering is one suggested by the International Labor Organization (ILO) which says: "Unpaid non-compulsory work; that is, time individuals give without pay to activities performed either through an organization or directly for others outside their own household" (Manual of Measurement of Volunteer Work, 2011, p. 13). This definition includes terms such as *work*, *unpaid*, *non-compulsory*, *direct* and *organizational*.

The word volunteering can have different connotations and meanings in different cultures. In different parts of the world, there are different attitudes to volunteerism.

For example, in Russia, there is no specific word to describe volunteers, while in India instead of voluntarism they use the term "social work" (Hustinx, L., A. Cnaan, R., Handy, F., 2010, p. 411).

Volunteer activities can have a strong impact on the economy but that value is often ignored by statisticians, because it does not include financial transactions and is not easy to track and measure. According to some sources, each year 1 billion people engage themselves in volunteering worldwide (Manual of Measurement of Volunteer Work, 2011, p. 13). Some measure the impact on economies as huge. For example, in the USA, it is estimated that 61.8 million people volunteer each year and contribute about 8 billion working hours, which is equivalent to USD 162 billion (http://www.idealist.org/info/Volunteer/Why).

According to many researchers, volunteering brings many benefits for individual volunteers as well. It can enhance self-esteem, socialization, career exploration and various kinds of health benefits.

As it can be seen from this data, volunteerism adds different kinds of value to individuals, organizations and society as a whole. Volunteer activities have a stronger impact on society than most people think. That brings us directly to our research question: what impact could volunteerism have on the quality of life of the people who live on the island of Vis? Could practicing volunteering activities brings some benefits and improve their life quality?

VOLUNTEERISM AS A CONTRIBUTOR TO QUALITY OF LIFE — SMALL BUT IMPORTANT AND BRIGHT EXAMPLES OF VOLUNTEERING ACTIVITIES AT THE ISLAND OF VIS

The island of Vis is one of the most beautiful and distant inhabited Croatian islands, with about 3,600 people who live there (Nejami, I, Mišetić, R. 2006, p. 291). The number of people who live on the island has declined over the past 100 years. During the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the beginning of 20th century, there were almost 10,000 people who lived on the island (Nejami, I, Mišetić, R. 2006, p. 291). From that period until now, the number of the island's inhabitants has constantly been declining.

Although the island of Vis officially has about 3,600 residents, that number can greatly vary depending on the time of the year. The summer tourism sector has been developing during the last few decades and is one of the reasons why so many people visit the island. When it comes to the number of island residents, it can be said that the year on island of Vis is divided into two periods. First, when the island is full of tourists and second, when the tourist season is over and the island is almost empty.

The first part of the year is when most activities on the island are connected with the tourist season and it usually lasts from May until November. During that period, the number of people who stay on the island almost triples. It reaches about 10,000 people at any given time. This period is characterized by many activities which are connected to tourism and the island is full of life. The second part of the year lasts from

December until April and is a much quieter time. It is the colder part of the year, tourists are gone and during this period life on the island slows down.

The island literally sleeps during that period and waits to be awakened by nicer weather. But what about the people who live on the island during this quieter period? What about their quality of life? As it was already mentioned, quality of life is mostly a perceived phenomenon but depends also on the environment. Are there some activities which can improve the quality of life of people who live on the island of Vis during the winter period?

There are 19 active non-profit organizations on the island of Vis (http://www.grad-vis.hr/o-visu/o-gradu-visu/osnovni-podaci). These include sports, cultural and other type of organizations. This paper will present three non-profits who rely heavily on volunteers; in fact, their whole work is based completely on volunteering. The volunteers give of themselves with free will, without receiving any tangible reward. Their only goal is to help provide a better life to their fellow citizens.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL IN VIS — "ISSA PUPILS' COOPERATIVE"

The ISSA Pupils' Cooperative was established in 2002 with the idea to ensure the practical knowledge of students about their island, provide them with social activities during the bleak winter times and raise their awareness about the island and the environment they live in. The goal of the Cooperative is to educate pupils and to prepare and adapt them to live in solidarity with the land and to recognize the beauty that surrounds them (http://os-vis.skole.hr/skola/projekti/issa).

The Cooperative consists of five sections: (1) collecting, processing and placing medical herbs section; (2) the fruit-vineyard section; (3) the ceramic section (souvenirs); (4) the traditional foods of the region and collecting recipes and their preparation section; and (5) the fostering national heritage section (http://os-vis.skole.hr/skola/projekti/issa). They make valuable contributions to the quality of life on the island, and do so as a completely volunteer-based resource.

Their first big project, and one which they are particularly proud of, is a published book named „Škoj na pjat" (Island on Plate). This book is about old food recipes from the island of Vis. The students collected old recipes from their mothers, grandmothers and aunts and brought them to school. With their teachers and mentors, they consolidated these recipes and presented them in the book.

This book was very well-received by the local people as well as those outside the island. It has received a few awards at the national level. Two editions of the book were completely sold out and the book was translated into two foreign languages — Italian and English. The idea of students asking mothers, grandmothers and aunts for recipes and turning that into a book is one of the most important determinants of this gastronomic-phenomenological project and is much more than a children's extracurricular activity.

The book has also helped preserve the cultural heritage of the island of Vis as it was written in the local dialect of the island. This fact gives the book an added value. The pupils, teachers and residents of Vis are very proud of this fact. And they have reason to be.

The other project of which they are also proud is another published book “Myths and Legends of the island of Vis”, which was also completely written by the students of the ISSA Pupils’ Cooperative. The goal of this project was to present the island in a completely different way than it is presented by usual tourist practices.

According to the words of Professor Maja Dumančić, the head of the ISSA Pupils’ Cooperative, their intention was “to develop creativity, love for heritage and entrepreneurial spirit of pupils and local community by working on the project, collecting the stories of the old islanders, word processing and visiting and photographing sites to which the stories were related” (http://www.slobodnadalmacija.hr/dalmacija/split-zupanija/clanak/id/114393/ukoricili-mitove-i-legende-otoka-visa).

While working on this project, the students acquired basic knowledge of their cultural heritage and raised awareness about their own island identity and the richness of the environment they live in. They also learned about their cultural heritage and acquired basic knowledge that was useful for the tourist promotion of the island. In fact, many of the students became tourist guides around the island, using the information gathered for this book.

These books are not just ordinary cookbooks or promotional brochures. They are much more than that. This is an initiative which adds a lot of value to the quality of life on the island of Vis and brings meaning into the lives of the residents. This initiative is also significant because it involves the youth who are the future of the island.

DANCING CLUB VIS

The Vis Dancing Club is another non-profit organization that has added value to the quality of life on the island of Vis. Established in 2006, it aims to educate the islanders (especially children) about dancing and provide them with some social activity during the winter period. The participants in the Vis Dancing Club are all volunteers who act freely and without receiving any monetary reward.

During the last ten years, the Dancing Club Vis has involved more than 400 participants, including about 250 adults and 150 children. The Club connects adult participants with people from other dancing clubs by sharing information and networking their contacts. The Club works with children through educational programs and by introducing them to the work of other cultural organizations. They also organize dance competitions for the children.

It is interesting to note that the Dance Club has a tradition of keeping the graduates of its children’s program involved. One way they continue to be involved is by volunteering to become teachers for the next generation. According to Ms. Vesna Mratinić[1], president of Dancing Club Vis, the aim of their organization is "to inform the population of the island of Vis about dance as a possibility of recreation and entertainment, sports and customs."

They also try to teach the children that they can determine the conditions in which they live. They motivate the children to become involved in other volunteer opportunities that improve the life quality on the island, despite the island's limitations. They also familiarize them with the work of other dance clubs on the mainland and they try to develop the competitive spirit of the children. In this way, they realize that their natural limits and separation from the mainland do not have to be obstacles to the realization of their life's dreams and desire.

A lot of former participants remember the time spent at the Dance Club. Current participants enjoy the activity. They do not consider it an obligation. Rather, it is a good time, and they willingly enjoy the participation. The very physical activity and the social activity among the participants have a positive impact on the health and welfare of the people, especially in the bleak winter times.

The commitment of the volunteers who make the Dance Club a reality, as well as the responsibility they show toward their participants, enhances the life quality on the island of Vis. The fact that they can accomplish this even though everything done is based on free will is a significant factor that makes this model replicable for other islands in Croatia.

CROATIAN URBAN MUSIC VIS

Croatian Urban Music Vis is another non-profit organization on the island of Vis. Today, there are 20 people who are a part of the band and each of them is a volunteer. They are not paid for their services.

Their main goal is to provide music content for the people of Vis. They organize concerts and different kinds of musical presentations throughout the whole year, especially during the winter time when the island is almost empty. During winter, they also organize social events for the people. The aim of these events is to give their fellow citizens some musical content to enjoy. All these events are completely voluntary.

Traditionally, they organize concerts for Christmas, New Year, the Carnival time and the Day of the City of Vis. One of their praiseworthy initiatives occurred when they organized a fundraising concert for a flooded area of Vis. All income raised from the concert was donated to the purpose of flood relief.

It is interesting to see how one small community could rally behind such a cause and organize a way for everyone to help — using volunteers. The whole idea added an even larger social value because the activity was completely based on free will and the altruistic aim of helping others. In addition to providing flood relief, they were providing an opportunity for socialization, networking and connection for the members of

[1] According to an informal interview done on the island of Vis on September 20 2016.

the orchestra as well as the other inhabitants of the island of Vis who often do not socialize during the bleak winter times.

There are other examples of organizations on the island of Vis which are based on voluntary work with aim to improve life quality. They include the Ranko Marinković Memorial Collection, the Matica Hrvatska, HPD Hum and others. Each of these voluntary organizations has a unique way to add to the life quality of the residents on the island of Vis.

The three examples featured in this article illustrate how volunteer activities can add social value to the island of Vis. Cultural activities such as dancing, playing musical instruments and writing culturally valuable books are three ways in which volunteers have a strong impact on the island's sense of community. One band, a few books and a dancing club might seem so ordinary. However, upon deeper reflection, these examples reveal that the Vis citizens can organize themselves in order to dispel the negative effects of the isolation on the island. They demonstrate how a small group of people can make a difference in quality of life. What is most impressive is that they are breathing some new life into the people on the island of Vis.

CONCLUSION

This paper demonstrates how volunteerism can enhance life quality on the Croatian island of Vis. According to the studied examples shared in this article, and the sources cited, volunteer activities are already providing many personal, social and health benefits to the people on the island of Vis. These activities are enhancing self-esteem, socialization, career expansion and even provide flood relief to improve life quality.

A quick glance might show there is no life on the island of Vis during the winter period. One might look at the numbers of inhabitants that depart the island for the winter, and consider the fact that the overall population is declining, and conclude that life is dying on this island. However, a deeper look at life on the island demonstrates a resurgent effort to restore life, and the quality of that life. Significantly, this effort is being led by voluntary organizations.

This paper suggests that these small but bright examples of volunteering activities on the island of Vis are signs of hope for the future. While the people involved might not even realize the significance of their voluntary efforts, they are helping themselves and each other to create an improved life quality for the people on the island.

It is significant that this is all being done voluntarily. The main motivation of the volunteers described here is to help people, whether that is by providing musical content, organizing dance activities or writing cultural books, all of which focuses on the winter period. This is breathing new life into the whole island and its citizens. It is interesting to see how they are aware of the fact that isolation is something that cannot be totally avoided but can be successfully bridged.

The small examples provided in this paper show that there are still people who are aware that with generous help from each other, volunteers can provide social and psychological benefits for the whole community. It is important to note that some of them are not even aware that they are volunteering per se. They are just contributing. But the results are clear. In essence, the island is full of life during the whole year, due to the people who recognized that they are responsible and able to contribute and help. These bright and important examples are hope that the island of Vis will keep their citizens and maintain life on this beautiful Mediterranean island.

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MARINE LITTER ISSUE IN THE ADRIATIC SEA

Abstract

Marine litter has recently been more and more recognized as serious environmental problem with significant economic, social and health impacts. Problems like beach clean-up costs, degraded fish stocks, damaged fishing gear and health risks of micro-plastic require coordinated actions. Marine litter is generated solely due to human activities, on land or at sea. It is estimated that about 80% of marine litter comes from land-based sources and 20% ends in the sea as a result of irresponsible maritime transport and fisheries. Improving waste management in Croatia should be the key long-term strategy in combating marine litter in the Adriatic Sea. Since marine litter knows no boundaries, it represents a shared problem that cannot be successfully tackled within national borders. The most relevant policy instruments dealing with this huge environmental problem are: the European Union Marine Strategy Framework Directive (2008/56/EC) and the Regional Plan on Marine Litter Management in the Mediterranean. The EU Marine Strategy Framework Directive sets ambitious objective to achieve and maintain good environmental status of European seas and oceans by 2020. This article analyses the activities Croatia has undertaken in recent years to deal with this problem in its part of the Adriatic Sea. It presents the results of the survey conducted among the key stakeholders on their perceptions on marine litter issues and the results of the cost-benefit analysis on marine litter management in the Adriatic Sea.

Key words: *marine litter, Adriatic Sea, EU Marine Strategy Framework Directive, waste management, cost-benefit analysis*

INTRODUCTION

Marine litter is becoming a significant threat to the preservation of the global environment and is a growing economic, health and social problem. It is defined as "any persistent, manufactured or processed solid material discarded, disposed of or abandoned in the marine and coastal environment" (UNEP, 2009, p 13). The Croatian Law on Sustainable Waste Management (OG 94/13) defines it as "a result of human activities on land or at sea, located on the surface of the sea, within the water column, on the seafloor or flooded ashore." Current estimates say that only "circa 15% of marine litter ends up on the beaches, 15% is floating in water columns or on the sea surface, while the main portion, 70%, ends up on the seabed" (OSPAR, 1995).

Dominant sources of marine litter in the Mediterranean are land-based activities and activities at sea. About 80% of marine litter comes from land-based sources (runoff, rivers containing litter emptying into the sea, rainwater sewers, sewage outlets, airborn garbage, industrial waste, poorly managed landfill sites, careless disposal of rubbish on beaches) and 20% of marine litter ends up in the sea as a result of irresponsible maritime transport and fisheries (cargo and passenger ships of all sizes, commercial and recreational fishing vessels, offshore oil and gas rig-platform debris) (MEdIES, 2014).

Plastic is by far the most dominant fraction in marine litter (50-75%)[1]. In the last thirty years, plastic has become the dominant material used in the production processes for a number of advantages: it is lightweight, inexpensive and durable. At the same time, plastic has, due to these characteristics, become a major threat to the environment. The importance of removing plastic waste from the marine environment is related to its slow degradation rate. In the stages of decomposition on the microscopic scale, its hazardous properties become even more dangerous. For example, some estimates suggest that the decomposition time of one glass bottle is one million years, of plastic bottles 450 years, of fishing nylon 600 years and of organic waste such as banana or orange peel anywhere from two to five weeks (NRPA, 2015).

The main negative environmental impacts of marine litter include those that harm marine animals. Recent studies have pointed out the irreversible damage that marine litter creates in the marine environment, which is related to the marine ecosystems functions. If different species of animals in marine and coastal habitats (e.g. marine mammals, fish, turtles, birds) entangle themselves in fishing nets or ingest discarded objects, they may die.

The main negative socioeconomic impacts of marine litter manifest in increased expenses for local communities in coastal areas due to the clean-up of polluted beaches and remediation of illegal landfills. In terms of consequences for fisheries, marine litter leads to damaged fishing nets, propellers, boats and other fishing gear and to a reduced amount of catch. With regard to tourism, coastal areas that are contaminated with marine litter get negative publicity which leads to a decrease in tourist activity and tourism revenues. It is estimated that “up to 50% of marine litter in the Mediterranean comes from tourism related activities” (Tišma, Škunca, Boromisa, & Čermak, 2015, p. 293). Regarding the maritime transport-and-shipping sector, marine litter causes damage to marine equipment, engines and pollutes seaports.

Marine litter also represents a threat to human health. Sharp objects or sanitary waste on beaches represent a health hazard, causing infections, injuries and cuts due to infected substance containers, broken glass and cans, syringes, etc. There is also an issue of potential impacts of micro-plastics ingested by marine fauna, and consumed later on by humans (Tišma et al., 2015).

Since the quantity of marine litter is increasing, the problem is becoming more severe. The emergence of new production materials, the economic growth of developing countries, weaknesses related to marine litter management and legislative frameworks represent global challenges that have to be tackled with urgency and care.

[1] The top items being plastic bags, bottles and crisp/sweets packaging.

GLOBAL FRAMEWORK FOR MARINE LITTER MANAGEMENT

On a global scale, the problem of marine litter was first brought to the world's attention in the 1980s, when the first efforts were initiated by the United Nations in order to diminish and prevent waste from marine sources. In 1982, the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) was opened for signature. It represented the so-called constitution for the oceans and marked the beginning of creating an international legal framework for the management of seas and oceans. With this Convention, each country with access to the sea received an authorization for the application of national standards and measures on the prevention of pollution in their territorial waters. In 1983, the International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution from Ships with the accompanying Protocol (MARPOL) came into force. It represents the main international convention covering the prevention of pollution of the marine environment by ships from operational or accidental causes.

In the 1990s, it was revealed that most of marine litter did not come from ships but from the mainland, so in 1995 the Washington Declaration on the Protection of the Marine Environment from Land-Based Activities was adopted. The same year, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) launched the Global Program of Action for the Protection of the Marine Environment from Land-Based Activities, thereby creating an international partnership for sustainable marine management. All participating countries (108 government representatives, including the European Commission) have pledged to adopt national action plans to meet the established global targets.

The last evaluation of national action plans for the marine environment was carried out at the world leaders' summit in Manila in 2012. It was concluded that since 1995, 72 countries have established some form of national policies to protect the sea from land-based pollution (UNEP, 2012). From 2007 to 2011 almost all the world's countries have recognized the economic value and importance of marine and coastal resources in the development of national and local economies.

At the Rio+20 summit in 2012, the discussion on the sustainable use of oceans and the so-called blue economy was one of the key topics, while "significant marine litter reduction at global level was the only new target agreed at the Rio+20 summit" (UNEP, 2014, p. 1).

Based on global guidelines, a number of regional initiatives for the protection of the marine environment with the corresponding action plans were launched. They define the areas and objectives of environmental protection for individual seas. There were four European Regional Sea Conventions: the Convention for the Protection of the Marine Environment in the North-East Atlantic (OSPAR Convention, 1992), the Convention on the Protection of the Marine Environment in the Baltic Sea Area (Helsinki Convention, 1992), the Convention for the Protection of the Marine Environment and the Coastal Region of the Mediterranean (Barcelona Convention, 1976) and the Convention for the Protection of the Black Sea (Bucharest Convention, 1992).

Regional conventions and action plans play a key role in meeting the objectives of the Global Programme of Action for the Protection of the Marine Environment from Land-based Activities. Countries that signed regional conventions have adopted protocols that contain binding targets for the prevention of waste from land-based sources. The Mediterranean region adopted the first Protocol on Land-Based Sources of Pollution in 1980 and the first Regional Action Plan on Marine Litter in 2014. In this way the Mediterranean region became a leader and an example of good practice in this area. The impetus for the Plan was the growing degradation of the Mediterranean Sea from the impact of land activities. The share of plastics (83%) and other types of waste (17% — textile, paper, metal, wood) in the Mediterranean Sea litter was above average in comparison to the global level (UNEP, 2009, p. 97). The Plan became the fundamental basis for the countries of the Barcelona Convention to formulate national policies and plans for the prevention and control of marine pollution from land-based sources.

THE EUROPEAN UNION'S POLICY ON MARINE LITTER

The legislation and policies of the European Union (EU) in the field of the marine environment are based on international guidelines and on the provisions of international and regional agreements. EU legal framework for the management of European seas includes legal documents (directives, regulations and decisions) with a direct and indirect influence on the state of the marine environment and marine litter management.

The EU legislation that directly relates to the management and control of marine litter is comprised of the Marine Strategy Framework Directive (2008/56/EC), the Directive on port reception facilities for ship-generated waste and cargo residues (2000/59/EC) and the Directive on ship-source pollution (2009/123/EC). The EU legislation that indirectly relates to marine litter management includes the Waste Framework Directive (2008/98/EC), the Directive on the landfill of waste (1999/31/EC) and a number of directives dealing with specific types of waste[2].

The most important directive for the establishment of a comprehensive and integrated approach to the protection of the marine environment is the Marine Strategy Framework Directive (2008/56/EC). It is the first legal instrument adopted by the EU in order to preserve biological diversity in the European seas. The adoption of the directive was prompted by the Thematic Strategy on the Protection and Conservation of the Marine Environment in 2005, which identified a growing problem of the degradation of biodiversity and marine habitats in European seas and oceans. The objective of the Directive is to achieve "good environmental status" in Europe's marine environment "by the year 2020". One of the innovations introduced by the Marine Strategy Frame-

[2] Packaging and Packaging Waste Directive (94/62/EC), Directive concerning integrated pollution prevention and control (96/61/EC), Urban Waste Water Treatment Directive (91/271/EC), Waste Electrical and Electronic Equipment Directive (WEEE) (2002/96/EC), Battery Directive (2006/66/EC), End-of Life Vehicle Directive (2000/53/EC), Ecodesign Directive (2009/125/EC).

work Directive is the concept of regionalization. The EU is divided into four marine regions: the Baltic Sea, the North-East Atlantic Ocean, the Mediterranean Sea and the Black Sea. “Good environmental status” is determined at the level of the marine region or subregion, based on 11 qualitative descriptors.

With the adoption of the Marine Strategy Framework Directive, marine litter has, for the first time, become a part of the EU environmental legislation. The Directive provided a complete and transparent legal framework for the implementation of measures for the sustainable use of the seas and for the conservation of marine ecosystems. As for the Member States, this meant an obligation to transpose the Directive into national legislation by 2010 or “to bring into force the laws, regulations and administrative provisions necessary to comply with the Directive”. Furthermore, this required the Member States to develop national Marine Strategies for their marine waters by 2015. Marine Strategies include several components: the initial assessment of the current environmental status of national marine waters and the environmental impact and the socioeconomic analysis of human activities in these waters, the establishment of environmental targets and associated indicators, the establishment of a monitoring programme and the development of a programme of measures designed to achieve a “good environmental status” by 2020. From 2018 onward, national Marine Strategies will be reviewed and preparations will be made for the second cycle of implementation starting in 2021 (European Commission, 2014).

The European Commission, in its communication “Towards a circular economy, a zero-waste programme for Europe", has proposed an ambitious goal of “reducing marine litter by 30% by 2020 for ten most common types of litter found on beaches, as well as for fishing gear found at sea, with the list adapted to each of the four marine regions in the EU” (European Commission, 2015, p.14).

MARINE LITTER MANAGEMENT IN CROATIA

Croatia has no special law for the management of marine litter. Marine litter is an integral part of the Law on Sustainable Waste Management (OG 94/13). The provisions of the Marine Strategy Framework Directive were transposed into national legislation within the Regulation establishing a framework for the action of the Republic of Croatia in the field of marine environmental protection (OG 136/11) and then expanded within the Regulation on the preparation and implementation of documents under the Coastal and Marine Management Strategy (OG 112/14). The initial assessment of the current environmental status of national marine waters for the Coastal and Marine Management Strategy has been made and the Coastal and Marine Management Strategy Action Programme (OG 153/14) was adopted.

There are two main sources of marine litter in Croatia: land-based and sea-based sources. Land-based sources are the dominant ones. The biggest problems are the negative effects of landfills in coastal areas, public wastewater systems and polluted rivers emptying into the sea. An additional problem emerges from illegal landfills that contaminate the soil and the groundwater, and also cause the degradation of the natural environment. The pollution of the Adriatic Sea from marine sources mainly relates to maritime transport and to the growth of cruise and nautical tourism. A particular risk for biological diversity in the sea is the ballast water from maritime cargo transport. Nautical tourism directly pollutes the marine environment by introducing alien species, discharging waste waters and disposing solid and liquid waste; however, there is no pollution control on the open sea (Institute of Economics, Zagreb & Faculty of Economics, University of Split, 2015, p. 62). The Adriatic Sea is also polluted by transboundary sources. Kwokal and Štefanović (2009) studied marine litter on the south-east coast of the Croatian Adriatic and concluded that 90% of marine litter originates from transboundary sources (Italy, Montenegro, Greece, Albania). Unsustainable fishing practices also cause marine litter, but the quantity of lost and discarded fishing gear in the Croatian part of the Adriatic is still unknown.

Marine litter in the Adriatic Sea presents a serious challenge, but public awareness about the problem is still low. The views and opinions of relevant stakeholders on this issue were considered within the DefishGear[3] project. The survey was conducted at the beginning of 2015 with two main goals. The first goal was to determine the objective situation of marine litter issues in Croatia by getting opinions of relevant stakeholders on the severity of the problem. The second objective was to raise awareness and foster collaboration among key stakeholders in the marine litter management. The semi-structured questionnaire was filled in by 18 stakeholders[4].

The results showed that the Ministry as the national stakeholder rates the situation in the policy area as satisfactory. Due to the fact that the provisions of the Marine Strategy Framework Directive were successfully transposed into national environmental legislation, the initial assessment of the current environmental status of national marine waters was prepared and an action programme for monitoring and observing the state of the Adriatic Sea was adopted. They also emphasized the fact that Croatia is the only country within the Adriatic macro-region that had established the National Committee for the Development and Implementation of the Marine Strategy, an inter-ministerial coordination mechanism designed to provide the coordination of the inter-linked policies on marine and coastal management. The lack of accurate quantitative data on the state of marine litter in the Croatian part of the Adriatic Sea has been identified as

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[3] DefishGear — Derelict Fishing Gear Management System in the Adriatic Region (10/2014-04/2016), IPA Adriatic Cross-Border Cooperation Programme 2007—2013, Public Institution RERA SD for coordination and development of Split-Dalmatia County, Institute for Development and International Relations, Zagreb.

[4] The selected sample consisted of: one representative of the national authority responsible for the transfer and implementation of the provisions of the Marine Strategy Framework Directive (Ministry of Environmental and Nature Protection), 15 representatives of local authorities that manage municipal waste within their jurisdiction (nine on the northern part of the Adriatic Croatia and six on the southern part of the Adriatic Croatia) and two green NGOs dealing with the protection of the marine environment (Association Sun, Split and Association Žmergo, Opatija)

a major drawback for the implementation of successful and consistent policy. The lack of regional cooperation in the implementation of the Marine Strategy Framework Directive has also been highlighted as a problem. Marine litter management in Croatia, like in other countries of the Adriatic macro-region, is carried out as a part of the legislation related to the disposal of municipal waste, in which the marine litter is recognized as a separate category of waste. The revision of the existing legislation is currently in process, and it is expected to give greater importance to the problem of marine litter. The Ministry also expressed the problem of comprehensiveness in the implementation of monitoring and control over the state of the marine litter, as well as low public awareness of the marine litter problem. The key difficulties in the implementation of measures related to marine litter management are the shortcomings of the legislative framework, the lack of funding and the lack of coordination among key stakeholders.

The representatives of the local authorities, and the representatives of green NGOs assessed the gravity of the marine litter problem as a serious one. Local authorities from southern Croatian coast expressed greater concerns about marine litter problems and reported larger quantities of marine litter compared to northern Croatia. This is not surprising given the exposure of the southern Croatian coast to the risks of transboundary pollution. The main sources of marine litter on the beaches, according to the stakeholders, are the local population (local authorities in northern Croatia), transboundary pollution (local authorities in southern Croatia) and fisheries (green NGOs). Activities resulting from the tourism sector are of secondary importance for all stakeholders while litter brought by run-off or by wind from dumpsites in the hinterland are ranked as less important, despite the fact that they are a significant source of marine litter. Local authorities, in relation to green NGOs, are more satisfied with the infrastructure for waste disposal on large beaches. Such differences in opinions are expected, due to the fact that NGOs are usually considerably more critical towards certain environmental problems in relation to government representatives.

Data provided in the context of annual quantities of collected marine litter and the cost of its disposal represent a rough estimate by the respondents due to the lack of reliable, objective data. The average annual amount of collected marine litter in the area of the northern Adriatic is about 30 m^3, and in the southern Adriatic it is somewhat bigger and amounts to 50 m^3. However, there are visible and large deviations from the average (Novigrad, Hvar, Korčula). Annual costs of cleaning and the disposal of marine litter range from EUR 10,000 to EUR 30,000. The main beneficiaries of coastal areas are the sectors of tourism and fisheries. As expected, the tourism sector is the most active in removing marine litter, as it is the most sensitive to its occurrence. Marine litter on beaches impacts the attractiveness of the destination and the safety of visitors. NGOs emphasized the fact that activities and campaigns to raise awareness about the problem of marine litter are almost non-existent. They are eager to organize additional beach clean-up activities and campaigns, but they lack the financial and institutional support.

The survey provided indicative results, but yet another aspect of the marine litter issue in the Adriatic Sea is discussed in this paper, the issue of the cost and benefits of sustainable management of marine litter.

COST-BENEFIT ANALYSIS OF MARINE LITTER MANAGEMENT IN THE ADRIATIC SEA

The basis for calculating the cost of marine litter management was the average amount of non-hazardous municipal waste generated by the local population along the Croatian Adriatic Coast per month. As assessed by the Environmental Protection Agency, every citizen of Croatia produces 1.01 kg of non-hazardous municipal waste daily. Also, the same goes for each tourist overnight stay (Environmental Protection Agency, 2014: 88). This amount of waste was then multiplied by the number of local population, which gave the average daily amount, and then the average amount of non-hazardous municipal waste generated by the local population per month (43,375,819.81 kg). The second step was based on the number of tourist overnight stays. According to the data from the Institute for Tourism, 63.12% of all tourist overnight stays per year in the coastal part of Croatia are realised during two summer months, July and August. The average amount of municipal waste generated by the local population in the coastal part of Croatia per month (43,375,819.81 kg x 2) was then added to the estimated amount of municipal waste from the tourism sector (40,727,240.00 kg), and in this way the total amount of non-hazardous municipal waste for the two most intense months of the tourist season was obtained (127,478.88 tonnes). At the same time, this amount of waste represents the greatest risk for the occurrence of marine litter. With an average monthly cost of marine litter disposal in the Mediterranean (0.97 cents per capita), and the available number of tourist overnight stays and the number of residents in the coastal part of Croatia, the cost of waste disposal (EUR 40,483,856.95) in the period of maximum pressure on the sea and marine environment was calculated.

The fiscal capacities of local and regional governments in the coastal part of Croatia are one of the decisive factors in terms of evaluating the benefits achieved by the prevention and removal of marine litter. In 2011, the current expenditure and investments in environmental protection in all coastal counties of Croatia amounted to HRK 1,336,781.00, out of which HRK 785,137.00 (approximately EUR 104,684.90) were spent in the wastewater and waste management sectors (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2013). These sectors are identified as the most significant sources of marine litter. If marine litter from these sources was prevented, existing investments in these sectors would be reduced and this would represent significant budgetary savings for limited local budgets. If growth in tourism revenues[5] and fish export revenues[6] are added, the benefits

[5] According to the "Croatian Tourism Development Strategy until 2020" (OG 55/13) Croatia is expected to have EUR 14.3 billion per year in tourism revenues in 2020.

[6] Croatia annually exports the amount of fish that is worth about US 135 million or EUR 122,693,811.75 (Institute of Oceanography and Fisheries, 2012, p. 292).

amount to EUR 14,422,798,496.65 annually, or EUR 2,403,799,749.45 during the most intense part of tourist season (July-August).

If the total costs (EUR 40,483,856.95) and benefits (EUR 2,403,799,749.45) are compared, it is evident that the projected revenues exceed the projected costs (net value = EUR 2,363,315,892.50). Preventing the occurrence of marine litter in the Adriatic Sea during the summer months could thus provide multiple benefits for the economic development of the coastal part of Croatia and the entire Croatian economy.

CONCLUSION

The high level of conservation of the Adriatic Sea and coastal areas in Croatia can be partly explained by the low level of industrialization and urbanization of the Croatian coast and the tradition of caring for the environment. Additionally, the protection of the Adriatic Sea was improved by the Strategic Environmental Assessments and the Environmental Impact Assessments within the process of harmonization with the EU environmental legislation. However, this process was somewhat characterized by inertia and was not accompanied by a rise of public awareness, nor by the implementation of effective mechanisms for the management of the sea and marine environment.

The management of the Adriatic Sea and marine environment in Croatia consists of recent initiatives and activities that were realized through integrated actions of the legal, economic and institutional instruments of environmental protection, as well as through the implementation of the so-called soft measures for strengthening public awareness and preventing marine litter.

Regarding the legislation on marine litter, Croatia needs to speed up the process of developing strategic documents and implementation plans, most importantly the Coastal and Marine Management Strategy. It has to increase the efficiency of the implementation of legislation on the basis of coordinated cooperation at all levels and among all sectors. It is essential to ensure consistent and regular monitoring of the marine and coastal environment and control over the land activities with the strongest impact on the marine environment (wastewater management, the urbanization of coastal areas, the disposal of municipal waste).

Regarding the environmental and economic instruments, Croatia should consider the introduction of new fees and tariffs for marine pollution which would encourage a comprehensive shift in public attitudes (e.g. fees for polluting the sea, taxes on plastic bags, taxes for products and materials that are the largest sources of marine litter, taxes for dumping plastics). The existing fees in the waste and wastewater sectors have to be aligned with the actual market prices, so the funds raised in that way can be used to finance projects for the protection of the Adriatic Sea. New stimulating measures could be introduced to reduce the amount of marine litter, like subsidies for recycling plastics or financial incentives for removing fishing gear from the sea. Penalties should also be considered in accordance with the implementation of the "polluter pays" principle.

The institutional framework for the protection of the environment in Croatia is established according to the requirements of the European Union and therefore complementary to the Member States of the EU. However, the existing problem of managing the Adriatic Sea is mainly related to the shortcomings of the institutional framework, so certain changes are required in this segment, too. This primarily refers to: the overlapping of responsibilities and the lack of cooperation between different national and subnational authorities; the insufficient integration of marine litter issues in development policies; the insufficient fiscal capacity of local governments; the low capacities of local and regional governments for the use of alternative sources of funding. The capacities of civil society organizations dealing with the protection of the environment also need to be strengthened, as well as their cooperation with decision-makers.

One of the ways to reduce the amount of waste and prevent the occurrence of marine litter is the implementation of the circular economy concept. The current model in Croatia is linear, based on the "take-use-discard" principle. The occurrence of marine litter is one of the examples of resource inefficiency. The items made of different materials are polluting the beaches and are threatening the marine environment instead of being recycled and re-used in the manufacturing process. Plastics, fishing nets and various metal products represent the biggest threat. Only a small number of these gets collected, and even a smaller number gets recycled.

Marine litter management in terms of circular economy would result in a number of positive effects, from environmental (preserving the attractiveness of coastal areas and the sustainability of their economic use, the protection and conservation of marine species and habitats), social (the risk reduction impacts of marine litter on human health) to economic (the regulation of waste management system opens possibilities for new employment in the related activities).

Solving the challenges ahead would bring multiple social and economic benefits for Croatia, as indicated by the cost-benefit analysis. However, they can be achieved only by the holistic approach to the problem, by cooperation among stakeholders on marine litter prevention, the introduction of new technologies, strong measures aimed at the realization of circular economy, and transboundary cooperation.

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Marija GEIGER ZEMAN, Zdenko ZEMAN, Mirela HOLY

"IT FEELS GOOD WHEN YOU HAVE DONE SOMETHING NICE FOR SOMEONE": PROFESSIONALS' VIEWS ON THE SYSTEM OF INSTITUTIONAL CARE FOR OLDER PERSONS

Abstract

Like many European countries, Croatia has, for more than two decades, recorded a continuous increase of the older population, and many demographic projections point to the inevitable continuation of that process. An ageing population brings many changes at all levels (from micro/individual, through local/mezzo to macro/national level), reflecting the recent, but also indicating the future challenges that ageing brings to society. During recent years, ageing has been observed in terms of (integral) sustainability. Unlike ageist and apocalyptical interpretations, this perspective insists on a constructive approach that sees recent challenges as an opportunity for development (Harms, 2005; Zaidi, 2016). Among the most important challenges is certainly the need to organize adequate, financially acceptable and quality care for older persons, which is also evident in the city of Split. Statistics show that the market for social services in Croatia is underdeveloped, and the accommodation capacities of (public) homes for older and infirm persons are insufficient, while the prices of accommodation and services of private homes for older and infirm persons are too high for most seniors (Žganec, Rusac & Laklija, 2008). The analyses of the situation in this area often do not take into account the experiences and suggestions of two key protagonists — older persons and the professionals working in the care and welfare system. This paper is based on an analysis of the empirical material collected by the method of semi-structured interviews with employees of two public homes for older and infirm persons in Split. The focus of the analysis is the interpretation of daily experiences and working routines of the employees (in most cases, this refers to social workers), advantages and challenges of the work that affect it and professional performance, which clearly indicate problems within the care system and give suggestions for its improvement.

Key words: *ageing, sustainability, homes for older and infirm persons, professionals in homes for older and infirm persons, system of care for older persons*

AGEING WORLD, AGEING SOCIETY

Looking at the global demographic statistics, old age is no longer an exception, but is almost becoming the norm, which is often interpreted as one of the "biggest triumphs of mankind" (Aartsen, 2016, p. 6): the achievement of modernization and the consequence of social and economic development and the development of medicine and public health (Kinsella, 2009, p. 13; UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2015).

Demographic analysis has shown that the reduction of the birth rate, the extension of life span and an increase in the share of older population are the dominant demographic processes in Croatia as well (Wertheimer-Baletić, 2004). According to the 2011 Census in Croatia, the share of the older population in the total population is 17.7% (Croatian Bureau of Statistics, 2013, p. 10), therefore Croatian society is called an "ageing society" (Mesec, acc. to Žganec, Rusac, & Laklija 2008, p. 173). The trends of population ageing are evident both in the Split-Dalmatia County and in its center — the city of Split. Quite expectedly, demographic analyses and projections announce that this demographic trend will continue in the future.[1]

AGEING AND SUSTAINABILITY

Ageing is an extremely complex process which has in recent years also been observed in terms of sustainability. In this sense, Harms (2005, p. 1) — based on the best-known definition of sustainable development — poses the key question: "how to mobilize sufficient resources in a sustainable way to meet the needs of the growing number of seniors without negatively affecting the vitality and competitiveness of firms and younger people through ever increasing welfare contributions and tax burdens?" Asghar Zaidi (2016, p. 4) recognizes in the ageing population "a stimulus for sustainable development." Referring to the *post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals* (SDGs), Zaidi emphasizes not only the importance of older people (their knowledge and expertise) in the realization of the objectives of sustainable development, but also the necessity of redefining ageist socio-cultural perceptions of ageing in which older persons are defined by categories of dependency, passivity and powerlessness. Zaidi (2016, p. 4) also points to the gap between "longer life and the evolution of policies that capture these great changes; policies to protect and empower older people." Some authors emphasize a great influence of the environment on the health and quality of life of older people and consider the relationship between ageing and urban environment (Landorf, Brewer, & Sheppard, 2008) or rural environment (Keating, 2008).

Ageing can be seen through the prism of the four-pillar model of sustainability developed by Jon Hawkes (2001). It is a model that sees sustainability and its implementation through connecting four dimensions — "cultural vitality", "social equity", "environmental responsibility" and "economic viability" (Hawkes, 2001, p. 25). In this respect, the principles of integrated sustainable development suggest the necessity of a balance between economic, social, cultural and environmental domains. Only if there is a balance between these four domains is it possible to provide a quality, eventful and mean-

[1] For demographic portraits and trends in the Split-Dalmatia County and the city of Split see Croatian Bureau of Statistics: http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv_Eng/publication/2012/SI-1468.pdf, http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv/censuses/census2011/results/htm/H01_01_03/H01_01_03.html and http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv/censuses/census2011/results/htm/H01_01_03/h01_01_03_zup17.html.

ingful life for all members of the community/society regardless of age, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, etc. (Hart acc. to Geiger Zeman & Zeman, 2010, p. 91).

Unlike the discussions in which the current demographic changes and trends are often apocalyptically and ageistically interpreted as a threat to the social, pension and health systems, Harms (2005, pp. 1-2) and Zaidi (2016, p. 4) insist on affirming the constructive approach that the current demographic situation and its social and economic consequences are seen not only as a challenge to improve the existing system, but also as an incentive for the development and creation of new forms of growth — for example, as an opportunity for the development of public and health services, new media, sport, leisure, culture, active and healthy ageing projects.

Of course, strategies and programs of integral sustainability and population ageing should be seen as localized and contextualized, taking into account the existing local situation, its capabilities and limitations, where the principles of inclusiveness and social justice should certainly be given the priority position.

THE SOCIAL WORLDS OF HOMES FOR OLDER AND INFIRM PERSONS

Following the example of the recent European trends, the Croatian social welfare system for older people aims to develop non-institutional models of care and encourage local communities to promote active ageing through the development of projects and programs to improve the quality of life for older people. The fact is that the current social welfare system for older people faces a number of problems, and that it should be changed because it was not adequately prepared for the dominant demographic processes and needs of older persons, being also unsustainable in economic terms.

One of the providers of social services to older and infirm persons are homes for older and infirm persons, which are officially defined as institutions that provide accommodation and various forms of care for seniors (Šostar & Fortuna, 2009, p. 40). To put it in a nutshell, homes for older and infirm persons are institutions "designed for elderly living" (Somera, 1997, p. 1). However, every home is "complex social universe with its own rules, codes, tasks and specific way of life" (Geiger Zeman, Zeman, Šikić-Mićanović, & Anić, 2014). Although it is primarily a "community for those who live, visit and work there" (Nakrem, 2015, Background, para. 6), we should not forget that this social mini universe is embedded within a wider social and cultural context.

Employees of these institutions should be seen as "'managers' who deliver social welfare services to the residents," where their interactions and activities are based on "bureaucratic constraints and opportunities" (Somera, 1997, p. 9). Certainly, care and welfare provided to older persons who have the status of users have two aspects: 1) "technical care"[2] — which could be defined as the provision of officially determined

[2] According to Donabedian, "technical care" is the "application of the science and technology of health science to the management of health problems" (acc. to Nakrem, 2015, Background, para. 2).

quality and standardized services of assistance, care, welfare; and 2) “interpersonal process” — which indicates the interaction between employees and users (persons +65) (Donabedian acc. to Nakrem, 2015, Background, para. 2).

Professional work is based on a bureaucratic structure defined by the laws and regulations of the relevant ministry, and thus represents a concretization of standardized bureaucratic norms and procedures that apply in their everyday workload and its interactions (Berger & Luckmann, 1992). These daily interactions connect and intertwine both at a micro level (daily interactions and actions in the context of a home for the older and infirm persons as a social universe) and a macro level (legally defined procedures and regulations). In carrying out their standardized working routines, employees are faced with many challenges and difficulties generated by internal and external factors. It is exactly in such situations that their specific working experiences are extremely important because they enable them to detect the deficiencies and limitations of the system from within and, on the basis of these findings, to clearly formulate their own proposals and ideas to create more appropriate and efficient plans, programs and strategies for raising the quality of care for older persons.

METHODOLOGY

This article is based on the analysis of a part of empirical material collected in the research project “Socio-cultural and gender aspects of ageing in Croatia”, which was financed by *Zaklada Adris*.[3] The fieldwork was carried out in four homes for older and infirm persons in Zagreb (two homes) and Split (two homes), and included 140 persons divided into three categories of participants — users (persons +65) (115), employees (19) and volunteers (6). This article is based on the analysis of nine semi-structured interviews realized with professionals (eight women, one man) employed in two (public) homes for older and infirm persons in Split. The occupational structure of the participants includes: five social workers, one nurse, one occupational therapist, one professor of music and one professor of history. Participation in the research was voluntary and all participants were guaranteed confidentiality, privacy protection and anonymity, and all of their names have been changed.

ADVANTAGES AND CHALLENGES IN EVERYDAY WORK LIFE — PROFESSIONALS’ PERSPECTIVE

Depending on the position they occupy in the hierarchy of the institution and the workplace, employees perform two basic types of operations: administrative tasks and interpersonal work with users. The work day and work schedule of all employees are

[3] Fieldwork was realized by Marija Geiger Zeman, Ph.D. and Zdenko Zeman, Ph.D. at all research locations, and by Lynette Šikić Mićanović, Ph.D. (in the home for older and infirm persons Sveta Ana), Jadranka Rebeka Anić, Ph.D. (in the home for older and infirm persons Zenta) and external associate Tea Sertić (in the home for older and infirm persons Medveščak). We would also like to thank Marko Geran Miletić, Ph.D., who did quantitative analysis.

made up of planned and unplanned, as well as fixed/predictable and spontaneous/unpredictable parts. Daily and weekly activities are planned and organized around some constants in schedules.

According to the opinion of employees, working with older persons is not only professionally interesting but also very fulfilling in personal terms (e.g. meeting interesting people also allows transfer of experience and "life wisdom"). Employees prefer a professional and personalized, friendly relationship with users, based on mutual trust.

In addition to direct communication with users, employees also emphasize — as an advantage of working with older people — the teamwork and communication with colleagues from other homes for older and infirm persons with whom they share important information, experiences and advice.

But in everyday work, employees are facing a number of challenges generated by internal and external factors. As one of the most difficult situations that employees often face is the death of a user or the user's child. Dealing with the death of the user from the position of employees takes place on two levels — the death, on a personal level, understandably, provokes feelings of sadness and regret, but on a professional level, it is an event that is bureaucratized in the context of institutions (Somera, 1997, pp. 109-114) and formalized by means of precisely defined procedures.

As the second most commonly emphasized theme in the context of discussing the daily challenges during work, relationships and interactions that take place at several levels are singled out: 1) relations between employees, 2) relations between users or members of their families and employees, and 3) relations between the users themselves.

The topic of volunteering in homes for older and infirm persons proved to be very complex and an area permeated with "contrasts and contradictions" (Burnard, Gill, Stewart, Treasure, & Chadwick, 2008, p. 430). In general, participants consider volunteer work with older persons very important both for the seniors and employees. However, in practice, volunteering can cause certain problems (e.g. unrealistic expectations of volunteers, volunteer work in the infirmary, etc.).

Problems in the daily work of participants, but also their professional fulfillment, are caused by systemic, structural factors imposed "from above", through legal and organizational requirements, rules and procedures. In this context, participants are (self) defined as a separate group, distinct from the staff of the Ministry and the social policy makers. This way, the symbolic distinction between *We* (professionals working in institutions caring for the older persons) and *They* (high-ranking bureaucrats in the relevant Ministry) is constructed and regenerated. Besides the bureaucratization of work which reduces the amount of time that the employee would like to spend in direct interpersonal (individual or group) work with users, the additional problems are produced by unrealistic and illogical rules that create space for different interpretations, criticism and misunderstandings.

All participants believe that continous education and professional training are very important — for personal professional development and for empowering teamwork — but the existing options that are available to them for this purpose are subjected to critical questioning: there is not enough organized educational events, and most often they are held in Zagreb. Also, the importance of professional development based on creative workshops (where exchanges of concrete experience and knowledge take place) is emphasized. In this context, specific knowledge and experience of employees of homes is contrasted with abstract bureaucratic knowledge and a lack of concrete experience of working with older people, which is ultimately reflected in inefficient and unrealistic strategies and plans.

The topics of deinstitutionalization and current legal regulation and organization of institutional care and welfare for older persons are permeated by different complex and contradictory interpretations and opinions. It is indisputable for all participants that the current situation — in particular the one relating to the capacity of homes — causes problems in their daily work. The current model of institutional care for older persons is, namely, in the liminal stage — on the one hand, it is quite clearly unsustainable, but, on the other hand, the proposed and implemented measures are estimated to be inadequate, inefficient and "rigorous" (participant Antonija) by the employees.

Deinstitutionalization is, according to the participants, theoretically well-conceived as an idea, but its implementation is very problematic. Because of the way of life, the struggle for existence, work and lack of time of younger members of the family, more and more older people are planning to spend their future in a home for older and infirm persons. Since private homes for older and infirm persons are too expensive and completely inaccessible to the majority, there is a huge demand for housing in (public, county) homes, so people on waiting lists put pressure on social workers. On the other hand, homes — "(mastodons) huge ones" (participant Ivona), which provide accommodation and care for more than three hundred people, are simply too large to provide high-quality and continuous work with users for social workers, especially in a phase of adaptation to the new environment.

As an important problem in their daily work, the accommodation of "young" users (people under 65 years of age) who have health (physical and/or psychological) problems, but for whom there are no adequate specialized institutions is mentioned. Thus, they end up in a home, facing major problems in adapting and often falling into depression.

Some participants observe the theme of deinstitutionalization through the categories of rural-urban. According to participant Suzana, non-institutional care is certainly more humane, but may not be cheaper than institutional care. Non-institutional care is developed in cities, but not in areas with a predominantly old population (Zagora, Lika, the islands, rural areas of the country). Given that, according to her assessment, the organization and implementation of non-institutional help in these areas would require a large financial investment, she proposes, for smaller communities — alongside with the implementation of economic and demographic revitalization — simply building homes for older and infirm persons. On the other hand, the exceptional importance of developing a non-institutional system of care, nursing and assistance on the islands is pointed out by participant Ivona, because this would enable older persons to remain in their own homes and familiar social environment and to maintain social continuity by which they would avoid exposure to the stress of "new beginnings" in unfamiliar environments.

HOW TO IMPROVE THE SYSTEM? SUGGESTIONS FROM THE PROFESSIONALS' PERSPECTIVE

Based on their own professional experience in working with older people, each participant, with a critical assessment of the current situation in the field of care for older persons, has given various suggestions for improving the system of care for older persons at local and national levels. The proposals are mainly within the framework of the recent and dominant views on ageing — the emphasis is on promoting and advocating active ageing, emphasizing the role of local communities in the affirmation of an active lifestyle in old age, intergenerational solidarity and quality of volunteering and deinstitutionalization. However, in contrast to the official system of deinstitutionalization, which participants consider inadequate and inefficient, they advocate deinstitutionalization based on entirely different premises, implementations and goals (for example: reorganization of homes for older and infirm persons in terms of building new homes in smaller communities or building system networks of small homes for a maximum of 50 people; the establishment of a hospice in Split; development of (non)institutional care and assistance for older persons, especially in suburban and rural areas and on islands; organization of day care in Split).

The ideas of the participants do not remain within the limits of the institution in which they work and their associated local levels, but also include the social welfare system, the state budget and the wider socio-cultural context in which the emphasis is on the fair (re)allocation of funds from the state budget, in the context of the social welfare system, as well as horizontal and vertical networking. Also, the need to redefine the stereotypical notions of age and older people, and the prevalence of instrumental and utilitarian conception of human beings should certainly be emphasized.

CONCLUSION

Care for older persons is the responsibility of the family (Van Den Broek & Dykstra, 2016), but it is also a public responsibility (Nakrem, 2015, Background, para. 1). Therefore, in designing future programs and strategies, what should be avoided is 1) exclusive access from above, and 2) system-centered care. In other words, making strategies and programs should be a thorough and inclusive process which should also engage employees in the social welfare system for older people. Critical evaluations of the research participants on the current situation inside the system of care for older persons point to the primary focus of the system, care planning exclusively through an economic lens, which — narrowly and short-sightedly — comes down to cutting costs, reducing the number of employees as well as the transfer of responsibility for the care and welfare to the older persons themselves. In this regard, a humanistic, socially conscious, experience-based care model oriented to the older person should be strengthened. Furthermore, the present and future challenges of caring for older persons should be treated integratively and holistically through the prism of an integral sustainability model (or *four-pillar model*), which suggests — and, indeed, requires — linking and coordinating all relevant areas of social life (economic, social, political, cultural and environmental) (Geiger Zeman & Zeman, 2010, p. 88). For example, organization of (non)institutional care for older persons in rural areas and on islands encourages reflection and creation of effective ways to encourage decentralization and balanced development, as well as the demographic and economic revitalization of these areas. This is why the strategy and plans should incorporate the relation between health and environment and reflect the specifics and differences of urban and rural ageing (Landorf, Brewer, & Sheppard, 2008). Interpretations of the situation from the position of experienced employees of homes provide a valuable insight into the everyday and very specific, internal residential problems, but also in large system-generated problems that are dramatically reflected at the micro level.

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Jana KALABISOVÁ

INVESTIGATION OF THE OCCURRENCE OF THE SHADOW ECONOMY AND EXPERIENCE WITH ELECTRONIC RECORDS OF SALES

Abstract

The article focuses on definitions and measurement of the shadow economy. It provides an overview of its size and the most frequent activities in the Czech Republic. The system of ERS was introduced in the Czech Republic in December 2016. Croatia already has a longer experience with this system and according to the Croatian Ministry of Finance, all results show the success of fiscalisation. Both countries introduced the ERS system in the first stage for catering and accommodation services.

Secondary data were used for an overview of the shadow economy in the Czech Republic and Croatia. The questionnaire was used to conduct a large research, but only selected results in relation with the topic of ERS are provided for the purpose of this article. In this article, the descriptive analysis and the Spearman correlation was used; all data were processed in SPSS software.

The volume of the shadow economy in the Czech Republic is estimated at 15.4% of GDP, which is comparable with the EU-28. Approximately two-thirds of the shadow economy is attributed to "under-the-counter" work and one-third to undeclared income. The European average share of shadow economy is estimated at 18.5%. The shadow economy in relative terms is highest in the case of household and production. The hidden economy is also important in the hotel sector, catering, hospitality and construction. According to the absolute size, the hidden economy has the greatest volume in construction, wholesale and retail trade and manufacturing. According to the realised research, the respondents have rather positive opinions about the implementation of ERS in the Czech Republic.

Key words: *shadow economy, hospitality and gastronomy sector, electronic records of sales, Czech Republic, Croatia*

INTRODUCTION — THE SHADOW ECONOMY

We can classify the shadow economy or non-observed economy in many ways. For example, the OECD (2002) works with the non-observed economy and states these definitions:

- Underground production, defined as those activities that are productive and legal but are deliberately concealed from the public authorities to avoid payment of taxes or complying with regulations;

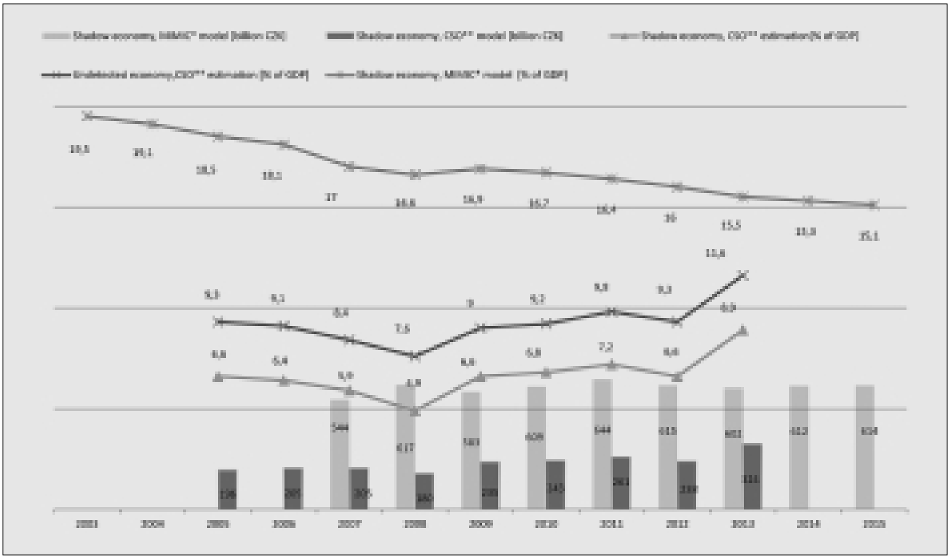

Figure 1 The shadow economy in the Czech Republic
Source: Centrum ekonomických a tržních analýz, 2015
* CSO = Czech Statistical Office, ** MIMIC = Multiple Indicators and Multiple Causes Model

- Illegal production, defined as those productive activities that generate goods and services forbidden by law or that are unlawful when carried out by unauthorised producers;
- Informal sector production, defined as those productive activities conducted by unincorporated enterprises in the household sector that are unregistered and/or are less than a specified size in terms of employment, and that have some market production;
- Production of households for own final use, defined as those productive activities that result in goods or services consumed or capitalised by the households that produced them (OECD, 2002).

The economic activities of people, companies, as well as institutions, are normally classified as official and unofficial in the Czech Republic. The cause is the existence of a dual economic structure consisting of the so-called official and unofficial sector. The official sector is normally understood as the lawful economy, while the unofficial (informal) sector is considered as the so-called informal economy. This classification is essentially artificial, because the economy of each state always functions as a whole. The border between the official and shadow activities can be moved, depending on the criteria used. The parting line forms a statistical criterion that allows distinguishing the registered (visible) from the unregistered (hidden) economic effects in official statistics. The second indicator is a measure of legality, which highlights the consistency of economic activities with the law. The decision on the classification of economic phe-

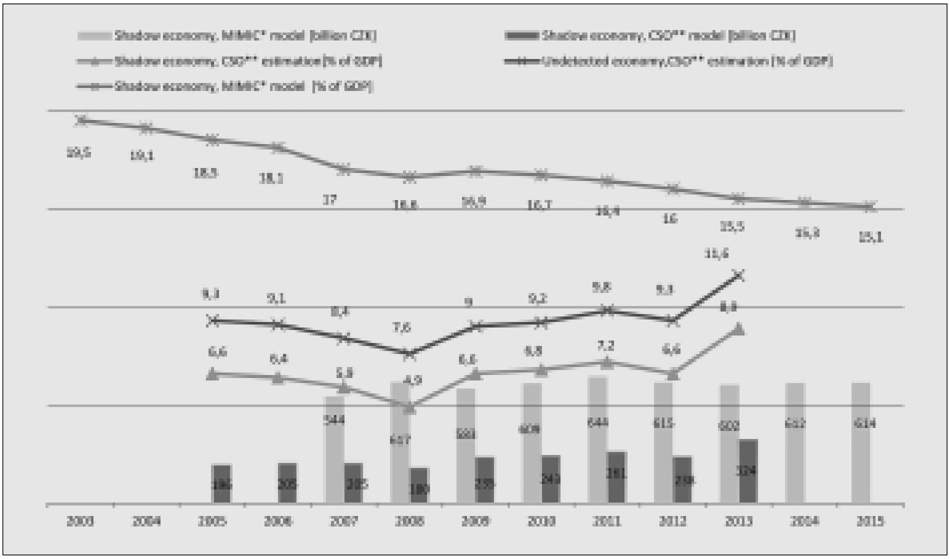

Figure 2 The shadow economy in the Czech Republic
Source: Schneider, Raczkowski and Mróz, Eurostat, 2015;
cit. in Centrum ekonomických a tržních analýz, 2015
Note: Estimation by MIMINC, LU — based on GDP from 2013

nomena is not often derived from the nature of the phenomenon itself, but from its implementation, from its methods of accounting, etc.

The existence of the shadow economy is a manifestation of non-compliance with legal norms and social rules within the framework of economic activities. The outcome of the informal economy is a redistribution of income (revenue) among the population, entrepreneurs and the state. Its size (range) can be measured with the aid of monetary value of informal production for a certain period of time. In essence, a macroeconomic indicator is involved, which corresponds to the character of the aggregate gross national income. In this context, the statistical criterion is used (Belešová, Vlček, Kalabisová and Studnička, 2016a).

The volume of the shadow economy in the Czech Republic is estimated at 15.4% of GDP (approximately CZK 600 billion) and is comparable with the EU-28. Approximately two-thirds of the shadow economy is attributed to “under-the-counter” work and one-third to undeclared income. The European average share of the shadow economy is estimated at 18.5% (Kearney and Schneider, 2015).

The overall size of the shadow economy within the European Union (EU) according to estimates, was almost EUR 2 trillion, i.e. 14.3% in 2014. According to its character and size, we can divide the EU into three parts — Western Europe, South Europe and the countries of the Middle and East Europe. Western European countries have the largest size of the shadow economy. It accounts for approximately 56.5% of the total size of the shadow economy in the EU, but in relative terms (share of the shadow econ-

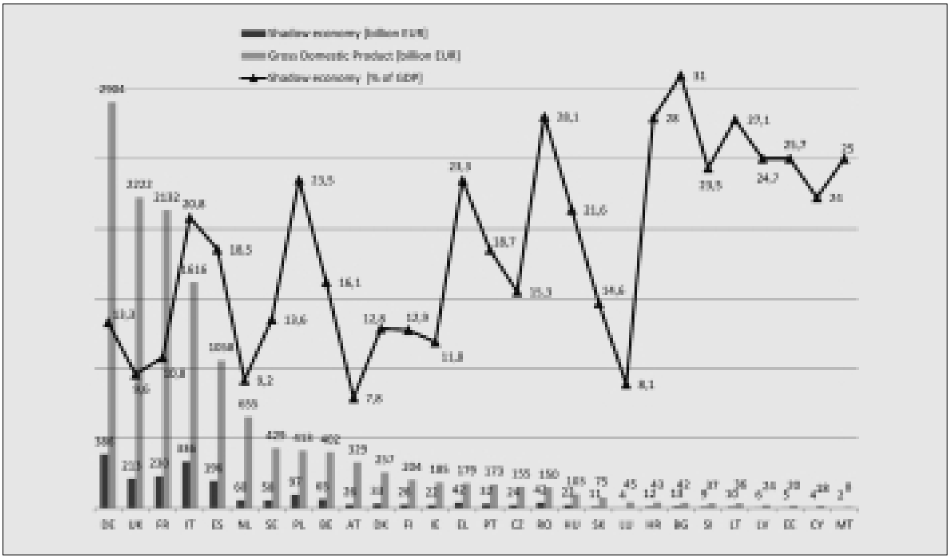

Figure 3 The shadow economy in the Czech Republic
Source: Schneider et al., 2015; cit. in Centrum ekonomických a tržních analýz, 2015
Note: Estimation by MIMINC, LU — based on GDP from 2013

omy to the GDP) these countries have the smallest level of the shadow economy — only 11.5%.

The second group consists of the countries of Southern Europe, whose total size of the shadow economy is estimated to reach nearly EUR 613 billion (30.8% of the total size of the shadow economy of the EU). These countries have a large informal economy, not only in absolute but also in relative terms. On average, the shadow economy amounts to 21.8% of the GDP.

The last category consists of Eastern and Central European countries, including the Czech Republic. The shadow economy in these countries reaches EUR 251 billion (12.6% of the total size of the EU), however, relative to the GDP, these countries have the highest level of shadow economy — 24.1% (Figure 3).

The shadow economy in relative terms is highest in the case of household production. The hidden economy is also important in the hotel sector, catering and hospitality and construction. According to the absolute size, the hidden economy has the greatest volume in construction, wholesale and retail trade and manufacturing.

ELECTRONIC RECORDS OF SALES (ERS)

Shadow economy activities are quite challenging for the tourism industry, especially for lodging and catering businesses. In the last decades, the pressure from government bodies to reduce and regulate such activities has been growing. Electronic registration of company revenues is just one example of such efforts. With the help of electronic registration, the state wants to prevent such activities as manipulation with accounting and cash systems, money laundering, sales outside the taxation system, etc.

The system of ERS was introduced in the Czech Republic in December 2016 for lodging and catering businesses in the first stage (later the system should cover all business). The registration of revenues will affect around 8.9 thousand active businesses in the hospitality industry and 51.5 thousand active businesses in catering industry. In the final phase, electronic registration of revenues in the Czech Republic could affect 500 — 600 thousand business units. The Ministry of Finance of the Czech Republic assumes that the overall macroeconomic impact of electronic registration of revenues on the price level will be low and the impact on the level of unemployment will not be significant (Belešová et al., 2016a).

The ERS was introduced in Croatia during 2013, as the first year of fiscalisation. Fiscalisation was introduced in three stages:

I. First stage (01/01/2013) — catering and accommodation, big taxpayers,

II. Second stage (01/04/2013) — wholesale and retail trade and self-employed services,

III. Third stage (01/07/2013) — all other taxpayers (Kudeljan, 2015).

Boris Lalovac, Minister of Finance of Croatia, pointed out at the June 2015 conference held in the Czech Republic the following indicators as results of fiscalization in Croatia:

- 87,894 fiscalization subjects; 15,127 with a special process of fiscalization only for taxpayers who pay lump-sum tax,
- Only 25 subjects operate in an area without stable Internet connection,
- More than 6 million receipts are received per day (the peak is on Friday),
- Until the end of 2013, over 2.2 billion cash receipts (more than 50% were recorded in trade),
- Fiscalisation didn't prolong the time needed for issuing a receipt,
- The system didn't record any interruption of its function (Lalovac, 2015).

The following Table 1 indicates the first numbers after the introduction of the system — the amount of receipts and the amount of the VAT base.

On June 3 2014, according to the submitted income tax returns for 2013, an average declared realized personal income at the state level from independent activities, crafts and self-employed activities, in relation to 2012, was increased by 35%. Next, Table 2 shows the success of the fiscalization project between 2010-2013. Data on the selected sample of individuals who submitted the income tax return for provided services (Lalovac, 2015).

According to Kudeljan, Deputy Chief Financial Officer (2015), the fiscalisation in Croatia did succeed. It was stated that:

- All results show the success of fiscalisation,
- There is a strong political will for further development and use of tools,
- Citizens still greatly support fiscalisation,

Month	TOTAL		INDEX (2014/ 2013)	VAT base		INDEX (2014/ 2013)
	2013.	2014.		2013.	2014.	
1	7.602.477.031	9.751.965.906	128,27	6.053.278.932	8.031.990.406	132,69
2	7.328.249.859	9.386.216.526	128,08	5.854.339.260	7.744.953.760	132,29
3	9.173.600.184	11.137.441.266	121,41	7.302.263.671	9.618.393.943	131,72
4	12.238.920.031	12.596.599.979	102,92	9.750.926.430	10.583.876.242	108,54
5	13.515.495.232	12.836.652.567	94,97	10.907.849.960	10.836.927.247	99,35
6	14.055.398.769	14.239.973.798	101,31	11.578.738.710	12.243.343.514	105,74
7	16.979.769.829	18.441.424.828	108,61	14.831.374.898	15.924.838.791	107,37
8	18.017.672.001	20.075.833.326	111,42	15.626.199.345	17.549.751.811	112,30
9	14.201.504.272	15.486.363.049	109,05	11.795.289.297	12.992.432.834	110,15
10	12.625.398.791	12.950.964.165	102,58	10.504.939.017	10.863.038.702	103,41
11	11.022.031.923	11.061.285.096	100,36	9.119.374.266	9.142.571.709	100,25
12	12.165.173.248	12.239.171.107	100,61	10.093.771.250	10.123.147.341	100,29
TOTAL	148.925.711.179	160.202.891.614	107,57	123.420.346.035	135.655.266.308	109,91

Table 1 Amount of receipts and amount of the VAT base
Source: Lalovac, 2015

C A T E R I N G	
Average daily turnover	Increase 82%
Average daily income	Increase 110.32%
TRADE SERVICES	
Average daily turnover	Increase 12.67%
Average daily income	Increase 12.69%

Table 2 Turnover and income in selected services
Source: Lalovac, 2015

- Entrepreneurs do not see fiscalisation as a problem in their business activities,
- Exempted activities want to become part of the fiscalisation process,
- Tax administration finds fiscalisation to be a successful tool for the improvement of labor efficiency; tax administration supports further development of fiscalisation.

METHODOLOGY

Fassman (2007) classifies the methods for the evaluation of the shadow economy and divides these methods into direct or indirect. The direct methods are surveys and tracking tax evasion, and indirect methods are contradictions, monetary methods, and methods of labour market, methods of physical input and multifactor combined methods.

Direct methods are microeconomic approaches that employ either well-designed surveys or samples based on voluntary replies or tax auditing and other compliance methods. Sample surveys designed to estimate the shadow economy are widely used. The main disadvantages of this method are the flaws of all surveys. The main advantage of this method lies in the detailed information about the structure of the shadow economy, but the results from these kinds of surveys are very sensitive to the way the questionnaire is formulated (Schneider, 2014).

QUESTIONNAIRE

The research team from the Institute of Hospitality Management (IHM) considered what people could tell us about the shadowy activities as an important indicator of the shadow economy. The team assumed that workers in the field had a deeper insight into the context of shadow activities, and their opinions could then be considered as a valuable source of information. The specific problem of our sociological research is the probable involvement of the respondents in the shadow economy. Some questions could therefore be uncomfortable for the responders and there is a danger that the answers may be distorted or null. This was avoided by ensuring the anonymity of the respondents and by formulating of the questions in such a way that they give the impression of conventionality and normality of shadow activities (Belešová et al., 2016a).

It was decided to construct the questionnaire with the help of experienced experts from the field in order to receive a real picture of the most common activities in the field of the shadow economy. Two meetings took place in December 2013 and January 2014. With the help of participants from a focus group, the assumptions and reasons for the shadow economy were identified. With regard to “enriched” and “injured” side, five areas of the shadow economy in tourism were distinguished:

- Employee harms the owner,
  - — Example phenomenon: stealing food from the restaurant, the sale of own alcohol and others,
- Employee harms guest,
  - — An example of the phenomenon: improperly exposed bill,
- Enterprise harms guest,
  - — An example of the phenomenon: smaller portions of food at the restaurant and others,
- Enterprise harms the state,
  - — Example phenomenon: reduction in the tax base, VAT evasion,
- Enterprise harms employee/state,
  - — An example of the phenomenon: undeclared employment, agency employment and others (Belešová, Vlček, Kalabisová and Studnička, 2016b).

A set of activities of the shadow economy was identified in each of these groups with the help of the focus group, other experts of the field (AHP Connections s. r. o.,

	Micro	Small	Lower medium	Medium	Lower large	Large	Total sum
Restaurant	10	29	12	7	1	0	59
Bar	15	11	3	5	0	0	34
Hotel	2	26	24	14	7	2	75
Guest house	10	6	0	1	0	0	17
Other CAE*	0	1	0	2	1	1	5
Individual CAE*	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
Total sum	**38**	**74**	**39**	**29**	**9**	**3**	**200**

Table 3 Structure of respondents by category of holding and number of employees
Source: Belešová at al., 2016b
* CAE = Collective accommodation establishment

Eurest, Czech Association of Hotels and Restaurants of the CR) and academicians of the IHM (Belešová at al., 2016b). The area and the effects of the shadow economy served as the basis for sociologists for the creation of a questionnaire for primary research. The questionnaire to survey the phenomena of the shadow economy in the subsystems of tourism was developed in cooperation with sociologists from the Charles University of Prague.

The pilot study was realised and the questionnaire was revised. The investigation took place in Prague between October 2015 and January 2016. Five hundred and twenty questionnaires were distributed and we collected a total of 236 questionnaires; some of them were eliminated due to incomplete information.

All data were processed in the SPSS software. In this article, the descriptive analysis is used for a specific set of data regarding the problem of ERS. The selected data do not have normal distribution; the Spearman correlation was therefore used.

RESULTS

The results contain selected data regarding the problem of ERS and two specific activities of the shadow economy regarding the first group — the employee is an enriched body and the owner is an injured body.

Table 4 describes the opinions of the respondents about the influence of the introduction of ERS in the Czech Republic.

Most enterprises classify the introduction of ERS as positive. The highest rate of opponents of ERS are among hotels (definitely yes — 15.8%, rather yes — 43.4%, in total 59%) and bars (definitely yes — 22.2%, rather yes — 33.3%, in total 56%). We can say that in classification according to the enterprise category, there is no strong division to opponents and defenders of ERS.

Most of the enterprises in classification according to size rank the introduction of ERS as positive. What is interesting is the fact that rather small companies are among the defenders of ERS — 53% of micro companies and 58% of small companies an-

Count		Influence of the ERS** restrictions on the activities of the shadow economy: Definitely yes	Rather yes	Rather no	Definitely no	Total
Enterprise category	Restaurant	5	25	16	14	60
	Bar	8	12	10	6	36
	Hotel	12	33	24	7	76
	Guest house	3	5	4	4	16
	Other CAE*	2	3	0	0	5
	Individual CAE*	1	0	1	0	2
Total		**31**	**78**	**55**	**31**	**195**

Table 4 Enterprise category versus influence of the ERS restrictions on the activities of the shadow economy. Source: own
* CAE = Collective accommodation establishment, ** ERS = electronic records of sales

Count		Influence of the ERS** restrictions on the activities of the shadow economy: Definitely yes	Rather yes	Rather no	Definitely no	Total
Number of employees	Micro (1-10)	4	15	11	6	36
	Small (11-50)	11	31	20	10	72
	Lower medium (50-100)	8	11	10	10	39
	Medium (100-250)	8	9	7	5	29
	Lower large (251-400)	0	2	6	0	8
	Total sum (401 and more)	0	3	0	0	3
Total		**31**	**71**	**54**	**31**	**187**

Table 5 Size of enterprise versus influence of the ERS restrictions on the activities of the shadow economy. Source: own
** ERS = electronic records of sales

swered “definitely” and “rather yes”. The biggest defenders of ERS with 59% are medium-sized companies. The lowest supporters of ERS are lower large companies — 75%.

The questionnaire contained two activities of the shadow economy connected with the field of ERS. Both questions belong to group one — employee harms the owner:

- The existence of two parallel systems (accounts are exposed to guests, but at the end of the day the accounts in the checkout system are reclassified; aim: shorten sales at the end of the month, do not pay VAT),
- Companies use cash and accounting systems where they can intervene and perform cancellation, which will reduce total revenue and therefore VAT.

In both cases, no strong correlation was proved in relation with enterprise category, gender, age, length of years in function, length of experience in the business or number of employees. We have to examine in more details the collected data and adjust them to a more standardised form.

CONCLUSION

The article provided an overview of the definition and measurement of the shadow economy. We can measure the amount of the shadow economy in macroeconomic or microeconomic terms. One of these methods is with the help of questionnaires, which has some advantages and disadvantages. Questionnaires were also used to evaluate the size of the shadow economy in the capital of the Czech Republic.

The volume of the shadow economy in the Czech Republic is estimated at 15.4% of GDP which is comparable with the EU-28. Approximately two-thirds of the shadow economy is attributed to "under-the-counter" work and one-third to the undeclared income. The European average share of the shadow economy is estimated at 18.5%. The shadow economy in relative terms is the highest in the case of household and production. The hidden economy is also important in the hotel sector, catering, hospitality and construction. According to absolute size, the hidden economy has the greatest volume in construction, wholesale and retail trade and manufacturing.

One of the methods of decreasing the size of the shadow economy and making a larger part of the national economy official is the introduction of ERS. Fourteen countries of the EU have already introduced this system; Croatia and the Czech Republic belong to these countries. Croatia introduced the system of ERC in 2013 in three stages and we can already identify some effects. 87,894 fiscalization subjects are actually the subjects of ERS. According to the Ministry of Finance of Croatia, all results show the success of fiscalisation. In the Czech Republic, the ERS system has been in operation only since December 2016. In Croatia, as in the Czech Republic, the ERC system was introduced in the first stage for catering and accommodation services. We will be able to trace the impact of this measure only with the benefit of hindsight.

The questionnaire also contained questions connected with the problem of ERS. Most of the enterprises classify the introduction of ERS as positive. The highest rate of opponents of ERS are among hotels and bars. We can say that in classification according to enterprise category, there is no strong division of opponents and defenders of ERS. Most of the enterprises in classification according to size rank the introduction of ERS as positive. What is interesting is the fact that rather small companies are among the defenders of ERS. The biggest defenders of ERS are medium-sized companies. The lowest supporters of ERS are lower large companies. The impact of the implementation of ERS can be traced only in a longer time period.

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Communication, Technology, Media

Photo by Bartol Rebernjak

Zdravko KEDŽO

TRUSTING THE MEDIA: ISLAND-BASED RADIO STATIONS IN EMERGENCY SITUATIONS

Abstract

Although the Croatian public seems to have a low level of trust in the media and media contents, there seems to be a relatively high level of trust in local radio. It is relatively stable and there have been no major downfalls in that regard, even in circumstances of the internet being increasingly used as the primary source of information. This distinguishes local radio from all other mass communication media and prompts the need to study it as a specific phenomenon. The issue of trusting the media becomes particularly important in emergency situations when their activity is essential for the public. In that sense, the position of local radio on populated islands, as very specific areas, is especially important. In that regard, this paper studies and strives to identify the interrelation between the relatively higher level of trust in local radio, especially in view of its choice as the primary source of information in an emergency situation, and its inherent, communicational and communicological advantages in relation to the other mass media. This serves to indicate its communicological, communicational, political, social, socio-psychological and safety potential, particularly in emergency situations where communication is essential and here radio seems to play a crucial role in quickly providing information on the emergency to the inhabitants of a populated island as a specific local area. Special attention is paid to the aspect of coordinating activities of collective and individual actors of the crisis-management system in protecting the affected social groups from danger in emergency situations.

Key words: *trust, local radio, crisis and crisis management, crisis communication, emergency situation, local public*

INTRODUCTION

From the aspect of the perception of media impact, trust in the media refers to, primarily, their credibility, that is, how accurate and reliable media contents and information are. In other words, trust in the media is about the media audience's, i.e. readers', listeners', viewers' perception of the media's honesty. This trust is, first and foremost, based on the credibility of a (particular) medium throughout longer periods of time. Therefore, trust in the media — as channels of public communication and major means of mediation of public opinion — is essential for the functioning of the public sphere where the public opinion is formed.

A good crisis communication network is about systematically managing communication with the key public domains by the crisis subject, and it includes the period before, during and after the crisis. In a period of crisis, an effective and timely communication with all the key domains of the public is essential. Within the framework of public relations, the most significant aspect of communication is that with the media. It is exactly the media that carry the message an individual or organization generates during a crisis, and the media transmit them further to the other key domains of the public. This cycle of interrelated communication processes marks the present and the future of crisis communication.

Crisis management, as a specific scientific discipline, was recognized some twenty years ago when the notion of "disaster risk reduction" was introduced into policies and guidelines about acting in case of disaster. In history, civil protection developed from the efforts aimed at protecting civilians from war destruction. During the 1950s and 60s, civil protection focused on the protection from natural disasters, first and foremost floods and earthquakes. Very soon, it became evident that when a disaster hits, the overwhelming needs for preserving human life, taking care of the injured and evacuating those whose homes have been destroyed cannot be handled either at the local or at the national level alone.

The main task of this system is to inform all the inhabitants of a certain geographic area, as quickly as possible, of the possibility of a crisis situation. Therefore, such situations demand the engagement of competent workers trained in crisis management. At the same time, the characteristics of today's crisis situations call for a well-thought-out management system where the communication system plays a key role. In fact, it is the basic precondition for an efficient operation of all the structures responsible for the elimination of causes and consequences of a crisis. With time, there emerged the need to make crisis management highly centralised. This was particularly prompted by the dynamics of solving the observed problems, the need for a fast response and decision making as well as for resource management. Hence, the system of crisis management is becoming more and more like a military organization system. In that context, a communication system is central to supporting the management, reporting and dissemination of information and data (Kljaić & Dujak, 2009, pp. 3-4). However, there are several communication systems which include public media services (state radio-television system), local radio and TV stations, as well as land and mobile phone lines, specialised state communication systems which include mobile radio communications (military, police, rescue service, ambulance, fire squad), as well as the network of private citizens band (CB) radio transmitters.

The term "emergency situation" denotes a crisis in society, where the usual, normal relations and the operation of a part or all social subsystems are disrupted. However, this notion is relatively broad and encompasses several different crisis social conditions. In the context of this research, the notion of an emergency situation or crisis condition is used in the sense of decreased public safety, threats to people's lives and property, and aggravated functioning of social subsystems and the system as a whole, which is a consequence of some of the disasters mentioned above. Another important issue that must be mentioned here is the threat to the physical and mental health of a large number of citizens, which is a typical feature of emergency situations resulting from a disaster. Such cases have shown that it was exactly the impossibility of evacuation and informing people early enough that caused additional fatalities in situations that involve a lot of panic. Therefore, the focus should be on emergency evacuation and informing the population in crisis zones, that is, on a well-thought-out and efficient crisis management.

One of the important factors of successful crisis management is the communication concept itself, which includes the following issues: who should be informed and when? Who should provide the information? What do we want to ask for and from whom? A good communication concept includes all the recipients of information, documents when and how the information was received, and determines when and which recipients will continue receiving information, and how will they receive it (Osmanagić-Bedenik, 2003, p. 211). Effective crisis communication, alongside encompassing the targeted public domains, depends not only on the content of the message, but also on the choice of the communication channel, that is, on the choice of the most appropriate means of communication, primarily the mass media. The media are the key to and the indispensable means of mass communication, hence the relationship with the media, that is, the use of the media in crisis communication, is of profound importance. Media relations are the primary activity of crisis communicators. This is primarily due to the ability of the mass media to disseminate a large number of messages to a wide audience in the shortest time (Cutlip, Center, & Broom, 2003, pp. 36-37). In fact, the mass media can be decisive in designating a particular event as a crisis (Zaremba, 2010, p. 27). Of course, this pertains to a possible crisis in an organization or institution, whereas disasters which affect the entire community are, due to their extent, crisis situations per se.

RADIO

Radio has a key informative, communicational and socio-psychological function in the period immediately after the first, sudden and unexpected disastrous event, be it a natural disaster or war, that is, during an emergency situation when information via no other media is available or not as efficient as the information communicated via radio, especially in isolated local areas affected by any form of crisis situation, such as islands. In that context, local radio makes it possible to emphasize and repeat important notifications, simultaneously communicated to a large number of people. This minimizes the possibility of disinformation and, since the human voice is the carrier of information, its intonation and articulation also indicate the importance of the content, which cannot be achieved by any other (non-audio) media. This is where the basic communicational feature of the radio medium, especially the local one, is manifested. In fact, the basic form of radio communication is the human voice which has a specific socio-psychological effect on the recipients of radio messages. Information conveyed by voice has its intonation, diction, accent and tone, which can give special meaning to the content. It reflects much more than its content alone, it (consciously or unconsciously) involves the speaker's (radio host or reporter) emotions and mood, which is recognized by the audience who use it as a guideline in forming their impression of the content of the message, that is, of the reported situation.

The voice on a local radio station is recognizable, it is "local" and very close to a large number of people, so by listening to the radio, the citizens affected by a disaster develop a strong subjective impression that they are not alone or left to their own devices. Listening to the voice that conveys the information in perilous and dangerous situations prompts a feeling of intimacy and trust in the listener. In many examples, to many citizens who found themselves in difficult situations, the radio voice conveyed not only information but also instruction, encouragement and stimulation to persist and act. It is easier to overcome even very difficult and hopeless situations while listening to the programme on local radio. Voice, as the characteristic feature of the radio media, somehow humanizes the content of information and has a calming and rationalizing effect. In the conditions of an emergency situation, it is extremely important and can contribute to alleviating the psychological consequences of a disaster (panic, fear, disorientation, disorganization, depression, paranoia), both at the individual and social levels.

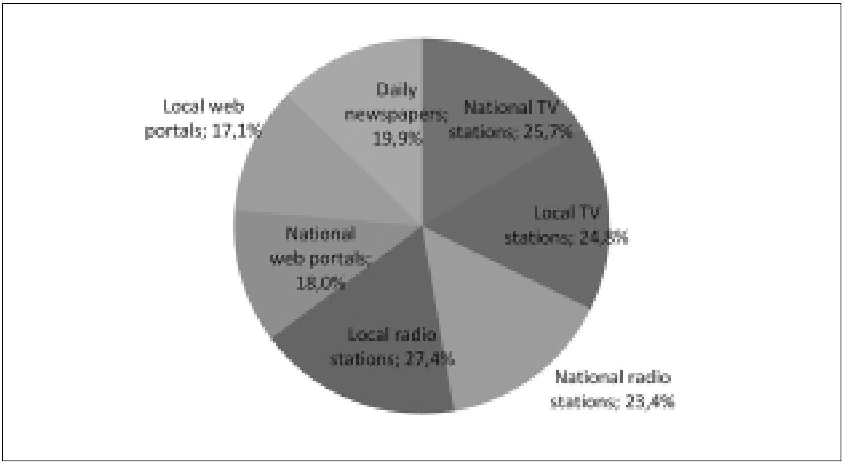
Due to all the above-stated reasons, local radio seems to be the most flexible and the most efficient media of communication in emergency situations taking place in a very specific and locally specified area, such as a populated island. It has a special place in the crisis management system, in coordinating the actions of institutions in eliminating the consequences of a disaster and/or to prevent the causes of a disaster, as well as to help in the (self)organization of the local population in preventing more serious consequences. It has a particularly important role in collecting, transferring and communicating, in a timely manner, information specific for a local community and the emergency situation that has affected it, in which respect it is unrivalled by any other medium. This makes local radio a contributing factor in efficiently reducing the risk of casualties, as well as other negative consequences of emergency situations. There are numerous examples of this that can be found in recent Croatian history. It is a known fact that the radio programme meant a lot for the citizens of Vukovar, Dubrovnik or Zadar when they were under siege and heavy attack by "the Great Serbian" aggressor for months during the Croatian War of Independence. Bearing in mind the significance of local radio for maintaining a high morale among civilians and the members of the army and for defending the besieged cities, it was no coincidence that the aggressor put in every effort to destroy the local radio stations and the facilities of the radio diffusion system in general (Mučalo, 2010b, pp. 304-306). Similarly, in many natural disasters such as floods, earthquakes or volcanic eruptions, the affected population primarily relied on local radio programmes for support and guidance on how to act in emergency situations they were faced with. Almost every disaster and emergency situations control plan published by competent institutions, both around the world and in Croatia, among other special instructions, regularly indicates listening to the news on a local radio station. By doing so, they clearly refer the public to local radio as the main source of information in a local emergency situation. This also reflects the specific social function of local radio in emergency situations which significantly exceeds its role in normal social conditions.

TRUST IN THE MEDIA — LOCAL RADIO

The radio, like no other media, is expected to play a key role in emergency situations in view of meeting public needs for information (news), exactly because it is practical and can be used in almost every situation, even in the most severe crises such as natural disasters or wars. This has been confirmed by numerous examples, both worldwide and in Croatia, where the largest number of citizens relied exactly on the information mediated by local radio stations.

Local radio is extremely flexible in conceptualizing its programme, both in terms of content and structure. Thus, the regular programme, when an emergency situation arises, is commonly replaced by a special programme adjusted to a continuous monitoring of the emergency situation by covering all the events in the field and reporting on them promptly, which is especially important in the early stages of a disaster (Hindman & Cole, 1999, pp. 11-12). This includes live reporting from the field, messages from the audience and direct witnesses. Local radio functions as "an open door" in the dissemination of key information crucial for the functioning of the local community in emergency situations (Sood, Stockdale, & Rogers, 1987). The function of "an open door" is a two-way street because information from the local community interchanges on air with the information issued in the form of instructions and orders by officials from the competent institutions in charge of organizing the local community. Radio communicates information quickly because, by doing so, it follows in real time all the sudden changes and enables a rapid response of all the stakeholders.

Radio opens up to listeners' calls, so the listeners and their information become the key source of information and provide insight into the overall situation and events in the affected areas. Moreover, the information provided by the listeners can faithfully depict the atmosphere that prevails in certain parts of the affected area. Since the use of roads, as well as other types of transport, is very often limited (or even blocked), local radio eases the feeling of being cut off, and also functionally connects the actions of various actors participating in the rescue, defence and protection of human life and property. In addition, local radio tends to focus on personal experiences shared by the callers on air with the entire audience. This again makes it possible for the audience to relate the experiences of others to their own, that is, it contributes to the feeling of togetherness and solidarity without which efficient collective actions — which are necessary in such situations — would not be possible (Garner, 1996). In local communities that went through disasters in which local radio helped them achieve togetherness, there is often a prolonged feeling of solidarity among their members even long after the danger had passed and the consequences of the disaster had been dealt with. This



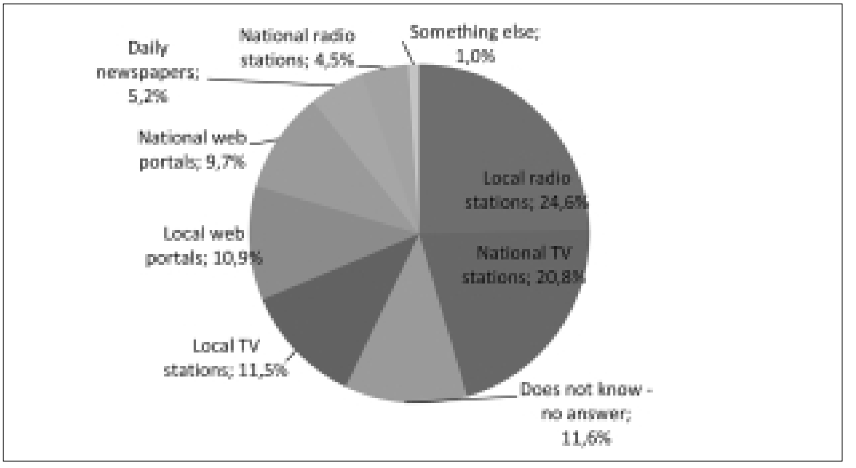
To what extent do you trust the following types of media in case of reporting in emergency situations such as earthquake, flood or a terrorist attack that might happen in your local area?
(N: 713 Agency: Ipsos Puls)

solidarity, which includes an increase in mutual (interpersonal) trust, is reflected in an increased level of voluntary activities involving a larger number of people, or, to put it differently, in increased participation (Philips, 1986). When added up, all of these reasons contribute to the relatively high levels of trust expressed by the citizens towards local radio. This trust is primarily manifested in the selection of local radio as the primary source of information in emergency situations in local areas. The above-mentioned characteristic features of local radio and its social function in the conditions of an emergency situation are some of the strong indicators of a relatively high level of trust in local radio, so this basic assumption and its predictability in relation to the levels of trust will be carefully studied and verified in an empirical research laid out in the next chapter.

The study of public communication in a situation of a possible crisis in a local area (natural disaster with significant infrastructural damage) shows that, in view of mass communication and essential public information in the first hours of a crisis, local radio is still indispensable as a medium. Research shows that the choice of local radio as the source of the most important information in a crisis is directly connected to the trust in local radio stations (27.4% of the respondents highly trusted local radio). From this it is possible to deduce that local radio is the first medium the affected public turns to in case of an emergency situation (24.6% of the respondents).

CONCLUSION

The conducted research indicates the need to realize that an emergency situation is at the same time a psychological category. Therefore, informing the public in real time actually relies on the public's trust in "what" they receive and "from whom" they re-



Which media will you turn to first for information?
(N: 713 Agency: Ipsos Puls)

ceive the information and on their frequent identification with the "known" media (a lot of respondents indicated that they had been listening to those "voices" for years on local radio). Moreover, an emergency situation encompasses the entire population of the affected area, and due to this, while bearing in mind the "educational structure of the overall Croatian population" it is at the moment impossible to expect them to be fully educated and have the comprehensive knowledge and skills necessary for using new media. Finally, radio is, as a medium, extremely flexible in case of possible or even the worst-case scenarios of infrastructural destruction of the existing resources, which then enables it to restart broadcasting in a relatively short time. This is, in turn, critical for suppressing panic (in the first 24 hours of a crisis).

Therefore, it can be logically expected that a study and paper, such as this one, based on the mentioned premises (but more comprehensive and more concise, of course) in the near future should prompt a wider portion of the population and competent authorities to bear this in mind when designing a system that would provide answers to the asked questions and encountered issues. At the moment, unfortunately, there is no such system.

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Julia ALDAMA BLANCH

PRESENTATION OF INFORMATION CONTENT ONLINE: A CASE STUDY OF THE SPANISH MEDIA

Abstract

The way in which the media present their content online determines, conditions and modulates, within the information process, the way in which the user receives that content, and, in a way, the media's use of it and loyalty to it. In fact, a study on what the users value when giving credibility to a web site, carried out by the University of Stanford, concluded that the top-rated factors were the design (46.1%) and the visual structure of a website (28.5%). For this reason, it is necessary for the media to reflect upon the characteristics, properties and possibilities of a certain medium, as well as the way in which these are exploited, in order to improve its use and, ultimately, ensure the best possible experience for the user.

Key words: *new media, journalism, communication, design, Spanish media*

CYBER MEDIA AND JOURNALISTIC DESIGN

With the rise of the Internet, both technology and the information society, as well as the experience of its professionals, have evolved, progressively advancing in the maturity of the design of the digital newspapers and journeying towards more efficient models of visual communication. The visual change observed in the cyber media necessitates a periodic realisation of a new analysis of its content design; since this is the only way that the features and characteristics that journalistic design is acquiring in the digital environment can be outlined (Cabrera González, 2009).

Design, changing by nature, must be based on professional and scientific rigour. From an academic point of view, it is pertinent to go deeper into the importance of journalistic design because of its close association with the message it conveys and the effect it has on the recipient (Cabrera González, 2009).

The new medium born on the Internet is characterized, on the one hand, by the static nature of the traditional properties of the media — that is, by the mediation between facts and the public, broadcasting content and application of journalistic criteria, norms and techniques — in combination with the dynamism given by the potentialities of cyberspace.

Cyberspace has allowed an extension of the expressive possibilities, introducing into the cyber media a series of characteristics that have to be taken into account when designing journalistic content for the web in order to make best use of it. The authors agree in pointing out the following main characteristics: immediacy, constant updating, ubiquity, multimedia, hypertextuality, interactivity, personalisation and customisation, as well as encyclopaedic capacity (Díaz Noci & Salaverría, 2003; Salaverría (coord.), Serrano Tellería, 2010 2005; Xosé López *et al.*, 2005; Machado *et al.*, 2004).

In the following part of the text we will comment on some of the above elements in greater depth, referring to how these factors condition the features of journalistic design on the Internet.

IMMEDIACY, UPDATE AND UBIQUITY

The digitalisation of the information content has allowed the users of online newspapers to access information through their screens in an immediate way from any place in the world. In the same way, that information can be updated continuously in an instant manner, clashing with the concept of periodicity or temporal regularity characteristic of traditional media. As Díaz Noci (2001) points out: "the internet not only overpasses the barrier of periodicity, but also that of space, and even time."

Besides aspects like the distribution of and access to information, immediacy sparks off an interesting debate in relation to the creation of journalistic messages. The digital medium allows journalists to instantly publish a piece of information without the need of undergoing the complex and slow processes of production of journalistic messages, which can be very useful for certain information that does not require a documentation analysis or complex verifications. However, some authors consider that immediacy and the potential rapidity of information updating can become a threat when they act to detriment of contrast, verification of data, reflection and analysis, among other factors (Tejedor Calvo, 2006).

Multimedia

The concept of multimedia is the result of the process of media convergence that has allowed the unification of text, still image, moving image, sound and others into one product to produce a plural, unified and multimedia language (Edo Bolós, 2001; Tejedor Calvo, 2006; Vouillamoz, 2000). A journalist has to be able to cohesively integrate different informative morphologies in such a way that the reader or user perceives them as integrating parts of a whole or a set, avoiding — unless that is the intention — that one dominates over the others, or that some are perceived as mere complements without a clear purpose.

Hipertextuality

Another important feature is the possibility of applying the non-linear structure characteristic of hypertexts, including links to other informative points of interest. The links should be integrated in a logical and accessible sequence, hierarchic or based on the relatedness of concepts. Due to hypertexts, it is possible to link a current topic from the event that has just occurred to a set of background characters, images, official documents and opinions of the protagonists, experts on the topic; and the readers can in this way obtain as much information as possible without having to leave the screen (Edo Bolós, 2001).

Hypertexts enable a free non-sequential order of content, allowing users to make their own road map (navigation). In addition, the space limitation imposed by the conventional media disappears with a depth hypertext, moving from a 2D design (height and width) to a 3D (height, width and depth) (Serrano Tellería, 2010).

Interactivity

Interactivity refers to the possibility of generating communication between the journalist and the reader, reader and reader, reader and system, etc. Interactivity is a decisive factor in establishing a true communicative relationship and commitment between the sender and the receiver.

The user is no longer a passive witness of information and becomes an actor of the communication process capable of making decisions that have a direct influence in the information exchange: they choose their routes of reading, they can give opinions and add or remove information, etc. (Canga Laregui, 2001; Tejedor Calvo, 2006; Zalckberg, 2001).

When designing for an online medium, the designer must always keep in mind the need to facilitate the movement and response of users, taking into consideration the possible flow of information at all times. In other words, there must be a design for action, as well as for contemplation.

Personalisation and customisation

In online media today, users have the ability to generate specific products tailored to individual interests. Thus, users can indicate which topics interest them the most and receive only information on those topics. In this way, they don't have to face the set of information that appears on the screen, but rather, the system itself organises and selects content based on users' preferences and offers them a personalised product that is different to what other users receive.

The ability to customize the information offer is a feature of online media that is closely linked to the interactive component of the media, which relates to an exchange between the user and the system where the user requests a certain information content and the system provides it, and even informs the reader of any developments that meets his/her needs and demands, through information services (mail or mobile), customised news and advertising content of the homepage, based on navigation (cookies) and customisation of texts, depending on the keywords among other factors (Palomo Torres, 2005; PouAmerigo, 2001; Tejedor Calvo, 2006).

Encyclopaedic Capacity

Digital media allows storing a large amount of information, has a large memorisation capacity, and, at the same time, enables the recovery of a great amount of data. News reports require a broader context, and the encyclopaedic ability of online media allows them to accompany their information with wide-context information in different formats, which facilitates the understanding of the news. As Salaverría and Sancho (2007) indicate, designing for the web implies enhancing the documentary visibility of the medium by means of search engines and databases.

OBJECTIVES

This study is framed within a broader research, whose objective is to describe the current state of online newspaper design in Mediterranean countries, with the aim to help them optimize the presentation of content online. I started my study with the Spanish media and I look to expand and compare them with other Mediterranean countries. The main objective of this study was to undertake an exploratory analysis, presented as a case study, of one of the most popular Spanish online newspapers — elpais.com — in order to identify and formulate the relation of definite variables of analysis.

The specific objectives were the following:

- Analyse the structure and organisation of the different elements of the cyber medium under study;
- Deepen the understanding of presentation of information content in the cyber medium under study.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology used for the case study consisted of an exploratory analysis, based on non-participant observation of a cyber media page selected through an analysis sheet that seeks to identify the characteristics and properties of the visual presentation of its information content. The analysis sheet included a series of variables that aimed to analyse the complete structure of the web pages that were to be studied and delve into the more specific elements of these pages. We do not study the message from the point of view of the content of the texts, but only the way in which it presents the contents visually.

Population and Sample

The main digital newspaper providing general information in Spain was selected for the case study, because of its level of diffusion and relevance. It is a cyber-medium with extensive Internet experience; it made its first foray into the digital context in the mid-1990s, specifically in 1996.

The sample for the study corresponds to the first week of November 2015, from 1 to 7 November.

Information-Collection Instruments

The information in this study was obtained from data extracted from the website of elpais.com during the first week of November 2015. This data was introduced in the analysis sheet. The analysis sheet used in this paper takes as reference the proposals of Palomo, Cabrera and Otero (2008) and Serrano Tellería (2009). The sheet contained the following data: the data identifying the medium — such as name, URL, etc. — and the

Figure 1 First screen

Figure 2 Division in columns

analysis variables referring to the structure of the page and the specific elements that constitute it (header, navigation menus, news, advertising, services...), with their characteristic position, colour, shape, style, etc. In the case of news, typologies were also quantified, according to the elements that composed them (title, subtitle, text, photo, links, video and others), as well as their characteristics (colour, size, typography, shape and style). For the evaluation of the categories and items in the analysis sheet, the frequency criteria were applied, and also the presence and/or absence of different variables was noted. Once the analysis sheets had been filled in, the results were entered into a database to facilitate their interpretation, comparison and final publication in the form of tables and graphs in MS Excel.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In the next section of the paper the most significant results of the exploratory analysis will be presented. The results that had been obtained allowed me to sketch out the particular characteristics of journalistic design of a cyber newspaper, in this case elpais.com.

Structure and Organisation

In what refers to the structure of the page and the organisation of different elements within it, elpais.com generally dedicates the top part of the site to advertising, the title and the general navigation menu which gives access to the information sections and to the services (such as the library or the search tool). The distribution is horizontal. In this top part, the date and time of an update appears (Figure 1).

Below these elements, the space is divided into three columns: two wider and centred columns dedicated to information — although they also contain advertisements within themselves — and a third lateral column, smaller in size dedicated to navigation tools (menus and lists), services and advertisements (Figure 2).

Figure 3 Blocks of supplements, magazines and sections

Figure 4 Last screen

Below the columns there is a series of news highlighted in blocks. These blocks belong to supplements, magazines and sections of El Pais (Figure 3).

The page ends with a series of horizontal blocks for the subscriptions and corporative information of the cyber media (Figure 4).

The structure of the page and the location of the elements (header, information blocks, advertisements, navigation, menus, services…) is fixed, although their content changes several times a day. This repetition of elements gives editorial unity to the page from the point of view of design.

Presentation of Information Content

The news website elpais.com presents its content in what we can call information blocks. In one same thematic block (which is also positioned in the same space under the same tag or label), various news in different formats are presented in relation to that theme (Figure 5).

In relation to how different elements are combined when designing, the most common practice during the studied period was the use of the headline, the text that accompanies it, the signature of the author or authors (this appeared on approximately 71% of all the analyzed news), and, of course, the link (approximately 93% of all links directed to an internal page). More than half of the news were accompanied by an image or text.

Typography and Colour Characteristics

The font used in elpais.com is generally serif; that is to say that it has small ornaments normally in the ends of the lines of the typographic characters. When the word is in capital letters like in the case of the navigation menus or the authors name, sans-serif is used.

The use of the lower case is a common norm in the textual elements, except for the tags of the thematic blocks where capital letters are used in order to stand out.

La proximidad de las elecciones impide un pacto sobre Cataluña

El Constitucional evitó frenar iniciativas parlamentarias

Provocación y deslealtad

Mariscal: "Cuando te crees la bomba, la vida te pone en tu sitio"

Figure 5 Thematic block

All the texts are aligned to the left and the use of bold is limited to the headlines. Letter sizes are used to give importance to some content over other.

The colours used are neutral (black, white and grey). Other colours are hardly used, only on some occasions. The greater variety of colour in the page comes from videos, images or advertisements.

CONCLUSIONS

The obtained results enabled us to outline the particular characteristics of journalistic design in the analysed cyber medium — elpais.com in this case.

The main conclusions of this research are as follows:

- The organization of the distribution of the elements within the page was, except for small variations, fixed throughout the study week;
- The spatial design is vertically organized and the information appears cut, being offered with hierarchical criteria in linked pages;
- The news is grouped in thematic blocks;
- More than half of the information published on the cover is accompanied by a photo or a video;
- The entire cover works through links that open pages within the elpais.com website;
- The layout of the page is simple. It emphasizes the use of few colours: neutral colours and a few other colours of the spectrum, without any visual noise. The texts are easily legible; the lowercase is often used and bold letters are reserved exclusively for the headers. In order to emphasize the importance of some texts over others, different font sizes are used.

This exploratory analysis was successful and necessary to evaluate — from the data obtained — the importance, function and characteristics of visual elements of a cyber medium. It has also allowed us to define the categories to be taken into account in the analysis sheet of other digital newspapers, selected for further investigation.

Therefore, the rest of the digital journals of reference should be analysed and compared to one another for more exhaustive understanding of the current state of design in on-line newspapers.

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THE MEDIA'S CONSTRUCTION OF REALITY ON CROATIAN ISLANDS: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF ARTICLES IN *SLOBODNA DALMACIJA*

Abstract

Nowadays, the media have a central role and make a great contribution in the process of social construction of reality. For their audience, the information and images that the media provide are an important source of knowledge and opinions about different social issues. Sociologists emphasize the importance of media-constructed images of social reality. As messengers and managers of the public arena, the media play an important role in the process of defining a specific condition as problematic. In this paper we will analyze the prevailing social problems related to Croatian islands from the perspective of one of the most widely read daily newspaper on those islands — *Slobodna Dalmacija*. The main objective is to determine the basic patterns of reporting about Croatian islands during the years 2005 and 2006. The media's construction of reality on Croatian islands complies with the objective reality — there is an agreement between news article contents in *Slobodna Dalmacija* and general public perception of life on Croatian islands.

Key words: *Croatian islands, social construction of reality, media construction of social problems,* Slobodna Dalmacija*, content analysis*

INTRODUCTION

In the past centuries, the Mediterranean has been divided into the developed north, heavily integrated into the Western-European political and economic system, and the underdeveloped east and south. This reflected strongly in the modernization processes in the area of the Adriatic Sea. After Greece, Croatia is the country with the largest number of islands in the Mediterranean. The so-called land of a thousand islands counts 79 islands, 525 islets, and 642 reefs — covering a total area of 3,259 square kilometres (5.8% of Croatian territory) with different types and sizes of islands. But, only 67 islands are permanently inhabited by 125,000 people, which make up 2.9% of the total Croatian population (Duplančić Leder, Ujević, & Čala, 2004). Compared to the continental part of Croatia, islands had a subordinate and peripheral socioeconomic position during the modernization processes. This has been particularly evident in economic stagnation and depopulation over the past decade (Farčić, 2012).

Although this is only a small proportion of the Croatian population, they are unjustly marginalized from the current sociological and media analysis. Social-science scholars questioned and analyzed some aspects of the presence of social processes and problems on Croatian islands[1], but we have not found any paper that deals with the way in which those processes and problems are presented in the Croatian media. In order to fill this gap, the main objective of our paper is to determine the basic patterns of reporting on Croatian islands. Since daily newspapers belong to the specific public area, we conducted a content analysis of news articles in a widely read newspaper on Croatian islands — *Slobodna Dalmacija*.

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF REALITY

In order to gain a better understanding of the importance of the media in the process of the social construction of reality (and social problems as parts of that reality), we will take a step back and shortly explain the way our reality is being socially constructed. Social constructivists believe that reality is not something final which is simply and unconditionally given, nor is it objective, imposed, universal, and self-evident. Reality is constructed by individuals on the basis of their experience, relationships, beliefs, values, and the broader cultural context which they live in (Marinković, 2006). Although social constructivism developed as part of a broader postmodern movement, sociologists Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, who wrote *The Social Construction of Reality* (1992), have been especially credited for its popularization. In their book, Berger and Luckmann argue that the social construction of reality is a dialectical process in which people act both as the creators and products of their social world — their special ability is externalization and objectivation of their own internalized and subjective meanings, experiences, and actions. According to Berger and Luckmann, reality can be divided into three types: (1) *objective* social reality as reality *par excellence* that exists outside of individuals and needs no further verification — people undoubtedly accept that reality in order to be able to perform the routine actions that ensure both their own existence and their interaction with others; (2) *symbolic* social reality, made of any form of symbolic expression of objective reality, e.g. art, literature, and media contents; (3) *subjective* social reality as individually constructed reality based on objective reality in which an individual lives, as well as the symbolic representations of that reality. Due to the above-mentioned dialectical process, subjective reality, which forms an individual's actions, ensures the existence of objective reality and the meaningfulness of its symbolic expressions (Adoni & Mane, 1984). So what exactly is the role of the media in this process? How do the media contribute to the construction of social reality? We will discuss these questions in the following section.

[1] Many papers written by Croatian authors are dedicated to different aspects of social problems present on Croatian islands, especially the demographic problems such as depopulation, ageing population, migration, etc. — e.g. Lajić, Podgorelec, and Babić, 2001; Lajić and Mišetić, 2013; Nejašmić and Mišetić, 2006; Podgorelec, 2008; Podgorelec and Klempić Bogadi, 2013.

THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF REALITY

A few decades ago, McQuail (1972) noticed that the media play a part in shaping an individual and the collective consciousness by organizing and circulating the knowledge people have of their own everyday life and of the more remote context of their lives. Today the media undoubtedly play an important role in people's everyday lives. This mainly stems from the fact that in contemporary society, on the global level, people spend more than eight hours per day with some sort of media (Austin, Barnard, and Hutcheon, 2015)[2]. Such intensive media exposure produces media-generated images of the world in people, which they use to construct meaning about different social issues (Gamson, Croteau, Sasson, and Hoynes, 1992). The media are therefore able to affect their audience on a cognitive level by making them unable to distinguish between objective and media realities (Shapiro & Lang, 1991).

Using Berger and Luckmann's theory, we argue that nowadays, the media have a central role and a great contribution in the process of the social construction of reality. Several media theories and research can be used to support and further explain that argument. Early media research by the Frankfurt School at first indicated the interaction between objective and symbolic realities[3], while neo-Marxist researchers suggested that media content reinforces the dominant ideology by legitimizing the social order and maintaining the social *status quo* (Adoni & Mane, 1984). According to the media-dependency theory (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976), the degree of the media's contribution to people's construction of subjective reality is a function of their direct experience with various phenomena and the consequent dependency on the media for information about these phenomena. The Glasgow University Media Group (1980) showed that by using subtle verbal and visual techniques, television news reports present a distorted picture of objective reality, while Gerbner (1998) states that the more time people spend *living* in the television world, the more likely they are to believe the social reality portrayed on television. The agenda-setting theory (McCombs and Shaw, 1972) deals with the question of to what extent the agenda of the press contributes to the agenda of issues considered important by the public and political elites — theorists conclude that media define a framework within which collective social reality is perceived, and therefore shape the basis of social action. For Noelle-Neumann (1977), the media creates a *climate of opinion* — a public emphasis on certain opin-

[2] The rise of media usage (and the importance of that usage in people's lives) in contemporary society can also be explained as a result of the transition from industrial to information society — Castells (2000) called that society *informational capitalism*, a new form of social organization in which generating, processing, and transmitting information become the main source of productivity and power.

[3] For example, Lowenthal (1961) analyzed biographies published in American popular magazines during the 1920s and 1940s and discovered a change in American values — from an emphasis on productivity to an emphasis on leisure and consumerism.

ions by the news media creates a false impression that these opinions are the dominant ones in society. Therefore, the media construct (social) reality in which people believe and also think that others believe in.

In addition to the above-mentioned theories, a number of other theories and studies which explain the role of the media in the social construction of reality can be found. However, their further elaboration exceeds the aim and the scope of this paper. So, we will conclude with Thompson's words: "[b]y making images and information available to individuals located in distant locales, the media shape and influence the course of events, and indeed, create events that would not have existed in their absence (1995, p. 117)," and move to the next section with the following questions: in the context of the social reality — what can be considered as social problems, and how do the media construct those social problems?

THE MEDIA'S CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Social reality does not exist outside of people, their experiences, actions, beliefs, and definitions. Neither do social problems. Given the subject matter of this paper, we found it important to explain the role of the media in the construction of social problems. As we mentioned before, the media have a central part in the construction of social reality, so it is logical to conclude that they have the same role in the construction of social problems. In reality, conditions first have to be *defined* as problematic, before they are recognized by society as social problems, scandals or crises (Best, 1995). This collective definition is not a given one, but it derives from the efforts of politics, interest groups, and social movements. Spector and Kitsuse (1977) asked two key research questions in the context of defining a social problem: who speaks, and who identifies a particular social condition as a problem? As messengers and managers of the public arena, the media play an important role in the process of defining specific condition as problematic (Vasterman, 2005). So, the process of making claims about social problems is actually a part of a wider public-opinion creation (Lowney, 2008), in which the media have a central role. However, not only do the media have an important role in defining a social problem; news related to different social problems attracts the most attention from the audience (Kaliterna Lipovčan et al, 2009). Therefore, news about social problems occupy a large portion of media space and shape a potentially false conclusion that social reality consists mostly of social problems within its audience.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES & METHODOLOGY

As mentioned earlier, the empirical part of the paper includes a content analysis of news articles in *Slobodna Dalmacija*. Except for a few Kvarner islands, where a lot of people read *Novi list*, *Slobodna Dalmacija* is widely read press related to the Croatian coast and islands (Vozab, 2014). We chose news articles published during the years

2005 and 2006, because in that period, the EU started accession negotiations with Croatia, and Croatia faced intensive economic growth, which reflected positively on the living conditions in all parts of the country. A few years later, the economic crisis interrupted these positive processes, and, inter alia, put economic problems at the forefront of media coverage. So, in order to avoid the prevalence of these problems in the news articles, we chose these two years for our analysis.

The main objective of the research was to determine the basic patterns of reporting about Croatian islands during the years 2005 and 2006, while specific objectives were to determine: (1) which topics and actors prevailed in the news articles about Croatian islands, (2) which Croatian islands were mostly written about, and in which period of the year (summer, autumn, winter or spring), (3) value judgments (positive, negative or neutral) that journalists attributed to life on Croatian islands, and (4) which social problems were highlighted in the news articles about Croatian islands.

The population of the research is all the news articles about Croatian islands featured on the cover page of *Slobodna Dalmacija* and published in it during the years 2005 and 2006. The research included the entire population — a total of 220 news articles. A unit of the analysis is a news article published during the years 2005 and 2006 that was announced on the cover page of the newspaper. The unit of analysis includes the headline, the deck, the story, and visual materials included in the news article. We used an analytical matrix constructed for the purpose of this research. It contains eight analytical categories: (1) date when the news article was published, (2) headline of the news article, (3) presence of a photo on the cover page of the newspaper, (4) name(s) of the Croatian island(s) mentioned in the news article, (5) topic(s) that prevailed in the news article, (6) main actor(s) in the news article, (7) value judgment of the journalist, and (8) social problem(s) that the news article spoke about. For the last category, we used the typology of social problems suggested by Mooney, Knox, and Schacht (2010). They classified social problems into three main groups: (1) *social welfare problems* (diseases and health care, alcohol and drugs, crime and social control, family problems), (2) *problems of social inequality* (poverty and economic inequality, work and unemployment, education, racial, ethnic and migration problems, gender inequality, sexual orientation issues, youth and the problems of the elderly), and (3) *globalization problems* (population growth and urbanization, environment conservation, science and technology, conflict, war and terrorism).

The analysis was conducted by the authors of this paper. In order to achieve uniformity of criteria, first we made a draft version of the analytic matrix, and then we conducted several experimental analyses. The intercoder reliability was measured by Cohen's Kappa coefficient which, depending on the research variables, ranged from 0.72 (for the variable *topic(s) that prevailed in the news article*) to 0.93 (for the variable *islands as primary or secondary content of the news article*). The median of Cohen's Kappa coefficient for all the variables was 0.84.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

• *The first research objective was to determine which topics and actors had prevailed in the news articles about Croatian islands during the years 2005 and 2006.*

Our content analysis included news articles featured on the cover page of the newspaper. According to McCombs and Shaw (1972), in setting the media's agenda, news selection and cover appearance are particularly important — not all news is worth highlighting at the beginning of television news or on newspapers' cover pages. News that is higlighted can be considered as a part of the media's agenda. The main editor chose to put some news articles on the cover page of *Slobodna Dalmacija*, and those news articles can be considered as a part of the media's agenda in presenting life on Croatian islands. It is not uncommon for the media's agenda to be different from the public agenda. That could lead to the total separation of Berger and Luckmann's (1992) two types of social reality: objective and symbolic. However, this is not the case in Croatia. Topics that prevailed in the news articles about Croatian islands are building construction, demographic issues, and traffic (Table 1). Those are the same topics usually associated with life on Croatian islands. Municipal infrastructure, depopulation, and traffic isolation are the central problems of the island population in Croatia (*Nacionalni program razvitka otoka*, 1997). So, in this case, objective reality or public agenda is equal to symbolic reality or the media's agenda.

Table 1 The main topics of the news articles about Croatian islands (2005-2006)

Topics	f	%
Building construction	71	19.3
Demographic issues	50	13.6
Traffic	46	12.5
Politics	33	9.0
Trade and industry	28	7.6
Professional activities of politicians	27	7.4
Health	20	5,4
Humanitarian actions, donations, etc.	15	4.1
Other	77	21.0
Total	**367**	**100.0**

As the mentioned problems are closely related to everday life, it is no wonder that news articles mostly included reports on the lives of ordinary citizens. Therefore, ordinary citizens were the main actors in news articles about Croatian islands, while politicians and businessmen took the second and third place in news reporting (Table 2). From these data, we can conclude that the typical media routine of journalists in *Slobodna Dalmacija* while reporting about Croatian islands can be reduced to personalized stories of ordinary citizens, and the ways in which their social problems are or could be solved through politics and economy. If we compare tables 1 and 2, we can see a noticeable disparity in the case of politicians as the main actors and politics as the main topic in the news articles. This indicates that, in the media coverage of Croatian islands, politicians are valued through their contribution in solving specific problems (building construction, demographic issues, and traffic problems), rather than their performances in the political arena.

Table 2 The main actors in the news articles about Croatian islands (2005-2006)

Actors	f	%
Ordinary citizens	94	31.5
Politicians	61	20.5
Businessmen	47	15.8
Tourism professionals	26	8.7
Foreign actors	23	7.7
Athletes	16	5.4
The Church or Church representatives	10	3.3
Artists	9	3.0
Scientists	7	2.3
Associations	5	1.7
Total	**298**	**100.0**

• *The second research objective was to determine which Croatian islands had mostly been written about, and in which period of the year during the 2005 and 2006.*

Krk, Korčula, Brač, and Hvar are the most populous Croatian islands (Lajić and Mišetić, 2013). While Krk is geographically located in Kvarner where most people read *Novi list*, and thus culturally gravitates towards it (Vozab, 2014), Hvar, Brač, and Korčula were the most written-about Croatian islands in *Slobodna Dalmacija,* which is the most widely read newspaper in Dalmatia (Table 3). It should also be noted that in about 10% of the analysed news articles, two or more of those islands were mentioned together. Those are the news articles which reported about topics related to Croatian islands in general, thus confirming that social issues of the inhabitants on different Croatian islands are, generally speaking, similar.

Table 3 Croatian islands which were most-frequently written about (2005-2006)

Island	f	%
Hvar	55	23.21
Brač	27	11.39
Korčula	16	6.75
Vis	11	4.64
Kornati	7	2.95
Pag	6	2.53
Mljet	6	2.53
More than two islands	22	9.28
Other	87	36.71
Total	**237**	**100,00**

The largest number of news articles about Croatian islands were published and highlighted on the cover page of *Slobodna Dalmacija* in summer and autumn (Table 4). This is not surprising due to the more intensive life on the Croatian coast and islands during summer and early autumn. The main reason for this is related to tourism, and different municipal and infrastructure problems caused by a great number of visitors.

Table 4 Season in which news articles about Croatian islands were published (2005-2006)

Season	f	%
Winter	43	19.5
Spring	38	17.3
Summer	74	33.6
Autumn	65	29.5
Total	**220**	**100.0**

• *The third objective was to determine value judgments (positive, negative or neutral) that journalists attributed to life on Croatian islands.*

Value judgments of journalists about life on Croatian islands in news articles in *Slobodna Dalmacija* were mostly neutral, and positive and negative in equal measure (Table 5). Since the media's agenda — as already noticed — coincides with the public agenda, it is clear that news reporting mostly includes description without journalists' biased evaluation. In Berger and Luckmann's (1992) terms, objective reality is faithfully displayed in symbolic (media) presentations.

Table 5 Value judgments of journalists about life on Croatian islands (2005-2006)

Journalists value judgment	f	%
Neutral (without value judgment)	124	56.4
Negative	32	14.5
Positive	31	14.1
Both positive and negative	20	9.1
Cannot be assessed	13	5.9
Total	**220**	**100,0**

• *Finally, the fourth objective was to determine which social problems were highlighted in the news articles about Croatian islands.*

In order to detect and classify social problems highlighted in news articles about Croatian islands, we used the social problems categorization by Mooney et al. (2010). As it was already mentioned, they classified social problems into three main groups: *social welfare problems*, *problems of social inequality,* and *globalization problems*. According to that classification, two groups of social problems are dominant in the analyzed news articles — social welfare problems and globalization problems (Table 6). Social welfare problems are mostly associated with healthcare — in comparison with the coast, Croatian islands are faced with a serious lack of hospitals, emergency services, and doctors. On the other side, globalization problems threaten life on islands in two ways. Firstly, globalization makes urbanization stronger and thus encourages the depopulation of Croatian islands, which are still very rural. Secondly, globalization strengthens tourism, and indirectly leads to environmental problems.

These two main groups of social problems presented in news articles are also part of the objective reality of Croatian islands. But, this is not the case with social inequality problems. Although those problems are undoubtedly a part of Croatian islands' objective reality (*Nacionalni program razvoja otoka*, 2014), they are not highlighted in *Slobodna Dalmacija*. This could be considered as a part of the media's construction of reality on Croatian islands — the media hide or fail to see certain important parts of objective reality. Therefore, they construct their own media reality.

Table 6 Social problems in news articles about Croatian islands (2005-2006)

Social problem	f	%
The social welfare problems	82	46.3
Globalization problems	79	44.6
The problems of social inequality	16	9,1
Total	**177**	**100,0**

CONCLUSION

During the process of defining a social problem, the crucial questions are who speaks and who identifies a specific situation as a problem. The media have an important role in that process, as well as in the process of the social construction of reality. Our research results partly confirmed these hypotheses. The media construction of reality on Croatian islands complies with the objective reality segmented by the *Nacionalni program razvoja otoka* (1997). In other words, there is an agreement between news article content in *Slobodna Dalmacija* and the general public's perception of life on Croatian islands. News articles are based on the stories of ordinary people or politicians' initiatives. The media report about situations that can generally be considered problematic. They have less influence in defining what problems are, but, on the other hand, they highlight certain problems and thus make them more visible than others. In this case, all three groups of social problems (in Mooney et al. classification) are a part of the objective reality of Croatian islands, but somehow one of them is not sufficiently presented in news articles. That could have effect on the public's subjective perception of life on Croatian islands.

However, the scope of this research is far too narrow to make strong conclusions about the reasons of such media's agenda when it comes to the different highlighting of social problems on Croatian islands. Further research, in order to fulfil these explanations, should cover a longer timespan in its analysis, as well as more recent media content, which might show the complete state of the media's presentation of social reality on Croatian islands.

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Marija SLIJEPČEVIĆ, Zlatko HERLJEVIĆ

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE QUANTITY AND CONTENT OF ARTICLES ABOUT ISLANDS IN THE CROATIAN PRESS

Abstract

It seems that the Croatian daily press gives very little space to issues concerning Croatia's (densely populated) islands. The reason for that can be found in limited budgets, the lack of correspondents on islands and the fact that many newspapers are shutting down their offices in coastal towns. The goal of this paper is to use a comparative analysis of the quantity and contents of media coverage to determine how exactly the Croatian media report about Croatian islands. The paper researches what topics dominate in reports from islands, which islands are most frequently mentioned, it analyses the sentiment of texts published about the islands, etc. The paper required structured interviews with the chief editors of the media that were analysed in order to establish an official attitude toward publishing topics concerning islands, and to find out how they see the future developments concerning islands in their media.

Key words: *content analysis, islands, island issues, newspapers*

INTRODUCTION

Tourism is the most important segment of Croatia's economy and it is something the country's budget relies on the most, despite the fact that numerous experts stress that such economic policies are fragile. Bearing in mind Croatia's natural attractions and the fact that tourism is becoming increasingly profitable, we assume that the Croatian public is quite interested in tourism and the issues that concern islands. However, the question is which information actually gets through to the general public? How much, and in which way do the Croatian media report about islands? This question was the subject of research in this study. The goal of this research was to determine in which way the Croatian daily press reports about Croatian islands; what the prevailing topics are; which islands are the most interesting to the media; how important these articles really are (are they signed, where are they located, have they been announced on front pages, which newspaper forms are predominant).

The answers to these questions were determined on the grounds of a quantitative and qualitative analysis of all contents in four daily newspapers in a period of four months. In order to have a deeper understanding of this topic and clear interpretations of the obtained results in this research, we conducted structured interviews with the chief editors of the media subject to this research.

In the paper, the authors will try to come up with conclusions and give an insight into this first analysis of the Croatian media's reporting about islands and give recommendations for further research.

ABOUT ISLANDS AND REPORTING ABOUT ISLANDS

According to statistical data, Croatia has 698 islands, 47 of which are inhabited. The most densely populated islands are: Krk, Korčula, Brač, Hvar, Rab, Pag, Lošinj, Ugljan, Čiovo, Murter, Vis and Cres. The largest islands in terms of the area they cover (in square kilometres) are: Krk/Cres, Brač, Pag, Korčula, Dugi Otok, Mljet, Vis, Rab, Lošinj, Pašman…[1]

Although literature that deals with island issues is abundant and extensive, expert literature that could be used in examining how the media report about islands in Croatia is insufficient. Such literature most frequently examines how media reports cause damage to the tourist industry. For example, in April 2016 there were analyses of the way in which media report about disasters in the Pacific harmed the tourist industry in New Zealand.[2]

The non-profit organization Survival has actually succeeded in forcing the media in India, Great Britain and the US to boycott Andaman Islands in India in order to prevent the so-called human safaris, which are actually tours of the endangered Jarawa tribe.[3] An extensive book on how the media and school books in the US, China and Japan present a small uninhabited archipelago in Eastern China, on which China, Japan and Taiwan currently maintain claim, was last year published by Tom Hollihan — an American professor of communicology — in association with his colleagues Zhan Zhang and Patricia Riley.

The book is titled: "The Dispute over the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands: How Media Narratives Shape Public Opinion and Challenge the Global Order."[4]

When scientists deal with the issue of islands in Croatia, the predominant topics are presented in the following articles: "Local Stakeholders' Perception on Development Possibilities of Croatian Islands — Example of the Island of Cres" (Đogić, Cerjak, 2015), "The Influence of Depopulation on the Cultural Heritage of Croatian Islands"

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WHAT DO THE MEDIA IN CROATIA REPORT ABOUT?

It is well known that scientific phenomena, i.e. results of scientific research are not common topics in the media and there is an impression that the media do not pay nearly enough analytic attention to island issues. What exactly the Croatian media write about has been the subject of several studies: after analysing the front pages of six daily newspapers in a period of six months (a total of 1014 cover pages), Elezović (2012) noticed, among other things, that predominant topics are the judiciary system, crime, followed by economy and finance; local politics; sports; celebrities; Croatian national politics; health care; culture and arts; the world and international relations; society; disasters and accidents, etc.

The results of this study can in one part be compared to a study on "Social and Environmental Issues and Contents in Vjesnik and Večernji list from 1987 to 1990" (Cifrić, 1992), which showed these articles were mostly about pollution, the biosphere, industries and technology, energy, tourism, quality of living, etc.

A recent analysis of content posted on the most frequently visited Croatian Internet sites (Benković & Balabanić, 2010), which were at that time the following: index.hr, net.hr and tportal.hr, showed that these websites mostly reported about entertainment and show business, sports, crime, culture and arts, politics, miscellaneous, beauty, looks and fashion, technology, etc.

Since no research about how the media reports on events taking place on islands and the problems of life on islands had been conducted until now, this study has a goal of filling this void.

METHODOLOGY

The method of analysing content was selected because it is in theory also considered to be an instrument "which determines what the media really do and can define editing policies according to different aspects of social life — including the media itself" (Elezović, 2012, 62). Vujević (2006, 153) claims one can "come to a conclusion about the characteristics of the author, the editors and publishing companies on the grounds of content."

The analysis of content, as the theory requires (Vujević, 2006), was set by defining the category for analysing content, samples and a unit for analysing content.

This research was conducted by using the method of content quantity analysis according to the pattern for studying these elements: the page number of the text, whether the text was text published on the front page, the subject matter the article presents, which island does the article speak about, is the island the main topic or not; as well as information on the sentiment, the reporting form, and the author of the text.

The unit of analysis was a text with the key words "island" and "islands" (the *keito clipping* program). The analysis of content was conducted on four daily newspapers; Večernji list, Jutarnji list, Slobodna Dalmacija and Novi list, which are the bestselling daily newspapers in the price category of HRK 7. After searching through these editions with the aforementioned key words, 2,750 texts came up in the months of May, June, July and August 2015 for all four daily newspapers. Due to the semantic broadness of the given key words, texts that had nothing to do with Croatian island issues were eliminated and after that, 1,292 texts were analysed (47% of the obtained search results).[5]

The research was based on these assumptions: Tourism is the most frequent topic in texts about Croatian islands; Texts about tourism on Croatian islands are most often positive.

The mentioned assumptions were based on preliminary research and earlier studies with this topic in the focus because it is a recommended practice in content analysis. Ćorić and Vuković (2012, 551) mention two reasons why it is better to start content analysis with the researcher's questions than with a hypothesis: efficiency or empirical foundations. At the same time they stress that in 48% of the studies researchers base content analysis on research questions or presumptions, actually on analysis expectations, and not on theories and formal hypotheses.

The results were processed by computers in a form of quantity tables, and the data necessary for their quantification were percentages and frequencies.

For the needs of quantity interpretations and deeper understanding of this topic, structured interviews with the chief editors in all four daily newspapers were conducted: Dražen Klarić from Večernji list, Goran Grgurić from Jutarnji list, Nenad Hlača from Novi list and Ivo Bonković from Slobodna Dalmacija.

RESEARCH RESULTS

The content analysis measured the presence of defined elements: the page number of the text, whether the text was the published on the front page, the topic the article pre-

[5] Examples of texts eliminated from the analysis: "Man United paying EUR 137 million for Bale" (VL. 2 May 2015), which is a typical example in cases where Great Britain is called "The Island"; or "Japanese islands attracting immigrants, even nights out are financially covered for singles" (VL. 2 May 2015); "The Amy-type history of the cursed pop star" (SD 17 May 2015.); a text about popular pop singer Amy Winehouse's trip to the Caribbean Island of St. Lucia...

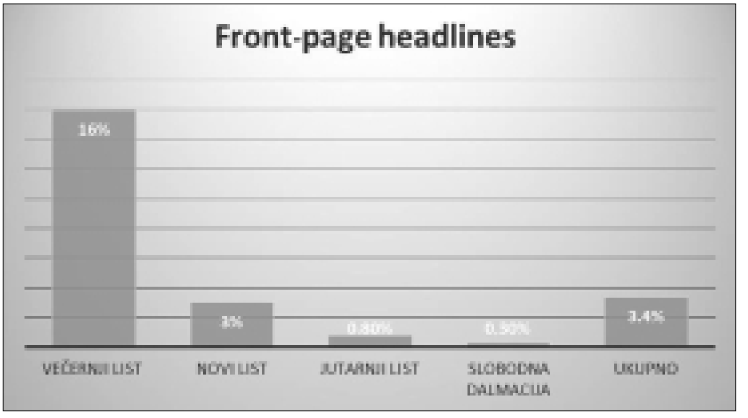

Figure 1 The share of texts about islands announced on front pages

sents, which island the article is about, is the island the main subject or not, the sentiment, the newspaper form and the author of the text.

Front-page Headlines and Text Authorship

The examination of the “Front-page headlines” category had to determine whether texts that brought stories about islands were important enough for front-page headlines and if they were, how frequently that occured. (Figure 1)

Figure 1 shows how frequently texts in which islands were the main subject[6] were featured on the front pages of daily newspapers. In all the observed media, from a total of 1,292 texts, there were only 44 such instances, i.e. 3.4% of these texts making the front-page headlines. Interestingly enough, these numbers only refer to the share of texts that dealt with island issues — if we were to calculate the share of these announcements in all the texts these media released in the observed period of time, the results would be much worse. It is also interesting that the share of 16% in Večernji list is a result of almost promotional activities such as “Worth Its Weight in Gold” (a selection of best OPGs), and the “Tourist Patrol”. Without these announcements, Večernji list would also score a very low 0.2%. If we compare the quantitative analysis of Večernji and Jutarnji list, we can see that Večernji list had nine front-page headlines, seven of which were “Tourist Patrol” and “Worth Its Weight in Gold“[7], while only two

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[6] Out of 1,292 analyzed texts, the islands are irrelevant in 191 cases, i.e. in around 15%. Here are some examples: a two-page text with a front-page headline about the anniversary of J. B. Tito's death with one sentence about Brijuni; an extensive article with the title “Croatia has become the first foreign choice for Italian tourists” analyzes on one whole page why Croatia has, for the first time in 25 years, become the number-one foreign destination among Italian tourists (JL 9 August.); a long two-page story titled “Angelina Jolie celebrates her 40th birthday: Life wasn't hunky-dory” where Angelina Jolie's stay on Brijuni was mentioned (NL 6 June), etc.

[7] Examples: Sandra's fragrant garden, An olive tree from Christ's time, Everyone returns to Sahara, The first island farm, Cheese and olive oil from island fields, Carob from the island of good vibrations...

texts, one about a fire on Korčula and the other about the most expensive hotels, reached the front page. Jutarnji list had six front-page featured articles with different topics, one of which was a big report on eight pages about the anniversary of the tragic death of firemen in the Kornati archipelago. A small number of featured articles with island issues in these two newspapers can be explained with the fact that these newspapers focus mainly on the subject of the so-called national interest and with a concept that has been changing in the last few years where newspapers have started to insist on longer stories and articles, that is, they have started focusing on storytelling. Večernji list and Jutarnji list have, according to their managements' explanations, reduced their networks of correspondents to only larger coastal towns due to austerity measures, therefore they either do not cover islands or they cover them from coastal towns, or by sending a reporter from an editorial board, as was the case with the Korčula fire (Večernji list) or the eighth anniversary of the Kornati tragedy (Jutarnji list) (Figure 2).

A comparative quantity analysis of Novi list and Slobodna Dalmacija, which have permanent correspondents on islands, has shown that Novi list gives more importance to island issues (25 front-page headlines) than Slobodna Dalmacija, which had only four front-page headlines in four months. Novi list's front-page headlines referred mostly to articles about tourism (10), crime and accidents (3), business and politics (3), culture (4), traffic (2), health (2), commerce (1); and in Slobodna Dalmacija, the front-page headlines referred to tourism (1), politics (1), warm human stories (1), and the environment (1).

Here are some examples of texts with front-page headlines. VL: "The most expensive hotels", "Horror, there's only fire and smoke around us"; JL: "Archaeologist Brezak: How I found treasure belonging to Suleiman the Magnificent while scuba-diving"; SD: "Our little paradise is on Drvenik Veli", "Party animals, we're on and here's where to go"; NL: "Lamb chops in Cres and Brač are the best, the ones on Pag fall right behind", "Russian sculptors are building a park of sand statues in Krk", "Honest harvesters against the illegal ones", "Three hundred kilos of illegally harvested immortelle seized", "Helicopter aid service gets a base on Krk in August", "Forty foreign tourists busted with drugs at Zrće Beach", "The London-based Independent enchanted with Rab", etc.

The analysed information included the following — who the authors of these articles are, in order to determine whether their editorial boards have correspondents on islands, or possibly offices; do they bring agency news, and are topics covered by reporters from central editorial boards. Just like with front pages, this indicates that these topics are important in the first place, and that a lot of money is spent on them.

Each of the four newspapers include reporters' first names and family names, although there were several unsigned articles with NN, or with R.I. (editorial), which is usually a standard; or initials only in case of short news, which is also a reporting standard.

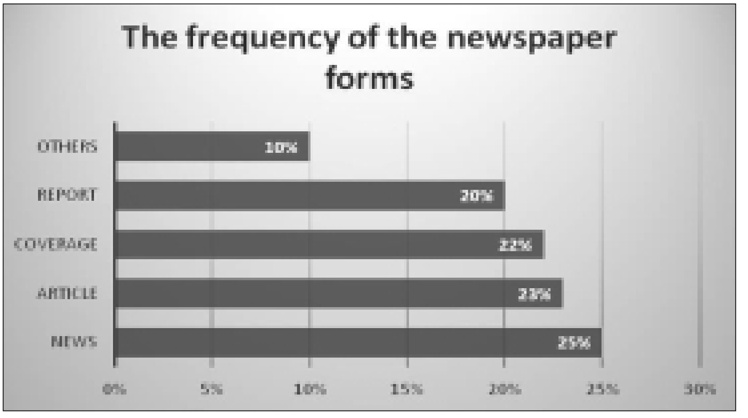

Figure 2 Newspaper forms of analysed texts

In the analysed period for Večernji list and Jutarnji list, it was obvious that they had no permanent correspondents, but that they sent reporters "on patrols" during the summer. In Večernji list, it was the "Tourist Patrol" carried out by Srđan Hrabar, and in Jutarnji list this was done by Srđan Vrančić. They were the authors of a large number of texts about tourism and the tourist industry.

Since Novi list has correspondents on islands in the Northern Adriatic, most of the texts are signed by Mladen Trinajstić from Krk, Walter Salković from Cres, Slađana Vignjević from Lošinj, Ivor Balen from Rab and Vesna Karavanić from Pag.

Most of the articles from Hvar written for Slobodna Dalmacija are signed by Mladen Crnčević, those from Korčula by Tanja Giovanelli, the articles from Brač are signed by Ivana Gospodnetić and Ivica Radić, and those from Vis by Bogoljub Mitraković. Slobodna Dalmacija favors reports and they often send reporters like Saša Ljubičić, Meri Šilović, Davorka Blažević, Tanja Šimundić Bendić and Zlatko Gall to various islands.

Newspaper Forms of Analysed Texts

Just like front-page headlines and text authorship, newspaper forms also speak about the importance of a certain topic presented to the general public. The most important topics get the most space and complex reporting forms, while those that editors see as less important usually end up as news.

A comparison analysis of newspaper forms in all four newspapers shows that news as a newspaper form accounted for 25% in this category. The news was mostly printed in one or two columns with small pictures. Since there are a large number of cultural events on islands, such as classical music concerts, music and folk festivals, a cappella singing, movie shows and photo exhibitions, such culture news came right after the news related to tourism. There was also a relatively large number of news about crime and accidents, mostly about traffic, maritime accidents, fires, thefts in hotels, on beaches and camps, and illegal immortelle harvesting. Only a few percent covered news about community infrastructure, politics, business, traffic and agriculture.


FESTIVAL

'Lošinj - otok kreativnosti' uz književnike i glazbenike

DRVENIK VELIKI

Iz podmorja izronili tri kontejnera smeća

PUNAT PRONATALITETNA POLITIKA

Veća novčana pomoć za bebe

Figure 3 Examples of news about island events

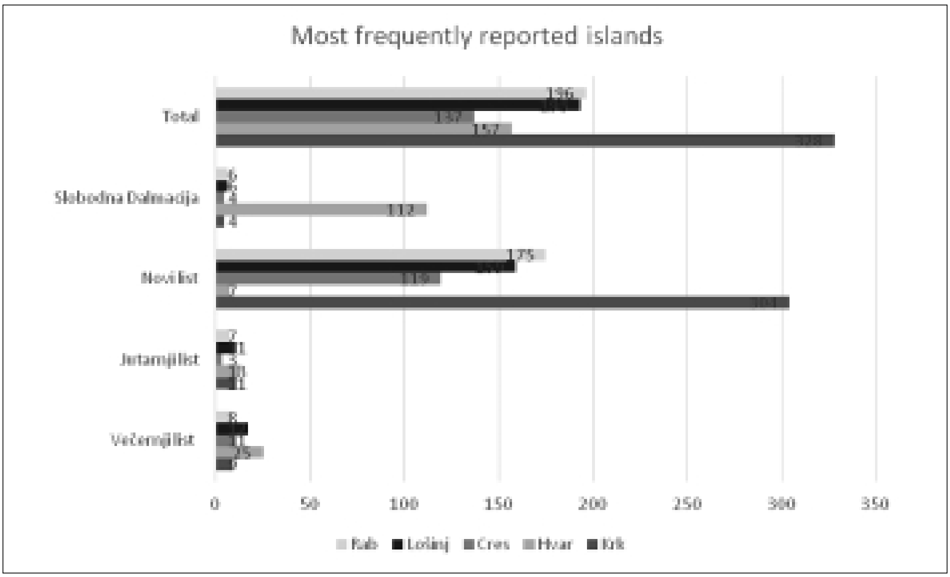

Figure 4 Most frequently reported islands

Reports as a form are appreciated in all the observed newspapers and they accounted for 22%. The reports were mostly brief, containing two pages of text and pictures that took half a page and very often a whole page. Some of the reports were presented on two pages with several pictures. In most cases, these reports were from tourist destinations about local fiestas or reports about, for example, foreigners who had been visiting the same destination for over 20 years. When it comes to forest fires, all the editorial boards sent reporters there, or they had local correspondents who sent reports about the fires.

In the category of miscellaneous articles, the most frequently used newspaper forms are somewhat complex, such as reviews, comments, columns and interviews, but they make up only 10% of all content.

Islands That Are Most Frequently Covered by Reports

When registering every single island, we tried to get an insight into which islands are the most interesting for the media and whether there are differences in the intensity of focus on certain islands by particular media (Slobodna Dalmacija covers Dalmatia, Novi list covers Istria and Kvarner) (Figure 4).

A quantitative analysis of the most frequently covered islands showed, as expected, a larger number of such texts in Novi list and Slobodna Dalmacija than in Večernji or Jutarnji list due to the regional inclination of the former two newspapers.

Table 1 Top five islands in reports according to the media

Večernji list	Hvar	Brač	Pag	Lošinj	Korčula
	25	20	18	17	14
Jutarnji list	Brač	Hvar	Krk	Lošinj	Pag
	17	13	11	11	9
Novi List	Krk	Rab	Lošinj	Cres	Pag
	304	175	159	119	84
Slobodna Dalmacija	Hvar	Brač	Vis	Korčula	Pag
	112	75	46	45	15

If we compare Večernji list and Jutarnji list, it becomes apparent that Večernji list mentioned Hvar 25 times, whereas in Jutarnji List, the island appeared 13 times. Večernji list mentioned Brač 20 times, while Jutarnji list did it 17 times, and Pag was mentioned in Večernji list in 18 articles, while in Jutarnji list this was so in nine cases. Večernji and Jutarnji list both mentioned Lošinj 17 times.

It is interesting that Večernji list never mentioned Krk, while Jutarnji list did 11 times. This information shows a change in the focus of interest in Večernji list, bearing in mind that this newspaper had paid so much attention to everything happening on the Island of Krk in the past since many citizens of Zagreb have property there. The newspaper circulation that went on the market in Krk increased in the 1990s several times during the summer.

The presumption that Novi list focuses on issues from Kvarner Bay and Northern Adriatic islands, while Slobodna Dalmacija focuses on islands in Central and Southern Adriatic, turned out to be accurate. The top five islands in reports released by Novi list were Krk, Rab, Lošinj, Cres and Pag, while Slobodna Dalmacija covered mostly Hvar, Brač, Vis, Korčula and Pag.

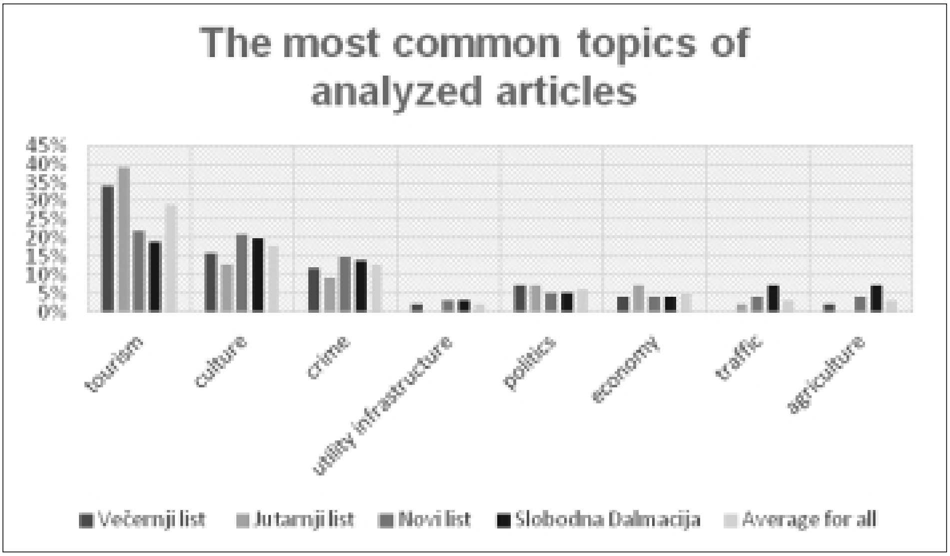

Figure 5 The most common topics of analysed articles

It is obvious that Pag is an object of interest for both newspapers. Novi list mentioned it 84 times and it is interesting that 22 articles were about cultural events, ten about tourism, five about the gourmet scene, six about crime and accidents (four of which were about drug dealing and drug abuse on Zrće Beach). Slobodna Dalmacija contained 15 texts that mentioned Pag, most of which were about crime and accidents (4), while the rest were about tourism, culture, traffic, health care and agriculture.

The subject of analysis were also the texts in which islands were mentioned, but no island was singled out, for example: "Demand for houses and apartments in Croatia is now generated by foreigners", an analytic text about real estate prices (JL 11 July), "Life on islands has to improve", a report from an EU group for seas, rivers, islands and coasts meeting in Zadar (NL 27 June), "Licenses for islanders", information for islanders older than 65 that they can obtain free fishing permits (SD 2 June), etc.

Topics in Texts About Islands

The next category gives an answer to the research question "What does the media write about when reporting from islands and which topics are covered most often?" (Figure 5).

A quantitative analysis of Večernji list and Jutarnji list is in accordance with the initial hypothesis that topics from the tourist industry will be predominant and take the largest share. Jutarnji list had almost 39% of content about tourism on islands while Večernji list contained 5% less. Topics from culture held a large share as well, since most of the events in culture during the summer move from the continent onto the coast and islands, while many cultural events are organized by local communities on islands. Crime and accidents accounted for 12% in Večernji list, which is also in accord-

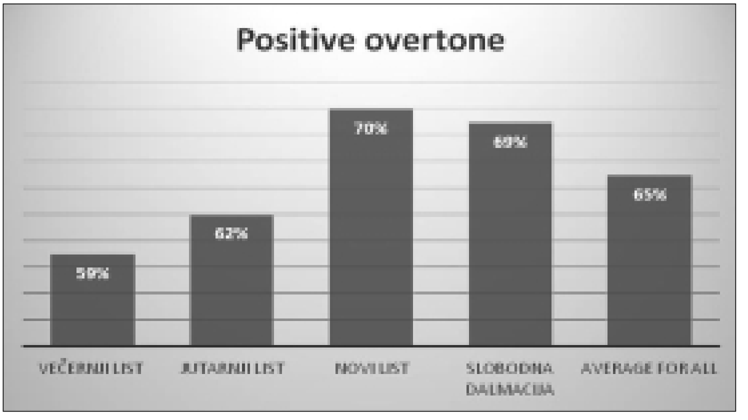

Figure 6 Depiction of sentiment in texts about islands

ance with the long-term policies that newspapers should provide good coverage of such events. Jutarnji list contains 9% of crime and accident topics. The impression of the author is that these three topics are more in the editors' focus of interest in these newspapers, while local problems with infrastructure, traffic, business, local politics and agriculture were barely in their focus of interest, with 0% of articles concerning traffic in Večernji list and 0% of articles concerning agriculture in Jutarnji list.

Topics from tourism accounted for 22% in Novi list, and for 19% of content in Slobodna Dalmacija, which is quite a large share since the number of analysed texts in Novi list was 675, in Slobodna Dalmacija 325 and in Večernji list and Jutarnji list 123 respectively. Novi list and Slobodna Dalmacija featured many articles about culture (more than 20%). It is obvious that local communities are very active in organizing festivals, concerts, exhibitions, theatre plays and promoting books, which is why local correspondents write texts about culture on a daily basis. The share of articles about crime and accidents was high in both of these newspapers (15% in NL and 14% in SD). Topics concerning crime and accidents mostly referred to maritime accidents like deaths of scuba-divers or injuries caused by speedboats and drug abuse, especially when it comes to foreigners on Zrće Beach. Both newspapers covered police actions against illegal immortelle harvesters, especially on Krk, Cres, Rab, and Pag.

The Prevailing Sentiment in Texts About Islands

By defining the sentiment in these texts we answer the questions of whether the texts about islands in Croatian daily newspapers are written with a predominantly positive, negative or neutral sentiment (Figure 6).

Just as it was expected, most of the texts had a positive or neutral overtone, if we exclude texts about crime and accidents, which mostly had a negative overtone, or texts about political confrontations, like in Rab during the Day of the Town, when the left and right political options had paid tribute and laid wreaths at different locations (Figure 7).

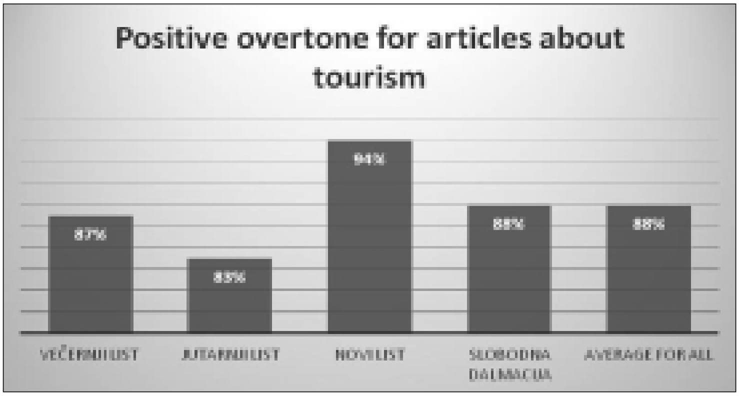

Figure 7 Depiction of sentiment in articles about tourism

A positive overtone in articles about tourism was expected, and Figure 5 shows it ranges from 83% in Jutarnji list to 94% of positive articles about tourism in Novi list and 88% in Slobodna Dalmacija. The author believes that a large number of positive overtones in articles about tourism is mainly the result of the fact that the whole country is dependant on tourism, and especially the region of Kvarner, Northern Adriatic islands, Dalmatia and Southern Dalmatian islands. However, some texts carried extremely negative overtones, as it was the case with the text published on July 8 in Slobodna Dalmacija. The text was titled “The government is shutting down 50% of all tourist boards” in which the employees in the tourist industry reacted harshly to the government’s proposition to shut down almost half of the 304 tourist boards in the country if they spend over 25% of their income on financing and paychecks. An example of a text with extremely negative overtones can be found in the article that came out in Novi list with the headline “Tourists and locals resentful about prices going sky-high”, which criticized chain stores selling certain products on islands at a 30% higher price.

Reporting About Islands — Targeted Editing Policies?

In order to check the results and find out the official opinions of researched daily newspaper editorial boards, we carried out structured interviews[8] with the chief editors in all four daily newspapers: Dražen Klarić from Večernji list, Goran Ogurlić from Jutarnji list, Nenad Hlača from Novi list and Ivo Bonković from Slobodna Dalmacija. The editors were asked the same questions.

- *How does your newspaper, and to what extent, cover events and topics from islands?*

Dražen Klarić, *Večernji list*

“Večernji list has correspondents in Split and Zadar. According to our needs, reporters travel to islands and write stories. Throughout the year many stories are a

[8] Interviews conducted by Zlatko Herljević in September 2016.

result of following and analysing various policies: demographic, traffic, tourism, culture, etc. Besides, Večernji list organizes two major annual awarding events, for the best family-run farm (Worth its Weight in Gold) and Tourist Patrol, where we tour islands and monitor the lifestyle there. When it comes to the frequency of such articles, they do not come on a daily basis. Stories are published according to the interest the editors may have in these stories."

Goran Ogurlić, *Jutarnji list*

"As a national newspaper, we are oriented toward covering islands in two ways: problem coverage through topics and debates about the position of islands and their inhabitants, and as reports, through stories about people who live on islands and are interesting because of their work, their lifestyle or philosophy. The amount of topics dedicated to islands is small, and I could say occasional and seasonal. They are mostly oriented at summer months, when the focus of interest and many events move to the coast and islands. In any case, they are insufficient. However, we do cover all major breakthroughs, investments and plans concerning islands."

Ivo Bonković, *Slobodna Dalmacija*

"Slobodna [Dalmacija] has correspondents on several large islands (Korčula, Hvar, Brač, Vis, etc.) who cover daily events, and in case of any major, more important topics a journalist from Split joins them. Daily reports are usually published in the Dalmatia section, while bigger, "heavier" topics go in the front part of the newspaper in the News section. The Dalmatia section is published every day and contains anywhere from 4 to 14 pages, which depends on the quality of topics and available space in the newspaper."

Nenad Hlača, *Novi list*

"Novi list has a permanent section called Islands, published six days a week, usually on two pages. We have professional correspondents on Rab and Krk, and freelancers on Lošinj and Cres. In association with colleagues from Zadarski list, we receive reports from Pag. Together with the Daily section, we have a supplement called "Island paper" on 16 pages once a week. Interesting topics and news from life on islands are often published on our last page."

• *Topics in tourism seem to be very important in reporting from islands. What are the remaining topics beside tourism you see as particularly important?*

Dražen Klarić, *Večernji list*

"Demographic policies on islands, education, environment, traffic connections, fishing, the development of family-run farms, etc."

Goran Ogurlić, *Jutarnji list*

"The most important topics beside tourism are investment, infrastructural projects, traffic connections, fishing, agriculture, and winemaking. For example, the latest important topics have been the construction of the airport on Lošinj and connecting islands with seaplanes. The possibilities of education on islands (those where there are children) are also relevant topics we tend to deal with in the beginning of every school year. And then there are all sorts of life stories: successful projects, interesting biographies, and even stories about crime and accidents when they occur."

Ivo Bonković, *Slobodna Dalmacija*

"Besides tourism there are several other important problems that are common for all islands:

1. Connections with the mainland, which are a problem during the winter, when there are fewer ferries, when it is hard to organize medical check-ups in one day, and when travelling between islands is difficult. Therefore, there are no possibilities of going by car from Brač to Hvar on a ferry boat, but one has to go via Split, etc.

2. The quality of life on islands is not as good as it is on the mainland. There is a shortage of doctors, retirement homes and schools, and day-care centers are not at the same level as on the mainland, while the number of high schools is negligible. High schools are located only in larger towns (someone from Sućuraj on the Island of Hvar has to travel across the entire island and go to school in the Town of Hvar), the prices of identical products are higher in the same stores on islands than they are on the mainland, many towns and villages have no waterworks or sewage systems, which represents a problem during the summer when the number of inhabitants increases.

3. Jobs. Besides tourism and agriculture, almost all islands have no other companies that could provide jobs for younger people who wish to stay on the islands. Not everyone is destined to be a waiter or a chef."

Nenad Hlača, *Novi list*

"Besides tourism, agriculture plays an important role on islands. Novi list covers all the local administrations on islands I mentioned before, and politics occupies a significant portion of our [newspaper's] space. Besides, we cover classic community issues like waterworks and sewage systems, road infrastructure, education, etc. Culture is covered through local folk associations. Bearing in mind the content and the number of our journalists, I may well say Novi list covers the life on islands entirely.

• *Which island topics do you consider important enough to put on the front page?*

Dražen Klarić, *Večernji list*

"Demography policies, tourism, shipbuilding, family-run farms..."

Goran Ogurlić, *Jutarnji list*

"Personal stories take the top spot, actual examples of successful lifestyles on islands. Many of our readers who live in cities probably dream of having an easy-going lifestyle on a certain island. Positive examples of life on islands have very high reader ratings on our website, and some of the major projects will most certainly get to be on the front page — for example, construction of new hotels and villas, including arrivals of certain global stars and celebrities, which is good for promoting Croatia in general."

Ivo Bonković, *Slobodna Dalmacija*

"Everything stated in the answer to this question deserves to have frontpage headlines if the topic is properly elaborated."

Nenad Hlača, *Novi list*

"Business and sports successes that go beyond local communities. For example the opening of a new hotel resort, a gold medal for the best wine, olive oil, or smoked ham; welcoming the Olympic champions, etc. The problems the local community cannot solve without the assistance of society, the county or the government."

Answers given by the chief editors give us a profound understanding of the studied subject, they reveal the fragments of editing policies and maybe even their flaws because of the lack of correspondents, which prevents them from not only covering, but also analysing topics like demographic policies, the traffic isolation of islands, community issues, health care and education.

LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

One limitation of this research is surely the chosen period of four months in 2015, which is why all the data can be only indicative. The choice of the media, although some were national with main offices in the capital, and some were regional, is also a limitation and it would be interesting to see how television, radio and Internet media approach this topic. Since the analysed period represents only a small part of the time these media have been in business, it would be interesting to see longitudinal-comparison results of such research, noticing changes that occurred after the reduction of the number of correspondents along the coast and on islands. The intention of this research was to analyze the entire year, but since only a small portion of articles referred to islands even during the summer, such intention had to be dropped.

CONCLUSION

The research of media content, including interviews with chief editors has led to these conclusions: tourism is the predominant topic in reports from islands, and the overtone in these articles is mostly positive — in topics about tourism almost 88% positive — topics that are not important enough for the front page account for 3.4% and they are also not presented in complex newspaper forms. Predominant topics are those concerning tourism, culture, crime and accidents, and most of the reports were from Krk, Rab, Lošinj, Hvar and Cres. The newspaper that covers island issues the most is Novi list (correspondents on Rab and Krk, freelance correspondents on Lošinj and Cres, and cooperation with Zadarski list on topics from Pag).

Croatian daily newspapers Večernji list, Jutarnji list, Novi list and Slobodna Dalmacija released the largest number of articles in the summer of 2015, mostly about tourism; especially Novi list and Slobodna Dalmacija, which comes as no surprise since the tourist industry is growing and expanding every year.

A greater interest in islands seen in regional sections of the newspapers has been shown by Novi list and Slobodna Dalmacija, which unlike Večernji list and Jutarnji list have kept their networks of correspondents who report from the islands on a daily basis.

All the newspapers except Novi list pay very little attention to articles about islands, which can in the case of Večernji list and Jutarnji list be justified with a majority of their readers being situated in cities, especially in Zagreb.

All the newspapers publish articles about cultural events on islands, which shows that islands care greatly about branding their segment of cultural tourism as one of the wanted forms of development in this very important segment of the national economy.

The texts point out the need for better traffic connections and one of the solutions is the establishment of seaplane flights to islands.

Research shows that Novi list and Slobodna Dalmacija dedicated much more of their attention to islands than Jutarnji list and Večernji list. That is no surprise since Novi list and Slobodna Dalmacija have a stronger regional dimension. Novi list and its 675 releases and Slobodna Dalmacija with 325 releases about islands exceeded releases in Jutarnji and Večernji list (123) by far.

Chief editor at Novi list Nenad Hlača says that Novi list has a permanent section called Islands and that it covers the islands to a full extent, which is something that has to be contributed to their full-time correspondents on Rab and Krk, and freelancers on Lošinj and Cres, while they also receive reports from Pag, courtesy of Zadarski list. Just as researchers expected, it turned out that Novi list pays more attention to islands in the Northern Adriatic, and Slobodna Dalmacija to islands in Central and Southern Adriatic.

Chief Editor at Slobodna Dalmacija Ivo Bonković says that texts from correspondents from several larger islands like Korčula, Hvar, Brač and Vis are published in the Dalmatia section on 4 to 14 pages. According to expectations and results of this research both chief editors have confirmed that the most frequent topics in newspaper texts are tourism, traffic isolation, culture, community problems, health care and education.

Since the number of published texts was large, researchers expected more front-page headlines but Novi list had only 3% front-page headlines for articles about islands while Slobodna Dalmacija had only 0.3% such front-page headlines.

Chief Editor at Novi list said that Novi list posts something on the front page when articles are about economic and sports successes that go beyond local communities or problems that the local community cannot solve without the assistance of society, the county or the government. According to the chief editor at Slobodna Dalmacij, the main topics that are front-page material are as follows: tourism, traffic, price increases on islands, the lack of doctors, schools, day-care and community infrastructure, especially during the summer. One can come to the conclusion that the observations of chief editors in Novi list and Slobodna Dalmacija correspond to the findings of this research.

This research, despite all of the stated limitations, gives an insight into the media's image of Croatian islands and can be used as an introduction into further research of this area of interest.

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Ines LOZIĆ, Joško LOZIĆ, Ozana RAMLJAK

MEDIA CONVERGENCE AND MANAGING MEDIA CONTENT FOR GENERATION Z

Abstract

Technology permeates the modern 21st-century life on all of its levels. The first activity of the majority of people, only 15 minutes after waking up, is checking their mobile phones for messages. It is hard to find an everyday human activity which does not include any kind of technology. Technology mediates human reality, especially in new generations that use technology from their early childhood. Moreover, they are faced with media content and information, which are available to them from the day they are able to perform any activity on their own, regardless of their cognitive level of development. Generation Y and Generation Z in particular face the duality of everyday activities where the boundaries between the real and the virtual are mixed and somehow disappear. Creativity and the creative industry, as the bearers of innovation, lead the whole society into new dimensions of development, from social to economic. In business, it has become increasingly important to find models and patterns of behaviour in order to send a certain message or content because behaviourism and the knowledge of behaviour patterns will increasingly influence the shaping of media content and the transfer of messages. Media content, regardless of the platform, is available and enables a fast diffusion of data and information with geometric and exponential progression.

The aim of this paper is to check technological preferences of the young generation with regard to the area they live in in order to determine whether there is a difference in media usage between the Mediterranean and continental areas. Furthermore, the aim is to give an overview of the influence and the necessity of media development by investing into technology in order to ensure its own existence and sustainability by using media platforms intended to attract new generations.

Key words: *media convergence, P2P, social networks, Generation Y and Z, technology and creative industry*

INTRODUCTION

Technology permeates the modern 21st-century life on all of its levels. Technology mediates human reality, especially in new generations which use it from their early childhood and are faced with the media content and information which are available for them from the day they are able to perform any activity on their own, regardless of their cognitive level of development. Generation Y and Generation Z in particular face the duality of everyday activities where the boundaries between the real and the virtual are mixed and somehow disappear. New generations, raised in the digital age, change the models of communication and assume the position of the creators of media content, as well as the media messages directed towards them as consumers.

Media content, regardless of the platform, is available and enables a fast diffusion of data and information with geometric and exponential progression, thus influencing the future trends of wikinomics.

The aim of this paper is directed towards checking technological preferences of the young generation in using media content through the Internet and their perception of the credibility of the media depending on their place of residence.

The research was conducted among the Generation Z in secondary schools in various cities of the Republic of Croatia — Zagreb, Split, Trogir and Vis — in May 2016. This enabled the comparison of the habits of young people living in the continental and Mediterranean part of Croatia.

Since there is no research in Croatia about the behaviour of the secondary-school population on the Internet, this paper can serve as a starting point for future research because of its analysis of the possible differences in behaviour and the use of the media between the students in the continental and the Mediterranean parts of Croatia.

The following hypotheses were set:

H1: There is a difference in the time spent on the Internet regarding the place of residence, but regardless of the media and the credibility of the media used by young people.

H2: There is no difference in technology used by young people in terms of their place of residence.

H3: There is no difference in the accessed content in terms of the place of residence, but there is a difference in the selection of the basic content being accessed.

H4: There is a difference in access to advertisements in terms of the place of residence.

H5: There is a difference in the wish to continue education after secondary school at a different location or to move to a location which is not the current place of residence.

The research was conducted on a limited sample of secondary schools in the above-mentioned cities in May 2016. The method used in the research was the questionnaire.

MEDIA AND COMMUNICATION

Everyday life, be it the private or the business sphere, is characterized by almost constant communication with and influence on others, either in order to obtain support or to motivate or convince somebody, stimulate creativity, build relations, sell, negotiate, etc., and it is always a two-way process. A very important factor in terms of the result of this influence is related to what kind of people we really are and how we communicate. People are more willing to cooperate if they are appreciated and respected and if others try to understand them. Then they tend to agree with something or be more ready to do something they would never do in other circumstances, because they will feel good afterwards. Influence is based on understanding one's own attitudes, as well as understanding the attitude of the person being influenced, together with the effects that influence will have on both of them, on others and on work. It is based on authenticity, credibility, consistency. It is a complex process in which communication skills are very important and where it does not suffice to have an adopted unique pattern of communication and behaviour. Communication has changed and developed together with society. In that respect, it is necessary to investigate and understand the way the new generations, especially Generation Z, communicate in order to understand their attitudes, approach them in education processes through the implementation of e-learning and e-classrooms and also to approach them as the future creators and users of all sorts of products and services. The companies which succeed in understanding the needs of Generation Z on time will be the holders of new business models in the future and they will be able to build a long-term success based on innovation and creativity. The role of interpersonal and mass communication and their influence on attitudes and behaviour, as well as the development of creative industries, are very relevant within the research related to the diffusion of innovations: "[t]he diffusion of innovations means the spreading of new ideas, opinions or products over individuals or groups within a social system at a certain period of time via certain channels. Innovations imply unknown techniques or procedures which can change the overall lifestyle" (Kunczik, & Zipfel, 2006).

GENERATION, GEN Y AND GEN Z

A generation is a group of individuals of a similar age whose members have the experience of the same historical period. The idea about the differentiation of generations is widely used to explain the differences in behaviour between the members of society belonging to different age groups. Understanding differences between different age groups, i.e. generations, enables the best (market) approach to each one of them.

The dominant power in today's world lies in Generation X, the generation born between 1960 and 1980. However, the future of the media and communication is based on understanding the modalities of the behaviour of Generation Y and Z. The virtual world and the positioning of content are changing in accordance with the changes of behaviour and interests of those generations. The common position is that Generation Y is the generation that includes people born between the 1980s and the mid-1990s, but the late 1990s created a new generation — Generation Z. Both generations are sometimes referred to in literature as Millennials. The only difference is that Generation Y (the last years of the generation) and/or Z, as compared to the previous generations, perceive the events related to the terrorist attack in the USA on 11 September 2001 as just a moment in history. They do not pay much attention to this event nor do they remember it, since it did not shape them directly. These generations are characterized by the time they spend on consuming the media via video games, communicating through social networks and creating their own media content. They use the Internet as a tool for their own development and for creating networks and developing new organisational models in their business environment.

"[The] four models of behaviour and influence today are the Baby Boomers (generations after World War II) oriented towards acquisition and property, Generation X — nomads, Generation Y — heroes and Generation Z — artists" (Cowan, 2014). The aim of each product or service is to find a way to consumers. The consumers of Generation Z can be defined as the "Google generation" since they grow up with the Internet and mobile phones. "They are familiar with and good in using computers. They prefer seeing to reading" (Phanthong & Settanaranon, 2011). Visual communication and perception are therefore very important for the new Generations Y and Z. "In visual communication, the colour, alongside the shape itself (of a 2D or 3D object) can be seen as the basic stimulus and therefore defined as a psycho-physical experience of the chromatic and achromatic content created by wave lengths ranging from 380 to 750 nm. It must not be forgotten that the perception of a colour depends not only on its physical properties but also on its surrounding, background, visual angle, on the type and intensity of the light source and finally on observers themselves, i.e. physiological properties of their visual system and their current psychological condition. It would be wrong to interpret the perception as a real world identical to the physical world we are trying to experience. Psychophysical visual effects cause deviations or wrong interpretations in the perception of the elements being observed" (Lukaček, Milković, & Hajdek, 2013). Members of Generation Z are characterised by the sensibility of visual communications in colours since their birth and they do not know any other type of visual communication.

The mass boom of the mobile-phone technology has caused the development of a new form of communication among people, which has broken the barrier of physical unavailability. It has enabled quick, cheap and multimedia communication with people with whom one would otherwise not communicate. Children born at the end of the previous millennium grow up in such an environment that they are not familiar with any other model. They interact with modern technology as soon as they become aware of themselves and acquire different basic experiences as compared to older generations. Since the experience people have from their early childhood is crucial in forming different habits and types of behaviour, it is possible that the existing four archetypes will be changed in the future because of the significantly different influence parents have on new generations and a large influence of technology and the media surrounding them. The mobile technology is the only technology in which the products (mobile phones) outnumber the population of the world. This is the first time in the history of mankind that there is a technology which outnumbers the living population at a certain point of time. This does not mean that the network that enables the mobile communication, as well as the Internet as the crucial factor, is also present and available for the whole population.

Our research and the results presented in this paper provide the following overview of the methods of indirect communication among the young.

Table 1 The most used way of communication

Answers	Vis	Split	Trogir	Zagreb
Telephone	0%	2%	0%	0%
Mobile Phone	32%	13%	9%	12%
Letters/Mail	0%	0%	0%	0%
E-mail	0%	0%	0%	0%
Text Messages	14%	0%	12%	5%
WhatsApp	25%	77%	72%	91%
Viber	7%	5%	2%	3%
Skype	7%	0%	0%	1%
Social Media	50%	13%	16%	14%

Generation Z is the new 'college generation' (those born in the early years of this generation are just starting college) and they, as the new consumers, need to be approached in a completely different way. "They are born in the mid-1990s and they grew up with the new technology" (Levickaitë, 2010).

The media industry should, with the help of technology, influence the future behaviour of Generation Y and especially of Generation Z. Generation Z is the first generation which can be included in media activities 24/7 and the first generation whose parents, as a way to punish them, deny them access to the Internet, i.e. to information and communication. Generation Z is the first generation that has lived since the very beginnings of the Internet and that does not use electronic mail but rather social networks as a means of communication. Libraries, books, and other tangible sources become increasingly less important for the new generation in search of information and acquiring new knowledge, as they put more emphasis on key words. Everything that has happened before the Internet is for them a sort of a stone age.

The majority of influence and the shaping of the future will be done by Generations (Gen) Y and Z. The term "Gen" in this context implies both the generation and the changes in cultural models associated with the genetic structure. Generation Y was born between the years 1980 and 2000. They are also called Millennials, Nintendo Generation and Internet Generation. "The members of this generation are urban, focused, impatient and idealistic, but the experience has still taught them to be careful about the future" (Montana, & Petit, 2008). The development of the new media, the possibility of instantaneous communication via social networks, computer and internet technology had a large influence on this generation (Levickaite, 2010). They have created a wide network of social contacts and are very friendly, they have a high level of "trust in their own circle of friends and acquaintances and they perceive the mutual trust to be an obligatory part of their private lives" (Lammiman, & Syrett, 2005).

The Mission and Ministry institution (Levickaitë, 2010) differentiates this generation from the previous generations according to the following three criteria:

- years of age and life phase (ontological criteria),
- time and technology (social criteria),
- events and experience (historical criteria).

Generation Z is an internet and technology-friendly generation, and its members develop the skill of multi-tasking. Furthermore, the members of Generation Z move quickly from one task to another and pay more attention to speed than to accuracy.

There are three basic characteristics of Generation Z (Brkljačić, according to Petrić, accessed on 30 March 2015):

- "Outstanding skills of searching and scanning information — when the members of Generation Z open an internet page, they just 'whizz' through the page and scan images, symbols and titles, which enables them to decide instantaneously where to click.
- Multi-tasking — the members of this generation manage, without a significant reduction of concentration, to simultaneously write homework, talk through chatrooms and listen to music.
- Discontinued and non-linear learning — the linear method of learning moves from the general towards the specific and the non-linear method which is based on searching the answers to specific and precise questions is typical for this generation."

The members of Generation Z are also called Digital Natives because they "can receive information quickly and simultaneously with other tasks, they prefer graphics to text and demand easy access to all information" (Prensky, 2001). In order to understand these new generations, it is necessary to look at and understand the development of the media and media content throughout history.

CREATIVITY AS THE BEARER OF INNOVATION

Creativity and the creative industry as the bearers of innovation lead the whole society into new dimensions of development, from social to economic. Creative industries are one of the fastest growing sectors of the world's economy and are increasingly becoming a strong engine of development. "The creative sector in Europe accounts for about 3.3 to 4.5 percent of the EU's GDP and employs about 7.5 million people. The statistics show that creative industries have become, for example in London, a more important 'business' than the financial business. A new programme entitled *Creative London* plans the investment of 50 million pounds in the following 10 years and the expected profit from the creative sector in that period would be about 32 million pounds with the opening of 200,000 new jobs. The European Commission has adopted a strategy entitled *Promoting Cultural and Creative Sectors for Growth and Jobs in* *the EU*, the aim of which is the realisation of the full potential of the creative sector in order to stimulate growth and jobs in the EU" (http://www.poslovni.hr; 15 January 2016). The global trade in goods and services of the creative industries amounted to USD 624 billion in 2011, which was twice as much as compared to 2002. In the last few years the fastest growth has been recorded in developing and developed countries, whereas transition countries do not have an important share in the total global trade in creative industries' goods (0.8 percent in 2011). That can be regarded as a problem, but also as unused growth potential (UNCTD, 2013).

The link between creativity, culture, economy and technology is found in the ability to create intellectual capital, in the potential to generate income, to open new jobs and stimulate export. At the same time, it promotes social inclusion, cultural differences and human development in general. This is the main feature and impact of creative economy, alongside the linking of technology and creativity in order to strengthen product recognisability and to provide a unique user experience. The new ways of using technology and delivering content, as well as any advertisement, make media business more dynamic and prevent a cliché approach to business because the new generations demand new approaches and new challenges.

WIKINOMICS

The future of organisations, hence also the media, will probably be based on the foundations of wikinomics. According to the term "wikinomics", people act in a "self-organized [manner], without hierarchy and rigid structures" (Tapscott, & Williams, 2006). They collaborate on projects as unique, but at the same time equal individuals. The above notions of self-organisation, rejection of hierarchy and readiness to collaborate are some of the most important features of Generation Y, which introduced the term, and especially of Generation Z, which lives it. There are four central concepts in wikinomics: peering, openness, sharing and globalisation. All these elements can be found in Croatian students' model of behaviour on the Internet.

For the first time in history, wikinomics has linked consumers as prosumers with the production process. The driving force behind wikinomics, Generation Y, voluntarily produces additional value for all, and Generation Z grows up and creates its own content and values based on the assumptions of collaboration, freedom, togetherness, innovations and communication between everyone. The above-mentioned model of the turn in behaviour — from buyers and consumers to product creators — is based on the fact that people are truly ready to build networks and to function within a network, to share information with their peers and to create content available for others. The limitations of space, language, capital become increasingly less important and the new generations function on the basis of freedom provided by the Internet and assume the position of prosumers — producers and users, buyers and consumers at the same time (adapted from Tapscot, & Williams, 2006).

The research conducted among Croatian students has shown that the first association the students have about the Internet is communication.

Table 2 The most common association connected to the Internet

Answers	Vis	Split	Trogir	Zagreb
Fun	18%	27%	30%	24%
Education	4%	5%	5%	3%
Communication	46%	50%	47%	34%
Information	36%	22%	30%	43%
Shopping	0%	0%	2%	1%

PEER-TO-PEER SOCIAL PROCESSES AND THE MEDIA

The media industry is an integral part of society and is therefore, even though it relies on technology, connected with peer-to-peer social processes. Peer-to-peer (P2P) is not limited to technology, but covers social processes with P2P dynamics, where peers are people or computers. The term itself was created from the concept of P2P architecture of distributed applications that distribute tasks and jobs between equal participants. Napster was the first system for sharing music through the Internet in the mp3 format. "Free access to content does not necessarily mean without charge. As one of the most famous licences — GNU licence — says, free beer must not be understood as a beer free of charge. Free means that we have the freedom (even without charge, but not necessarily) to access certain digital content and that we can use it, adapt it and share it, but we must respect the author's fee. Today the largest and the most frequently used file sharing systems have about 10 million visitors a month: Dropbox (35), MediaFire (22.5), 4Shared (21), GoogleDrive (18.5), SkyDrive (16) and iCloud (9.5)" (http://www.ebizmba.com; 21 March 2016).

The media is faced with the P2P concept inspired by new philosophies and methods of work, thought, communication and interaction. One of the examples of the new interaction models in Gen Y and Gen Z are internet games where several players from different geographical regions, who do not know each other and will probably never meet, use communication connection technology, the Internet, to play video games together. They can also connect in order to discuss issues such as the rights of children and minorities, environment protection and eventually to produce for the market. However, an important factor of P2P and implementation of technology for Generations Y and Z, and especially for the just-born Alpha Generation, is the speed of change of all the technology known today. The research has shown that there is no significant difference in how students access the Internet based on the place of residence. The research has also shown that written communication, such as e-mail and even text messages, is becoming outdated. Instant messages and the use of YouTube, as models for exchanging documents, make up the main communication approach of the new generations. YouTube is equally interesting for secondary-school students regardless of the place of residence. The research has shown that the students access the desired content in different ways.

Table 3 Ways of accessing the desired internet content

Answers	Vis	Split	Trogir	Zagreb	Average
Browser	93%	78%	84%	95%	87%
Social media	71%	88%	70%	77%	78%
Direct search of web sites	57%	47%	37%	70%	55%

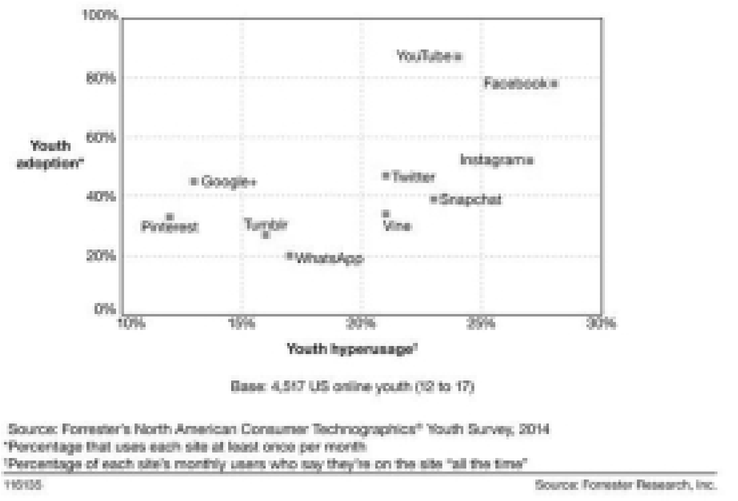
Regardless of the place of residence, the least used method of accessing the desired content on the Internet is the direct search of web sites.

Table 4 The most used way of searching the desired content.

Answers	Vis	Split	Trogir	Zagreb
Browser	57%	41%	60%	64%
Social media	32%	50%	30%	36%
Direct search of web sites	18%	11%	14%	3%

SOCIAL NETWORKS AND THE CO-CREATION OF CONTENT BY GEN Y AND GEN Z

Even though the research of Generation Z phenomena is still rare considering the number of social-networks users, the importance of the new approach in media communication towards Generation Y, and especially towards Generation Z, is obvious (Social Media Users by Generation in theUS 2010). The teen generation combines and simultaneously uses several social networks and platforms. The overview of the use of social networks as the key media and communication channel in the USA can be seen in the following chart (http://www.shoutlet.com; 2016):



The research conducted among secondary-school seniors in different geographical regions of Croatia has shown that secondary-school students in Croatia follow global trends and use the same networks without significant differences connected with the place of residence.

Table 5 Applications (or web sites) that students would single out?

Answers	Vis	Split	Trogir	Zagreb	Average
YouTube	93%	98%	93%	88%	93%
Facebook	86%	94%	93%	93%	92%
Twitter	0%	5%	5%	4%	4%
Instagram	36%	81%	63%	92%	75%
Google	82%	77%	77%	76%	77%
E-mail	39%	27%	37%	65%	44%
Other	4%	0%	2%	0%	1%

RESEARCH RESULTS

The focus of the conducted research had the following key determinants:

- the time the young spend online
- type of media they search and use
- technology used
- perception of the media's credibility
- key notions and associations about the Internet
- type of internet content which is interesting to them
- tolerance towards advertising
- affinities about the future place of residence

H1: There is a difference in the time spent on the Internet regarding the place of residence, but regardless of the media and the credibility of the media used by young people

Research results have shown that the young use all media, regardless of their place of residence. There is a substantial difference in using radio and newspapers between the continental and the Mediterranean parts of Croatia, but only at the level of general use, not as the first and the most frequent media.

Table 6 Percentage of interviewees using a certain type of media

Answers	Vis	Split	Trogir	Zagreb
TV	86%	97%	81%	97%
Radio	43%	36%	51%	82%
Newspaper	32%	41%	51%	74%
Internet	100%	100%	100%	100%

The largest number of interviewees who said that they read the newspapers are female. Also, the largest number of the interviewees who said that they read newspapers listed among their websites access certain websites which also have a printed issue. Data overlap in answers is therefore possible, i.e. the responses about reading newspapers could in fact mean that the interviewees in question actually read the internet issue and not the actual printed issue.

The first selection of the media, i.e. the most frequently used media, and the ranking of other media according to the frequency of their use is the following:

Table 7 The most frequently used media

Answers	Vis	Split	Trogir	Zagreb
TV	11%	19%	0%	3%
Radio	0%	0%	0%	0%
Newspaper	0%	0%	0%	0%
Internet	89%	81%	100%	97%

The Internet is the most frequently used type of media.

In the case of media credibility, there were differences in the perception of credibility depending on different locations.

Table 8 Perception of media credibility?

Answers	Vis	Split	Trogir	Zagreb	Average
TV	25%	27%	40%	32%	31%
Radio	4%	11%	0%	1%	4%
Newspaper	14%	13%	16%	19%	16%
Internet	54%	48%	42%	45%	46%

It is interesting to note that 20 percent of the interviewees perceived the media which are not on the list of the most frequently used media — radio and newspapers — as the most credible. The Internet is the only type of media used by all, but only 46 percent of the interviewees on average (ranging from 42 percent in Trogir and 54 percent in Vis) stated the Internet was the most credible type of media. There were no significant deviations between the continental and the Mediterranean parts of Croatia.

Generation Z is online every day. Regarding the time spent online, the research provided the following results:

Table 9 Internet using frequency

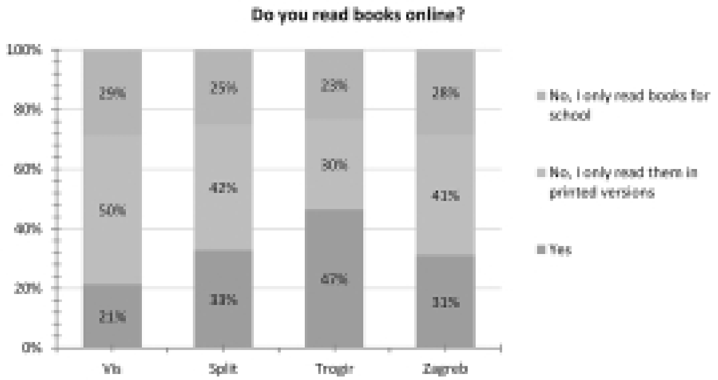
Answers	Vis	Split	Trogir	Zagreb	Average
Up to 30 minutes a day	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
30 minutes to 1 hour a day	7%	3%	9%	4%	5%
1 to 2 hours a day	7%	5%	12%	14%	10%

2 to 3 hours a day	32%	17%	26%	54%	34%
More than 3 hours a day	46%	75%	53%	28%	50%
Several times a week	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Rarely, several times a month	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%
More than 2h	79%	92%	79%	82%	84%

On average, 50 percent of the interviewees responded that they spent more than 3 hours a day on the Internet. There is a difference among the interviewees who spend more than three hours a day on the Internet: significantly fewer interviewees from Zagreb spend more than three hours on the Internet on a daily basis, as compared to the interviewees from the Mediterranean cities. If we look at the response "more than two hours", the data is more even, because 54 percent of the interviewees from Zagreb stated that they spent two to three hours online a day.

Despite the time spent on the Internet, the interviewees do not frequently use the Internet to read books:

Table 10 Online bookreading frequency



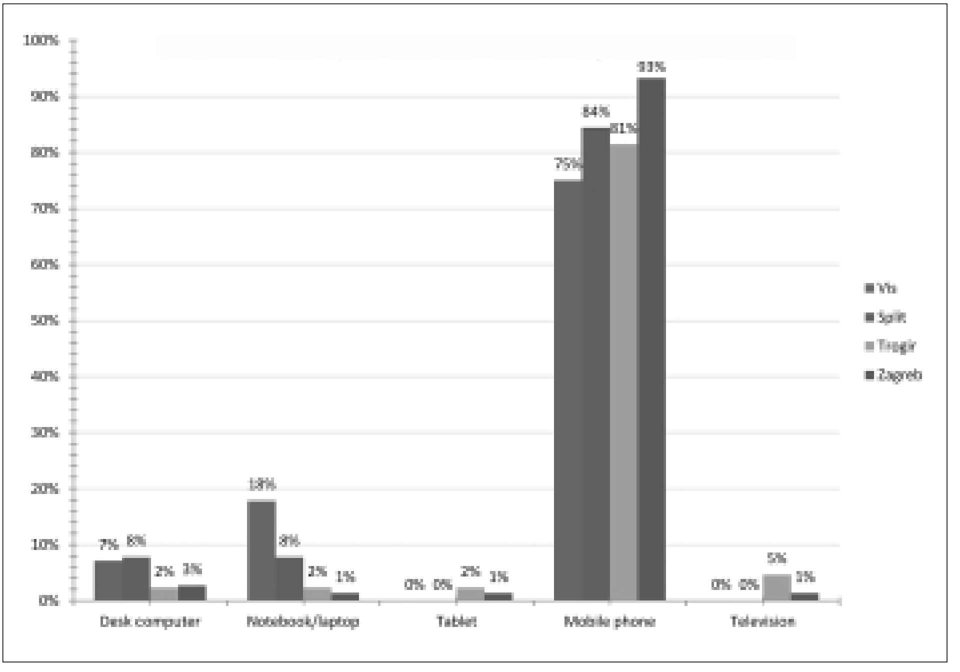
H2: There is no difference in technology used by young people in terms of their place of residence

The interviewees from all locations access the Internet by using the same piece of technology, but there are slight differences in the predominant way of accessing the Internet.

Table 11 The way of accessing the Internet?

Answers	Vis	Split	Trogir	Zagreb	Average
Desktop computer	29%	44%	44%	38%	40%
Notebook/laptop	71%	64%	58%	88%	72%
Tablet	18%	31%	40%	65%	43%
Mobile phone	96%	100%	98%	99%	99%
Television	11%	16%	33%	28%	23%

Table 12 The most often way of Internet access according to school residence



The predominant piece of technology for accessing the Internet is the mobile phone. A large share of students does not have internet access through a TV set and there is a difference in the use of tablets. The majority of the interviewees stated to possess both a desktop computer and a laptop/notebook, whereas all interviewees responded to possess a mobile phone.

H3: There is no difference in the accessed content in terms of the place of residence, but there is a difference in the selection of the basic content being accessed

Table 13 Type of contents searched on the Internet?

Answers	Vis	Split	Trogir	Zagreb	Average
Sport	46%	23%	30%	42%	34%
Spectacles	32%	17%	23%	15%	20%
Celebrities	18%	17%	33%	30%	25%
Music	100%	95%	95%	82%	91%
Culture	36%	19%	35%	32%	29%
Film	82%	86%	77%	77%	80%
Politics and daily news	50%	14%	53%	41%	36%
Education	61%	42%	60%	58%	54%
User-created content	61%	38%	63%	38%	46%

Games	43%	34%	21%	5%	22%
Social Media	79%	100%	93%	96%	94%
Blogs	18%	8%	23%	8%	12%
Other	4%	2%	21%	3%	6%

The results of the most frequently accessed internet content show that the main content the interviewees from all geographic regions access are the social networks. The interviewees from Mediterranean cities also frequently access music content, unlike the interviewees from Zagreb. It can be seen that Vis, as the most isolated location, has the largest share of interviewees who responded that they accessed films, and Vis also has a somewhat lower share of those who access social networks, as compared to other locations. Furthermore, there is a geographical difference in those who access video games. The largest share of interviewees who stated that they accessed video games lives in Vis and the smallest share lives in Zagreb. The above data can be explained by the limited offer of social content for the young on Vis.

Table 14 The most frequently searched content

Answers	Vis	Split	Trogir	Zagreb
Sport	7%	0%	2%	22%
Spectacles	4%	0%	0%	4%
Celebrities	0%	0%	0%	0%
Music	29%	39%	33%	8%
Culture	4%	0%	0%	4%
Film	11%	6%	5%	5%
Politics and daily news	0%	0%	2%	7%
Education	11%	3%	7%	4%
User-created content	4%	0%	2%	1%
Games	14%	5%	5%	1%
Social media	46%	48%	51%	66%
Blogs	0%	0%	0%	0%
Other	0%	0%	0%	0%

The most frequently visited websites correlate to the content preferences listed among the key content searched.

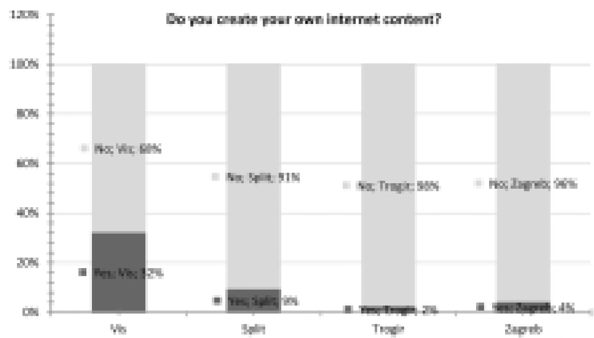
What is common to all interviewees is the fact that social networks and YouTube are the predominant websites visited, ranging from 41 percent in Zagreb to 57 percent on Vis. The research has shown that the interviewees in Zagreb show a larger interest in content offered by news portals (index, jutarnji, 24 sata), as compared to the interviewees from the Mediterranean cities. What all the interviewees have in common is the fact that they access interactive sites with simple but visually strong content which does not require a lot of attention.

Table 15 10 most visited websites

Website	Split	Trogir	Vis	Zagreb	Average
Facebook	28%	23%	30%	24%	26%
YouTube	29%	29%	27%	17%	24%
Index	4%	6%	10%	10%	8%
24sata	5%	6%	5%	8%	6%
Instagram	13%	6%	5%	2%	6%
jutarnji.hr	1%	0%	2%	12%	5%
Wikipedia	0%	3%	5%	6%	4%
Google	2%	5%	2%	3%	3%
dnevnik.hr	0%	8%	0%	4%	3%
postani-student.hr	0%	3%	3%	3%	2%

Despite the presence of social media in their lives, the statement that the first association upon hearing the word “internet” is communication and the fact that the highest number of interviewees said that they used several social networks for communication and content sharing, the majority of the interviewees responded that they did not create content on the Internet. Since every post on social networks represents certain media content, it is clear that the interviewees are not aware that by posting on social networks they actually create media content.

Table 16 Media content creating



The comparison between the interviewees who use social networks and the interviewees who responded that they did not create internet content is the following:

Table 17 The comparison between the interviewees who use social networks and the interviewees who responded that they did not create internet content

Do you create your own internet content?					
Answers	**Vis**	**Split**	**Trogir**	**Zagreb**	**Average**
Yes	32%	9%	2%	4%	9%
No	68%	91%	98%	96%	91%
Social media	79%	100%	93%	96%	94%

H4: There is a difference in access to advertisements in terms of the place of residence

When accessing the desired internet content, the interviewees are faced with advertisements which they treat in the following way:

Table 18 Pops up treatment

If an advertisement pops up on your screen while reading an internet content, what do you do?					
Answers	**Vis**	**Split**	**Trogir**	**Zagreb**	**Average**
Check what it is about, but without opening the advertised website	14%	14%	9%	7%	11%
Check what it is about and open the advertised website	7%	2%	5%	1%	3%
Close the advertisement without opening the advertised website	68%	69%	84%	92%	80%
I have an installed pop-up blocker	7%	14%	0%	1%	6%
Close the advertisement and have a pop up blocker	75%	83%	84%	93%	86%

There is a difference in the interest for advertised internet content in terms of geographical location. A larger interest for online advertisements was observed in the Mediterranean area than in the continental. The total share of the interviewees showing interest in online advertisements is eight percent in Zagreb and 21 percent on Vis. In Zagreb, more than 90 percent of the interviewees said they close advertisements or that they have an installed pop-up blocker. One of the possible explanations for this difference is the lack of possibilities for direct purchase of certain products on islands as compared to the capital city.

H5: There is a difference in the wish to continue education after secondary school at a different location or to move to a location which is not the current place of residence

Since the research was conducted among secondary-school seniors, one of the questions was related to their wish to continue their education and the place where they would like to live in the future. This question is not directly related to the Internet and the media, but the Internet and the media definitely shape the opinions and desires of the interviewees.

Table 19 Preferred place for continuing the education

Where would you like to continue your education?					
Answers	**Vis**	**Split**	**Trogir**	**Zagreb**	**Average**
In Croatia	64%	72%	63%	61%	65%
Abroad	25%	16%	33%	38%	28%
Will not continue	11%	13%	5%	1%	7%

Table 20 Intentions after finishing the high school

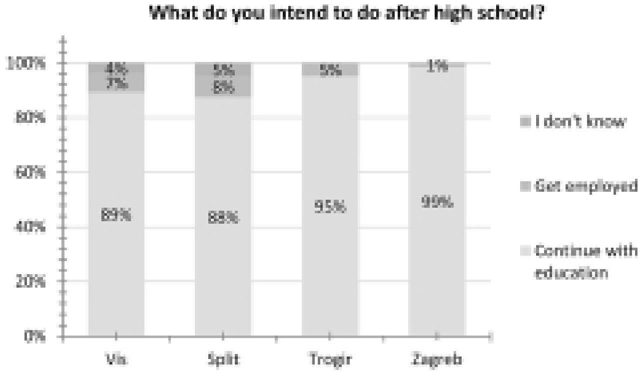


Table 21 Preferred place for life after finishing the education

Where would you like to live after finishing your education?					
Answers	**Vis**	**Split**	**Trogir**	**Zagreb**	**Average**
The current place of residence	30%	63%	26%	46%	44%
Somewhere else in Croatia	44%	15%	33%	9%	20%
Abroad	26%	23%	42%	45%	34%

Even though the interviewees attended various secondary schools in different Croatian cities, more than 90 percent of the interviewees from each location planned to continue their education (in Zagreb, it was 99 percent). However, one can notice that the question about where the interviewees would like to live in the future, as compared to the current place of residence, elicited inversely proportional answers. The smallest share of the interviewees who would like to continue living in the current place of residence was recorded on Vis. At the same time, the largest share of the interviewees who would like to live at another location in Croatia was also recorded on Vis. The largest share of interviewees who would like to continue their education abroad and also live abroad was observed in Zagreb.

CONCLUSION

The media and technology form an inseparable unit of today's communication methods. In order for the media to be able to market their content to future consumers, it is necessary for them to be aware of the habits and mental models of the new generations of users. Knowing this enables the monetisation of content and the making of future income from sales, which enables the survival and the development of the media. Communication via e-mail and text messages is already an outdated method for Generation Z, whose predominant method of communication are social networks. Media campaigns must approach these social networks with the aim of distributing their content, and also in order to further develop and make the results of the work done by creative industries available, as well as to spread advertisers' messages since they are an important source of income for media companies. The new generations have different behaviour patterns and it is necessary to be aware of them, since these people will shape the future social scene. Everything is based on the Internet. The conducted research has shown that Generation Z does not associate the Internet with technology, nor does it regard the Internet as a technological network. For them, the Internet is something like electricity, water or air, something that is taken for granted. By using the Internet, they grow up to be participants, initiators, creators, stakeholders and collaborators. All of this is precisely what makes them what they are — young people who differ in many ways and aspects from their parents and ancestors when they were their age. Every existing type of media must co-exist with the future media. The interviewees do not perceive the Internet as a type of media but primarily as a communication method. The "selfie behaviour" is a kind of a life-style for them, as well as creating and sharing experiences and personal stories without realising that this is actually the process of creating media content.

The conducted research can be used in some future sociological, communicational and economic research on and considerations about the changes that new technologies and the Internet bring to society at all levels for the members of Generation Z.

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Irina BASARA

MANAGING THE INTERNAL COMMUNICATION IN TOURISM: BARRIERS IN COMMUNICATION AS A RESULT OF QUALITY DECLINE — A CASE STUDY OF A TOURIST RESORT OLD KOGO

Abstract

The culture of communication in tourism is imperative. In fact, one of the most important preconditions for successful performance of any tourist business is managing the internal public or the employees. Working with people is very complex and communication barriers are inevitable but not insurmountable.

This paper deals with organizational barriers, which lead, both at the horizontal and vertical levels, to the creation of clans, rejection of authority, an unauthorized takeover of the role of an authority and the refusal to fulfill working tasks. All these factors lead to a drop in service quality, to customer dissatisfaction and to lower incomes than those that were planned. Consequently, the paper explores the extent to which internal communication affects business results.

In order to test the hypothesis, research was carried out in a tourist resort which offers accommodation in luxury apartments and a range of additional facilities. The target group consisted of customers with high purchasing power.

The starting point of the paper was the observation of the presence of organizational barriers that are primarily manifested in the he said — she said informal communication network or purely gossiping. By observing the employees and how they interact with each other, the signs of uneasiness, unkindness and intolerance became clearly visible. Coupling fragmentary and sophistical information and disinformation contributed to the creation of interest-related groups. The execution of tasks ceases to be the main motivation, and it is replaced by a sort of covert competition between the groups.

The principal cause of this condition is detected in a previous study where it was found that in the past two years, the top management had experienced more sudden changes, where the heads of resorts, consultancies and strategy had changed several times. The research that was mentioned above served as a guide in the preparation of a new one, whose purpose was to determine the degree of the severity of the situation. A questionnaire was prepared which was completed by all 33 employees.

The results clearly indicate unstable communication relations among staff, which results in tarnishing the resort's image and a drop in profit. To ensure the revitalization of the human components in the production system, the first measure that an organization usually takes is finding a new leader of the facility. It is an approach to situation management which can be described as a crisis of rupture in the eyes of an external observer, and it represents a failure in the company's performance and damage that the organization does to itself.

Two months after the arrival of a new leader, the situation stabilized. By observing the process of revitalization, it was found that the head of the center of the control functions has the crucial role in the development of communication network and eliminating defects.

In conclusion, assuming that only good communication in an organization can result in harmonious and good employee relations, it was confirmed that any anomalies in the interpersonal interaction lead to dysfunction.

Key words: *communication in tourism, internal communication, communication barriers.*

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

One of the preconditions for a successful business enterprise is the arrangement of relations within the organization, which implies good management of communication processes, as "organization is nothing but a form of people's communication" (Plenković, 1991, p. 10). Each entity is in a continuous communication process with the target audience. Depending on the size, location and type of business in which the subject works, the public is different, but, according to Tomić (2008), always (in greater or lesser extent) includes consumers, the community, local government, the media, political institutions, financial centers, retailers and distributors, leaders of public opinion, employees, their families, stakeholders, investors and others. Good management of communication processes — which is one of the prerequisites for successful operation, functionality and harmony within the internal public (Tomić, 2008) — is the first step an organization takes towards achieving its objectives. Among all other types of the public, the internal public primarily consists of employees, and secondarily of their families.

Establishing good relations with employees is necessary to organize high-quality internal interaction (Kesić, 2003), because there is no such activity in which communication is a matter of choice. In the service sector in general, and especially in tourism, communication is imperative. It strives to meet the needs of the customer, sell more services than products, and it must anticipate and meet the desires of the end user. It is believed that the quality of service is delivered when it reaches or exceeds a customer's expectations (Kotler, Keller, & Martinović, 2014).

One of the most important components of staff management is maintaining harmonious relations and a positive work climate. Regardless of the size of an organization and the number of employees, respecting the methods and techniques of input, lateral and downward communication (Tomić, 2008) is crucial in creating a good work environment and a positive image of that organization.

The difficulties caused by inadequate transmission of messages can lead to a series of negative results and cause interference or communication barriers. Communication barriers are also known as "channel noise" and are all factors that impede, hinder or interrupt the flow of messages from source to destination. Channel noise in communication can be caused by biological factors such as the hunger or thirst of the sender or recipient. Interference can also be caused by the influence of some other factors such as touch, smell, cold, heat, etc.

Working with people is the most complex task of all. Since each individual has his or her specific desires and needs, communication barriers are inevitable but not insurmountable. Various authors have come up with their own classifications of communication obstacles.

Renata Fox divides disturbances (interferences) into "interference, disruption and misunderstanding in communication" (Fox, 2006, p. 34), while Nadrljanski (2010) distinguishes between "perceptual, psychological, social, cultural, semantic, media and physical" barriers (p. 174-175). Michael and Sandra Rouse (2005) divide barriers into:

> socio-cultural (group thinking, conflict of values ??and beliefs, stereotypes and ethnocentrism, and language and jargon), psychological (filtering, perception, memory deficient, poor hearing and emotional involvement) and organizational (information overload, competition messaging, distortion of information, message filtering, contradictory messages, communication climate, differences in status and structural problems (p. 51-64).

The research that this paper focuses on will be based on organizational difficulties, more specifically on unfavorable climate communications caused by inadequate management and structural problems in a company. The larger the organization is, the higher the chances are for the emergence of barriers. Can anomalies and the presence of obstacles be predicted and how? What steps need to be taken in order to eliminate these obstacles and does top management, led by the leader or director of the organization, play the most important role in this? These are just some of the questions that will be answered further in the text.

THE "OLD LOGO" CASE STUDY

Corporate Communications

According to a lexicon of management, a company is an "economic, human organization and a legal entity that combines factors of production, produces products or services that are sold on the market for profit" (Milas, 2011, p. 97).

In corporate terms, "communication is a sales process that consists of presentations, negotiations and sales and to communicate successfully, the other party must understand and comprehend the message that was transferred" (Peter & Vrhovski, 2011, p. 160). These premises are valid for external and internal communication.

Nadrljanski (2010) divides communication as follows:

> Within a business structure, formal and informal communication takes place. The formal one follows the vertical communication, which in turn follows the chain of command, and this type of communication goes down the hierarchy within the business system. Horizontal communication is communication with colleagues and peers, who are in the business organization at the same horizontal level (p. 98).

Also, "one of the biggest obstacles for establishing effective communication is the lack of interest of the listener for receiving messages" (Nadrljanski, 2010, p. 98). The same factor can cause many inconveniences in the manufacturing process, and it also lead to the worst possible outcome if the situation is not noticed and stopped on time: "the conflict is described as a state between colleagues dependent on each other who, with their behaviour, involvement of feelings and perception and action, cause a business problem" (Daniel, 2014, p. 5).

Hypothesis and Research Objectives

A bad situation regarding the object of the research leads to the hypothesis of this study: only good communication in an organization can result in good and harmonious relations between employees, which in turn leads to an increase in the degree of satisfaction of the end customer or the user of services.

Misunderstanding, regardless if it is at the horizontal or vertical level, leads to the formation of clans, rejection of authority, an unauthorized takeover of the role of an authority and the refusal to fulfill the given tasks. The chain of command breaks, hierarchy relations become confusing, only the messages which suit the recipient are transmitted, information is distorted and it disappears or does not reach the recipient at all. The result is a decline in service quality, dissatisfaction of the end user, while revenues become lower than planned in the end. To test the hypothesis, a survey was conducted which aimed to find the extent to which adequate communication affects business results.

The goal of the research was to verify the hypothesis and present the results to the owners of the business in order to repair any damage that had been done. If, however, the assumptions had not turned out to be valid, we would continue to research and find the core of the problem. The ultimate goal of the research was to motivate employees to appropriately analyze the social structure they are a part of, evaluate their work, raise the quality of products to last year's level and do all the preparatory work so that the facilities welcome the upcoming season at full strength, ready to receive hundreds of guests on a daily basis.

Methods, Procedures and Research Plan

The study was conducted in a four and fivestar tourist resort which, alongside accommodation services in luxury apartments, offers its customers additional content, such as wellness-and-spa, a restaurant, a lounge bar by the pool, a beauty salon, etc. With year-round business, the complex employs fifteen workers during the winter months, while in summer it employs an additional twenty people. Target guests are those of high purchasing power. With an exquisite interior, the facility justifies the high cost of their products and services.

Management is divided into three levels. Supreme management consists of the head of the facility who answers to investors. The head works closely with the marketing department comprised of smaller departments responsible for public relations and information technology, as well as with the Department of Finance and Administration.

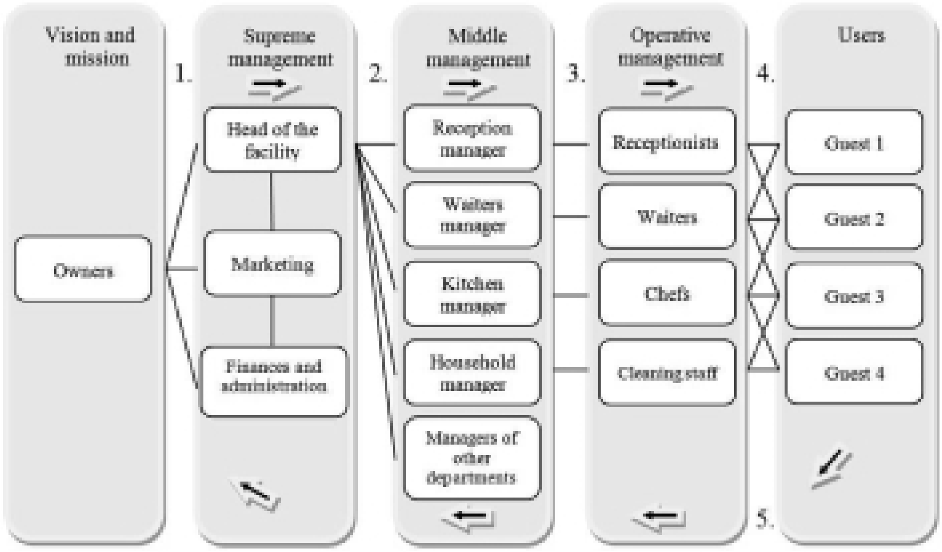


Figure 1 Organisational structure of the object

The head draws up the budget, plans future actions and does everything in his power to take the target position on the market and make a profit.

The middle managers are the heads of departments: front office manager, waiters, kitchen, housekeeping, maintenance manager etc.

Operational management includes employees who mostly have direct contact with customers, such as waiters, cooks, receptionists, maids, drivers, therapists, beauticians and others.

The scheme below shows the progress of the communication process in the observed facility. The departments in the middle and operational management that are in lesser contact with utter users are not included in the following display.

The communication flow is structured as in the Figure 1.

The owners, who have invested their money in building the resort, express their wishes to the head of the facility (1). The head shares and adapts the mission and vision by creating medium-term and short-term goals, strategies and policies (Milas, 2011). One of the preconditions is a strong synergy with the department of finance and administration, as well as with the marketing department. Supreme management communicates at the vertical level with the managers of individual departments and sends instructions on how to act (2). The heads of departments manage operatives or employees (3), which are in direct contact with guests (4). Guests give their feedback to the owners on how satisfied or unsatisfied they are, so that information travels in the opposite direction (5), vertically, level by level.

The employees that do jobs shown in the picture are those who are in the closest contact with the service users.

In order to reach the end user in the form of product or service, the owner's wishes and demands travel in the form of information through a complex maze which includes a great number of individuals, which is returned to the owner in the same way, in the form of feedback. If there is a delay or misunderstanding of the received message between any of these two, the whole process can fail, resulting in strained relations.

Previous studies included an empirical method — the method of observation — which included informal conversations with employees and the inspection of the business books which began to show a decline in revenue (in comparison to the previous year). It was found that in the past two years, top management had more abrupt changes. The head of the facility was replaced several times, and each of these directors introduced a business policy and strategy different from those introduced by his predecessor. Misunderstanding the head's mission and vision also didn't help the situation. None of the directors had stayed long enough to implement reforms and begin with the realization of the planned and approved objectives.

One of the starting points of the research was spotting the presence of informal "he said — she said" communication networks, the chain of gossip and the chain of the selected ones (Rouse & Rouse, 2005, p. 23). In the observation of individual employees in their interaction with their colleagues, the signs of uneasiness and unkindness, even hostility were clearly visible. Coupling fragmentary and sophistical information and disseminating unconfirmed data contributed to the creation of interest-related groups which involved officials from central and operational management, while one group included two members of top management. Preforming the tasks in the best possible way stopped being the main motivation and was replaced by a kind of invisible group competition.

The previously mentioned research has served as a guide in the preparation of a new one, whose aim was to determine the degree of the severity of the situation. A questionnaire, which all employees anonymously would have to complete, was prepared. The very process of interviewing the employees lasted for three days, after which the results were processed. It should be noted that the employees responded to questions individually, in separate rooms, for two reasons: the first was to prevent the employees from understanding the task easily and thus influence one another (defense mechanism). Another reason was gaining their trust and ensuring anonymity because part of the employees did not understand the goal of the survey and feared the reaction of superiors and the consequences of a sincere response.[1]

The methods of analysis, synthesis, generalization and specialization were used in all steps of the research. The main method was the interview and the support methods were statistical and mathematical methods, as well as the method of counting and compilation, comparison and description of the processing of the results. Detection and refutation were used in the interpretation and presentation of results.

[1] The results of the survey were presented to the owners of the facility exclusively, and no other party have had an insight in the results.

SURVEY RESULTS

“The more successful the communication, the more successful the production will be” (Plenković, 1991, p. 10). In order to identify the principal causes of tension among the employees, a questionnaire was created.

The following paragraph contains the results and analysis of the questionnaire.

Of a total of 33 respondents, 58% were men and 42% women. Thirteen employees, 40% of them, were in the age group between 21 and 30. 67% of the employees had a high-school education, 9% had higher education, 21% of them had a high education level and only one of the employees (3%) was a low-skilled worker (unqualified).

Working positions are divided as follows:

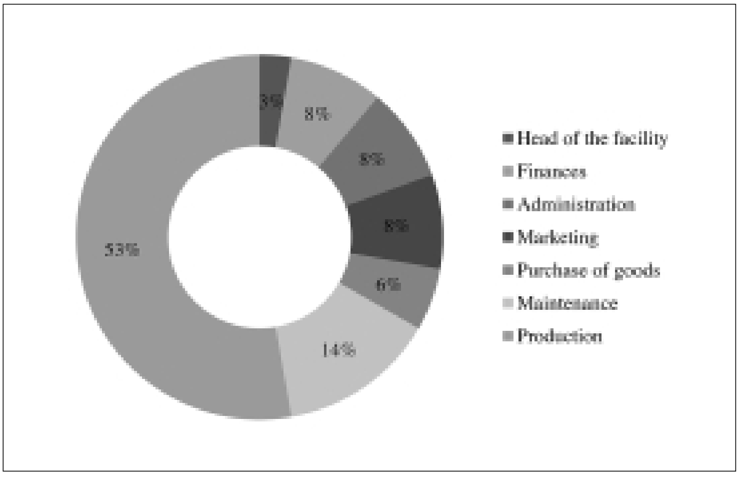


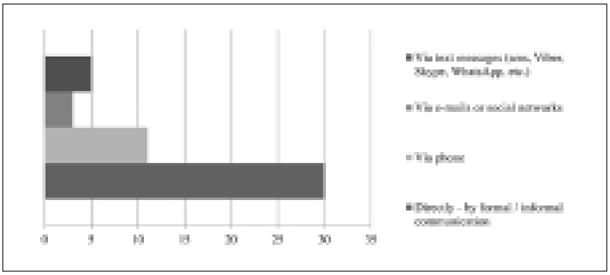
Figure 2 Number of the employees per section (Source: the survey results)

The largest number of employees, nineteen of them, was employed in operational management. The smallest number of people was employed in top management — as the head of the facility — alongside the employees in marketing, finances and administration.

When asked about the level of management they work at, the subjects were divided into top management (5), middle management (8), operational management (14), while the option “rest” was chosen by six employees, which shows us that six members of staff did not not know what level they belonged to. However, some other answers were also incorrect. The analysis showed that 55% of the workers felt that they work at a level that does not fit their job description. For example, the personnel from operational management mostly circled the supreme management as their level, while some individuals thought they were a part of operative management, although they worked in top management. It is interesting that 28% of the employees who did not answer correctly have higher university education.

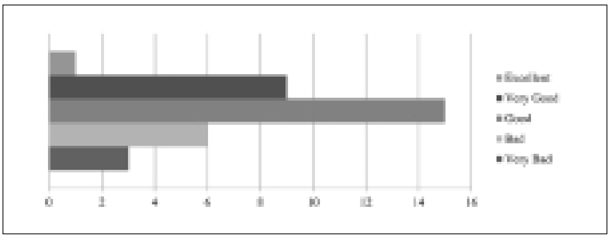
Despite clear instructions that they were allowed to select only one answer, 66% of the respondents circled two or more answers on three different questions.

Figure 3 The most common forms of communication within the company (Source: survey results)



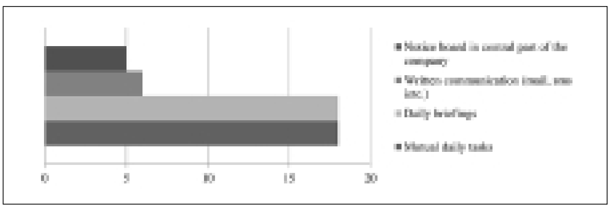
Instead of 33, 49 responses were recorded with regard to the question about the most common forms of communication. The largest number of workers, a total of 61%, chose face-to-face communication as the most common. The way of communicating between the youngest employees is interesting — five employees, all from the same age group — "21-30", responded that they most often communicated through applications such as Viber, Skype, WhatsApp etc.

Figure 4 Evaluation of communication in the workplace (Source: survey results)



Of the 34 respondents, 44% said that communication was good. Three employees rated it as bad, and only one rated it as excellent.

Figure 5 The most effective way to communicate (Source: survey results)



Out of 47 responses, 38% of the employees stated that daily briefings and mutual informal discussions were the most desirable ways of communication.

The biggest contradiction is reflected in the questions about the effect and quality of information flow. 55% of the employees claimed that they did not get enough information to be able to do their jobs well, while the rest claimed the opposite. 73% believed that the information and instructions were partially clear, while only 21% of the employees perceived them as completely understandable. On the other hand, 88% of the respondents thought that with better communication they would carry out their duties better, and 58% of the employees said that the information was withheld from them. Ultimately, despite the indicators that were mentioned above, 70% of the employees considered that conflicts within the company rose due to inadequate or non-existing communication, and even 27% (nine employees) believed that communication did not affect or only partially affected the quality of products and the end user's satisfaction.

Another question which requires a deeper analysis and the identification of problems is about the number of supervisors. The responses indicate that employees were confused about it. The fact that 21 people (67%) believed that there had between two and four supervisors says a lot about irregularities in the communication process. Answers to this question are crucial indicators of the lack of logic in the division of tasks and the authority of individuals from higher levels of management.

DISCUSSION

The survey results clearly point to the instability of the entire staff of the observed facility. The results were presented to the investor as a road map for the implementation of management strategies in terms of communication management based on the model of small hotels (Milohnić, 2010).

The situation can be described as a "crisis of fracture" (Holtz, 2008, p. 141) that, in the eyes of an outside observer, represents a failure in the performance of the company, the damage that the organization does to itself (Holtz, 2008).

The image of the facility was tarnished and profits fell sharply. In order to take all measures to ensure the revitalization of the human components in the production system, the first step that an organization took most often was finding a new property manager. More time was devoted to this *pursuit* than on everything else. An outside agency was called in to carry out the testing among candidates and it set demanding tests of intelligence, knowledge, opinions, interests, abilities and personality, as well as situational and objective tests, and also conducted stress interviews (Vujić, 2004). After the selection, the director was acquainted with the status quo.

He was, unlike the previous colleagues, now familiar with the current situation and approach to the problem. Inevitably, the first step was finding the weakest links in which employment relationship breaks. Thanks to his skills and knowledge, he quickly noticed leaders of the aforementioned invisible group and warned them, and those who did not understand the criticism did not receive an extension of their employment contract. New workers were employed, unaware of the turmoil within the company, who passed through all the stages of introducing workers to job requirements (Vujić, 2004). Then they were placed in positions where they automatically, since they were unaware of the environment, contributed to weakening the bonds of interest-related groups.

Although the director did not have any access to the results of the survey, he was informed of the potential hot spots and introduced a new concept of communication. This raised a bulletin board that contained all the essential information and forms a specific code of conduct which applies to all employees, and thus to the owners of the facilities. The Reception department got another assignment — to monitor the flow of information of each individual employee. Upon arriving to the workplace, each individual was to receive all the necessary information and instructions about the processes that were under way or pending, which they would need to implement before the start of the shift at the front desk. Every morning, briefings were organized and once a week, meetings were being held in which all employees take part.

Two months after the arrival of a new director, the situation was stabilized. The "he said — she said" chain no longer existed, the answers to these questions were specific and clear, and doubts were resolved spontaneously. As the leaders of the groups were removed, the same wrinkles former strength, while the chain of selected does not exist anymore, and instead the real system of rewarding employees is introduced.

By observing how things developed, it was noticed that the manager of the facility had crucial influence. Taking into account all the characteristics (Vujić, 2004) of the workers' motivation, he kept the best workers, encouraged them to be creative and innovative in their work, built participatory relationships within the company, ensured the achievement of the goals that were set, and ultimately achieved business excellence (Vujić, 2004).

CONCLUSION

The hypothesis has been proved. Assuming that only good communication in an organization can result in harmonious and good employee relations, it was confirmed that any anomalies in inter-personal interaction lead to dysfunction.

Misunderstanding, regardless of whether it is at the horizontal or vertical level in the observed facility, leads to the creation of clans, rejection of authority and an unauthorized take-over of a superior role and the refusal to fulfill the given tasks. The main function, quality task forces, replaced the intrigues and gossiping. Unverified, unreliable and distorted information that was taken for granted circulated, and the messages were understood only in the context which suits individual interests. Such inadequate communication influenced the operation results.

By observing the process of revitalization, it was found that the head of the center of the control functions has a crucial role in the process. Due to the involvement of external agencies who chose a new manager by objective testing, the newly appointed member of the staff proved to be the best choice. Due to his skills, he noticed all irregularities, and also properly used his previous skills and knowledge in an adequate manner. He also fulfilled all of the obligations that had been handed to him, perfecting the network of communication and resolving all shortcomings.

Further research should focus on the reconstruction of the service process, satisfaction surveys and end user experience as well as the process of increasing revenue. Also, after a certain time, the survey should be repeated and the results should be compared.

The awareness of the importance of communication in the work environment should be encouraged in every employee in every organization, in every industry, with no exceptions. Knowledge of business or trade, etiquette, manners and kindness in the world of today's sudden and rapid changes is not enough. Skillfull and proper use of one's own communication ability is one of the main preconditions for self-realization.

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Mateja PLENKOVIĆ, Vanesa VARGA

TRIPADVISOR USER-GENERATED CONTENT ABOUT CROATIAN ISLANDS

Abstract

In contemporary society, content that is shared on the Internet is becoming an increasingly important source of information about the world we live in, while it also influences the ways in which people experience its aspects. It has become a common practice for visitors to search the Internet for information on and images of the places they wish to visit, as well as to share via social media their impressions and photos from the visit. The aim of this paper is to describe the impressions that visitors share about Croatian islands via popular travel-related UGC website — TripAdvisor. We focused on photos taken and shared publicly by users on TripAdvisor. The analysis included 1000 photos taken by visitors on ten largest Croatian islands: Cres, Krk, Hvar, Brač, Pag, Korčula, Dugi Otok, Mljet, Rab, and Vis. The most common motives of all visitors' photos are food and drinks, island architecture, and beaches. Those are the main attributes that visitors associate with Croatian islands.

Key words: *TripAdvisor, user-generated content, photos, visitors, tourism, Croatian islands*

INTRODUCTION

The growing popularity of online platforms based on user-generated content is gradually creating a digital world that mirrors the physical world (Pereira, Vaccari, Giardin, Chiu, & Ratti, 2011). User-generated content (in further text: UGC) can be defined as any form of content, such as blogs, wikis, discussion forums, posts, chats, tweets, podcasts, digital images, video, audio files, advertisements, and other forms of media, which is created by users with an online system or service and often made available via social media (Chua, Li, & Moens, 2014). The participatory nature of the Internet has led to an explosive growth of travel-related user-generated content (Chua & Banerjee, 2013). It has become a common practice for visitors to search the Internet for information on and images of the places they wish to visit, as well as to share via social media their impressions and photos from the visit.

The aim of this paper is to describe the impressions that visitors share about Croatian islands via a popular travel-related UGC website — TripAdvisor. Croatia is known as *The Land of a Thousand Islands*. Croatian islands are especially attractive to visitors during the summer season, and are thus an important source of income from tourism for the national economy. Since the structure of the islands' tourist offer is somehow different from that of the inland coastal area, it is important to consider the relevant indicators of tourism success and try to predict development guidelines of Croatian islands' tourism (Mikačić, 1993). Identifying the opinions and impressions of visitors can help in planning how to improve the deficiencies and strengthen the benefits of islands' tourist offer. By analyzing TripAdvisor UGC, we want to see the attributes that visitors associate with Croatian islands. We are particularly interested in the way TripAdvisor's digital photo collections present Croatian islands, because in this way, the elements of Croatian cultural and natural heritage are transferred to the virtual world, thus making them more interesting and attractive to visitors.

SOCIAL MEDIA IN HERITAGE AND TOURISM

Today, the search of cultural heritage is not reduced only to the material and physical world, but it can also be done in the online form. Institutions that are dedicated to collecting and preserving information about cultural heritage are constantly improving their information services in order to provide better organization, systematization, and classification of their work. A well-designed information service can be especially helpful for users because they can quickly access information, referral services, and database searches (Kordić, 2010). Since the Internet offers unlimited storage capacity and availability of information, it has become a very valuable tool in terms of collecting knowledge and experience related to cultural heritage (Šola, 2011; 2014). While visiting cultural sites, it has become common for visitors to share their impressions via social media. Therefore, social media have become an important source of cultural-heritage information about the places someone plans to visit. Users are becoming a driving force behind a better protection and recognition of different localities. In other words, visitors and users have become the active guardians of heritage (Pavelin, 2010). Also, many heritage institutions are turning to social media, and seeing the possibilities of social media advertising (Uzelac & Cvjetičanin, 2008). Travel agencies are following the same path. Social media in general help to improve communication between the suppliers of a product and its users. Users can express their opinions, and thus improve the quality of the offer and products. Marketing strategies that include social media can learn more about customers and their habits and interests (Demeterffy Lančić, 2010). In the context of tourism, good media coverage attracts visitors, because media images can render a destination and cultural heritage recognizable. We often talk about brands that make a product visible in the broad market. Culture is also shaping as a product (Šola, 2014) and visitors are those who pay for products. Since they are attracted by high-resolution photos and good textual content, social media are very important in marketing (Miočić, 2010).

IMPORTANCE OF UGC IN TOURISM

Planning a vacation has become much easier with the help of modern technologies. Visitors can use different Internet websites to decide which places are worth visiting. Cultural institutions and travel agencies seek to present offers on their websites, so that customers have better access to information. But, they use the Internet only for promotion, and with fairly static texts and photographs (Jelinčić, 2010). On the other hand, experiences that visitors share via social media are a valuable source of information both for other visitors and those who offer, organize and promote tourists activities or visits to tourist attractions. Recently, there has been a remarkable interest in the application of social media to the tourism domain, and much of this interest has arisen from the emergence of numerous UGC websites such as social networking, online travel communities, and review sites (Ayeh, Au, & Law, 2013). UGC has become an important factor of tourism success — it is a database that shows seasonal successes of specific destinations and a virtual place where we can track development and difficulties. Many tourism businesses have been integrating UGC websites into their online business strategies — marketing is shifting from the business-and-costumer model to the peer-to-peer model (Miguéns, Baggio, & Costa, 2008). UGC has also become a major source of information for visitors — people increasingly utilize information from UGC websites to make travel-related decisions and to shape perceptions and images about destinations and travel offers (Fotis, Buhalis, & Rossides, 2012). Visitors are no longer dependent on website owners who publish the information they seek. They can rely on unfiltered, dynamic and topical information provided by their own peers (O'Connor, 2008). According to Gretzel and Yoo (2008), three-quarters of visitors consider online reviews as an information source when planning their trips, because that non-commercial information is perceived to be more objective and credible — visitors tend to regard information from their peers as more trustworthy (Litvin, Goldsmith, & Pan, 2008). Sidali, Schulze, and Spiller (2009) analyzed the impact of reviews on the choice of holiday accommodation, and showed that more than 80% of users purchased accommodation recommended by reviewers.

Even the passive mobile-positioning data is a promising resource for tourism research and management (Pereira et al, 2011). Due to the development of mobile-phone technology, every move of every user may be gathered in a database, and submitted to a second-degree data-mining operation (Girardin et al, 2008). Mobile-phone applications collect different information, such as locations, dates, and popularity ratings. They are a connection between the virtual and real spaces — their potential is in trip planning, advertising, destination presentation, and development of different locations (Yu, Tang, Zimmermann, & Aizawa, 2014). Data from those applications may be used for marketing decisions, presenting interesting locations, and improving others (Li, Steiner, Wang, Zhang, & Bao, 2013). A growing body of evidence suggests that location tagging has become much more of a mainstream activity (Zickuhr, 2013). In a way, by using mobile phone applications, users leave digital footprints that permanently record the direction of their travel. Applications record how long visitors remain at one location, which one they find most interesting, etc. Such data can be easily mapped. In general, the popularity of a particular location is defined by the number of photos, the number of tips, the number of likes and feedback comments (Vasconcelos, Almeida, Gonçalves, Souza, & Gomes, 2014).

To conclude, visitors' behavior is changing vis-á-vis information search and travel planning; "a new type of user is emerging, one who acts as his or her own travel agent and builds a personalized travel package" (Werthner & Ricci, 2004, p. 101). Online-shared user experiences and impressions, in forms of texts and pictures, become attributes of places a tourist visited, and a source of information for other potential visitors. Such information can also help in developing activities, offers and products important for tourism.

UGC IN THE FORM OF VISITORS' PHOTOGRAPHS

Photography and travel are closely connected. They are both part of the everyday lives of ordinary people: tourism plays a substantial role in shaping modern life experiences, and photography also plays an equally important role in shaping world experiences (Garlick, 2002; Urry, 1990). Photographs document and shape the travel experience: they verify that a person physically visited a place and provide evidence that the person has experienced some form of authentic, exotic, *other* life (Chalfen, 1979; Hillman, 2007). Visitors use photography to capture mutual relationships, places and other cultures. Traditionally, the sharing of travel photos was largely a private endeavor, with pictures assembled into albums and, together with a narrative presentation to explain the context of each photograph, shared with a small audience known well by the person (Walker, 1989). Today, photo-sharing media via different Internet websites have transformed this practice to one that is largely in the public domain/geographically-dispersed networks of strangers (Lo, McKercher, Lo, Cheung, & Law, 2011). It is important to mention that users who post images online also tend to search for travel information from others who engage in similar activities (Akehurst, 2009). Many users see this type of information as more reliable than textual content posted by others (Mack, Blose, & Pan, 2008; Zheng & Gretzel, 2010). Since tourism is mostly a visual experience, photographs as travel-related UGC can have a significant influence on the visitor's decision-making behavior. They can also have an impact on creating a better image of a certain destination, as well as on marketing and promotion in the context of tourism.

ABOUT TRIPADVISOR

Among various travel-related websites with UGC (e.g. TravBuddy, Travellerspoint, Passportstamp), TripAdvisor stands out the most in terms of usage and content (Gretzel & Yoo, 2008; Miguéns et al, 2008). It was launched in 2000 and quickly became one of the most popular travel-related websites. Millions of visitors search their travel purchases via TripAdvisor every month (Law, 2008). TripAdvisor is based on the idea that visitors should rely on other visitors' reviews to plan their trips (Miguéns et al., 2008). Most of the information posted is autonomously generated by users — they post reviews, comments and ratings of a destination, a hotel, an attraction or any other tourism-related object or service. Also, it is possible to add multimedia elements in the form of photos and videos. However, sometimes the comments and photos that users upload may not be entirely credible given the fact that there is no control of user content (Chua & Banerjee, 2013). But still, due to its popularity, TripAdvisor is a great tool for presenting beautiful and attractive cultural and natural heritage connected with different locations that users visit and post photos and impressions about. With this in mind, we are interested in the way Croatian islands are presented in the eyes of TripAdvisor users.

TRIPADVISOR UGC ON CROATIAN ISLANDS

With the growing importance of UGC in tourism, we aimed to explore how TripAdvisor UGC presents Croatian islands. Due to the importance of photography in tourism, we only focused on photos of different phenomena of Croatian islands taken and shared publicly by users on TripAdvisor. The analysis included photos taken by visitors on ten largest Croatian islands: Cres, Krk, Hvar, Brač, Pag, Korčula, Dugi Otok, Mljet, Rab, and Vis. The analyzed photos were uploaded by TripAdvisor users in the period between 2009 and 2016.

DOMINANT MOTIFS ON VISITORS' TRIPADVISOR PHOTOS OF CROATIAN ISLANDS

TripAdvisor allows users to upload pictures into several categories. As it can be seen from Table 1, photos of the islands of Pag (N=2412) and Hvar (N=2296) were uploaded the most. If we focus on TripAdvisor categories, we can see that visitors mostly sorted photos into categories *Other* (N=4150), *Attractions* (N=3929), *Restaurants/Food* (N=2268), and *Hotels* (N=1477). If we focus on specific islands, we can see that visitors of Cres (N=262), Dugi otok (N=73), Mljet (N=293), Rab (N=523), and Vis (N=531) mostly uploaded photos in the category *Restaurants/Food*; visitors of Krk (N=729), Brač (N=695), Hvar (N=1097), and Korčula (N=648) in the category *Attractions*; and visitors of Pag mostly uploaded photos in the category *Other* (N=651). If we want to make conclusions based on the available data, we could say that visitors to Croatian islands find the cuisine and beautiful attractions the islands have and offer most attractive.

However, this kind of TripAdvisor photo categorization is only arbitrary. A deeper analysis of visitors' photos reveals that not all of them are sorted into the adequate TripAdvisor category. So, in further analysis we included the first 100 publicly available photos taken on each island. The total number of analyzed photos is 1000, and all of them were uploaded in the period between January 2015 and February 2016. In order to find out what visitors see as interesting attributes of Croatian island, we sorted photos into more realistic categories — a system that was slightly different from TripAdvisor's categorization. We grouped photos according to the main theme or the dominant motif, and this new categorization shows which motifs in visitors' photos are

Categories	Croatian islands										TOTAL:
	Cres	Krk	Brač	Hvar	Pag	Korčula	Dugi Otok	Mljet	Rab	Vis	
Dining	20	5	-	9	15	4	12	23	21	18	**127**
Hotel and Grounds	14	1	3	13	42	12	-	24	51	33	**193**
Room/Suite	17	-	1	-	43	-	1	11	23	25	**121**
Bathroom	3	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	6	2	**13**
Pool/Beach Area	10	21	39	23	49	26	4	16	26	23	**237**
Other	128	561	580	928	651	556	66	105	346	229	**4150**
View from Room	12	1	2	32	18	10	7	18	21	25	**146**
Family/Play Areas	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	**3**
Landmarks	-	43	65	75	28	75	1	12	16	13	**328**
Views	12	78	59	101	118	91	11	27	62	48	**607**
Sporting Events	-	2	4	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	**8**
Attractions	44	729	695	1097	312	648	67	2	192	143	**3929**
Restaurants/Food	262	4	4	-	543	35	73	293	523	531	**2268**
Hotels	100	2	19	14	586	1	27	150	309	269	**1477**
Videos	-	-	-	4	3	9	2	-	1	4	**23**
TOTAL:	**622**	**1447**	**1471**	**2296**	**2412**	**1467**	**272**	**681**	**1599**	**1363**	**13630**

Table 1 Number of visitors' photos in TripAdvisor categories

most common. As it can be seen from Table 2, motifs that appear in photos taken on all Croatian islands are *Seaviews* and *Island Architecture*. When we look at the numbers, we can see that the most common motifs in all visitors' photos are *Food and Drinks* (N=310), *Island Architecture* (N=205) and *Beaches* (N=146). When we focus on particular islands, the most dominant motif in the photos taken on Cres (N=52), Pag (N=46), Dugi Otok (N=36), Mljet (N=70), Rab (N=35) and Vis (N=60) was *Food and Drinks*; the most dominant motif in the photos taken on Krk (N=28), Hvar (N=55), Korčula (N=61) was *Island Architecture*; the most dominant motif in the photos of Dugi Otok was the category *Beaches* (N=36); and the most dominant motif in the photos of Brač was *Natural heritage* (N=78). This new categorization of TripAdvisor travelers' photos confirms that Croatian islands' cuisine is something that visitors find especially

Motives	Croatian islands										TOTAL:
	Cres	Krk	Brač	Hvar	Pag	Korčula	Dugi Otok	Mljet	Rab	Vis	
Seaviews	6	10	5	7	3	15	7	12	6	5	**76**
Beaches	5	20	3	28	2	16	36	-	14	22	**146**
Housing	12	-	-	-	16	-	3	1	16	-	**48**
Harbors and Boats	5	-	3	7	-	3	2	15	2	-	**37**
Food and Drinks	52	5	-	3	46	3	36	70	35	60	**310**
Island Architecture	14	28	3	55	3	61	12	1	27	1	**205**
Natural Heritage	-	-	78	-	3	-	-	1	-	8	**90**
Intangible Heritage	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	**2**
Tours	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	**16**
Water Activities and Diving	6	3	3	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	**16**
Archaeology Sites	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**5**
Clubbing	-	-	-	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	**14**
Other	-	22	-	-	9	-	4	-	-	-	**35**
TOTAL:	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**1000**

Table 2 Motives on TripAdvisor travelers' photos

attractive and worth memorizing from their travel in the form of photos alongside more static island features such as rich architecture and beautiful beaches.

WHAT DO VISITORS PERCEIVE AS INTERESTING FEATURES OF CROATIAN ISLANDS?

Research by the Institute for Tourism (Tomas Ljeto 2010) has shown that the primary motives for visiting Croatia are passive vacation and relaxation, leisure, new experiences, gastronomy, and exploring natural beauties. Croatian islands attract visitors due to their intact, natural and harmonious environment, unique landscapes, and the pleasant Mediterranean climate. Croatian islands have an extremely valuable cultural heritage — there are 667 monuments significant enough to be officially protected as part of Croatian cultural heritage (Grgona, 2002). Every Croatian island has a unique and beautiful natural and cultural heritage. By looking at visitors' photos on TripAdvisor, we can see that they recognize and appreciate this heritage. The analyzed photos mostly included architecture as part of cultural heritage. For example, visitors shared photographs of the village of Lubenice on Cres; the Baška Glagolitic Path, the Krk Cathedral, and the Frankopan Castle on Krk; Splitska archaeological sites on Brač; the Fortress Fortica, and St. Stephen's Church on Hvar; intangible heritage — the Moreška on Korčula, the Dugi Otok Lighthouse, etc. Also, visitors shared photos of seaviews, beaches (e.g. Baška Beach on Krk or Zlatni rat on Brač), harbors (e.g. Cres Harbor, Starigrad Harbor on Hvar), and other sites of natural beauty (e.g. olive gardens on Pag, Vidova gora on Brač) that are worth to be photographed as part of natural heritage. The rich tourist offer includes distinctive gastronomy. The cuisine is very important for Croatian islands' tourist offer. Croatian food products, especially those produced in the coastal areas, have the potential to be an important part of Croatian tourism branding due to their traditional-production method (Vidučić, 2007). Therefore, it is no wonder that very common motifs of photos of Croatian islands are food and drinks. Most photos show the typical Mediterranean seafood plate. This is also due to the dominant habit of TripAdvisor users to grade and comment restaurants and housing, and due to restaurant owners' understanding of the advantages of using TripAdvisor.

However, much of the islands' intangible and tangible heritage (museums, religious events, etc.) did not appear in the TripAdvisor photo gallery. Also, only a few photos included motifs of active vacation and recreation: diving on Cres; wreck diving on Krk and Dugi Otok; water sports on Brač; sea excursions on Pag. It leaves us wondering whether Croatian islands lack tourist offer which includes sports and recreation facilities. Today, many visitors are not satisfied only with the sun and the sea. They also seek to engage in different active-recreation facilities (Grgona, 2002). So this aspect of tourist offer needs to be improved and enhanced, or made more visible on social media. For example, tourist institutions could share photos showing this aspect of tourist offer in order to attract visitors who use TripAdvisor for travel planning.

CONCLUSION

Recently, there has been a remarkable interest in the application of social media to the tourism domain. As we have mentioned, UGC has become an important factor of tourism success — it is a database that shows seasonal results of specific destinations and a virtual place where we can track development and difficulties. Tourism businesses need to set up mechanisms for monitoring the ongoing discussions about their service offer on various social media. Among them, TripAdvisor stands out the most in terms of usage and content. In order to describe what visitors perceive as interesting features of Croatian islands, we analyzed 1000 photos generated by TripAdvisor users. Photos mostly included motifs of food and drinks, architecture and beaches. The rarest were the photos that included the motifs of sports and recreation. In the end, the result of visitors' uploading of photos on TripAdvisor is a large digital collection of photos that remain a permanent trace of Croatian insular space.

However, the analysis was purely descriptive and qualitative, with no aim to make strong conclusions about tourism on Croatian islands. It showed that TripAdvisor can be a great source of various data for analysis. We focused only on photos, but there are also travelers' reviews, discussion forums and other available user-generated content. Further research should also take into account the characteristics of TripAdvisor users, because different ethnic, age and gender groups value more or less specific aspects of the tourist offer. Since the number of TripAdvisor users is rising, and other travel-related UGC websites are emerging, relevant institutions involved in tourism should care about the way in which the tourist offer is presented. Also, they could encourage visitors to generate content, and reward outstanding presentations and great photos of landmarks and island activities.

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Leon CAPPELLI, Miro BORIĆ

SUSTANAIBLE TOURISM AS THE FOUNDATION OF THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM SUPPLY: A CASE STUDY OF THE ISLAND OF LOŠINJ

Abstract

Changes in the geopolitical and economic environment and the rapid development of technology have caused an increase in the tourist market, and consequently the growth of the tourism industry as a whole. A higher number of visitors to specific tourist destinations has brought up a new issue which has been the subject of recent discussions - the negative impact of tourism on the environment, society and even the economy. The concept of sustainable tourism was created as a response to the potential negative effects the growing tourist market may have primarily on the environment and consequently on the longevity and sustainability of the tourist offer in tourist destinations. All the main definitions of sustainable tourism point to one conclusion: it is a form of tourism that can be maintained in a destination for an indefinite period of time. This paper explores and analyses sustainable tourism on the example of the island of Lošinj. This Croatian island, located in the northern Adriatic, has created a unique brand of itself, recognizable in the whole world by using long-term structural planning and in compliance with the local community. These efforts and the particularity of the approach to sustainable tourism on the island of Lošinj have been recognized by many tourist organizations and confirmed by many awards, including a 3rd place at the UNWTO Ulysses Award Competition for Innovation in Public Policy and Governance for the initiative "The Fragrances and Tastes of Lošinj."

Key words: *sustainable tourism, tourist-destination development, case study, Lošinj, Croatia*

INTRODUCTION

Tourism is a complicated, global, and growing phenomenon. The basic premise is that travel provides benefits, some for the traveler (who seeks personal benefits at a destination) and some for the destination host (who seeks personal benefits provided by the traveler). One of the substantial unifying concepts in the last three decades has been that of sustainable tourism (McCool&Bosak, 2016, p. 5).

This definition probably describes why tourism and, in consequence, travel occur in the first place. Travelers are always in search of new destinations to maximize their benefits, while hosts always try to enhance the quality of the tourist offer and, contemporarily, increase their own benefits. This trend and the seasonality of tourism on the

Croatian coast have created a lot of pressure on destinations and brought up the problem of the their sustainability. Sustainable development, and in consequence sustainable tourism, has the aim of minimizing the negative effects of tourism and travel on the environment and society and of providing the following generations of travellers with the opportunity to enjoy the destination.

The island of Lošinj, with the town of Mali Lošinj, may be considered one of the pioneers of sustainable tourism in Croatia. The decision to take the direction of sustainable development was taken in 2007 because of the seasonality of tourism, the increased growth of the tourist offer and the elevated pressure during the summer months. The main goal was, and still is, to protect the environment, increase the benefits for the travellers visiting the island, and to protect the local community and include the residents in the preservation of the destination. Aside from being a pioneer in sustainable tourism, Lošinj has a long history of health tourism. The health tourism tradition started all the way back in 1885 with the first visitors, such as Dr. Conrad Clar, and the decree of the Ministry of Health of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy proclaiming the island of Lošinj a climatic health resort in 1892.

A case study is a research technique with a comprehensive approach focused on events within a particular social content. A case study on the example of the island of Lošinj will help to better understand the attitudes of local communities on Croatian Islands towards sustainable tourism. In addition, it is necessary to say something about the limitations of this method. The mentioned limitations are related to the main features of the case study method and the problem of the generalization of the obtained results. Yin (2007) states that case studies may aim at generalization only when considering theoretical assumptions.

This paper is divided into four sections. The first part will explore the main definitions of sustainable tourism. The second and the third part will give a brief introduction to the Lošinj archipelago and Mali Lošinj, its biggest town, and explain the efforts taken and projects started to ensure the sustainability of the destination. The fourth and final section will present the main conclusion.

SUSTAINABLE TOURISM

The concept of sustainable development was created as an attempt to stop further expansion of the global environmental crisis and repair the damage that has already been done (Lay & Šimleša, 2011). There are many definitions of sustainable development, but basically, it is a development that ensures the preservation of the environment. Despite the fact that it is easier to implement environmental protection in the areas of low population, in most cases, local communities do not respond adequately to the mentioned issue (Šućur, 1992; Stanić, 2004; Mustapić, 2010).

The profound and rapid changes in the world in the past two decades have had a great influence on the global tourism market. Tourism has grown rapidly, and today it is one of the major sources of income for many countries all over the world. This growth was mainly caused by the advances in technology, a higher amount of disposable income, increased car ownership and the improvement and expansion of tourist destinations. Nowadays, “the business volume of tourism equals or even surpasses that of oil exports, food products or automobiles. This growth goes hand in hand with an increasing diversification and competition among destinations” (UNWTO, 2015).

The primary elements on which tourism and its growth depend are the environment and man-made resources, such as hotels and resorts. Consequently, changes in the environmental sphere, caused by the expansion of tourism, may have a negative impact on the growth of tourism, the local population and even the economy. The concept of sustainable tourism was created as an answer to the potential negative effects of mass tourism, where an extremely high number of visitors travel to a destination in a very limited period of time.

If there is a single factor that has the potential to change the nature of tourism more than any other, it is the introduction of the concept of “sustainable development”. Since the term appeared a decade ago, it has achieved worldwide recognition and a widespread, if superficial, acceptance (Butler, 2007, p. 8).

Sustainable tourism development meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future. It has been envisaged as leading to management of all resources in such a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems (Cernat and Gourdon, 2007, p. 3).

This definition provides a good understanding of the basic aim of the sustainable development of a certain destination: to protect the destination in three different aspects (economic, social and environmental) in order to ensure that future generations can have the same, or even better, opportunity to satisfy their tourist needs.

The UNWTO notes the three main goals of sustainable tourism: 1. Make optimal use of environmental resources that constitute a key element in tourism development, while maintaining essential ecological processes and helping to conserve natural heritage and biodiversity; 2. Respect the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities, conserve their built and living cultural heritage and traditional values, and contribute to inter-cultural understanding and tolerance; 3. Ensure viable, long-term economic operations, providing socio-economic benefits to all stakeholders that are fairly distributed, including stable employment and income-earning opportunities and social services to host communities, and contributing to poverty allocation (UNEP & UNWTO, 2005).

The three above-mentioned aspects are the key points of the definition of sustainable tourism given by the UN World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), where the need to preserve and sustain a tourist destination is not only viewed as way of protecting the environment, but also of protecting cultural heritage and fair economic distribution and opportunities. The best way to enhance the effectiveness of sustainable development is the education of both tourist and local residents, because in this way all the participants can make rational decisions and help preserve a destination. Unfortunately, education in and of itself is not always sufficient to guarantee tourists' increased awareness.

"The challenge then will become to develop a sense of personal responsibility for the impacts developed by taking a holiday. Such a development may sit comfortably with a desire for the government to empower citizens to make decisions rather than to correct problems once they have been manifested. One way in which personal responsibility can be enhanced and supported is through connecting people and overcoming the sense of disempowerment obvious from this research. This connection could be made by providing feedback at a local level about the effects of pro-environmental consumption decisions" (Moisander, 2007).

THE LOŠINJ ARCHIPELAGO

The Lošinj Archipelago is a group of islands that make up the western segment of Kvarner's islands. It contains several islands, some of which are inhabited — such as Lošinj, Unije, Vele and Male Srakane, Susak and Ilovik — and others are uninhabited — such as Orjule, Sv. Petar, Oruda and Palaciol. The island of Lošinj is the 11th largest island in the Adriatic Sea (33 km long) and has the biggest island town in the Adriatic with seven thousand inhabitants. The main characteristic of the archipelago is the richness of healing properties found in the seawater, flora, sand, first-class air quality and approximately 2,600 sunshine hours per year (Farčić, 2012). The combination of natural elements and its location contributed to the development of Mali Lošinj as an important maritime, commercial and tourist center.

Health tourism started to develop all the way back in January 1885, when the first tourists were registered on the island of Lošinj. During the same year, Dr. Conrad Clar came to the island with his sick son and was astonished by his rapid recovery. This positive experience motivated Dr. Clar to bring other patients and colleagues. The rise in popularity of the destination brought the need for a tourist board, which was founded in 1886, and a hotel, which was opened in 1887 under the name of Vindobona. All of this led to one of the most important moments in the island's history: the declaration of Mali and Veli Lošinj as health resorts by the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The first half of the 20th century saw several changes of goverment and a stagnation of tourism on the island, while in the second half of the century, the Jadranka Company was founded and a number of hotels were built. The development of Lošinj as a mass-tourism destination in the 21st century brought with it the need for the orientation towards the sustainable development of the destination, which started in 2007 (Cappelli et al., 2013).

The island has a favorable climate with 260 days of insolation, mild winters, hot summers, and ideal humidity. In addition, the quality of seawater is very high, there are several blue flag beaches and more than 200 km of footpaths. The island is covered by a thick pine forest and has high quality drinking water coming directly from the Vrana Lake. These factors, along with the geographical position, create a perfect aerosol (combination of plants and sea water).

THE ISLAND OF LOŠINJ AS AN EXAMPLE OF SUSTAINABLE TOURISM

In the last decade, the island of Lošinj has reached at least two million overnight stays every year, which places it among the leading tourist destinations in Croatia (Ministry of Tourism, 2016).

The island has an immense potential for further growth, not only because of its natural resources, diversified tourist offer and numerous investments, but also due to its local residents, who cooperate on a daily basis with local authorities in order to help them and improve the quality of the tourist offer on the island, which is also very important for the implementation of sustainable tourism. Even though the tourist offer has constantly expanded, it still mostly depends on the natural resources of the island. For this reason, the preservation of the natural resources is an absolute priority for the continuity of the tourist offer on the island and its further development in the future. In order to do so, the local authorities have launched different projects to protect the natural and cultural resources, which they developed in different areas in accordance with the goals of sustainable tourism, such as: waste, water and energy management, protection of biodiversity, traffic and noise management, the management of tourism development, education and upbringing management, equality-care management and the management of integrating the local economy and tourism.

To better understand the development of sustainable tourism on the island, we must observe several examples of projects launched in the last few years (Institute for Tourism, 2013). The first project was the Lošinj register of the quality of natural factors. This project was started as a mechanism for monitoring the quality of natural factors such as: climate, air and sea quality, biodiversity, and is the key for the future development of Lošinj and its brand: "Island of Vitality". This allows the local authorities to measure and monitor the impact of tourism on the environment, easily prove the high quality of the natural factors and strengthen the image of an environmentally friendly destination. Another important project is the "Blue Forest" of the Adriatic, with the goal of protecting and revitalizing the *posidonia oceanica* seagrass, endemic to the Mediterranean Sea. This seagrass has a higher primary production of oxygen than forests and is vital for the water habitat. The best ways to protect it is by taking care of the waste coming from boats, educating nautical tourists and ensuring *corpo morto* buoys, which would minimize the use of anchors and, consequently, reduce the destruction of the seabed.

The Lošinj Sea Education Center is an institution founded in 2003. in Veli Lošinj and dedicated to the research of dolphins and sea turtles on the islands of Lošinj and Vis. It concentrates its efforts on the education of students and is an interesting tourist attraction with approximately 60 thousand visitors per year. The plan is to transfer this institution to a location in the centre of Mali Lošinj in order to provide better conditions, better opportunities for education and easy access to a larger number of people. The improvement of the waste-management system is another crucial project for the sustainable development of the destination. At the moment, efforts are being made to increase the percentage of recycled waste, since the current waste management system does not match the modern ecological methods of waste management. By implementing this project, Lošinj is taking a turn towards one of its goals: the concept of Mali Lošinj as a town of zero waste. However, the waste-management system, the system for water saving and wastewater purification need to be renewed. The water from the Vrana lake is clean, and the amount of water in it is measured and constantly monitored. Wastewaters are disposed of in an appropriate manner with state of the art purification systems and there are no more "wild" wastewater disposals in the town centre and beaches. However, the future will bring the need to reduce water consumption because of the importance of drinking water for the island.

Lošinj, as an island, has a long tradition of health tourism, which started all the way back in 1885. When taking into consideration the health-tourism tradition, the climate, the natural factors and contemporary social trends (healthy life), it is evident that the potential is unquestionable. For these reasons, Lošinj should embrace the project of revitalization of health tourism in the archipelago, which would make tourist season longer. Another important project represents the improvement in the bathing-area management system. The aim is to reduce the pressure on beaches by creating new ones, and also to make them more diversified, i.e. to introduce, for example, wellness, sport, party, family or camp/hotel beaches. The "Green Architecture" initiative has the goal of minimizing the effect of building by using renewable energy sources, efficient energy systems, ecologically acceptable materials and efficient waste-disposal systems. Finally, the island of Lošinj needs to create a long-term master plan for the development of tourism until 2025. This plan must take into consideration the vision of Lošinj as an eco-friendly island. Such a plan would facilitate the management of the destination and its future vision, production portfolio and competitive position.

"Fragrances and Tastes of Lošinj" is a project created by the Tourist Board of Mali Lošinj and the Garden of Fine Scents. This project consists of events spread throughout the whole town and in many forms, such as displays, decorations and gastro menus. This year, the "Fragrances Months" were created within the project, where each month is dedicated to a local plant or herb. The project has been widely recognized and has received several awards, including a 3rd place at the UNWTO Ulysses Award Competition for Innovation in Public Policy and Governance.

ETIS (European Tourism Indicator System) is a system, initiated by the European Commission, that was created to encourage tourist destinations to adopt a more intelligent approach to tourism planning through the measurement of several indicators (there were 67 indicators at the beginning). It was created because of the need for measuring performance of tourist destinations in relation to sustainable development.

This system supports destinations that want to take the sustainable approach to destination management and is useful, both for policy makers and enterprises from the tourism sector, for collecting data and detailed information. It is a management tool, monitoring system and an information tool at once. As a recognition for the long-term commitment and work on improving the tourism offer, the island of Lošinj won the ETIS Economic Value Achiever Award on April 22, 2016 for the breadth and depth of insights gathered on sustainable tourism practices on the island, presented in an impressive set of 130 indicators.

CONCLUSION

In the recent decades, tourism has developed into one of the most lucrative and dynamic economic activities. Technological development, especially the development of transport and communications, as well as the growth of GDP in many countries, has enabled people to travel more and to distant destinations. It is understandable, therefore, that the tourism industry makes up about 11% of the world's GDP (UNWTO, 2015).

In addition, tourism is one of the most important economic areas in Croatia. Out of all the members of the EU, Croatia is the one that is the most dependent on tourism, since tourism generates 12.1% of its GDP (Podgornk, 2015).

The rapid development of tourism, which resulted in mass tourism, has had a big impact on the environment, and nature in general, in the whole world. Sustainable tourism represents a great way for avoiding the negative impact of tourism on the environment and life of the local population in tourist destinations. It should provide an answer to the question of how to meet the needs of current generations without compromising the needs of future generations.

The island of Lošinj has become a very important maritime and tourist centre due to its geographical location and natural factors. For this reason, it attracts a large number of visitors during tourist season (over 2 million overnight stays), which ranks it among the leading tourist destinations in Croatia. Lošinj has continuously tried to prolong the season so that visitors could enjoy the mild climate and diverse Mediterranean vegetation all year round. Therefore, it has based its development on the abundance of natural elements and health tourism, and launched health and vitality projects, all with the goal of creating a unique brand. The development of new projects and the expansion of the tourist offer would not be possible without the understanding, support and cooperation of the local government and local population.

The great efforts and projects taken up in order to turn Lošinj into the island of vitality have not gone unnoticed. In 2016, the island of Lošinj won the ETIS Economic Value Achiever Award. This award, initiated by the European Commission, was the best indicator and acknowledgement of the growth and development of sustainable tourism, not only in Croatia, but also in the entire European Union.

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HOW TO COMMUNICATE THE REFUGEE CRISIS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA? INTEGRATED COMMUNICATION AS A STRATEGY FOR INTEGRATED EUROPE

Abstract

In the second half of 2015, Croatia faced a new challenge — a great refugee wave from the Middle East. The influx of so many refugees has raised many sensitive issues and led to the questioning of the fundamental principles underlying the idea of solidarity of the European Union. The first countries to face the influx of large numbers of refugees were those in the Euro-Mediterranean region, and Croatia among them, and because of this they became a sort of a "hot spot". The suffering of thousands of refugees in the Mediterranean area, unfortunately, did not draw so much attention of politicians and the media, as the putting up of razor-wire fences on the borders did. The strategies with which the European countries affected by the refugee crisis deal with this problem deviate from the strategy of solidarity, and open doors to panic and the fear of terrorism, as well as to the fear for European cultural identity, which consequently leads to the strategy of closing the borders and setting up barbed wire. Since the beginning of the influx of refugees, Croatia has operated on a policy of an open door and has become a transit centre for refugees from the Middle East on their way to the developed countries of Europe. Neighbouring countries (Slovenia and Hungary) have opted for a strategy of strict border control, including barbed wire. The refugee crisis represents a major financial, logistic and security issue for the countries that are the refugees' final destination, but also for the transit countries. The Croatian public generally does not talk about this crisis in the context of all its aspects; only certain aspects of the crisis have been problematized. There has been no adequate official information/education campaign about refugees and the causes of this crisis. This paper emphasizes the importance of the integrated-communication strategy in the public communication of important social challenges, and outlines the crucial elements of information and education campaigns.

Key words: *refugees, crisis, Mediterranean, integrated-communication strategy, xenophobia, terrorism*

THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE REFUGEE CRISIS

On World Refugee Day, June 20, the Global Trends report for 2015 was released and it showed that, firstly, in 2015 conflict and persecution had caused "global forced displacement to escalate sharply, reaching the highest level ever recorded and representing immense human suffering”, and secondly, 65.3 million people had been displaced at the end of 2015, compared to 59.5 million just 12 months earlier (UNHCR 2016, p. 2). The reason for the dramatic rise of forced displacement was threefold: long lasting conflicts (Somalia or Afghanistan); occurrence of new or old conflicts and dramatic situations (for example, Syria, South Sudan, Yemen, Burundi, Ukraine, Central African Republic, etc.); and the rate at which refugees’ and internally displaced persons’ problems are dealt with “has been on a falling trend since the end of the Cold War.” The report also stated that three countries produced half the world's refugee migration: Syria — 4.9 million, Afghanistan — 2.7 million and Somalia — 1.1 million refugees (UNHCR 2016, p. 16). The wars in Syria and Iraq are major generators of external and internal migration, and refugees from these countries alone make up the majority contingent of those who seek safety in the EU. In addition to the 4.9 million refugees, Syria also has 6.6 million internally displaced persons. Some 593,000 refugees “from European countries”, mostly from Ukraine, must also be mentioned. The year 2015 was challenging for the European Union, while the refugee crisis dominantly attracted the attention of the world’s media. However, the Report shows that “the vast majority of the world's refugees were elsewhere” — 86% of refugees in 2015 were in the low and middle-income countries close to situations of conflict. Globally speaking, “Turkey remained the largest refugee-hosting country in the world” with the largest number of refugees, hosting as many as 2.5 million (UNHCR 2016, pp. 15-21).

The first countries to face the influx of the large number of refugees were the Mediterranean countries, which became a sort of a “hot spot”. According to UNHCR, 1,015,078 people reached Europe across the Mediterranean in 2015. These trends continued during 2016, but with a decline in the number of refugees. UNHCR latest figures show that in 2016, 284,473 people (29% children, 18% women, 53% men) reached Europe via the Mediterranean Sea, and as many as 3,169 persons were reported dead or missing.[1] Due to the fact that so many refugees reached the EU via the Mediterranean, the crisis can be considered as a Mediterranean crisis. This region is geographically, politically, economically, touristically, historically and culturally highly differentiated space imbued with multiple meanings (J. Szücs acc. to Giordiano, n.d., p. 1201), a kind of melting pot of cultures, and the refugee crisis complicated the already complex political, cultural and social relations in this area. This new situation affects the re-coding of the Mediterranean area, particularly of Italy and Greece, as evidenced by the current visual-media depictions of the consequences of the dramatic suffering of migrants. Only when the crisis spilled over from the south into the north of Europe has this problem been detected as an urgent European issue.

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[1] UNHCR (n.d.). Refugees/Migrants Emergency Response — Mediterranean, http://data.unhcr.org/mediterranean/regional.php

"UNITED IN DIVERSITY?" CRISIS OF MULTICULTURALISM AND THE SECURITIZATION OF MIGRATION

The motto of the European Union since 2000 has been "United in diversity". This means that the goal of the EU is the integration of all Europeans in the EU, a community of peace and prosperity, which is at the same time enriched with the diversity of its cultures, traditions and languages.[2] This motto clearly shows that the idea of a multicultural Europe was implied in the European political and social context. However, the implementation of the "United in diversity" concept, revealed its big flaws in practice. One could conclude, particularly from the statements of the most powerful European politicians like David Cameron and Angela Merkel in 2010, that the concept of a multicultural Europe was at risk, while the events in France during that year only confirmed the staggering of multiculturalism (eg. the law which banned women from wearing the burqa in public places or the deportation of the Roma from France to Romania).

The crisis escalated in 2015, when a large refugee/migrant wave from the Middle East arrived at Europe's doorstep, while in public space xenophobic/Islamophobic messages grew louder and the stereotyped image of immigrants and asylum seekers as terrorists, criminals and threats to national and cultural identity, security and prosperity grew more and more visible (Huysmans, 2000; Tatalović & Malnar, 2015). Some European countries (Hungary, Slovenia), as well as a part of the Mediterranean countries (Italy, Greece, Spain), have officially, partially or dominantly, advocated (or even implemented) securitization — a model that is completely opposed to multiculturalism (Balzacq acc. to Kalandrin, 2013, p. 16). In the context of the refugee crisis, securization is interpreted as a kind of security segregation that prevents the entry and integration (of refugees) (Tatalović & Malnar, 2015, pp. 23-29). The recent "refugee-migrant crisis" is in many ways specific and differs from the officially proclaimed values of the EU, and according to Esterajher (2015, p. 21) is characterized by a "weaker solidarity of European countries", permanent "possibility of closing borders", "disagreements of countries along the transit route", "different standpoints within the transit and destination countries", limitations of "opportunities for immigrant integration", "the rise of xenophobia in host countries", "growing impatience of refugees and migrants to reach their final destination as soon as possible", hostility and conflicts between "different ethnic groups among refugees and migrants", etc. In the media landscape, the communication of the migrant/refugee crisis is also strongly ideologically, as well as in the sense of worldviews, polarized. The media's negative presentation and communication of the crisis was characterized as "hate speech", "falling standards" (lack of "detailed and reliable information about the refugee crisis" and "in-depth and sensitive reporting") and

[2] Europska unija (n.d.). Moto EU-a, https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/symbols/motto_hr

“sensationalism” (Greenslade, 2015; White, 2015). All of this contributed to the deepening of the already present social and political divisions.

We can expect that the strategy of many European countries towards refugees will be reduced to securitization. It is also possible that Croatia will apply the model of securitization in the near future[3]. But the question remains whether securitization truly is a strategy with which it is possible to solve the problem of not only the ongoing migrant/refugee crisis, but also of the clearly expressed tensions between the majority nations and minority groups, regardless of whether they are religious, national, ethnic, racial or other minorities. Tatalović and Malnar (2015, p. 28) advocate the strategy of desecuritization, and claim that “to effectively manage migrations, despite their impact on political, economic or social security, desecuritization of migrations is required as well as their translation into the political sphere. This opens up the space not only for solving the refugee and migrant crisis but also for resolving it in accordance with democratic standards.” Translation of the refugee crisis from the military and security issues in the political context requires, first of all, a good communications strategy aimed at eliminating prejudice and suppressing the fear of the unknown, informing EU citizens of the causes that led to the refugee crisis and the tragedy of people who have been affected by the crisis.

IMPORTANCE OF COMMUNICATION IN CRISIS MANAGEMENT

In scientific literature, it is possible to find different definitions of the term “crisis” — it is “an unusual” or “unpredictable”, even threatening “real or perceived” event that generates potentially negative outcomes (McKendree, 2016, p. 130). Many authors will agree that the refugee-migrant wave has all the characteristics of a crisis in the segment of social stability, security and economy, and it is a financial and logistical challenge for every country. However, every crisis can be an opportunity for a potential “new beginning”, according to Tomić and Milas (2007, p. 138). In order to implement “a new beginning”, organizations need to be proactive and prepared. Although crisis communication has its limitations, the indisputable fact is that it can make “instructions to act as a framework for a strategy” (Kunczik, 2006, p. 177). Why that has not been done by the EU in managing the refugee crisis is an issue that requires comprehensive scientific research.

Renate van der Zee (2016), a journalist and researcher on the refugee crisis, refers to it as “an information crisis” by focusing on the rumours and lies that are spread within the migrant-refugee population (for example, “in Europe you won't need money, everything is free”) that could adversely affect the decisions of individuals, encourage

[3] See Kovač: Ako bude potrebno, Hrvatska diže žicu, (Kovač: If necessary, Croatia raises wire), Al Jazeera Balkans, 1 September 2016, http://balkans.aljazeera.net/vijesti/kovac-ako-bude-potrebno-hrvatska-dize-zicu

them to take risky journeys, and intensify stress and uncertainty. Information crisis in terms of the lack of a strategy of crisis management is evident also at the administrative level of the EU. For example, in the European Agenda on Migration, there is no mention of the crisis communication, although this is an important tool for managing any crisis.[4]

INTEGRATED COMMUNICATION AND THE REFUGEE CRISIS

Considering its geopolitical security aspect, the number of refugees-migrants, the number of crisis-affected countries, its humanitarian aspect, the finances and logistics and the social tensions it has caused, the refugee crisis that erupted in 2015 was definitely a serious crisis and as such demanded adequate crisis communication as a way to resolve it (Aiyar et al., 2016).

Crisis communication is one of the communication tools that should be integrated into the wider picture of crisis management. Communication is a tool or an instrument for achieving the objective/s of organisation. According to the motto of the EU, an integrated Europe of peace and prosperity is the main idea or objective of the EU and is consequently logical to expect that the overall EU communication should be in the function of achieving this goal. Given the fact that the motto/political objective of the EU since 2000 has been integration, and that integrated communication has had an increasing significance in all communication since the early 1990s, and also in political communication after the integrated presidential campaign of Barack Obama in 2008, it can be expected that the EU will express its commitment to an integrated Europe also through integrated political communication. The main features of integrated communication are: 1) integration and the planned/strategic use of communication tools in order to achieve the goal of communication and synergy of communication; 2) integration of the targeted public into communication activities of the organization which is impossible without two-way communication. Without planning, without a clearly defined objective, there is no integrated communication. Groom defines integrated communication as "an approach for navigating change and ambiguity to build strong communication plans" (acc. McKendree, 2016, p. 132). McKendree points out that it is about approach based on the assumption that the "communications must adopt and change as environment changes" and therefore are especially appropriate for the planning, development and implementation of "changing crisis scenarios" where the crucial factors are not only communication and the coordination of government and service organizations (McKendree, 2016, p. 132), but also the integration of all communication activities and targeted public of organization in its activities. This, of course can-

[4] European Commission (2015). Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. A European Agenda on Migration, http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/docs/communication_on_the_european_agenda_on_migration_en.pdf

not be achieved without the strategic planning of all communication activities in order to maximize communication results with the help of minimum investment. The strategic approach to communication creates conditions for synergy that is a central phenomenon of successful integrated communication. If the aim of the EU is an integrated and multicultural EU, then the EU should have responded to the refugee crisis with adequate crisis communication which should have been directed towards achieving the main goal — the integrated Europe of peace and prosperity. In order to manage crisis situations as efficiently as possible, it is necessary to include integrated-communication tools.

The refugee crisis was not communicated to the public in a comprehensive and integrated way at the EU and national levels. This was done in a partially unplanned and uncontrolled manner, with occasional elements of panic, where there was no attempt of integration of the public concerned (EU citizens, refugees/migrants, asylum seekers, asylees), i.e. there was no attempt of solving the problem through good communication. Also, all the communication channels were not used to facilitate mutual cultural introduction, and in this way to spread the message of understanding. In cases such as a large refugee crisis, the obligation of every responsible government is the implementation of good education and public campaigns aimed at the integration of refugees into the society in which they are located. This requires the establishment of a fully open two-way communication system which encompasses communication both between the government and the local population, as well as between the government and refugees/migrants/asylum seekers/asylees. Only systematic implementation can lead to a synergy in communication and understanding between the domicile population and refugees/migrants/asylum asylum/asylees, and in this area an important role is played by the civil sector (local and international NGOs).[5] Otherwise, social tensions arise, minority groups such as refugees/migrants/asylum seekers/asylees voluntarily separate themselves, and the domestic population's opinions vary between the requirements for full segregation, on the one hand, or complete assimilation, on the other.

CONCLUSION: INTEGRATED COMMUNICATION FOR INTEGRATED EUROPE

Given all the changes that have affected society in the 21st century — a great migration of population due to war, economic or climate reasons which lead to the creation of *melting pots* in the global terms; globalization that makes multinational companies economically more powerful, and some of them become even politically stronger than many countries; the emergence of new communication strategies that aim at the syn-

[5] See UNHCR Innovation (http://innovation.unhcr.org/about-us/), Valentina Duque (2014). Integrated communications strategy: a collaborative experience in Costa Rica, UNHCR/Innovation, http://innovation.unhcr.org/integrated-communications-strategy-a-collaborative-experience-in-costa-rica/.

ergy and integration of all forms of communication and targeted public into communication activities of the organization; information technology that enables digital communications which turns the whole world into a global village — today we can conclude that the idea of integration (cultural, economic, technological, communication) will define the society of the 21st century. It is a process that cannot be stopped, but we should be aware of it and adapt our actions to this process.

A well-set integrated-communication strategy which will aim at the integration of refugees into European society and its highly controlled implementation is therefore a key instrument in establishing stable society in the long run, as well as a modern, liberal state. Integrated Europe means living in society where everyone is entitled to being different, but this diversity is not valorized in either a negative, or a positive way. Theory, as well as the practice of applied science, has given an elaborated methodology on how to implement this strategy. It only takes the political will to do so.

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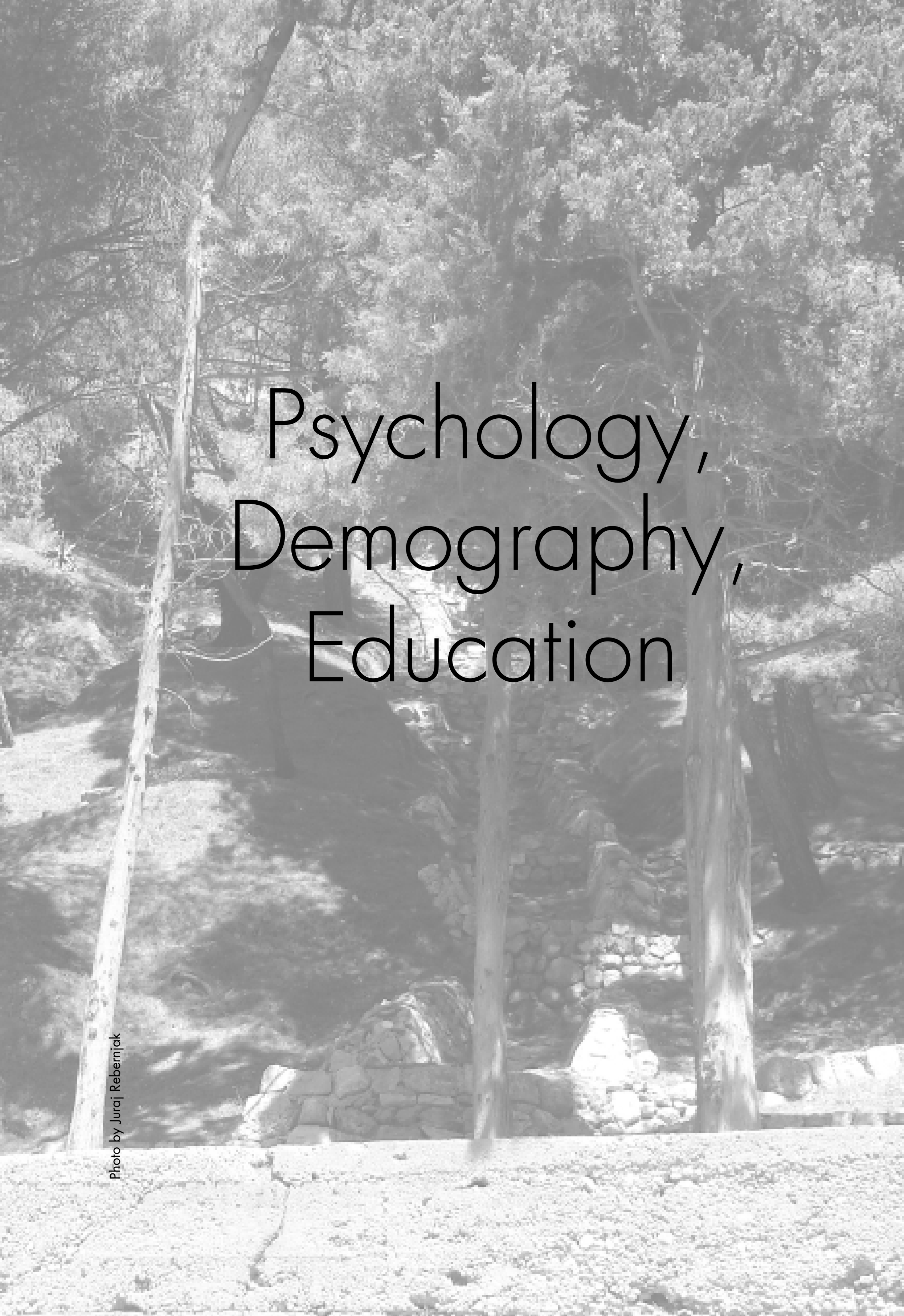

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SUBJECTIVE WELL-BEING IN CROATIA: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE ADRIATIC COAST AND THE CONTINENT

Abstract

The scientific interest in exploring an individual's well-being and its determinants is rising around the world. Many researchers nowadays use well-being indicators together with economic ones as measures of local, regional and/or national efficiency. In this research, we compared several well-being measures (happiness, life satisfaction, satisfaction with life domains) between people living on the Adriatic coast and those living in the continental parts of Croatia. Our aim was to examine the differences in well-being that could, after controlling for socio-demographic characteristics, be attributed to the specific geo-climate locality. The research was based on the results of two surveys conducted on representative samples of Croatian citizens assessed in two consecutive years, 2015 and 2016. The respondents were divided into two subsamples, the coastal and inland group, with respect to the location of their permanent residence. The sample from 2015 had a total of 1000 respondents (N_{inland}=807; $N_{coastal}$=183), and the sample from 2016 had a total of 750 respondents (N_{inland}=608; $N_{coastal}$=142). Socio-demographic characteristics such as age, education and income were controlled for in the analyses in order to make subsamples of participants comparable in this respect. Results showed that there were differences in subjective well-being between people living on the coast and those living on the continent in 2015, with residents of coastal areas having a higher well-being than those living in the continent. However, in 2016 no significant differences in subjective well-being were found between the two groups of citizens after controlling for socio-demographic characteristics.

Key words: *subjective well-being, happiness, life satisfaction, domain satisfaction, Adriatic coast*

INTRODUCTION

The scientific interest in exploring individuals', as well as nations', well-being and its determinants is rising around the world. The field of research that traditionally belonged to psychology has nowadays become a point of interest for researchers in various disciplines of social sciences, especially in economics. One of the most prominent researchers in the field, Ed Diener, estimated that the number of new scientific articles on subjective well-being has grown in the past 25 years from about 130 per year in 1980 to more than 1,000 per month in 2013 (Diener, 2013). This growing interest in research can be partly attributed to the interest of policy makers in this area. Subjective well-being is increasingly considered a proper measure of social progress and a goal of public policy (Hallivell, Layard, & Sachs, 2015). International organizations such as the European Commission, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the Organisation of the Islamic Conference, the United Nations (UN), the UN Development Programme and the World Bank recognised "the need to undertake the measurement of societal progress in every country, going beyond conventional economic measures such as GDP per capita" (OECD, 2007).

Subjective well-being constitutes the level of well-being experienced by people according to their own subjective evaluations of their lives. These evaluations include cognitive judgments about life satisfaction, affective reactions to life events, interest and engagement, and satisfaction with specific domains such as relationships, health, recreation, and meaning and purpose (Diener, Oishi, & Ryan, 2013). Terms such as *happiness*, *life satisfaction* and *quality of life* are sometimes used interchangeably, but in scientific literature they represent different concepts. Diener (2006) defined subjective well-being as "an umbrella term for the different evaluations people make regarding their lives, the events happening to them, and the circumstances in which they live." Happiness represents the affective and life satisfaction represents the cognitive component of such subjective evaluations. Quality of life, according to the author, refers to the "degree to which a person's life is desirable versus undesirable, often with an emphasis on external components," and describes the circumstances of a person's life rather than his or her reaction to those circumstances (Diener, 2006).

These rich sources of data nowadays allowing comparisons in subjective well-being across countries or different population groups. The main reason for wanting to compare subjective well-being across countries is to gain insight into the societal conditions that matter for people's well-being (Exton, Smith, & Vandendriessche, 2015). Europe is especially rich with such surveys that are conducted regularly, allowing the monitoring of trends in subjective well-being in European countries: the European Values Study, the Eurobarometer, the European Community Household Panel study, the European Quality of Life Survey and the European Social Survey (for detailed review of these surveys see Noll, 2008).

Croatia is included in several of these surveys: in the Eurobarometer since 2013, when it became an EU member state, in the European Quality of Life Survey since 2007, in several waves of the European Values Study, as well as in the European Social Survey. These surveys allow comparisons between Croatia and other EU countries. However, comparisons of subjective well-being indices within Croatia, between different regions or counties, are missing. The only large survey conducted with the aim to compare quality of life and subjective well-being between Croatia's 21 counties was conducted in 2006 by the UNDP Croatia (UNDP, 2006). According to that survey, conducted on a representative sample of N=8,534 Croatian citizens (about N=400 per county), the most satisfied with their lives and the happiest were the citizens of the Split-Dalmatia County and Istria County, both counties belonging to the coastal area of Croatia.

The aim of this study was to compare several well-being indices (happiness, life satisfaction, satisfaction with life domains) between people living on the Adriatic coast and those living in the continental parts of Croatia. We examined the differences in subjective well-being assessed in two consecutive years (2015 and 2016) that could, after controlling for socio-demographic characteristics, be attributed to the specific geo-climate locality.

METHODS

Respondents

The research was based on the results of two representative samples of Croatian citizens assessed in two consecutive years — 2015 and 2016. The respondents were adult Croatian citizens within the age range from 18 to 88 in both samples, equally distributed by gender (52% of female respondents in 2015, and 52.7% of female respondents in 2016), and with a similar average age of respondents (M_{2015}=47.7 years; M_{2016}=48.4 years). For the purpose of this research, the respondents were divided into two subsamples, the coastal and inland groups, with respect to the location of their permanent residence. The sample from 2015 had a total of 1,000 respondents (N_{inland}=807; N_{costal}=183), and sample from 2016 had a total of 750 respondents (N_{inland}=608; N_{costal}=142).

Procedure

Data were collected within a larger research project that is Pilar's barometer of Croatian society (2015; 2016), conducted annually by the Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar. The field surveys were conducted between March and May of 2015, and between April and May of 2016, on representative samples of adult Croatian citizens. A multistage, proportionally stratified sampling procedure was applied, with randomly selected units within each stratum. The selection of settlements and number of sample points depended on their share in the strata. Households in each sample point were selected by a systematic random procedure, while the selection of respondents within households was made using the first birthday method. The questionnaire was applied by the interviewer by a face-to-face procedure in the respondents' household. The refusal rates were 26.1%, in 2015, and 36.5% in 2016. It caused a slight difference in the structure of the realised samples and the population parameters only by the level of education, which was adjusted by weighting the results.

Measures

Happiness, life satisfaction and satisfaction with several life domains were used as measures of subjective well-being.

Overall happiness was measured by the question "In general, how happy do you feel?" which participants rated on the 11-point end-defined scale ranging from 0 as "not at all happy" to 10 as "extremely happy". The measure was adapted from the Fordyce Happiness Scale (Fordyce, 1988).

Life satisfaction was measured by the question: "All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole nowadays?" which participants rated on the 11-

point end-defined scale ranging from 0 as "not at all satisfied" to 10 as "extremely satisfied". The one-item measure was acquired from the European Social Survey Well-being module (Huppert et al., 2009) which was originally adapted from the Life-satisfaction scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985).

For the measurement of satisfaction with life domains, the internationally developed Personal Well-Being Index (PWI, International Wellbeing Group, 2013) was adapted. The PWI captures satisfaction within seven life domains: standard of living, health, achieving in life, relationships, safety, community-connectedness, and future security. Participants rate how satisfied they are with each domain on the 11-point end-defined scale, from 0 "no satisfaction at all" to 10 "completely satisfied". The Cronbach alpha of PWI lies between .70 and .85 in different cultures and samples. Inter-domain correlations are often moderate at around .30 to .55. The index has also demonstrated good test-retest reliability with an intra-class correlation coefficient of .84 (Lau and Cummins, 2005). It also demonstrated favourable psychometric properties in our previous research (Kaliterna & Prizmic-Larsen, 2014).

Beside the SWB measures, we used different socio-economic characteristics for controlling for possible group differences in relevant variables. We analysed the age and the gender of respondents, their education level (scale: 1 Up to primary school; 2 Two or three-year high school; 3 Four-year high school; 4 College, university degree; 5 Doctoral degree), income per household member (scale: from 1 to 8 representing equal-interval categories of income in HRK), and urbanization level of residence (scale: 1 Village; 2 Town; 3 City).

DATA ANALYSES

To test a direct link between group differences in several SWB measures, the Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) was applied. Next, the group difference in SWB measures was retested after controlling for socio-economic variables by the Multivariate Analysis of Covariance (MANCOVA). All analyses were performed separately for 2015 and 2016 data, and represented comparatively. Data analyses were conducted by the statistical program IBM SPSS 23.0.

RESULTS

The Multivariate Analysis of Variance showed significant differences in subjective well-being between Croatian citizens living in coastal and inland areas (Table 1), both in 2015 and in 2016. However, those differences were small, reaching up to 5% of SWB variance accounted for regional differences in 2016 and up to 2% in 2016 (partial eta squares for multivariate tests).

The most pronounced univariate difference in SWB in 2015 was in satisfaction with health ($F=24.03$, $p=.00$, $\eta^2=.03$), followed by a difference in satisfaction in achieving goals in life ($F=23.06$, $p=.00$, $\eta^2=.02$) goals, and a difference in overall happiness ($F=19.22$, $p=.00$, $\eta^2=.02$). All differences found in 2015 between citizens in coastal and

Table 1 Differences in subjective well-being between residents of coastal and inland Croatia in 2015 and 2016 (N_{2015_C}=180, N_{2015_I}=755; N_{2016_C}=132, N_{2106_I}=560).

		2015					2016				
		M	*SD*	*F*	*p*	η^2	*M*	*SD*	*F*	*p*	η^2
Global Life Satisfaction	Coastal	6.92	1.99	3.06	.08	.00	6.89	2.34	2.33	.13	.00
	Inland	6.60	2.24				6.56	2.14			
Happiness	Coastal	7.65	1.85	19.22	.00	.02	7.35	2.22	4.74	.03	.01
	Inland	6.86	2.24				6.89	2.16			
Standard of living	Coastal	5.65	2.30	4.97	.03	.01	5.45	2.48	0.00	1.00	.00
	Inland	5.21	2.43				5.45	2.33			
Health	Coastal	7.47	2.11	24.03	.00	.03	6.93	2.45	1.11	.29	.00
	Inland	6.44	2.63				6.68	2.51			
Achieving in life	Coastal	7.05	2.07	23.06	.00	.02	6.52	2.53	.72	.40	.00
	Inland	6.12	2.40				6.33	2.32			
Relationships	Coastal	7.89	1.91	6.62	.01	.01	7.08	2.25	.10	.75	.00
	Inland	7.43	2.21				7.14	2.13			
Safety	Coastal	7.19	2.15	10.17	.00	.01	6.58	2.49	.08	.77	.00
	Inland	6.54	2.52				6.64	2.44			
Community-connectedness	Coastal	7.49	2.22	6.27	.01	.01	6.62	2.59	2.10	.15	.00
	Inland	7.00	2.40				6.97	2.43			
Future security	Coastal	6.38	2.38	12.64	.00	.01	5.66	2.85	.34	.56	.00
	Inland	5.61	2.66				5.51	2.59			

* Multivariate test for regional differences (2015 data): *Wilks' Lambda* $\Lambda = .95$; $F_{9,\,925} = 5.72$; $p=.00$; $\eta^2=.05$

* Multivariate test for regional differences (2016 data): *Wilks' Lambda* $\Lambda = .98$; $F_{9,\,682} = 1.73$; $p=.08$; $\eta^2=.02$

inland areas of Croatia pointed to a higher degree of subjective well-being in coastal areas. The differences between groups in the 2016 data were much smaller and mostly insignificant. The only significant difference ($p<.05$) was related to the level of happiness ($F=4.74$, $p=.03$, $\eta^2=.01$) indicating a slightly higher level of happiness in citizens in coastal areas. However, both in 2015 and 2016, there were no differences in life satisfaction reported by the citizens of coastal and inland areas ($F=3.06$, $p=.08$, $\eta^2=.00$; $F=2.33$, $p=.13$, $\eta^2=.00$, respectively).

To be able to attribute inland-coastal differences more firmly to specific geo-cultural and regional factors, other relevant variables related to SWB were controlled for. MANCOVA controlling for covariates of gender, age, gender, income, education level and urbanization level was performed to test the regional differences on SWB. By doing that, the "pure" regional effect when other relevant explanatory variables were kept constant was tested. First, the effects of covariates in the MANCOVA model were tested (Table 2).

Table 2 Multivariate effects of covariates on relation between regional belonging (coastal-inland) and subjective well-being

	2015				2016			
	Wilks Λ	F	p	η^2	Wilks Λ	F	p	η^2
Gender	.98	2.48	.01	.02	.98	1.40	.19	0.02
Age	.89	11.86	.00	.11	.84	13.96	.00	0.16
Education level	.97	3.08	.00	.03	.98	1.43	.17	0.02
Income	.91	10.05	.00	.09	.90	8.32	.00	0.10
Urbanization level	.98	2.39	.01	.02	.98	1.64	.10	0.02

Only a few socio-demographic controlling variables had substantial effect in relation between regional belonging and subjective well-being (Table 2). Both in 2015 and 2016, the age of respondents and their income made a substantial difference between residents of inland and coastal Croatia (For age: $\Lambda = .89$, $F_{9,\,881}= 11.86$, $p=.00$, $\eta^2=.11$; $\Lambda = .89$, $F_{9,\,658}= 13.96$; $p=.00$, $\eta^2=.16$, respectively; For income: $\Lambda = .91$, $F_{9,\,881}= 10.05$, $p=.00$, $\eta^2=.09$; $\Lambda = .90$, $F_{9,\,658}= 8.32$, $p=.00$, $\eta^2=.10$, respectively). An insight into the age of respondents in the samples revealed that respondents living in coastal areas were significantly younger in both research rounds ($M_{age\_C\_2015}=43.71$; $M_{age\_I\_2015}=48.87$ and $M_{age\_C\_2016}=44.16$; $M_{age\_I\_2016}=49.42$). The observed differences in income were in favour of coastal residents in both years of research ($M_{income\_C\_2015}=5.51$; $M_{income\_I\_2015}=4.84$ and $M_{income\_C\_2016}=5.69$; $M_{income\_I\_2016}=4.84$). It can be concluded that respondents from coastal areas were significantly and substantially younger and had a higher income compared to those living in the continental part of Croatia. By taking into account and controlling for observed socio-demographic differences, the "pure" effect of region of residence on subjective well-being was examined by the MANCOVA model presented in Table 3.

Table 3 Difference in subjective well-being between residents of coastal and inland Croatia in 2015 and 2016 after controlling for socio-economic differences (N_{2015_C}=167, N_{2015_I}=729; N_{2016_C}=129, N_{2106_I}=544).

		2015					2016				
		M	*SD*	*F*	*p*	η^2	*M*	*SD*	*F*	*p*	η^2
Global Life Satisfaction	Coastal	6.92	1.99	3.06	.08	.00	6.89	2.34	2.33	.13	.00
	Inland	6.60	2.24				6.56	2.14			
Happiness	Coastal	7.65	1.85	19.22	.00	.02	7.35	2.22	4.74	.03	.01
	Inland	6.86	2.24				6.89	2.16			
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	Inland	5.21	2.43				5.45	2.33			
Health	Coastal	7.47	2.11	24.03	.00	.03	6.93	2.45	1.11	.29	.00
	Inland	6.44	2.63				6.68	2.51			
Achieving in life	Coastal	7.05	2.07	23.06	.00	.02	6.52	2.53	.72	.40	.00
	Inland	6.12	2.40				6.33	2.32			
Relationships	Coastal	7.89	1.91	6.62	.01	.01	7.08	2.25	.10	.75	.00
	Inland	7.43	2.21				7.14	2.13			
Safety	Coastal	7.19	2.15	10.17	.00	.01	6.58	2.49	.08	.77	.00
	Inland	6.54	2.52				6.64	2.44			
Community-connectedness	Coastal	7.49	2.22	6.27	.01	.01	6.62	2.59	2.10	.15	.00
	Inland	7.00	2.40				6.97	2.43			
Future security	Coastal	6.38	2.38	12.64	.00	.01	5.66	2.85	.34	.56	.00
	Inland	5.61	2.66				5.51	2.59			

* Multivariate test for regional differences (2015 data): *Wilks' Lambda* $\Lambda = .96$; $F_{9,\,881} = 3.63$; $p=.00$; $\eta^2=.04$

* Multivariate test for regional differences (2016 data): *Wilks' Lambda* $\Lambda = .98$; $F_{9,\,658} = 1.32$; $p=.22$; $\eta^2=.02$

After controlling for socio-demographic variables, the differences in subjective well-being measures between inland and coastal residents persisted for 2015 data, although with a smaller effect (*Λ=.96; F9, 881=3.63; p=.00; η^2=.04*). The major univariate effects, after controlling for covariates, were found for satisfaction with achieving goals in life, happiness, and satisfaction with future security (F=10.72, p=.00, η^2=.01; F=9.18, p=.00, η^2=.01; F=8.90, p=.00,η^2=.01, respectively). It indicates that residents of coastal areas were more satisfied with their achievements in life, more optimistic about the future and generally happier than residents of continental Croatia, and it is not because they were younger, richer or better educated. Smaller but similar effects were found for satisfaction with health, safety and community-connectedness as well. However, these effects did not persist in the 2016 data. In 2016, the small differences in SWB observed in direct means comparison (Table 1) become insignificant after controlling for covariates (*Λ=.98; $F_{9, 658}$= 1.32; p=.22; η^2=.02*). It can be concluded that in 2016, the levels of subjective well-being were quite similar for residents living in coastal and inland Croatia after controlling for socio-demographic characteristics.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

People intuitively believe that living on the Mediterranean coast will produce a better quality of life and a better subjective well-being than living in the continental parts. Analysing the preferences of European households for particular climates, Murray, Madison and Rehdanz (2011) found that households strongly prefer the climate of the Mediterranean to that of Northern Europe, because of more sunshine and lower relative humidity. However, as the title of a famous book by Milan Kundera says — life is elsewhere. According to the World Happiness Report, the happiest people in the world live in Northern Europe (Helliwell, Layard, & Sachs, 2016). By ranking 157 countries from 2013 to 2015, this report shows that the five happiest countries in the world are Denmark, Switzerland, Iceland, Norway and Finland, while Mediterranean European countries hold ranks between 30 for Malta and 99 for Greece. Obviously, among the various determinants of happiness and subjective well-being, climate is not very important.

The results of this study support that notion. Although the survey conducted in 2015 showed that, after controlling for socio-demographic characteristics, residents of Croatian coastal areas exhibited higher levels of subjective well-being, a year later, in 2016, we found no significant difference in any of the subjective well-being measures between residents of coastal and inland areas. Since both surveys were conducted in the exact same manner, this inconsistency in results cannot be attributed to methodological issues. These results do not allow us to make strong conclusions about the subjective well-being of residents of coastal areas in comparison to those living in other parts of Croatia, but to point to the importance of regularly monitoring subjective well-being in Croatia, especially by focusing on regional differences. The mentioned UNDP survey conducted in 2006, which compared subjective well-being between Croatia's 21 counties, showed highest life satisfaction in two counties belonging to the Adriatic coast (Split-Dalmatia County and Istria County). However, other "coastal" counties did not show such high subjective well-being at that time (UNDP, 2006). It is obvious that in the given socio-economic situation in Croatia, there are other factors influencing the subjective well-being of Croatian citizens than geo-climate locality. Hellivell et al. (2016) argue that "three-quarters of the differences among countries, and also among regions, are accounted for by differences in six key variables: GDP per capita, healthy years of life expectancy, social support (as measured by having someone to count on in times of trouble), trust (as measured by the perceived absence of corruption in government and business), perceived freedom to make life decisions, and generosity (as measured by recent donations). Differences in social support, incomes and healthy life expectancy are the three most important factors." Therefore, in future research of the subjective well-being of Croatian citizens, these factors should be taken into account.

There is a growing field of research on subnational/regional differences in subjective well-being (Brezzi & Diaz Ramirez, 2016). Data on disparities among and within regions might capture the well-being of groups of people more accurately than national data do, especially when these groups are not distributed evenly across space (OECD, 2016). It is obvious that such surveys are needed in Croatia, especially now that the country is undergoing substantial reforms in many public sectors. Only regular monitoring at certain points in time can yield a clear picture of the impact of social change on people's perceptions and experience (Kim-Prieto et al. 2005).

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NATIONAL STEREOTYPES ABOUT TOURISTS IN CROATIA

Abstract

National stereotypes are generalized sets of beliefs about certain nations, often rigid, simplified and based on a small amount of information. Like other kinds of attitudes, stereotypes are formed on the basis of direct and indirect experiences. Direct experience with tourists of different nationalities can create different beliefs and behaviours towards tourists, based on those that are commonly present. Indirect experience includes stereotyping on the basis of other people's experiences — family, friends and the media. Attitudes generally make mental readiness to treat a particular object of an attitude (or a member of a particular nation) in a certain way, and it is therefore important to study them in the context of tourism.

This paper examines the sources and content of national stereotypes about nine nations that usually visit Croatia. An anonymous questionnaire was completed by two samples of respondents — 169 tourism professionals (with direct experience with tourists) and 318 students (as a population with mostly indirect experience with tourists). Compared to non-professional participants, tourism professionals showed less negative and less intense national stereotypes. Results also show that participants neglect the influence of the media on the formation of attitudes, suggesting that the sources of stereotypes can be unconscious as stereotypical thinking and reacting itself.

Key words: *national stereotypes, stereotypes sources, attitudes, tourism professionals, questionnaire*

INTRODUCTION

Stereotypes are positive or negative generalizations "about a group of people, in which identical characteristics are assigned to virtually all members of the group, regardless of actual variation among the members" (Aronson, 2013, p. 363). The construct itself mostly refers to characteristics attributed on the basis of national, ethnic, or gender group membership (Schneider, 2004). Stereotypes can be divided into two categories: heterostereotypes, as perceptions about the members of other groups, and autostereotypes, as perceptions about an individual's own group (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2004). We are prone to see members of out-groups as more similar to one another (out-group homogeneity), which can lead to prejudice, often accompanied by behavioural hostility. On the other hand, we often show positive bias toward our in-group members, unless they are seen as poor performers or an embarrassment for the group (Schneider, 2004; Aronson, 2013).

Stereotypes are acquired through both direct and indirect experiences, which determine their content and intensity. Direct contact and communication can increase the use of stereotypes, but stereotypes acquired secondhand tend to be more extreme and homogeneous than those based on direct experience (Thompson, Judd, & Park, 2000). Several cultural agents were identified as the sources of stereotypes and prejudice: parents, peers, school and other institutions, and, of course, the powerful influence of the media (Schneider, 2004). Additional determinants of stereotypes can be external (such as political and social climate, economic conditions) and personal mediating (such as a person's values, attitudes, personality, motivations, and cognitive styles) (Bar-Tal, 1997). However, it is necessary to point out the automatic and unconscious nature of stereotypical thinking.

Researching national stereotypes is of high importance in the context of tourism. Intercultural communication is often characterized by misunderstandings and sometimes even hostility based solely upon someone's nationality. Foreign tourists in Croatia encounter not only tourism professionals but also other residents. In this research, the content of national stereotypes toward different nationalities has been explored and compared in relation to working experience with foreign tourists.

METHODOLOGY

Research Goal and Problems

The main goal of this research was to examine the content and sources of national stereotypes among Croats about nine different nations that usually visit Croatia as tourists.

Within the frame of the main goal, three research problems were set:

1. To examine to what extent different tourist behaviours (related to ecology, culture, finance and entertainment) are seen as typical for the nine different nations,
2. To examine the differences in perception of tourists' behaviour between the general population and tourism professionals,
3. To examine the sources of tourist stereotypes.

Instruments and Procedure

In this research, national stereotypes about nine different nations were examined. The nations were chosen according to the statistics of tourism traffic provided by the Ministry of Tourism (http://www.mint.hr/). Although tourism traffic is not equal in different regions of Croatia and during different periods, the most typical nine nations were chosen, three in each category: Western tourists (Italians, Germans, Austrians), Eastern tourists (Czechs, Poles, Slovenians) and regional (ex-Yugoslavian) tourists (Bosnians, Serbs, Croats). The construction of the questionnaire was based on information obtained from the literature and preliminary anonymous testing of 50 participants, the students of Tourism and Hotel Management at the VERN' University of Applied Sciences. The list of nine nations was given to the participants and they had to write down their first associations or typical behaviour patterns that these nations show during their stay in Croatia. The answers were categorized and supplemented by behaviours tested in previous similar research (Buško, Ivanec, Kamenov & Ljubotina, 1998). The final version of the instrument consisted of 19 different behaviour patterns related to

1) Hygiene and Ecology (four items, e.g. *Disposal of garbage in garbage cans; Destroying the nature),*
2) Finance (five items; e.g. *Thrift and caution in spending money; Eating in restaurants*),
3) Culture and Interaction (five items; e.g. *Poor general education; Do not speak foreign languages*; *Entertaining and witty*),
4) Entertainment (five items, e.g. *Drink a lot*; *Enjoy extreme sports/prone to adventure*).

Most items were given in a positive form (displaying positive stereotypes), the remaining in a negative form (displaying negative stereotypes), and all of them were evaluated on the five-point Likert-type scale (1— *not characteristic for that nation at all*; 5 — *highly characteristic for that nation*). Participants were instructed to leave an empty space if they did not know how to appraise a particular nation on a particular item. Each questionnaire contained a table with 19 listed behaviours and three randomly chosen nations, one from each category, which yielded 27 versions of the questionnaire. This part of the questionnaire was constructed in order to examine the first research problem.

In order to examine the third research problem, participants were asked to evaluate (five-point Likert type scale) to what extent their impressions of various nation groups are based on: a) direct experience (contact) with tourists (personal or professional); b) observing tourist behaviours during their stay in Croatia; c) media information on their behaviour; d) experience and tales of other people. The remaining questions measured demographic variables (gender, age, study programme) and working experience in tourism (closed type, multiple choice question).

In order to examine the second research question, two groups of participants were chosen — first, the general population with no working experience in tourism (represented by a group of various study-programmes students) and the second with the direct working experience with tourists (tourism professionals).

Students were anonymously tested during their regular classes, and tourism professionals were anonymously tested during destination-management workshops held in Zagreb, Omiš, Osijek, Opatija, Plitvice, Šibenik, Dubrovnik, Poreč and Varaždin.

Participants

Student group

The student group consisted of 318 participants, aged from 18 to 43, with the average age of M=22.26 (σ=4.04). There were 115 (36.2%) male and 192 female (60.4%) participants (the remaining 11 omitted this data). Students were from different study programmes — Entrepreneurship Economics (N=81), Managing Business Communications (N=16), Public Relations (N=98) and Tourism and Hotel Management (N=121), all of them at the VERN' University of Applied Sciences (Zagreb, Croatia).

Out of 318 participants, 147 had no prior working experience in tourism, and the remaining 171 had experience, categorised as follows: working in bars or restaurants in tourist destinations (N=102), working in accommodation facilities in tourist destinations (N=88), working in tourist agencies or as tourist guides (N=31), working in shops in tourist destinations (N=18).

Tourism professionals group

The second group consisted of 169 tourism professionals, aged from 23 to 62 years, with the average age of M=37.87 (σ=8.49). Out of them, 39 (23.08%) participants were male, and 130 (76.92%) female. The majority of the participants had several working roles within tourism, categorized as follows: working in bars and restaurants in tourist destinations (N=46); working in accommodation facilities in tourist destinations (N=64), working in travel agencies (N=81), working as tour guides (N=46), working in tourist offices (N=78).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Existing Stereotypes about the Nine Nations

In order to answer the first research question, the total sample of (N=487) results was analysed for the nine nations and 19 listed behaviours. Although the 19 behaviours were categorized in four categories, the analysis of internal consistency has shown that there is no justification for treating categories as scales because the items in each category describe qualitatively different behaviours (especially within the Entertainment category). Also, the relations between items in a certain category vary across nations (e.g. some nation members can be seen as great money spenders, but at the same time as the ones that are highly complaining about the prices, whereas members of other nation are seen as spenders and non-complainers). As each participant has evaluated only three nations, and was given the option to leave an empty space if he/she did not know how to evaluate a particular behaviour, the total number of estimates per item per nation ranges from 146 to 173, with the average value of 158.

The total results for the nine nations on the 19 behaviours are shown in Figure 1. As it can be seen, some nations gained more extreme judgments (in both ways) than the others, meaning that the stereotypes about their specific behaviours were more expressed. However, it stays unclear how characteristic a certain stereotype is of a particular nation without comparing them mutually.

Figure 1 shows that in the category of Ecology and Cleanliness, the leading positive stereotypes exist about Austrians and Germans. They are seen as those that deposit waste in garbage cans the most (M_A=4.35; M_G=4.26), do not leave a mess behind (M_A=1.97; M_G=2.18), watch for cleanliness (M_A=4.13; M_G=4.02), and do not destroy nature (M_A=1.73; M_G=1.88). In the category of Finance, the same two nations were high-

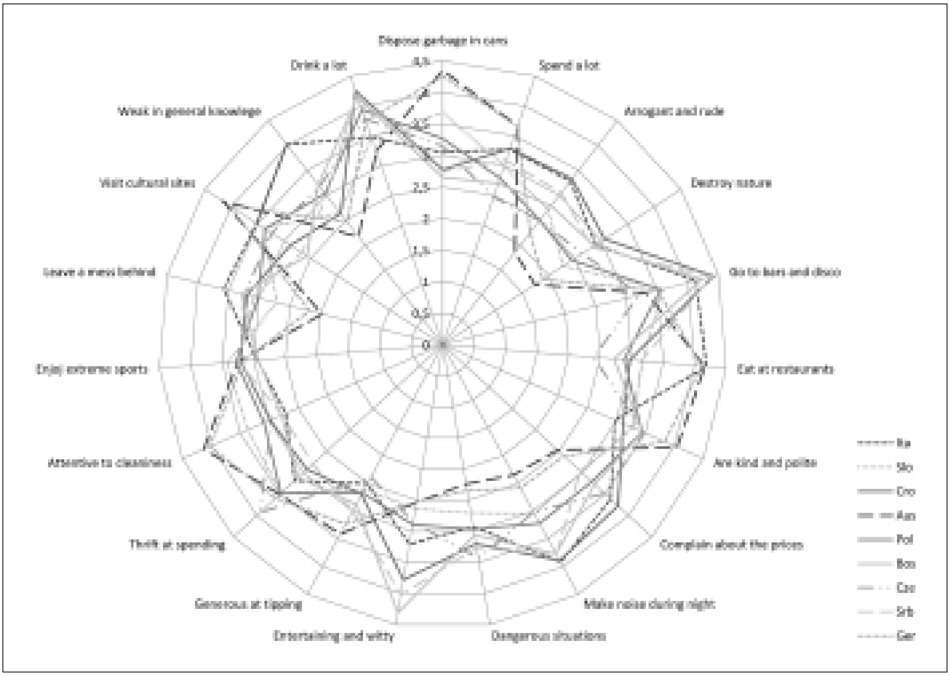

Figure 1 Nine nations evaluated on 19 behaviours by the total sample

lighted, as they mostly consume food at restaurants (M_A=4.16; M_G=4.1), are the most generous in tipping (M_A=3.41; M_G=3.23), and complain the least about the prices (M_A=2.41; M_G=2.61). These two nations also visit cultural attractions and manifestations the most (M_A=4.16; M_G=4.04). Compared to the other nations, Italians are also highly characterized by consuming food at restaurants (M_I=4.19), but are, at the same time, seen as the ones that mostly complain about the prices (M_I=3.61), together with Croatians (M_C=3.77). Croatians and Italians are also similarly seen as the ones that are the most arrogant and rude (M_I=3.28, M_C=3.33) and those that make noise late at night (M_I=3.92, M_C=3.89). There are additional negative stereotypes about these two nations, wherein Italians are seen as the ones that leave a mess behind the most (M_I=3.58), and have the weakest general education (do not speak foreign languages; M_I=4.02), while Croatians are the ones that destroy nature the most (M_C=3.06). The nation that is seen as the most kind and polite are Austrians (M_A=4.05).

Croatians, Serbs and Bosnians (all ex-Yugoslavian) also share some similar stereotypes, as they are seen as the ones that mostly go out at night to bars and disco clubs (M_C=4.41; M_S=4.39, M_B= 4.23), drink (alcohol) the most (M_C=4.25; M_S=4.2, M_B= 4.15) and as those who are the most witty and entertaining, especially Bosnians (M_C=3.78; M_S=4.02, M_B= 4.31).

Czechs are seen as the ones that expose themselves to dangerous situations the most (M_{CZ}=3.44) and Slovenians as the ones that mostly enjoy extreme sports and are prone to adventure seeking (M_{SL}=3.43). Compared to other nations, Poles do not stand out in any category, meaning that they are the least-known group of tourists to our participants.

These findings are in line with some previous research. In research by Buško et al. (1998), hosts on the island of Krk evaluated domestic tourists, Italians, Germans, Slovenians and Czechs. The results showed that hosts had significantly more positive attitudes towards Western (Germans and Italians), than towards Eastern tourists (Slovenians and Czechs), while attitudes towards Croats were in the middle. In their research, a similar questionnaire was used, with items describing nice behaviour, ecology, finance and entertainment. Same as here, German tourists were best graded in terms of nice behaviour and ecology items. Western tourists also spend more money than other groups, and entertain themselves in a more desirable way. Additionally, Czechs were praised as the ones that spend the least money, which authors related to their lower desirability in general.

Furthermore, Poppe and Linssen (1999) found that the countries in Western Europe were perceived to be more competent than those in the East (former Communist-bloc countries). Stereotypes about efficiency were partially determined by perceptions of economic advancement (Linssen & Hagendoorn, 1994). In research conducted by Pennebaker, Rime and Blankenship (1996) within a sample of Northern-Hemisphere countries, southerners were seen as more emotional than northerners, which can be related to this research as well.

Differences in Stereotyping Related to Working Experience in Tourism

In order to answer the second research question, participants were divided into three groups. Although the initial agenda was to compare students with tourism professionals, inspection of the results showed that a significant number of students had some working experience with tourists. Therefore, two subgroups were formed within the group of students — students without working experience in tourism (group 1; N=147, 30.2%), and students with working experience in tourism (group 2, N=171, 35.1%). The third group were tourism professionals (group 3; N=169, 34.7%).

The differences between groups in evaluation of the nine nations according to 19 behaviours were tested by the one-way ANOVA. Post-hoc analyses (Scheffe's tests) were also performed. For clarity, results are presented category by category.

The first category includes four items regarding cleanliness and ecology behaviours. These were items 1 (*Dispose garbage in garbage cans*), 4 (*Destroy the nature*), 14 (*Generally pay attention to cleanliness*) and 16 (*Leave a mess behind*).

Significant differences between groups were found for Slovenians for items 1 ($F=4.65$, $p<0.05$), 4 ($F=13.69$, $p<0.01$) and 14 ($F=3.35$, $p<0.05$). Scheffe's test revealed that group 3 found Slovenians to be more prone to putting garbage in a can than group 1 did ($MD=-0.51$, <0.05), less prone to destroying nature than groups 1 ($MD=0.55$,

$p<0.00$) and 2 ($MD=-0.9$, $p<0.01$) did, and more caring about cleanliness than group 1 ($MD=0.42$, $p<0.05$) did.

For the evaluations of Croats, significant differences between groups were found on all four items: item 1 ($F=6.25$, $p<0.01$), item 4 ($F=5.3$, $p<0.01$), item 14 ($F= 8.78$, $p<0.01$) and item 16 ($F=7.95$, $p<0.01$). Again, the tourism professionals (group 3) had more positive opinions about Croats compared to the students. Specifically, they found Croats to be more prone to putting garbage in garbage cans than groups 1 ($MD=0.5$, $p<0.01$) and 2 ($M=0.48$, $p<0.05$) did, and to destroying nature less than group 1 did ($MD=-0.61$, $p<0.01$). Group 1 had more negative stereotypes about Croats generally paying attention to cleanliness than groups 2 ($MD=-0.44$, $p<0.05$) and 3 ($MD=-0.64$, $p<0.01$) had. Also, group 1 found Croats to be more prone to leaving a mess behind than group 3 ($MD=-0.46$, $p<0.05$) did.

For Serbs, significant differences between groups were found for item 4 ($F=3.59$, $p<0.05$), wherein group 1 saw Serbs as more prone to destroying the nature than group 3 did ($MD=0.53$, $p<0.05$). Also for item 4, the difference was found in the evaluation of Germans ($F=3.92$, $p<0.05$). Group 2 saw Germans as more prone to leaving a mess behind than group 3 ($MD=0.45$, $p<0.05$) did.

The second category of behaviour includes five items related to finances. These are items 2 (*Spend a lot of money*), 6 (*Eat at restaurants*), 8 (*Complain about the prices*), 12 (*Are generous at tipping*) and 13 (*Are thrifty and careful about money*).

For Italians, significant F ratios were found for each item: item 2 ($F=3.26$, $p<0.05$), item 6 ($F=3.52$, $p<0.05$), item 8 ($F=9.5$, $p<0.01$), item 12 ($F=10.01$, $p<0.01$) and item 13 ($F=3.35$, $p<0.05$). Post-hoc tests have revealed that group 1 found Italians to be greater spenders than group 2 did ($MD=0.55$, $p<0.05$). Also group 1 found that Italians were less likely to complain about the prices than groups 2 ($MD=-0.71$, $p<0.05$) and 3 ($MD=-1.00$, $p<0.01$) thought. Group 1 thought that Italians were less generous at tipping than group 2 thought ($MD=0.98$, $p<0.01$), and group 2 found them less generous at tipping than group 3 did ($MD=-0.55$, $p<0.05$).

For the evaluations of Croats, significant F ratios were found for items 2 ($F=3.49$, $p<0.05$), 8 ($F=3.68$, $p<0.05$) and 12 ($F=5.49$, $p<0.01$). Post-hoc analysis has revealed significant differences between group 1 and the other two groups. Group 1 found Croats to be greater spenders than group 2 did ($MD=0.49$, $p<0.05$), found them more likely to complain about the prices than group 3 did ($MD=0.47$, $p<0.05$), and less generous at tipping than group 3 did ($MD=-0.58$, $p<0.01$).

For Bosnians, a significant F ratio was found for item 8 ($F=4.77$, $p<0.05$), wherein group 1 found Bosnians to complain more about the prices than group 3 did ($MD=0.64$, $p<0.05$). For Czechs, a significant F ratio was found for the item 13 ($F=3.81$, $p<0.05$), wherein group 1 found Czechs to be less thrifty and cautious about spending money than group 3 did ($MD=-0.58$, $p<0.05$). Finally, the only significant F ratio for Serbs was found on item 6 ($F=3.56$, $p<0.05$), wherein group 2 found them to be less likely to complain about the prices than group 3 did ($MD=-0.49$, $p<0.05$).

The third category of behaviour — Culture and Interaction — includes five items: items 3 (*Are arrogant and rude*), 7 (*Are kind and polite*), 9 (*Make noise late into the night*), 11 (*Are witty and entertaining*) and 18 (*Have poor general knowledge (do not speak foreign languages)*). In this category, many differences between the groups proved to be significant. For Italians, significant F ratios were found for items 7 ($F=4.77$, $p<0.05$), 11 ($F=7.8$, $p<0.01$), and 18 ($F=3.4$, $p<0.05$). Post-hoc analysis has revealed that group 2 found Italians less kind and polite than group 3 did ($MD=-0.55$, $p<0.05$), and less witty and entertaining than group 3 did ($MD=-0.82$, $p<0.05$). Also, group 1 found them to be of a better general knowledge than group 2 thought they were ($MD=-0.59$, $p<0.05$).

For Slovenians, the only significant difference was found in item 18 ($F=3.97$, $p<0.05$), wherein group 1 found Slovenians to be of weaker general knowledge than group 3 did ($MD=0.48$, $p<0.05$). For Croats, differences were found in items 3 ($F=4.31$, $p<0.05$), 9 ($F=8.41$, $p<0.01$) and 11 ($F=3.41$, $p<0.05$). In all cases, the differences exist between groups 1 and 3, wherein group 1 found Croats to be more arrogant and rude ($MD=-0.52$, $p<0.05$), more likely to make noise late into the night ($MD=0.73$, $p<0.01$), and as more witty and entertaining ($MD=0.42$, $p<0.05$) than group 3 found them to be. For Austrians and Bosnians, a significant F ratio was found in item 7 ($F_A=3.85$, $p<0.05$; $F_B=4.24$, $p<0.05$) and in both cases group 1 found them to be more kind and polite than group 2 did. Finally, for Serbs, a significant F ratio was found for item 9 ($F=7.44$, $p<0.01$), wherein group 1 found Serbs to be more likely to make noise late into the night than group 3 thought ($MD=-0.76$, $p<0.01$).

The fourth category of behaviour includes five items related to Entertainment. These are items 5 (*Go out at night to bars and disco clubs*), 10 (*Expose themselves to dangerous situations*), 15 (*Enjoy extreme sports (prone to adventures)*), 17 (*Visit cultural attractions and manifestations*) and 19 (*Drink a lot*). For Croats, significant F ratios were found for items 5 ($F=10.43$, $p<0.01$), 10 ($F=3.31$, $p<0.05$), 17 ($F=7.33$, $p<0.01$) and 19 ($F=11.44$, $p<0.01$). In all cases, group 1 discriminated against the other group, that is, they found Croats to be more likely to go out at night to bars and discos than groups 2 ($MD= 0.41$, $p<0.05$) and 3 did ($MD=0.64$, $p<0.05$). Also, group 1 compared to group 3 found Croats to be more prone to exposing themselves to dangerous situations ($MD=0.44$, $p<0.05$) and less prone to visiting cultural attractions and manifestations ($MD=-0.68$, $p<0.01$). Finally, group 3 found Croats less likely to be heavy drinkers than groups 1 ($MD=0.77$, $p<0.01$) and 2 ($MD=0.51$, $p<0.01$) did.

For Bosnians, the only group difference was found for item 10 ($F=4.07$, $p<0.05$), wherein group 2 found Bosnians to be more prone to dangerous situations than group 3 did ($MD=0.57$, $p<0.05$). For Czechs, a significant difference was found in item 15 ($F=4.81$, $p<0.05$), wherein group 1 found Czechs to be more prone to extreme sports than group 2 thought ($MD=0.62$, $p<0.05$). Finally, for Serbs, significant differences were found in items 5 ($F=4.71$, $p<0.05$), 10 ($F=4.49$, $p<0.05$) and 19 ($F=8.12$, $p<0.01$). In all cases, the differences exist between groups 1 and 3. Group 1 found Serbs to be more prone to going out at night to visit bars ($MD=0.44$, $p<0.05$), more prone to dangerous situations ($MD=0.58$, $p<0.05$) and more likely to be heavy drinkers ($MD=0.44$, $p<0.05$). Also, group 2 found Serbs more prone to going out at night than group 3 did ($MD=0.4$, $p<0.05$) and more likely to be heavy drinkers ($MD=0.54$, $p<0.01$) than group 3 did.

As the majority of intergroup differences were found between group 1 and 3, a clear conclusion can be made that (in most cases) having direct personal experience with different tourists means having more positive or less negative attitudes towards them. In social psychology, this is a known phenomenon. Prejudices and stereotypes are reduced after a person gets exposed to an object of an attitude (contact hypothesis). This also applies to autostereotypes, which are rather negative in a group of inexperienced participants, and probably a mirror projection of their own behaviours as students.

Social psychologists have investigated many of the conditions under which stereotypes and prejudice can be reduced and better relationships fostered: “It is not enough simply to provide prejudiced people with information that they are stereotyping the out-group; they will often cling even more tightly to their beliefs” (Aronson, 2013, p. 394). Aronson also claims that the contact between ethnic groups has been shown to be the most important way to reduce prejudice but this contact must meet six criteria: mutual interdependence; a common goal; equal status; informal interpersonal contact; multiple contacts; and social norms of equality. These can all be applied to the context of international tourism. Professionals need to understand intercultural differences in order to create tourist offers that live up to the standards of the clients (Albu, 2013).

Sources of Tourist Stereotypes

In order to examine the third research problem, self-appraised sources of tourist stereotypes were analysed and mutually compared between subjects of the three groups. As it can be seen in Table 1, for groups 2 and 3, which had working experience with tourists, direct personal experience is the main source of information about different nations of tourists.

For group 1, which had no working experience, the main source was observing tourist behaviour during their holidays in Croatia. The second source for the group without experience was the experience and tales of other people, and for groups with experience, the second source was observing tourist behaviour. For the above mentioned three sources, significant differences between groups were found and presented in Table 1. As it can be seen, group 1 used direct experience and behaviour observations less as sources of tourists’ appraisal. Also, group 2 relied more heavily on other people's tales in forming opinions about tourists than group 3 did. Finally, the least used source of information for all groups was media information, the only source that shows no differences between participants' groups.

As stereotypical thinking is usually automatic and unconscious, these results should be taken with caution, especially regarding the rather low appraised influence

Table 1 Descriptive, Anova and Scheffe's test results for four sources of stereotypes between three groups of participants groups

Sources	Groups	N	M	σ	F	p	Scheffe's test Mean Difference	p
Direct experience	Gr1	140	3.25	1.15	42.92	0.00	-0.88 (Gr1- Gr2)	0.00
	Gr2	171	4.13	.83			-0.91 (Gr1 - Gr3)	0.00
	Gr3	168	4.16	.92				
	Total	479	3.89	1.05				
Observing behaviour	Gr1	139	3.68	.96	6.69	0.00	-0.32 (Gr1- Gr2)	0.01
	Gr2	170	3.99	.82			-0.32 (Gr1 - Gr3)	0.01
	Gr3	168	4.00	.84				
	Total	477	3.90	.88				
Media information	Gr1	139	2.96	.98	2.87	0.06		
	Gr2	169	2.90	1.10				
	Gr3	168	2.68	1.11				
	Total	476	2.84	1.07				
Tales from others	Gr1	139	3.37	1.01	5.18	0.01	-0.36 (Gr2 - Gr3)	0.01
	Gr2	169	3.53	.98				
	Gr3	168	3.17	1.09				
	Total	476	3.36	1.04				

of the media. In research done by Fujioka (1999), the effects of vicarious contact via television on stereotypes of African Americans were tested among white and Japanese international college students. The study has shown that television messages had a significant impact on viewers' perceptions when direct contact information was missing.

CONCLUSION

National stereotypes can unconsciously influence our behaviour when interacting with unknown foreigners and are of particular importance in the context of tourism, where customers' satisfaction strongly depends on the quality of staff.

In this research, national stereotypes about nine different nations were tested among a group of students and a group of tourism professionals. The total-sample results have shown that the most positive stereotypes exist about Austrians and Germans, who are seen as clean, polite, interested in cultural manifestations and as big spenders. Italians are also seen as good spenders, but as complainers as well, a characteristic that is also highly attributed to Croats. Croats share some stereotypes with Serbs and Bosnians as well, as nations that are mostly going out at night, drinking the most and are witty and entertaining. While Czechs are seen as the ones that expose themselves to dangerous situations and Slovenians as the ones that most enjoy extreme sports, for Poles no distinctive behaviour patterns were found. However, this study has also revealed the strong impact of direct working experience with tourist, as the tourism professionals, as well as the experienced group of students, showed less negative and less intense stereotypes than the group without working experience. Frequent and longer personal interaction makes perception more realistic and can hardly be influenced by "third-party" interests. Working experience in tourism can be used as an important "tool" to decrease negative consequences of extreme stereotypes. Young and less experienced employees in tourism are at a higher risk of causing interpersonal misunderstandings and conflicts, so our suggestion is to pay more attention to the education and training of tourism personnel in the area of intercultural communication.

Various sources of stereotypes can create both negative and positive stereotypes, and economic, historical and political contexts should be considered as possible generators. Economic interests and gains can encourage positive perceptions of some nationalities but can also become the triggers of negative discrimination of others. Therefore, it is important to be aware of the multi-source creation of stereotypes and different consequences for different groups that are in direct interaction with tourists.

The results of this study show that our participants neglect the influence of the media on their attitudes and behaviour, meaning that the sources of stereotypes can be unconscious as the stereotypical thinking and reacting itself. The media can affect not only heterostereotypes, but autostereotypes as well. As tourists themselves have a strong need to be regarded as individuals, the industry of tourism has to be aware of these needs and respond to them adequately.

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Pedro ALDAMA ROY

DEMOGRAPHIC AND CARE FACTORS RELATED TO THE NUMBER OF DEPENDENT PEOPLE IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND COUNTRIES OF THE MEDITERRANEAN

Abstract

In the foreseeable future, public and private administrators will be forced to redesign the existing social-health systems as it seems that the provision of the services that are in demand today in European countries in general (and specifically in the Mediterranean context) is hardly sustainable. This research aims to determine and relate the demographic and social variables and systems of prevention and aid to the lack of personal autonomy and, in particular, the elements related to its evaluation in Europe and in the countries of the Mediterranean.

The aim is to inform and prepare administrators to face the predictable possible unsustainability of the Systems of Protection of Lack of Personal Autonomy.

Key words: *dependency, long-term care, study population, Mediterranean countries, social protection*

INTRODUCTION

The research work has been approached in three different phases. The first one, already completed, has to do with the study of the 34 member countries of the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development). The second phase, on course currently, expands to the remaining Member States of the EU (European Union). The third and last phase, which will start in 2017, will include the rest of the countries of the Mediterranean.

The systems of social protection have the function of providing people who require it with care of acceptable quality. The development of these systems and services, has the overall aim of achieving a significant reduction in the risk of poverty and protecting against the economic consequences of contingencies, such as loss of health, accidents, retirement or lack of personal autonomy (Borobia, 1996, p. 741).

The viability of the social protection system (López-Casasnovas, 2010), as in the case of long-term care, has turned into an issue of great importance, no doubt as a result of different causes, but especially of the ageing of different countries (López-Bastida, 2006).

Concerns about the lack of personal autonomy have been growing in recent years, since the start of the 2008 crisis, first financial and later economic. The reason is that the collections, both through taxes and social contributions, are falling dramatically because of the decline in employment and especially in wages. That is, more social spending is required each day and less can be collected.

It was at the end of the first decade of this century when Europe was obliged not only to freeze such policies, but also to cut the welfare policies as well. Europe has been increasingly developing a social model that conferred identity to the EU (Millán, 2005) against third parties. Arguably, the current political crisis of the European model is not external to the loss of welfare reference that identified it and differentiated it.

It is also important to mention the great social impact and the increasing problem of dependence, which will lead us to a future full of uncertainties (Oliva, 2009).

With an increase in the number of dependent people, great growth in health and social spending and risk to the sustainability of the social protection systems, in the foreseeable future public and private administrators will be forced to redesign the existing social-health systems as it seems that the provision of the service that are in demand today in European countries in general (and specifically in the Mediterranean context) is hardly sustainable (Finkelstein, 2005).

The implementation of preventive policies on the risk factors of the lack of personal autonomy will not be sufficient because its effects would be appreciated only in the long term. It will be necessary to implement social-policy measures by the Government to influence the reduction of the potential demand for services and the reduction of costs by the providers of social and health services (Montserrat, 2003).

RESEARCH AND GOALS

This research aims to determine the systems of prevention and aid to lack of personal autonomy and, in particular, the elements related to its evaluation (Borobia, 1989, p. 244) in the countries of our socio-economic environment.

The research will attend more to the risk factors or other factors that present statistical association with the number of people who present a lack of personal autonomy. The literature has identified a diversity of risk factors, among them: sex (Grundy, 2000), age (Waidmann, 2000), education, socio-economic status (Puga, 2002, p. 209), health (Myers, 2000, p. 166), obesity, etc.

Knowledge about the adequacy of the evaluation system of the lack of personal autonomy is of special interest to all of the most advanced countries.

HYPOTHESIS

The hypothesis is that in the countries studied, not only are the sociodemographic figures [that is, higher presence of women, older people (Malik, 2014), etc.] related to the

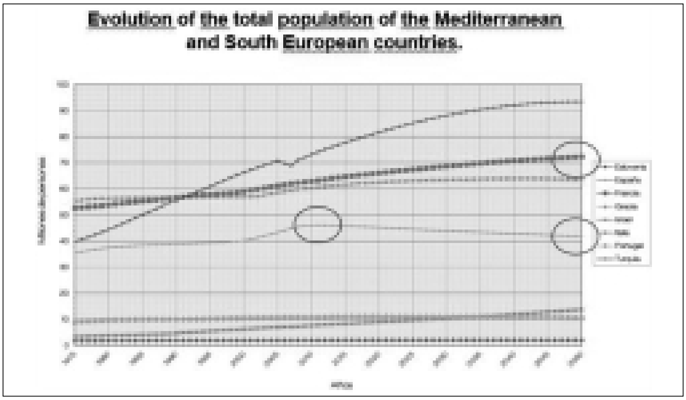


Figure 1

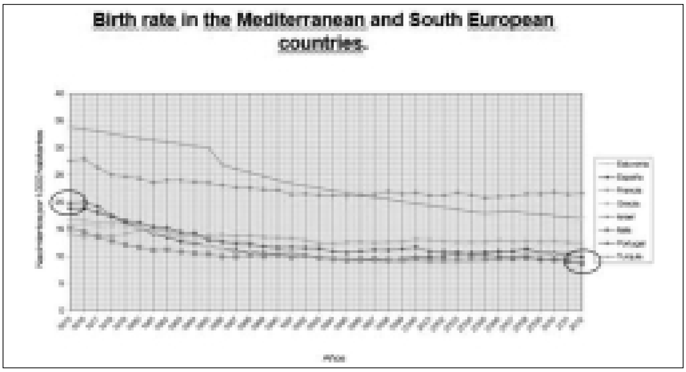


Figure 2

number of people that need services for dependency, but the number of dependent people is also related (statistically speaking) to the evaluation systems of dependency.

METHODOLOGY

The research data has been narrowed down to the member countries of the OECD.

The selected methodology has been used to conduct an ecological descriptive (Bolumar, 2001, p. 1264) and analytical study.

RESULTS

The following are the main results for Mediterranean and South European countries.

In Spain, after the year 2008, the population started to decrease, which was an alarming prospect for the future.

The situation of Turkey and Israel stands out in growth until 2050 (the foreseeable situation in any case), but we should focus on France that has a uniform and sustained situation of growth (Figure1).

The cause of the negative growth of the population undoubtedly has to do with the big fall of birth rate (Figure 2).

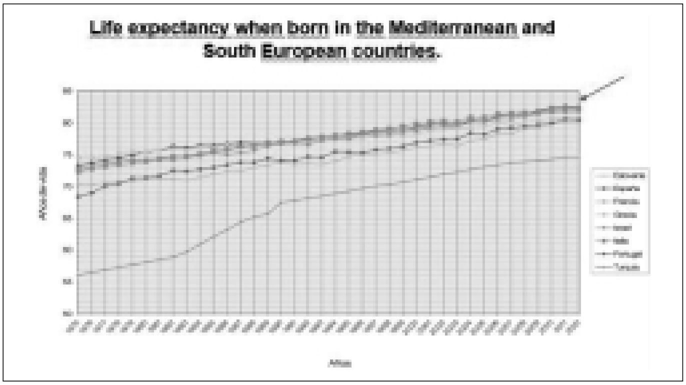
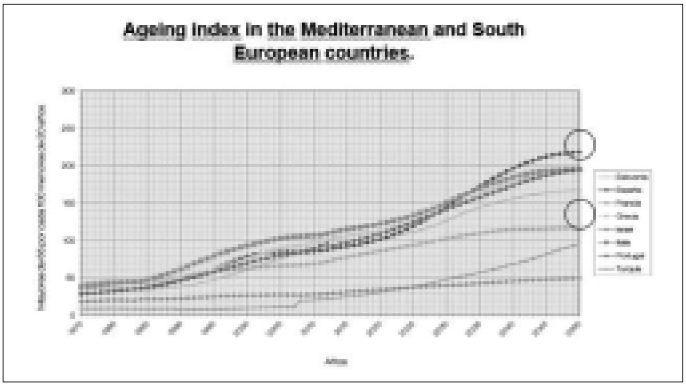


Figure 3



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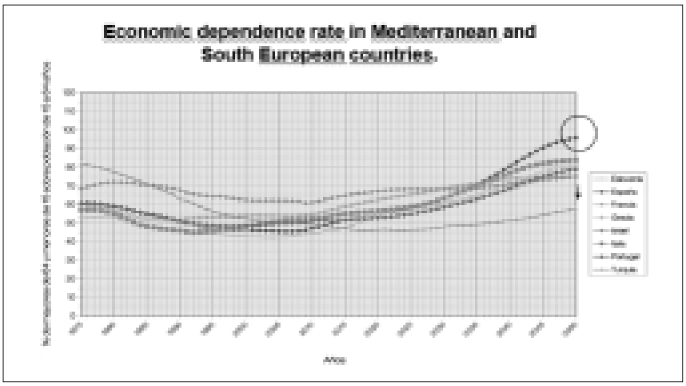

Figure 5

The increase in life expectancy has inevitable consequences for greater ageing and a greater number of old people (Figure 3).

Spain, Italy, Greece and Portugal will have a critical ageing index by 2050 (Figure 4).

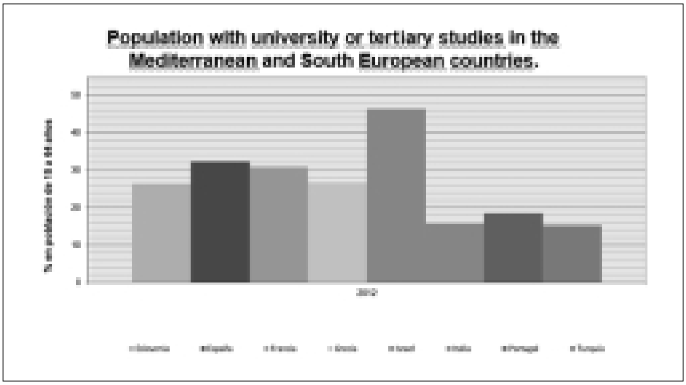

Figure 6

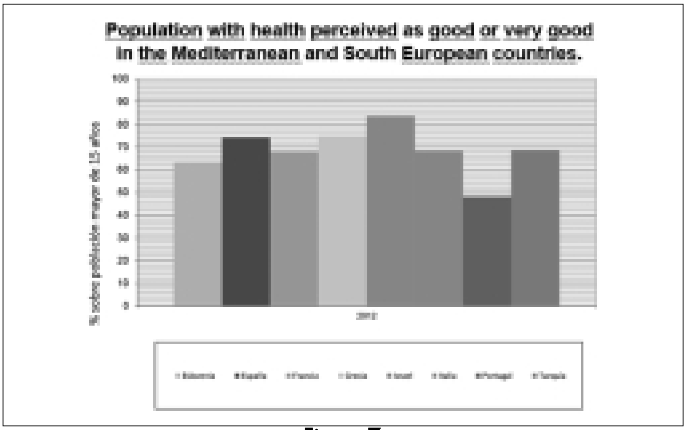

Figure 7

An alarming consequence is the ageing data, which shows that by 2050, the number of people outside the working age will have been equal the number of people of the working age; an especially alarming situation in the case of Spain (Figure 5).

Regarding the number of university or tertiary education, the highest numbers are in Israel and Spain (Figure 6).

In relation to the data of health perceived as good or very good, a few positive cases are the numbers of Israel, Greece and Spain (Figure 7).

Regarding the data on obesity, a positive situation can be seen in France, Italy and Israel, while a negative trend is obvious in Greece (Figure 8).

The data show that the consumption of tobacco is very high in Greece (Figure 9).

To determine the relation between the known risk factors and the number of dependent people, an analysis of partial correlation has been applied. The result indicates that there is a clear correlation of values between the number of dependent people and economic dependence in people older than 65, including perceived health and GDP per capita (Figure 10).

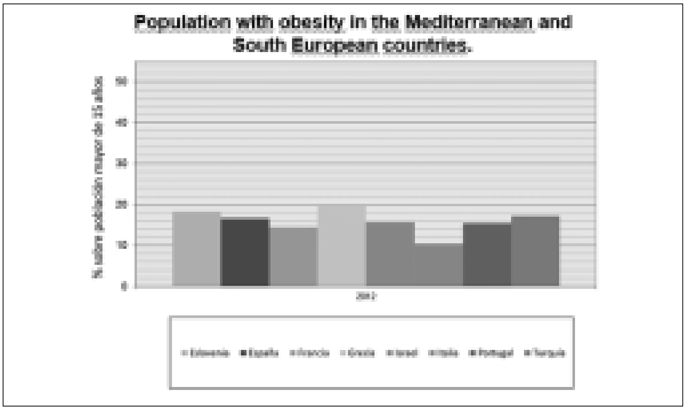

Figure 8

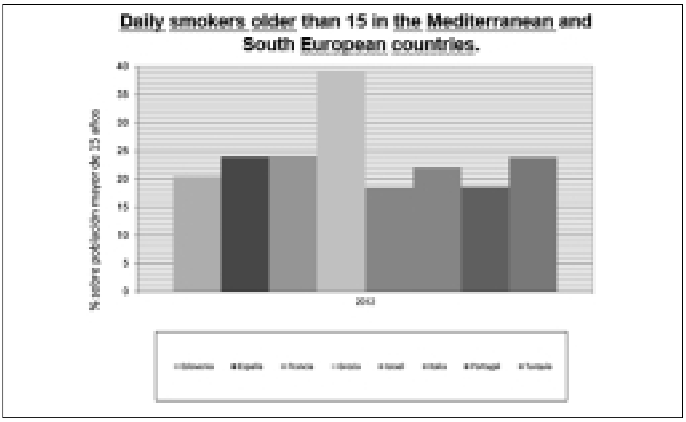

Figure 9

Análisis de correlación parcial									
Variables de control			% de dependientes	Índice de feminidad	Dependencia mayores	Estudios universitarios	Salud percibida	Consumo de alcohol	PIB per cápita
Tabaquismo & Obesidad	% de dependientes	Correlación	1,000	-0,088	0,524	0,282	0,369	0,209	0,502
		Significación (2 colas)		0,632	0,002	0,117	0,036	0,250	0,003
	Índice de feminidad	Correlación	-0,088	1,000	0,338	-0,132	-0,400	0,229	-0,320
		Significación (2 colas)	0,632		0,058	0,470	0,023	0,207	0,075
	Dependencia mayores	Correlación	0,524	0,338	1,000	0,154	-0,061	0,406	0,249
		Significación (2 colas)	0,002	0,058		0,399	0,740	0,021	0,169
	Estudios universitarios	Correlación	0,282	-0,132	0,154	1,000	0,286	0,087	0,412
		Significación (2 colas)	0,117	0,470	0,399		0,113	0,638	0,019
	Salud percibida	Correlación	0,369	-0,400	-0,061	0,286	1,000	-0,137	0,505
		Significación (2 colas)	0,036	0,023	0,740	0,113		0,456	0,003
	Consumo de alcohol	Correlación	0,209	0,229	0,406	0,087	-0,137	1,000	0,223
		Significación (2 colas)	0,250	0,207	0,021	0,638	0,456		0,220
	PIB per cápita	Correlación	0,502	-0,320	0,249	0,412	0,505	0,223	1,000
		Significación (2 colas)	0,003	0,075	0,169	0,019	0,003	0,220	

Figure 10

DISCUSSION

Most studies published before this one concentrated, on the one hand, specifically on the aspects of health and, on the other, the sociodemographic aspects to calculate the risks that are relative and attributable to various factors relating to lack of personal autonomy.

The study has characterized the system of long-term care based on five variables. These are: the type of financing, system coverage, the participation of users in the payment of care services, the network in charge of evaluating the lack of personal autonomy and the profession of preferred evaluators.

In the study of demographic variables, from 1975 to 2012, the following factors stand out: economic dependence of older people, GDP per capita and rate of ageing.

CONCLUSIONS

Conclusion 1. The 34 OECD countries have been characterized according to their demographic variables, risk factors and evaluation methods.

Conclusion 2. In the study of demographic variables, from 1975 to 2012, the economic dependence of old people, GDP per capita and rate of aging stand out.

Conclusion 3. The number of dependents receiving formal care is related to the type of system coverage (universal), user co-payment (greater than 25%), evaluation network (health or specific) and profession of evaluators (health or social).

Conclusion 4. Risk factors, neutralized in the study to understand the relationship of the system variables with the number of people with lack of personal autonomy, are the femininity index, the economic dependence of older people, tertiary studies, and perceived health and alcohol consumption.

Conclusion 5. The variables of dependency protection systems related to the number of dependents that stand out are the financial system (taxes, social and private contributions) and the type of coverage (universal).

Conclusion 6. The crossroads of the variables of evaluation of people with lack of personal autonomy, have yielded significant results: type of coverage (universal), copayment (over 25%), network evaluation (specific) and the evaluator's profession (medical).

Conclusion 7. In the system of long-term care, the evaluator's profession (medical) should be considered because it gives greater magnitude to the association, in the sense that presumably it would condition lower figures of people with lack of personal autonomy.

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Dávid BURKA

DEVELOPING A COMPLEX MICROSIMULATION SYSTEM TO PROJECT THE HUNGARIAN DEMOGRAPHIC PROCESSES

Abstract

The continuous ageing of the population in developed regions leads to both social and economic problems that require intervention from the government. Long-term forecasts are necessary to support the decision-making process and compare the impact of the proposed reforms. The comparison is only effective if the errors of different forecasts are approximately equal. Simply forecasting the indicators of interest — like the total pension cost or the total contribution — would not fulfil this requirement. The indicators should be calculated instead, based on the same forecasted population for every proposed reform. However, these calculations require such a detailed dataset which the traditional demographic forecasting methods cannot achieve. In this paper, the factors that lead to the changes in the structure of the population and the available forecasting methods will be examined. The paper will also discuss how the properties of the individuals are connected and influence each other, while focusing mostly on family relationships. The goal of this paper is to summarize the requirements of a complex demographic forecasting system and to introduce our Simulation Framework that fulfils these requirements.

Key Words: *ageing population, demography, forecasting, microsimulation, simulation framework*

INTRODUCTION

Population ageing will be responsible for many economic and social difficulties that most European countries will face in the coming decades. Increasing life expectancy, along with decreasing birth rate, results in the increase of the elderly population both in size and proportion. Population ageing means lower participation on the labour market and lower savings rates, thus it has a negative effect on the economy. In most countries, this results in a modest decline in the rate of the economic growth (Bloom, 2010), but there are other factors to consider as well. To offset the proportion shift between the working population and the pensioners, the age limit of retirement is likely to increase in the future. This will influence the career choices of many people, and organizations will have to manage these changes. The proportion of older workers increases, especially in the case of female workers. Women tend to have higher life expectancies than men and, with the decreasing fertility rates, their participation rate increases (Kulik, 2014). It is mostly in Central and Southeast Europe that the pension system

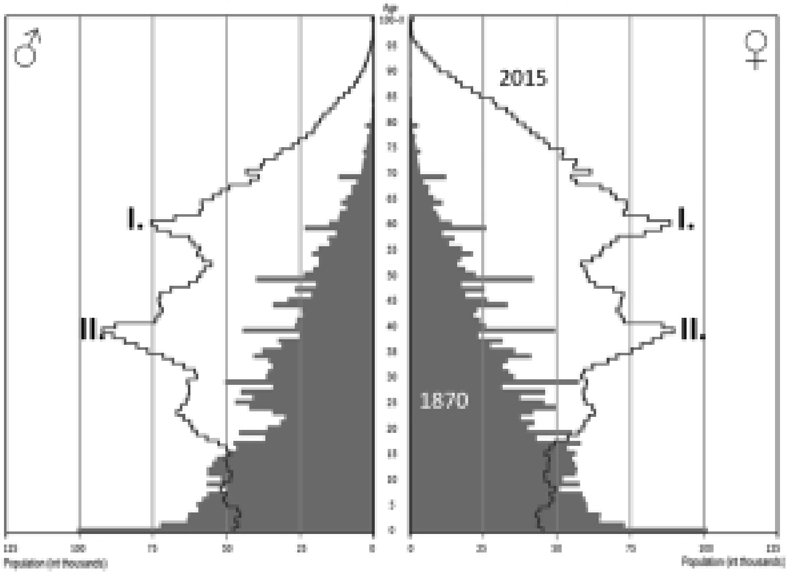

Figure 1 The change of the Hungarian age tree from 1870 to 2015
(Source: Hungarian Central Statistical Office)

roots from the retirement program of Bismarck, which covers the costs of retirement with the contributions of the active working population. In these countries, if the pension processes stay unchanged, the drastic ageing of the population could endanger the sustainability of the whole system. In the last few decades, most of these countries have altered or plan to alter their pension processes (Cerami, 2011).

State reforms, management alterations in companies and even social changes are necessary to adapt to the altered population structures. It is important to understand the future development of the effects of such significant changes. The problem is that these changes will alter the trends that can be calculated from the historical data and they will even interact with each other. For example, the pension reforms will change the structure of the retirement costs, thus rendering a purely trend-based forecasting useless. To make sure that forecasting errors are kept at a minimum, pension costs should be calculated in a deterministic way from the forecasted population data. However, this requires a level of detail that traditional demographic forecasting methods cannot achieve.

AGEING SOCIETY

The extent of the ageing population is well illustrated with the change of the Hungarian age tree (Figure 1). The figure shows the number of men (left) and women (right) at two different points in time. The filled age tree represents the population of 1870 while the outlines show the situation in the year 2015. The population shift to the older generations is clear and — aside from some Hungary-specific features that will be discussed later — the global processes are very similar to this.

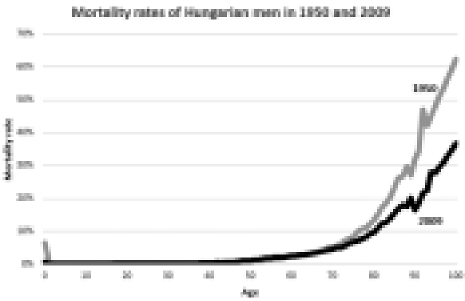

Figure 2 The change in Hungarian mortality rates (Source: Hungarian Central Statistical Office)

The global proportion of older people (60+) changed from 9.2% in 1990 to 11.2% by 2013. In 2013, there were 851 million elderly people in the world and their number is expected to reach more than two billion by 2050. The age shift takes place in almost all the countries of the world, but Europe is the oldest region of them all (United Nations, 2013). The global ageing rate increases every year. Even if the ageing reached a stable rate in the developed countries, the processes leading to an ageing population take place much faster in less developed countries as they are catching up. It is important to note even though conventional measures label people above 60 as elderly, with the improvement in life expectancies, health at older ages has also improved. This, coupled with the fact that the average age limit of retirement is likely to increase, makes it reasonable to identify a person as elderly based on the current life expectancies instead of a set age limit. It is important to note that even though this approach is statistically fair, implementing it would probably be "political suicide" for any party in power. If we assume that people are elderly when they have a remaining life expectancies of 15 years, the above-mentioned acceleration of the ageing process slows down significantly and even turns into a decrease in some regions. However, the global average pace of ageing will still increase (Lutz, 2008).

The two main factors influencing the global ratio of the elderly population are the increasing mortality rates and the decreasing fertility rates. From the local perspective, migration is another significant process contributing to the structure of the population. By analysing these factors, we can obtain a better understanding of the connections between the processes that lead to ageing societies.

The increasing mortality rates are a self-explanatory part of the ageing process. The continuous development of medicine and improvement in living conditions increase life expectancy at birth. The increment differs based on the circumstances. In 1950, the more developed regions had a life expectancy of 65 years compared to the 42 years in the less developed areas. By 2013, this changed to 78 and 68 years respectively (United Nations, 2013). Life expectancy was even higher in the EU28 countries in 2013, with 78.1 as the average for men and 83.6 as the average age for women, according to Eurostat datasets. The gap between regions obviously shrinks with time, so this also supports the former claim that the ageing process accelerates every year. Figure 2 shows how the mortality rates of men changed in Hungary since 1950. It is clear that the survivability of the elderly has increased significantly. Mortality rates are dependent on the individual's gender, but there are many more properties that could influence the probability of a person's death at a certain age. Some of these properties will be discussed in the next chapter.

The continuous decrease of fertility rates has an even greater influence on the ageing process. The total fertility rate (TFR) — the hypothetical number of children a woman could have during her life — used to be around 5.0 worldwide in 1950, but by 2013 it decreased to approximately 2.5. Table 1 shows that the decline of the TFR is much faster in less developed regions. The reason for the increasing predicted value of more developed countries is that after 50 years of decrease, the average TFR started to slightly increase (United Nations, 2013). The ageing of society comes together with a decreasing population. A TFR of at least 2.1 is necessary to keep the population from shrinking. According to Eurostat, the total fertility rate in the EUR28 countries was 1.58 in 2013. The TFR of Hungary and Croatia was 1.44 and 1.46 respectively at the time. The negative effect of the dropping fertility rates has been partially compensated by the great decrease in child mortality since 1950 (Figure 2).

Table 1 Total fertility rates based on region (United Nations, 2013)

Region	1950	2013	2050 (predicted)
Developed	2.8	1.7	1.9
Less developed	6.1	2.7	2.3
Total	5.0	2.5	2.2-1.8

The unique features of the Hungarian age tree need some further explanation. The spikes on Figure 1 marked by roman numerals are the result of the so-called Ratkó Era. The term refers to the period when Anna Ratkó was the Minister of Health in Hungary or alternatively to the "Ratkó Law" (officially March 1, 1953 — June 22, 1956). This new legislation of the Hungarian Communist Party contained various reforms to facilitate an increase in the fertility rate. Among the six paragraphs listed in the resolution were an increase of maternity leave, a special tax imposed upon childless men and women and, most importantly, a ban on abortion. The legislation also authorized the Ministry of Justice to impose very strict sanctions on abortion (Sawyer, 2010). This, coupled with the lack of birth control (reliable birth control pills were not available until the 70s), resulted in a major increase in the number of newborn babies. However, the effect was not permanent: as the resolution was withdrawn, the numbers decreased quickly. This is the reason for the spike marked with I on Figure 1. People born in this interval are referred to as "Ratkó children". The second big spike (marked with II) is mainly the echo of the Ratkó Era: people born in this period are called the "Ratkó grandchildren". It is noticeable that the two spikes are approximately the same in size. Considering the fact that the fertility rate lowered immediately after the Ratkó Law was abolished, the second spike should be proportionally smaller. The reason for this anomaly is that there was another reform around 1975 that supported families that decided to have children. It is important to note that this time only positive reinforcements were used in the reform. The government decided to assist the fertility rate at a time when it was naturally higher than normal. The situation above is reflected in the unique pine tree shape of the Hungarian age tree. The problem is that there is apparently no third spike. The currently actively working Ratkó grandchildren offset the number of the already retired Ratkó children, but this will not be the case in 30 years when the Ratkó grandchildren reach the age limit of retirement. This unique setup will greatly amplify the problems caused by the ageing population.

The effects of the Ratkó Era are good examples of how political decisions can significantly influence the fertility rate. However, the fertility rate is mainly influenced by the properties and environment of the individuals. It was already discussed that the development level and the living conditions of a region affect the fertility rates. The case of different ethnic groups is very similar to this. In Hungary for example, the Roma population has a much higher TFR than the average of the country. Another good example is the case of Kosovo (before its independence). The TFR of Kosovo decreased from 6.1 in 1961 to 3.5 by 1991. This is still twice as much as the 1.63 TFR of Central Serbia at the same time (Brunborg, 2002).

Migration is obviously irrelevant from the standpoint of the global ageing population, but it can be a very significant factor for different regions. In Hungary for example, it is a serious problem that a significant portion of the younger generation decides to leave the country in hopes of better life conditions. Another example: as the borders opened in 1990, many Hungarians living across the border in Transylvania migrated to Hungary. This process concealed the decrease in the population for a few years.

International migration is not the only thing that influences population ageing. In Hungary, the proportion of the elderly population is similar in different regions, but this is not the case in the countries that have more diverse geographical properties. For example, the younger generations tend to move from islands of the Mediterranean to the mainland, thus leaving the elderly population behind.

FORECASTING

The solution of the problems caused by the changes in the structure of the population requires intervention. It is necessary to make predictions on the development of the demographic processes. In order to make the right decisions and analyse the effect of these decisions, long-term forecasting of the population is required.

The factors relevant in population ageing are seemingly following simple trends that can be forecasted based on historical data. This kind of approach can properly estimate the future size of the population. However, in our case, properties other than the size of the population are also objects of interest. Estimating the future value of additional properties will unavoidably increase the error of the forecast. In order to decrease the uncertainty regarding the prediction, it is possible to find connections between different properties and build the forecast based on these connections.

A good example for these kinds of connections is the fact that married men tend to live longer — probably because of a more moderate lifestyle. There is statistical data available on the marital status of deceased people, so it is possible to forecast the group of married men and bachelors separately, thus decreasing the overall error of the prediction. There are many similar connections between different properties. The so-called broken heart syndrome is one of the most well-known phenomena, which suggests that if a member of a couple that was together for a very long time dies, the other member will probably follow in a relatively short time. Another interesting thing is that the mortality rate graph of young males usually has a spike around the age of 18, since they get their driving licenses around this time and tend to be reckless on the road. Research has taken place to determine whether statistical data is available about these kinds of connections, but describing these is outside the scope of this paper.

The more connections are implemented in a model, the lesser the probability of an error. The error does not decrease monotonically since with each connection, the forecasting error of a factor is eliminated, but the implementation (i.e. regression, factor analysis) of the causality between properties has an error too. Thus, it is not certain that a single new connection will improve the model.

The cohort-component method is based on traditional demographic forecasting approaches. This method divides the population into different groups based on some of their properties, like age and gender. More complex models can also include, for example, education, nationality, or residence. The groups are described by the number of individuals in them. The model is iterated through every year and changes the numbers of the groups based on a transition-probability matrix at every step. The probabilities can be estimated or calculated from historical data. The main advantage of this approach is that it is simple to implement: It can be realized in a spreadsheet. The cohort-component method is a great, widespread method for population estimations. However, if the goal is to compare the effects of different planned state interventions, it becomes more important to reduce the errors of the estimation, since the error of the traditional forecast is acceptable on the scale of the population but not on the scale of changes that are the result of the reforms. It is problematic to implement connections between properties in the cohort-component model. Moreover, if we increase the number of the examined properties, the dimension of the transition probability matrix also increases and the probabilities will dissipate. The matrix will become impracticable if the dimension exceeds 5. Thus, the methods to decrease the forecasting error, as mentioned before, are not applicable with the cohort-component method.

The microsimulation method is another approach to forecast the demographic processes. Unlike the cohort-component solutions, this method does not operate at the level of groups, but rather at the entity level. Instead of a macro-level approach, it follows the life cycle of every single individual, hence the name "micro". The properties of the entities are adjusted at every single iteration step according to statistical probabilities, rules or algorithms based on empirical data. The idea of using microsimulation to forecast demographic processes dates to the middle of the 20th century (Orcutt, 1957), but the concept has not been applied widely until the 80s (Merz, 1991). Since then many microsimulation-based models were implemented in many countries (Zinn, 2009). For example, the Hungarian Central Statistical Office has been using microsimulations to forecast the population since 1988 (Csicsman, 2012). In the case of Hungary, this means the creation of approximately ten million entities that are individually iterated through time. The implementation of such an algorithm requires a high level of software-development skills and rather high computing capacity. The requirements are significantly reduced if the system does not allow a wide range of configuration. That is why most of the microsimulation solutions are ad-hoc, and can only be used for the given problem. Researchers can reuse the ideas of already existing solutions, but they usually must implement their own model from scratch. This is the main reason why microsimulation as a method has not gained as much ground as the traditional cohort-component approach, even though it has many advantages. The properties of the entities in the microsimulation model have many function-like dependencies by default, so the implementation of the connections discussed above is relatively simple. New properties can be introduced to the model without further complications. The result is such a detailed dataset for every iteration step that could otherwise only be acquired by further data collection. This makes a system based on the microsimulation method capable of forecasting the effects of different reform scenarios while keeping the forecasting error low.

SIMULATION FRAMEWORK

Due to the reasons discussed in the previous chapter, we started to develop a Simulation Framework to create demographic forecasting models. In our terminology, a simulation model consists of three parts: a) the initial dataset of the population, b) a complex set of parameters and c) the connections between them.

The initial data can be a simple table containing a snapshot of the current population. Such a table can be obtained from any census in the case of population forecasting. This research used the results of the Microcensus of 2005 performed by the Hungarian Central Statistical Office as an initial dataset.

Other data sources are necessary to model the lifepath of the said individuals. The mortality and fertility rates, the ratio of newborn boys compared to girls or the number of divorces are just some of the many parameters that must be estimated to forecast the population. Parameters are empirical values that we do not want to or cannot compute through other properties or parameters for the given simulation. These values must be estimated by experts or algorithms based on historical data. The ratio of boys being born was a relatively stable, constant value for the past few decades around the world, so this value can be safely incorporated in the model. Some other parameters on the

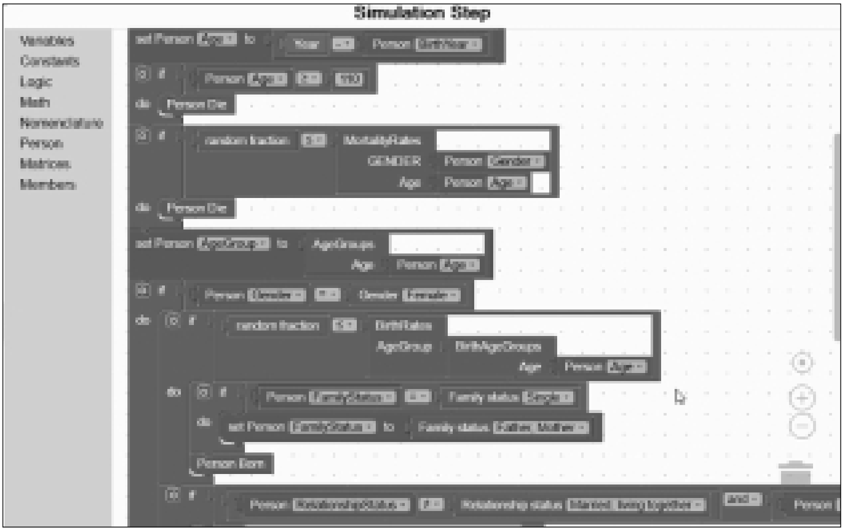

Figure 3 The graphical programming interface of the Simulation Framework

other hand, like the mortality rate (see Figure 2), are not constant in time. These must be forecasted via appropriate methods for the intended simulation years. This research used the Lee-Carter model to estimate the future mortality rates (Burka, 2016) and modified the model to forecast the fertility rates as well. It is important to note that fertility rates between 1990 and 2009 were used as the basis of this estimation, but the fertility rates show a slight increase from 2010, thus our model shows very pessimistic results.

Unlike the cohort-component method, where only matrix multiplications are required, microsimulation needs an algorithm — which is based on the connections described in the model — to iterate through every individual for every iteration step. We at the Corvinus University of Budapest are developing a complex Simulation Framework that can run these algorithms. While developing the framework, we focused on three conflicting factors: flexibility, speed, and ease of use. Our system is based off the work from the thesis of László Mohácsi (Mohácsi, 2014). He implemented a microsimulation solution on a parallel architecture to forecast the Hungarian demographic processes. His original work was narrowed down to the two basic process of birth and death. Our goal was to expand this outstandingly fast system while keeping it flexible and easy to use. However, the codes for a parallel algorithm are very complex compared to logics that should be implemented for the different connections between the properties. A simple, easy to use solution would hide the code from the user, but by taking away the option to alter the code, it would be problematic to implement the diverse logic of the iteration steps. To resolve this conflict, another layer was inserted into the framework and a new programming interface was created. It uses graphical programming solutions (Figure 3) — that are often used in teaching the basics of software development — to create the iteration-step logic. Once this simpler, sequential algorithm is built, the framework compiles the code and inserts it dynamically into the main system that uses this algorithm on every individual of the population for every iteration step in a parallel way, thus decreasing the runtime significantly.

The Simulation Framework is still a work in progress. We have already implemented a revised version of the birth and death modules and a new relationship module, and we are currently working on the "Education and career" and "Health and diseases" modules. Our software can be found on GitHub (https://github.com/dburka001/SimulationFramework), where anyone can download it. We continuously work on the system and try to expand its documentation.

HOUSEHOLDS

Just like in real life, relationships proved to be the most complicated part of our system. Implementing relationships is necessary since many factors depend on the household an individual belongs to. For example, the family status influences the mortality rate and some tax reliefs are dependent on the number of children. It is important to note though that the two examples mentioned could be implemented as parameters too so they do not require the management of households. However, there are many situations where the sheer number of children holds no sufficient information nor is it important to know who the partner exactly is. For example, the chance that a family moves to a different region or country is lower if the children already attend school, while it is higher if the children are only a few years old and do not get influenced by the environment change as much. Also, some data collections only contain information at the household level (i.e. income, highest education).

While implementing the relationship module, our aim was to reduce any kind of limitations to the minimum. That is why the system allows the user the create different relationship types and set the parameters for each of them individually. The decision-making process of the individuals is modelled by selecting the properties that can have influence on the selection of the partner. Weights are set to mirror the importance of the properties and, of course, filters can be added to limit the target group. In our model, for example, women are the only ones who can choose a partner and we only handle marriages for now. In the current setup, the most important properties for the choice are age and residence. The target group is limited to non-married men, who are older than 18. Once it has been decided in the simulation step that a woman will find a partner, the target men are organized into groups based on the selected properties, and the woman selects her partner according to a probability distribution given by the user. The greater the distance — calculated by the weights — from their own group, the lower the possibility of selecting a partner from that group.

The implementation of the relationships and the households in a parallel algorithm is a rather challenging software-development task and it significantly increases the run-

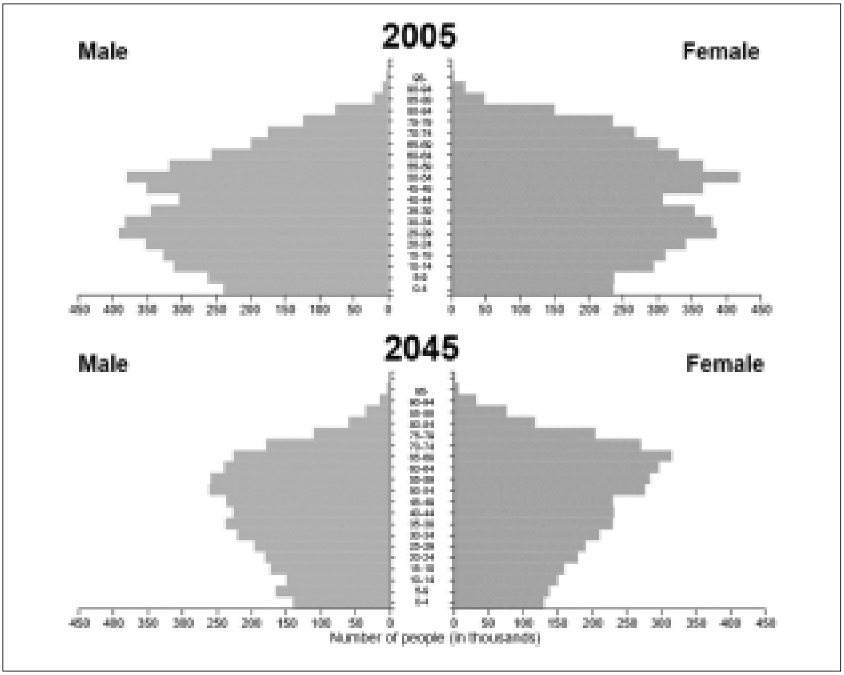

Figure 4 Development of the Hungarian age tree (simulation result)

time. However, the detail of the resulting dataset facilitates such analyses and comparisons that would be impossible with traditional methods.

RESULTS

The Simulation Framework is capable of forecasting even the most complex demographic processes but it can still be easily configured for different scenarios. We intended to reduce the limitations to the minimum, thus the framework can be set up for multiple purposes. For example, it is also capable of forecasting the development of companies including merges and divisions thanks to the relationship module. We also created a sample model for demonstration purposes, whose details we described in the previous chapters.

Figure 4 shows the development of the Hungarian age tree according to our model. The 2005 tree shows the special shape that is the consequence of the Ratkó Era, while the 2045 tree highlights the problem caused by population ageing. In the predicted scenario, the pensioners (assuming the retirement limit of 65 years) outnumber the working population, so at this point the "pay as you go" system is clearly unsustainable. This model is — as it has been mentioned before — a pessimistic approach, but it still shows results similar to other traditional forecasting methods. However, this model can examine the population in such a detailed level that is impossible to acquire

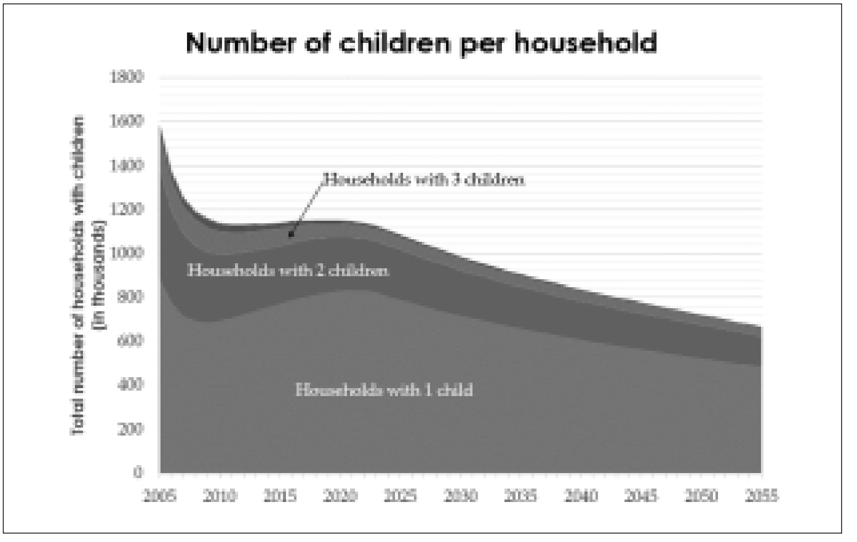

Figure 5 The number of children per household for the next 50 years in Hungary (simulation result)

with a cohort-component model. Figure 5 shows an example of this detail, namely the change in the number of children per household. The slight increase around 2020 happened because the fertility rates started to increase since 2010, but our model was based on data until 2009. However, the starting age of childbearing extended in the last few decades as well. In our dataset, the women above the age of 30 already had increasing fertility rates while the younger women had decreasing ones. The effect of this gets cancelled out in our parameter forecast as time passes.

It is important to note that the source datasets have not been thoroughly verified by the authors. The figures discussed in this chapter only serve demonstration purposes to illustrate the capabilities of the framework, thus the results should not be considered the basis of any demographic analysis.

SUMMARY

The ageing of the population will be one of the most important social and economic problems in developed countries in the coming decades. Different reforms will have to be introduced to accommodate the changes in the structure of the population. Long-term demographic forecasts are necessary to support the decision-making process related to these reforms, and to compare their effects on society and economy. We showed that microsimulation is a methodology that can fulfil the requirements of such comparisons. High computing capacity and high level of software-development skills are necessary in order to implement a microsimulation system, thus usually only ad-hoc solutions are created that are hard to reuse. We introduced the solutions used during the development of the Simulation Framework that fulfils our main requirements of flexibility, speed, and ease of use and we demonstrated the capabilities of our system.

Our project is still actively under development but it can already be used for forecasts that are much more detailed than any prediction that is based on traditional demographic processes. By continuously improving our framework, our final goal is to support the decision-making process regarding the reforms of the Hungarian pension system in the coming year. However, we also hope that the Simulation Framework can help other demographers and researchers to create more efficient and detailed predictions without investing too many resources in the implementation of a forecasting system.

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Romana LEKIĆ, Dubravko KRAUS, Vanna BOJOVIĆ

STUDENT MOBILITY EXCHANGE PROGRAMMES AS CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATIONAL TOURISM AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Abstract

Today, when the world is globalized and full of new and free ideas regarding development, we see the creation of new forms of tourism and special-interest tourism. In the classification of special forms of tourism, we can also include educational tourism, within which student exchanges are becoming more important.

The process of education through international cooperation combines various themes and programmes and thus affects the individual and the environment in a way that it develops intercultural communication between all participants in the programme and contributes to the development of society as a whole. Sharing experiences through the exchange of students and academics creates a new paradigm in education. By participating in the exchange, students take part in intercultural communication and the exchange affects their personal development because they find themselves in new situations and unfamiliar surroundings, which helps them realize the importance of co-creation and fellowship in a new environment with new protagonists.

The awareness that permanent job security no longer exists implies the need to constantly acquire new knowledge and skills in tourism. These developments have led to the development of a special form of tourism called educational tourism, and student exchange is the most important part of this form.

Using the results of the research, the aim of this study is to question how the exchange of students as a form of educational tourism through international mobility affects the development of tourism as a whole. The research was conducted using the method of interviewing students who have participated in student exchange programmes and it indicates that most of them see this form of education as a valuable experience that eliminates cultural and other barriers and contributes to the development of mutual relations, and therefore tourism in general.

Key words: *educational tourism, mobility of students, intercultural communication.*

INTRODUCTION

As cultural beings, language learners build bridges between familiar and uncharted territories through communication systems that affect the cultures in contact to the extent that previously assumed views and behaviour patterns never remain intact. Intercultural communicative competence is therefore considered a transformative process entailing a dialogic reflection and links between cultures. Furthermore, developing Intercultural Communicative Competences involves an educational integration of language and culture insofar as it places students between cultures, performing a mediating role that would allow them to become aware of their own identity and the way it is perceived by the members of the host culture; in the last instance, it makes it possible to explain and accept cultural diversity (Almarza, Martínez, & Llavador, 2015).

At a time of globalization and a growing number of open borders, especially in Europe, alongside the policy of the open market that encourages and develops the tourism of student exchange and practice, internships and summer schools have become a frequently encountered form of studying. More and more students throughout the world, Croatia included, make a decision to take part in mobility programmes to get higher education abroad. This process includes getting to know new people, cultures, countries, educational systems and other features. It provides an opportunity to get education in a different manner which makes students more independent, broadens their horizons and provides them with an additional scope of opportunities.

This kind of studying, education, internship, practice or work encourages tourism as students travel between their countries and host countries and often visit other countries or cities in the vicinity of the host country. Travel itself, along with studying or working abroad, is the very embodiment of intercultural communication, since students are faced with new environments, new people, rules, cultures and nationalities, languages and customs, which is also a part of this paper and the research attached to it.

TOURISM AND COMMUNICATION

Communication represents the basic prerequisite for the development of tourism. At the very outset, communication is indispensable for the presentation of the offer to a potential tourist during his or her stay at the destination. Thus, communication plays a significant role in the development of tourism, as it serves not only to interact and transmit information, but also to get familiar with the culture and establishes a rapport with the natives.

TOURISM AS INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

The criteria of the United Nations World Tourism Organization (2004) emphasize that for practising sustainable tourism one has to fulfil the criterion of respecting the local culture and tradition, so that foreign visitors learn the local customs, language and culture, but also that the local population learn about the expectations of foreign visitors.

Furthermore, UNWTO points out that it is necessary to strive for quality, not quantity and that the success of tourism can be measured by the length of stay, as well as by the consumption and quality of tourists' experience, and not only by the number of visitors and overnight stays. Likewise, UNWTO addresses the issue of satisfaction. A satisfied visitor will, upon return home, recommend the unforgettable destination to relatives and friends, which enables the destination to operate in the future. Student exchange, therefore, places emphasis on the quality of tourist experience and impressions based on authenticity and tradition.

Today's travellers are motivated by the wish to get familiar with a culture different from their own, in a destination which cannot be replaced by any other tourist destination. Hospitality makes it possible for a visitor to develop a certain degree of closeness with the host, and the natural and cultural environment. The essence of tourism is in visitors seeking out the social contact that is sincere, close and personal in an environment that is unusual and attractive.

A tourist destination has to make it possible for a tourist to be more than a mere observer and to become a true protagonists of travel by establishing social contact with the locals. The exchange promotes better mutual understanding since the tourist also conveys his spirit and culture.

Intercultural communication as a form of communication is in practice one of the most beautiful categories of communication science and of communication itself. It represents communication between cultures, between people who come from different countries or cities, achieve and realize mutual contact and interaction in certain environments. Intercultural communication includes the interaction of people whose cultural perception and symbolic systems are sufficiently different so that they change the very act of communication (Samovar, Porter, & McDaniel, 2013).

When an individual who belongs to a particular culture creates a symbol, a message or a piece of information for another individual who belongs to a different culture, their interaction represents intercultural communication. For example, when people from Croatia, Brazil and Egypt meet in Russia within a student exchange programme, they get together and communicate, which represents intercultural communication. Since intercultural communication, in a broader sense, includes the use of significantly different linguistic codes and contact among people belonging to different cultures, who have different systems of values (Bilić-Štefan, 2006), these systems of values will, by the very act, crumble, change or complement each other, broadening the horizons of individuals. Stereotypes are overcome and eventually, individuals change through intercultural communication. That is the most important part of intercultural communication: understanding, modifying, changing.

In tourism and in culture, communication can take place at several levels and in different dimensions. The communicator will send the message encoded in words, figures and images. The emphasis in this message-sending and message-receiving operation is reflected in the identity, as well as in the views and positions of an individual, who is unique and original. Therefore, by communicating interculturally, individuals respect each other, reflecting their own images on one other, and get to see themselves who they really are. That represents the sociological and anthropological category of self-understanding. With the onset of globalization, the world becomes better connected, more liberal and culturally and anthropologically more developed, and it survives only in variety and plurality, not in sameness and homogeneity, so that intercultural communication in tourism becomes indispensable and necessary to many individuals, or, rather, to a growing number of people.

We can say that there are many reasons for intercultural communication to happen. It has become more frequent throughout the world, and a parallel can be drawn with student exchange programmes, which have become a part of private and business life of young people and students. Contacts of intercultural communication are realized ever more frequently and easily through these exchanges.

Student mobility brings about intercultural communication between people from various countries, speaking different languages, belonging to different social and economic classes or statuses. This creates intercultural communication between them, and they claim that this experience has changed them for the better. We can say that student exchange programmes influence individuals positively, which also positively reflects on the entire interpersonal intercultural communication.

EDUCATIONAL TOURISM

Educational tourism is part of a broader social discipline of tourism and belongs to special forms of tourism, which branch out into different kinds of tourism. In accordance with the components of special-form tourism (niche-tourism), educational tourism is also called learning tourism. One of it sub-types is student exchange. It mostly has a learning, educational purpose and serves for the education of young people, either through classical education at high-education institutions, or as internship and practical work of students. Educational tourism is also the type of tourism that has been on the rise in the last 20 years, especially in the Western world and countries like the US, Australia or New Zealand (Tarranta, et al., 2014).

Educational tourism most frequently branches out into three sub-types: educational tourism during travel for leisure, educational tourism for senior citizens, and educational tourism for students.

According to Weller and Hall (1992), Bodger and others (1998), Arsaunault (2001), the Canadian Tourism Committee (2001), and Ritchie and others (2003), educational tourism encompasses the displacement of an individual or group into foreign countries for the purpose of learning and education, which have to be the main or lateral purpose of the visit, where the educational process takes place in high-education institutions, i.e. universities (Hilaly, Abbas, & Mohamed, 2014).

Within this context, intercultural communication is becoming increasingly important in educational tourism due to the rise in the number of students who take part in mobility programmes. Mobility students influence and are being influenced by their new home, society, and high-education institution. It is up to high-education institution and students to learn from one another and, in that way, further develop themselves.

STUDENT EXCHANGE PROGRAMMES

Foreign exchange programmes provide students with an opportunity to study in a different country and environment while experiencing the history and culture of another country (Daly, 2011). The concept of student exchange presupposes the realization of a part of the educational programme: a semester or an academic year at a foreign university, and/or an internship/traineeship at an institution or company abroad. Student exchanges in Croatia, as well as in Europe, or anywhere in the world, are regulated and take place within certain programmes of academic or student exchange. Although they are numerous, there are only a few worldwide programmes that are popular among students and young people who opt for the experience of student exchange, studying and living abroad. Through mobility programmes, students temporarily exchange their domicile country for a host country and in that way, they become part of the globalization process and are included in a specific form of tourism.

The best-known student exchange programmes are:

a) The Erasmus+ programme

Erasmus+ is an EU programme encompassing the fields of education, training, youth and sport for the period 2014-2021. The Erasmus+ Programme is designed to support the efforts of the countries taking part in the programme to efficiently use the potential of Europe's talent and social assets in a lifelong-learning perspective, linking support to formal, non-formal and informal learning throughout education, training and youth fields. The Programme also enhances the opportunities for cooperation and mobility with partner countries, notably in the fields of higher education and youth (European Commission, 2016). Student mobility includes mobility for studies and traineeships in a minimum period of 2 months up to a maximum of 12 months. As part of this programme, students may be eligible for financial support during their mobility period at the partner institution with no financial obligations to the partner institution regarding paying the scholarships (European Commission, 2016).

b) Bilateral agreements

Bilateral agreements which are signed between universities, faculties or departments allow student exchange in the time frame specified in the agreement itself. Usually, student exchanges last from one to two semesters in one academic year. Mobility students participating within bilateral agreement mobilities are not entitled to financial support.

c) CEEPUS — The Central European Exchange Programme for University Studies

CEEPUS is an academic exchange programme for students and university teachers from Central Europe based on multilateral cooperation agreements in the fields of education and research. The legal basis for CEEPUS is an international agreement signed by the member states and open for accession. The main activity of CEEPUS are university networks operating joint programmes, ideally leading to joint degrees, esp. joint doctoral programmes. CEEPUS covers mobility grants for students and teachers in this framework. With CEEPUS, there is no transfer of funds: there is an internal currency of "1 scholarship month" instead. Each country pays its incoming students and teachers and has to pledge at least 100 scholarship months per academic year (CEEPUS, 2016).

d) AIESEC

AIESEC is a global platform for young people to explore and develop their leadership potential. They are a non-political, independent, non-profit organisation run by students and recent graduates of institutions of higher education (AISEC, 2016). Participation in this programme gives the right to take part in professional and voluntary practices which enable students and young people to receive education and gain independence by living in a different country, outside the "comfort zone" of their own homes. The organization consists of international professional internships, international volunteer practise work and work on a variety of projects. On average, during one year, there are about 5,000 professional and over 22,000 volunteer practices realized.

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

For the purpose of the research, a survey was carried out on a sample of 138 students. The type of research was a survey with open-ended questions and multiple choices. The survey was conducted in the academic year 2015/16.

Given the gender, the survey was conducted on 107 (77.5%) female students; while 31 (32.5%) student respondents were male, indicating more female students take part in student exchange programmes.

Age structure of student is presented in Table 1.

Table 1 Age structure of participants (Source: Authors' research)

Age	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Number of participants	1	3	15	30	22	47	10	10

According to the survey, students achieved maximum mobility numbers through the Erasmus+ programme, which coincides with the fact that the Erasmus+ exchange programme is the largest programme in Europe.

Display by the type of mobility is presented in Table 2.

Table 2 Analysis of participants by mobility programme (Source: Authors' research)

Erasmus+	AIESEC	Bilateral exchange	CEEPUS	Other Programmes
82	38	10	4	4

In terms of time spent in student exchange programmes, results are presented in Table 3.

Table 3 Length of stay in mobility period, in months (Source: Authors' research)

Length of stay in months	0-3	3-6	6-9	9-12
Number of participants	23	82	23	10

In terms of the extent to which the financial grant that students got was sufficient to cover the costs of their stay in host country, results are presented in Table 4.

Table 4 Number of received grants (Source: Authors' research)

	I did not receive a grant	The grant covered only a part of costs	The grant covered only the costs of living	The grant covered all costs and the rest went to other things
Number of responses	25	86	21	6

It is evident from the answers that most students who participated in the exchange programme had to rely on their own resources.

Mobility students spend financial funds on renting apartments, on utilities, food, free time, cultural events, visits to other destinations and other activities. The more mobility students a destination receives, the better economic gain that destination has. Additionally, students use different social networks and in that way, they promote the destination by sharing pictures, comments, statuses, etc. In that way, the tourist destination gets free publicity and marketing.

In table 5, the number of mobility students who visited additional/surrounding countries during the mobility period of students is presented.

Table 5 Number of additional/surrounding countries visited during the mobility period (Source: Authors' research)

Number of visited countries	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Number of students	38	30	28	12	10	7	5	6	1	1

Some students did not visit any additional/surrounding foreign countries, which does not mean that the students did not travel. This only means that the student travelled between cities in the country where she or he was on exchange.

During their stay in the country where mobility took place, students visited six cities on average. Visiting additional destinations in one country allowed students to further gain knowledge and experience of local tradition and customs. This also means that mobility students had to spend their own financial resources to get to the destination, buy souvenirs, enjoy local cuisine, take part in tourist tours, etc. That way we can say that mobility students actively contribute to tourism earnings of tourist destinations in the host country.

The study has showed that parents visited 55 students (39.85%) during their mobility in an average duration of 3-5 days. This fact shows that educational tourism also affects other potential participants and generates added benefit for a tourist destination.

Results for the questions "How did student exchange influence your life, how much did this experience change your opinions, personal attitudes, lifestyle and worldviews?" show that 76% of the students have been positively influenced by mobility programmes and in some way changed by them. They belive that they have grown as individuals and that their lifestyle and worldviews have changed. They also stated that now they were open to meeting new people in new cities and countries. This means that they are willing to travel more and that the mobility period influenced them in a way that they were ready to travel even more than they planned before the mobility period. 24% of teh students stated that for them the mobility period did not influence or change their personal lifestyle, opinions and attitudes.

The students lived in communities with other domestic and foreign students during their exchange period. By living in a new country and city, it is normal that new friendships were forged. All students that were involved in this survey stated that during their mobility period they had socialized with students from other countries. In that way, they learned about new cultures, traditions and customs.

Some of the students stated that they learned a new language. In a survey taken by 82 students, 59.4% of them stated that they learned a new language. 56 students or 40.6% did not learn a new language, but they managed to improve or polish their English. This shows that students during their mobility period further improve the level of English and learn a new language that can later on be useful in their professional career.

The survey asked whether the students, once they have completed their exchange period, planned to return for a visit to friends that they got to know during the mobility period. The result show that 126 students (91.3%) have already visited or are planning to visit friends that they met during their mobility period. They are planning to visit friends from different countries because exchange students come from different countries. This shows how student exchange as part of educational tourism has a positive effect on tourism in many countries and not only the country where the mobility period took place.

Results for the questions "During your mobility period, how much did you contact and socialize with host community and participate in their customs and traditional practices" can be found in Table 6.

Table 6 Contact and socialization with host community and participation in their customs and traditional practices (Source: Authors' research)

	Number of students
I did not participate at all	3
I participated very rarely	7
I attended in some occasions	23
I attended in large number of occasions	74
I completely blended with the customs and traditions of the community	31

It can be concluded from the replies that most mobility students wanted to get familiar with customs and traditions of the local population. This enables mobility students to acquaint themselves with new values and develop further as individuals, fitting new knowledge into their lifestyle. In order for students to understand customs and traditions, there had to be intercultural communication. Whatever knowledge and insights they gained will be there for them to use in future.

In reply to question whether, during the stay, they noticed behaviour or customs of the local community they did not like, or that irritated them, here are the five most frequent replies:

a Customs related to football matches, vandalism and behaviour of the local community and football fans when a game is lost,
b Attitude to others and different ones, such as the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender population,
c Interference of the Church in matters of personal freedom, abortion and family planning,
d Marginalization of national minorities and their cultural identities and traditions in public and cultural life,
e Gender differences and sexuality are still a taboo in public life, especially in education.

Responses to the question "During your exchange period did you visit places where locals gather?" are presented in Table 7.

Table 7 Did you visit places during the exchange programme where locals gather? (Source: Authors' research)

	Number of students
I did not visit places where locals gather	0
I rarely visited places where locals gather	0
I occasionally visited places where locals gather	9
I mostly visited places where locals gather	89
Most of the time I was at places where locals gather	40

It can be concluded from the replies that all students wanted to be included at places where locals gather and that they were not looking at the places that were aimed specifically for tourists. One of the main reasons for that is to learn about local culture and tradition.

CONCLUSION

Student exchange programmes have become a large and important part of educational tourism programmes, and special forms of tourism as well. Thus, they have a direct impact upon the overall image of tourism in the world and contribute to it in many different ways. Student exchange programmes contribute in the financial spectrum, which is relevant to educational tourism, because research proved that most students in exchange programmes, disregarding whether they get grants from institutions, spend more money than they had planned.

It can be concluded that intercultural communication is the best and the most significant result that young people take back from the exchange programme, judging by their comments and experiences described in the research. For that reason, intercultural communication and interaction with other nations is highly rated and students would like to repeat it in the near future. Most see this experience as the best of their life so far.

The positive experience and changed attitudes and views about tourism and lessons learned from intercultural communication are spread by students who participated, and they thus encourage others to take part in student exchange programmes. They continue to interact with and travel with friends, they met during the exchange, who live all over the world. In this way, they realize their individual impact on tourism in general, and on educational tourism, as well as on the year-round development of international tourism. They have come to understand, and to apply the broad anthropological concept that it does not matter where you travel, but whom you meet in the process.

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Biserka MATIĆ-ROŠKO

EDUCATION ON CROATIAN ISLANDS

Abstract

Depopulation and ageing in the Republic of Croatia lead to a decrease of pupils, and even more so in the country's island schools.

Island education and educational challenges go hand in hand: fewer pupils, lack of professional teachers, insufficient support for gifted pupils and those with disabilities. Our educational policy is trying to solve the mentioned challenges by creating better teaching conditions. Therefore, a variety of projects have been implemented in the last few years, all with the goal to increase the usage of Information Technologies in the teaching process (projects: e-Islands, Schools 2.0 and e-Schools). These projects have ensured better equipment, e-learning, adequate teaching staff, but also a decrease of social exclusion, an increase in cooperation and the availability of different digital teaching content. The projects also improved the quality of island education and gave pupils the opportunity to enrich the competencies needed for further education and the labour market. Furthermore, the projects ensured the professional development of teachers, strengthened the professional capacities in schools and enticed their cooperation at a national and international level.

One could argue that the educational policy recognized the importance of equal access to good education and thus promotes projects that represent a step forward in the assurance of equal educational opportunities for all children in the Republic of Croatia.

Key words: *island education, e-learning, island schools, educational policy, digitally mature schools, equal educational opportunities*

ISLAND EDUCATION

In the last few years, there have been many professional and public discussions about the topic of education. In 2014, the Parliament published an extremely important document — the Strategy of Science, Education and Technology — in which the emphasis was given to equal opportunities regarding quality education for all children within the Republic of Croatia. This is a difficult goal to achieve, since investments in facilities, equipment and professional capacities are needed. But one of the most difficult challenges is to provide children living on islands with the same quality of education. It is very important to organize social and pedagogical structures to avoid different progression and academic achievement among children (Vujčić 2013).

Education and educational activities are the slowest of all the technologically modernized important social activities (Pastuović, 1999). All these lead to the insufficient effectiveness of schools.

The educational crisis is not only evident in education itself, but also in the child-rearing function of the educational system.

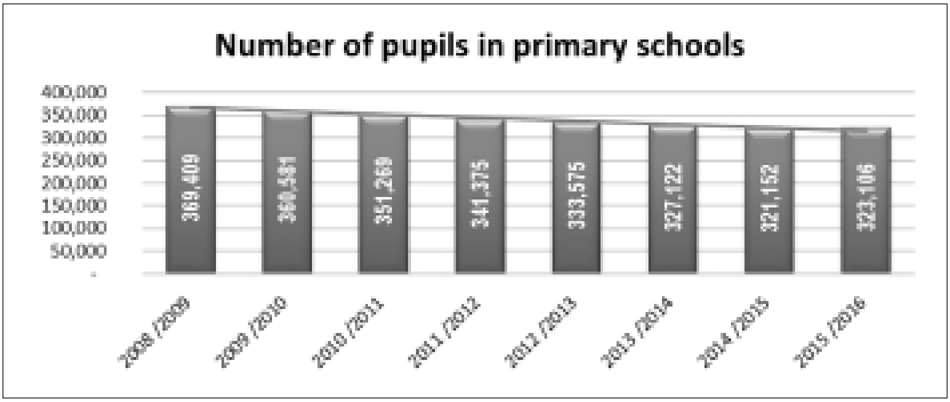

Figure 1 The number of pupils in Croatian primary schools by school year
(Data: Ministry of Science and Education, year 2015/2016)

Because of depopulation and aging, the number of children aged 6-14, who are obligated to receive elementary education, is decreasing. Thus, in the last eight years Croatia has lost 46,303 pupils, which is a population of a town such as Sisak.

The Republic of Croatia has 47 inhabited islands (Census of population, households and dwellings, 31 March 2011) and, out of the total number of Croatian pupils, 7,969 or 2.47% were in the primary school system in the school year 2015/2016.

During public expert debates regarding budgeting, a question of rationalization of primary school networks comes to focus. Since the closing of small island schools would inadvertently lead to further depopulation, various distance-education methods are being developed, which would enable children to stay in their primary environment for as long as possible.

The national pedagogical standard of the Republic of Croatia has as its goal, regardless of demographic and economic diversity, to ensure equal working conditions in educational facilities. Therefore, the number of pupils and class sections can vary from the prescribed minimum (150 pupils and at least eight grades — one class per each grade from 1st to 8th) in case of special circumstances — such as difficult working conditions. Schools that fall into the mentioned category would be those located on islands, in the mountains and poorly-connected areas, as well as areas under special state care (National pedagogical standard, Ministry of Science and Education, 2008).

Island schools may therefore have a smaller number of pupils and classes, and regardless of the costs, closing them is not part of the plan.

It is important to note that, with extraordinary efforts from teachers, good results are achieved in Croatia's island schools: pupils participate in all levels of competitions; they are involved in local, national and international projects and promote island particularities.

Island schools are located in six counties (Primorje-Gorski Kotar, Lika-Senj, Zadar, Split-Dalmatia, Šibenik-Knin and Dubrovnik-Neretva counties). The number of prima-

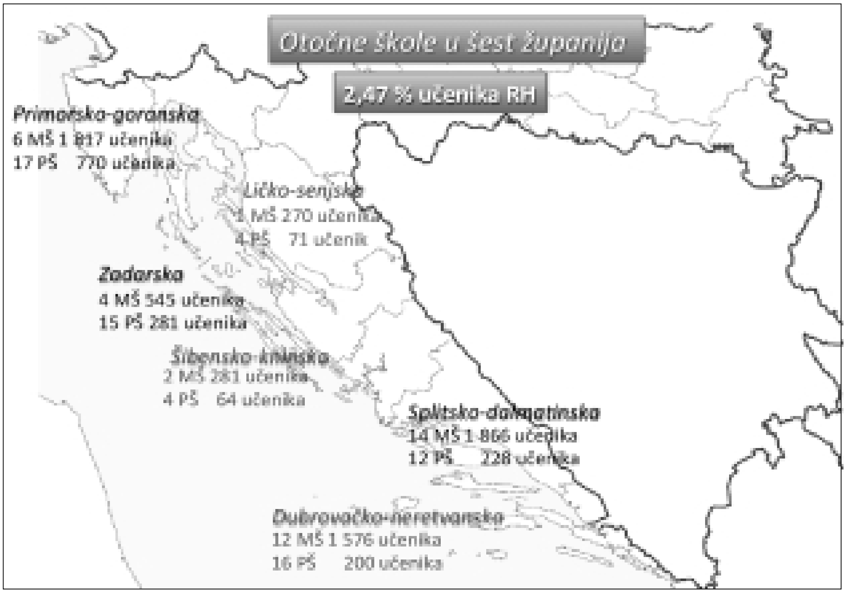

Figure 2 Islands Schools by Counties
(Data: Ministry of Science and Education, year 2015/2016)

ry schools in the stated counties is 39, and there are also 78 branch schools, while 7969 pupils attend classes in the said counties (2.47% of the total number of pupils in the year 2015/2016).

Figure 3 Island Schools by Size (Data: Ministry of Science and Education)

Islands and primary schools						
		Number of schools		Number of pupils		
County	Island	Primary school	Branch school	Primary school	Branch school	Total
Primorje — Gorski Kotar	Krk	3	5	700	491	1191
	Cres	1	1	196	11	207
	Rab	1	6	465	211	676
	Lošinj	1	2	465	41	487
	Ilovik		1		7	7
	Susak		1		5	5
	Unije		1		4	4
	TOTAL	6	17	1817	770	2587
Lika-Senj	Pag	1	4	270	71	341
Zadar	Pag	1	3	188	32	32
	Pašman	0	1	0	24	24
	Silba	0	1	0	4	4
	Veli Iž	0	1	0	11	11
	Vir	0	1	0	82	82
	Ugljan	1	6	186	117	303

	Dugi Otok	1	1	48	5	53
	Pašman	1	0	123	0	123
	Vrgada	0	1	0	6	6
	TOTAL	4	15	545	281	618
Šibenik-Knin	Krapanj	0	1	0	2	2
	Prvić		1	0	5	5
	Murter	2	2	181	57	338
	TOTAL	2	4	281	64	345
Split-Dalmatia	Hvar	4	6	616	65	681
	Čiovo	1	1	208	61	254
	Vis	2	0	188	0	188
	Šolta	1	0	49	0	49
	Brač	6	5	810	102	912
	TOTAL	14	12	1866	228	1094
Dubrovnik — Neretva	Koločep	0	1	0	1	1
	Šipan	0	2	0	23	23
	Lopud	0	1	0	7	7
	Lastovo	1	0	48	0	43
	Mljet	1	1	52	6	58
	Korčula	5	4	1069	63	1132
	Pelješac	5	7	412	100	512
	TOTAL	12	16	1576	200	1776

Island schools differ by size. As expected, the biggest schools are those on islands with the largest populations, respectively the islands in Primorje-Gorski Kotar County (Krk, Lošinj), Split-Dalmatia County (Brač, Hvar) and Dubrovnik-Neretva County (Korčula).

Islands with the lowest number of pupils are those belonging to the Lika-Senj and Šibenik-Knin counties.

CHALLENGES OF ISLAND EDUCATION

Smaller district schools on distant islands with low population are perhaps the ones with the largest number of problems. Some of these problems are the following: social exclusion, traffic isolation, lack of professional teachers, inadequate professional development, housing issues for teachers, lack of support for gifted pupils and assistance for pupils with disabilities. In order for these difficulties to be resolved, there is a need for joint action regarding better living standards on islands (more professional options, incentives for housing, better connectivity with the mainland and other islands).

The European Union recognizes the specific conditions of islands, as well as the inequality that the islanders are facing, and thus promotes territorial and social cohesion in order to achieve equal rights and opportunities for all EU citizens.

With the said conditions in mind, our educational policy began with the implementation of IT in classrooms and e-learning. Several projects which have a specific aim — to compensate for the inadequate teaching staff — have been implemented.

These projects educate the existing staff and increase the level of digital competencies of pupils and teachers as well. The main coordinator of these projects is the Croatian Academic and Research Network — CARNet.

THE "E-ISLANDS" PROJECT

In 2006, the e-Islands Project started with the aim of educational quality increase. Project partners were the Ministry of Science and Education, CARNet and the Central Sate Administrative Office for E-Croatia.

Figure 4 Schools included in the e-Island Project (Data: Croatian Academic Network — CARNet)

e-Islands participants		
		Number of pupils
PS[1] Faust Vrančić, Šibenik		
	BS[2] Prvić	7
	BS Zlarin	3
PS Brodarica, Brodarica		
	DS Krapanj	4
PS Slano, Slano		
	BS Suđurađ	6
	BS Šipanska Luka	20
PS Ivan Gundulić, Dubrovnik		
	BS Koločep	6
PS Antun Masle, Orašac		
	BS Lopud	8
PS Mario Martinolić, Mali Lošinj		
	BS Ilovik	6
	BS Susak	10
	BS Unije	8
PS Petar Lorini, Sali		
PS Zadarski otoci, Zadar		
	BS Olib	1
	BS Silba	2
	BS Veli Iž	22

Because of the project, branch schools are connected with primary schools by wireless networks. This enables distance education via videoconferences and an exchange of knowledge and teaching materials. Schools participating in the project received IT equipment, which ensured a better teaching performance and adequate teachers for pupils who up until the project did not have these opportunities. Competent teachers held lessons in parent schools, which resolved the problem of insufficient

[1] PS — Primary school

[2] DS — Branch school

Figure 5 Schools 2.0 Project (Data: Croatian Academic Network — CARNet)

human resources and increased the quality of education. Interactive videoconferences and efficient tools for distance education are designed to support dual video/audio communication between more locations.

The participants, pupils, teachers and parents are finding the experience positive: social exclusion has decreased, digital competencies are being improved and the use of IT motivates children to study and work.

SCHOOLS 2.0 PROJECT

The Schools 2.0 Project tried to connect as many schools as possible onto a high-speed internet and enable better connectivity and cooperation between schools on a regional, national and international level. There were 27 schools, from geographically remote areas (including islands), which were involved in the project (PS Mario Martinolić, Mali Lošinj). The project was implemented in the course of two years (1 January 2012 — 31 December 2013). CARNet was the project coordinator and the duration was defined by a decision from the Government of the Republic of Croatia who financed the project. Schools were provided with IT equipment, and professional education was ensured. The goal of the project was to enable a good, comprehensive distance education for the largest number of users as possible — including both teachers and pupils.

E-SCHOOLS PROJECT

The e-Schools pilot project — establishing a system for developing digitally mature schools — is a part of the e-Schools programme, which is being implemented through numerous projects aiming for informatisation of schools during the period between 2015 and 2022. After the finalization of the e-Schools pilot project, which is to be implemented from 2015 to 2018, the inclusion of all other schools is planned for the period between 2019 and 2022.

The e-Schools pilot project, which is being implemented as we speak, has the goal to establish a system for developing digitally mature schools through the application of IT in educational and business processes in 10% of all schools in the Republic of Croatia.

150 schools are included in the project, both primary and high schools. Among them are island primary schools Pag — PS Juraj Dalmatinac, Rab — PS Ivan Rabljanin, Korčula — PS Blato and Vis — PS Komiža.

Again, the project coordinator is CARNet, and it is financed by the European Structural and Investment Funds.

This project, the most ambitious one up to date, plans to strengthen the capacities of teachers regarding the implementation of new approaches in teaching, informatisation of the teaching process, production of digital teaching materials and lifelong learning.

Through this project pupils will develop their digital competences and they will be ready to continue their education or step into the labour market.

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https://www.carnet.hr/e-skole

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PERCEPTION OF SECOND FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSES BY STUDENTS OF TOURISM

A b s t r a c t

Starting from the fact that the European Commission has described knowledge of foreign languages as one of the key competencies in the labour market, and taking into account Croatian orientation towards tourism, this paper describes the influence of students' individual attitudes and their perception of the importance of foreign language acquisition. The aim of this paper is to analyse students' perception of tourism regarding second foreign language as one of the obligatory courses. The research is based on an anonymous online survey examining opinions and attitudes by the students of Tourism at the VERN' University of Applied Sciences.

The results show that, although some of the students did not even have a basic foreign language knowledge, they have acquired certain linguistic competencies through language classes taken during their studies. The analysis also shows that the students appreciate language learning through a combination of general and business-related linguistic content, with a focus on conversation and discussion. Along with a selection of current and interesting topics, this has had a high impact on their motivation for language learning. Finally, based on their opinions and survey results, there is room for improvement, as evident from a number of suggestions and recommendations with the aim of improving the teaching of the obligatory second language in Tourism Studies.

Key words: *second foreign language, Italian and German as second foreign languages, foreign language for specific purposes, attitude and motivation, education in tourism*

INTRODUCTION

The principal goal of learning foreign languages as part of the education system offered by institutions specialising in tourism is to train students for work in the tourism and hotel industries. Each profession, tourism in particular, includes the knowledge of foreign languages as a prerequisite for competent work. Thus, the assumption is that upon entering the labour market, students should be able to communicate effectively in business and tourism situations. Since tourism is defined as a set of relationships and occurrences arising from visitors travelling to and staying at a destination (Pirjevec, 1998), it encompasses a wide range of interdisciplinary activities, both those rendering such services and amenities, and those buying or utilising said services and amenities as end users. This interdisciplinary correlation between fields encompassed by tourism is the very reason for the prominent role language plays in tourism. The impact of language in the globalisation phenomenon throughout the world is inevitable, as it contributes to a better understanding of diversity of all parts of the world. Tourism, in the broadest sense, is enriched by language, which introduces, among other elements, a cultural element — understanding other cultures and traditions — but also raises the awareness of preserving one's own identity and heritage.

Relying on these assumptions, a significant number of tertiary-education institutions includes foreign LSP classes as part of their programme. The English language is indisputably considered a *lingua franca* and it cannot be ignored that it affects all spheres of our lives as a result of globalisation.

When planning second foreign language curricula, especially when it comes to LSP, a salient issue is motivation and whether a second foreign language has already been acquired through formal and/or informal education and to what extent. Working with students in an interactive environment which enables direct and constant contact raises the question of how to motivate students and ultimately impart skills and knowledge required for active use of a language.

The viewpoints and motivation for learning a second or third foreign language are of vital importance in the language acquisition process. Ever since the initial research of Canadian psychologists Lambert and Gardner, there has been a need to clarify the role of this complex phenomenon which includes the desire to learn, positive viewpoints and invested effort. By observing these factors, we can obtain a complete picture of motivation. To each person, motivation implies different goals, that is, there are infinite reasons why a person is motivated and driven to pursue an activity (Gardner & Lambert, 1972, as adapted by Jelovčić, 2008). The motivation to learn foreign languages is one of the key factors influencing the extent to which and the manner in which it will influence certain behaviour, i.e. when a primary, secondary or tertiary education student will start learning a foreign language (Mihaljevć Djigunovć, 1998). Students are most commonly motivated to learn a foreign language by their surroundings in order to be able to communicate with other people in that language (Gardner, 2002, as adapted by Balenović, 2011). Aside from cognitive factors (language aptitude, optimal learning age, etc.), affective factors are just as important, with motivation in interaction with the context being the most important one.

In certain fields, command over foreign languages in the increasingly competitive and global market includes knowledge of no less than two or three foreign languages. In addition, understanding several foreign languages can generally be crucial when it comes to employment. Nowadays, the awareness of the increasing need for students to be motivated and to start learning as early as possible is being raised. Consequently, a number of tertiary-education institutions include foreign language classes in their curricula via courses designed to impart the required knowledge and communication skills, both for general foreign language and language for specific purposes (LSP). At this age, it is crucial for lecturers in direct contact with students in class to motivate students, encourage their interest and successfully organise interactive classes. Attention has long since been drawn to student-centred learning, or learner-centred approach to education, by authors researching the contents and purpose of LSP, with emphasis on the necessity to always link motivation with the users' needs (Hutchinson & Waters, 1987, as adapted by Jelovčić, 2008).

GOAL AND PURPOSE OF RESEARCH

The purpose of this paper is to research the viewpoints and motivation when it comes to learning Italian and German as second foreign languages. Also, one of the principal aims is to point out the significance of students who are enrolled in the Tourism-study programme having knowledge of a second foreign language, and to offer suggestions on how to improve second foreign language classes, which are part of this post-graduate study programme of the VERN' University of Applied Sciences.

The VERN' University of Applied Sciences in Zagreb offers a post-graduate professional study programme titled Tourism, which encompasses seven semesters over three and a half years of study. During its first two years, the Tourism-study programme teaches the fundamental knowledge of economics and general skills of business management as well as general skills of business communication required when working in operative management up to a medium-complexity level. In the third year, the interdisciplinary know-how of tourism and hotel business is focused on self-employment and is applicable in practice, especially in various jobs one can hold in a travel agency or destination, the tourist board system, hospitality and service activities. Practical know-how based on learning outcomes is complemented by IT skills and continuous learning of foreign languages, on which great value is placed. Second language courses *German Language in Tourism* and *Italian Language in Tourism* are held entirely in their respective foreign language, but are specific in that they cover curriculum content students also acquire through their first language and horizontally follow the content and topics of other courses.

The volume in which and the depth to which topics are covered in the second foreign language are of smaller extent than those in the English language course, as the level of second foreign language knowledge is lower and dependant on the pre-acquired formal education of students. This is why second foreign language learning involves both repetition of basic grammar structures and gradual and progressive acquisition of new linguistic principles. Moreover, attention is drawn to historical and cultural linguistic elements of the language that is being learned, leaving sufficient time for covering tourism-related topics such as trip planning, accommodation capacities characteristics, travel agency or hotel operations, reception work, customer relations, entertainment, food and gastronomy or presenting Croatia as a destination.

The comparative advantage of this study course is most surely the opportunity to learn an optional second foreign language as early as in the first year of study, as a preparatory stage in attending LSP classes. When enrolling in this study programme, all students take initial written and oral examinations to test their knowledge of their respective second foreign language (Italian or German). First-year students enrolled in the study programme Tourism who have never learned a second foreign language, which they will be taking as a compulsory LSP course in their second and third year, have the opportunity to take a preparatory optional course during their first two semesters. This enables them to gain basic knowledge of general language in order to be able to actively follow the curriculum and learn the LSP from their third semester onward without hindrances. Throughout their first year of studies, students have the option to either build on their existing knowledge or start learning a second foreign language, taking up to four classes a week. From their second year onward, most students are already in command of the linguistic basics at levels A1 or A2 as defined by the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*. In order to study the viewpoints and motivation or perception of students at the VERN' University of Applied Sciences when it comes to learning a second foreign language, the students' opinions were researched and classified into two groups: German language students and Italian language students. The aim was to evaluate the classes, assess one's own success and learning stimuli. The expected results were to indicate the importance of motivating students, and the needs and expectations related to foreign language classes held at the University.

METHODOLOGY

This survey included second and third-year participants, classified by the second foreign language of their choice. Four groups of students, each encompassing some 20 students, were surveyed using the anonymous electronic questionnaire method. The survey was conducted during the 2015/16 summer semester and 2016/17 winter semester. It was optional and anonymous; the results were calculated manually and processed using descriptive statistical analysis.

The conducted survey questionnaire contained 15 questions. The questions pertained to experiences of learning a second foreign language, grouped into three sections: (I) the introductory section, which establishes the facts on previous experience and perception of language in general (questions 1-2), followed by (II) the second section, which aims to examine personal motivation and evaluation of personal progress and success (questions 3-8), and, lastly, (III) the final part, which examines what students expect from their classes and provides them with the opportunity to give any comments and suggestions as to the way to improve those classes. The first 14 questions were close-ended questions, offering the respondents the following possible answers: a choice between two or more possibilities, and multiple choice in three questions (questions 3-5). The last question was open-ended, descriptive and asked the students to give their general comments, opinions and suggestions on the ways to improve the quality of second foreign language classes.

By using the available bibliography, as well as the experience of cited lecturers and this questionnaire with statements designed according to the statement questionnaire template by Mihaljević-Djigunović (1998), ranking lists were compiled to create a set of instruments for describing the viewpoints on and motivation for learning a second foreign language.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The processing of information extracted from the questionnaire yielded the following results:

Table 1 Surveyed students sample

	Number of Italian language students	Number of German language students
Total number of initial questionnaires	71	94
Number of respondents	56	53

Out of a total of 165 second and third-year students attending language classes, the questionnaire was completed by 109 students, accounting for a 66.06% response rate. Thus, the sample can be considered relevant. The Italian language questionnaire was completed by 56 students, while 53 students responded to the German language questionnaire.

SECTION I — INTRODUCTION: PRIOR EXPERIENCES AND LANGUAGE PERCEPTION

Table 2 Information of second foreign language knowledge prior to study enrolment

Question no. 1 Were you able to make use of a second foreign language (It/Ger) prior to study enrolment?	Number of Italian language students	Number of German language students
YES	29 (51.79%)	36 (67.92%)
NO	27 (48.21%)	17 (32.07%)

The term "make use of Italian or German language" means being able to achieve command of basic Italian or German language skills at levels A1 or A2 as defined by the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*, which can usually be acquired through formal education in school, most commonly as an elective subject or by enrolling in foreign language courses on one's own initiative.

Table 3 Information on perception of second foreign language learning

Question no. 2 How would you grade the difficulty level of learning your second foreign language?	Student learning Italian	Student learning German
Very easy	1 (0.17%)	0 (0.00%)
Fairly easy	15 (26.78%)	2 (3.77%)

Generally no easier/harder to learn than other languages	23 (58.92%)	20 (37.73%)
Difficult	7 (12.50%)	25 (47.16%)
Very difficult	0 (0.00%)	6 (11.32%)

More than half of the respondents were of the opinion that Italian was just as easy to learn as other foreign languages. These results may be used to support the assumption that Italian language sounds "fairly easy" or "generally no harder" than other foreign languages, which leads to the conclusion that some students may choose to learn Italian based on this perception. Since this study programme involves compulsory attendance of language classes and ultimately gaining command over the language, the students tend to select whichever language they deem easier. Sometimes, language perception may result in misconceptions and lead to students ignoring the fact that each language has its own structure, principles and, ultimately, vocabulary which must be followed or mastered. Any previous linguistic knowledge may create misperceptions. Also, progression in mastering a language may be influenced by one's own progress. These results corroborate the general opinion that the German language is extremely demanding to learn, which is why it is often avoided by students. This, unfortunately, starts as early as secondary education when students choose a second foreign language, deciding against German in fear of bad grades.

SECTION II — EXAMINATION OF ONE'S OWN MOTIVATION AND EVALUATION OF ONE'S OWN SUCCESS

It goes without saying that most of the students understand the importance of using a second foreign language in their future career and thus want to learn one. They are also aware of the need to have command over a foreign language and of its usefulness in relation to its demand in the tourism market when taking into account how closely situated Croatia is to Italy and Germany and the historical links it shares with these two countries. Therefore, this question serves to confirm that, according to students, integrative and instrumental motivation complement each other. Integrative motivation enables students to use a certain language to adapt and fit in more easily. With Croatia being a tourist country, an integratively motivated individual learns to fit in with society. Instrumental motivation is present in individuals who learn a second language to achieve a practical goal, e.g. advance in their job, of which students are also aware. It is apparent that motivation to learn a foreign language is linked to success, while success in mastering a language is also linked to reasons of a cultural nature, that is, to the acceptance of the different culture the language of which is being learned.

The curriculum is well designed, but there is an evident trend in the perception of today's youth/students, who prefer interactive teaching to the traditional approach of using assignments and writing exercises. We can clearly state that students prefer Italian to German. The reasons for this preference are mostly fear and insecurity when

Diagram 1 Reasons for learning a second foreign language as part of the tourism professional study programme

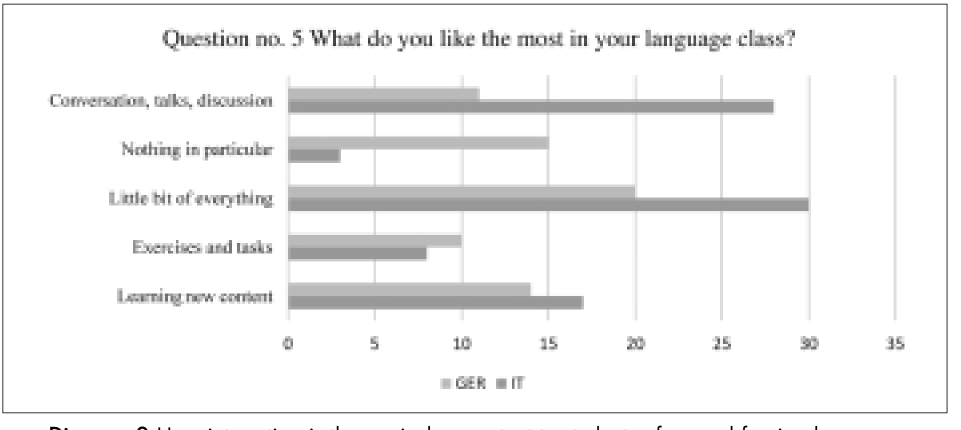

Diagram 2 How interesting is the curriculum content to students of second foreign language

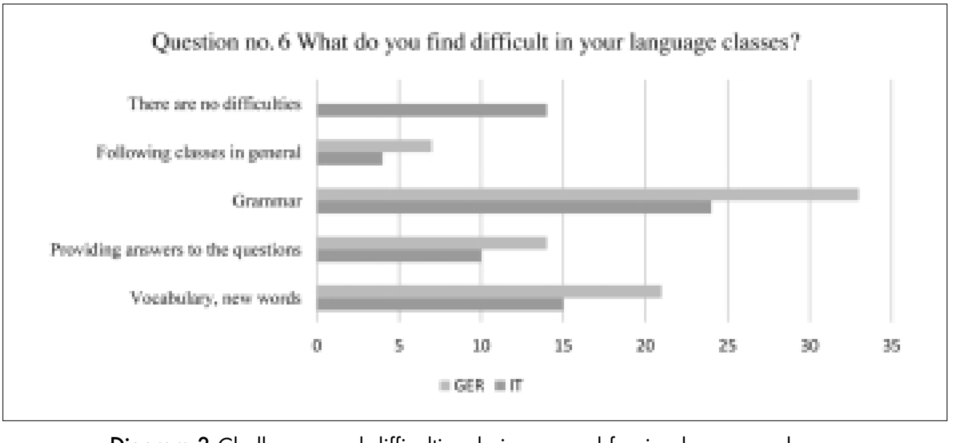

Diagram 3 Challenges and difficulties during second foreign language classes

it comes to being able to master German. Insufficient previous knowledge, irregular learning of grammar, and learning of nouns with articles or new vocabulary — all of this creates an image of lacking knowledge of German. A considerable number of students show insecurity when engaging in conversations. It is up to the teacher to find a way to make conversations engaging to students and encourage them to participate actively in class without being distracted by mistakes, which are, after all, unavoidable when learning any foreign language.

The biggest challenge students are faced with is the application of grammar and answering questions in class, which makes sense, since students must be able to apply grammar principles if they want to answer the questions they are asked. Students find it fairly demanding to learn new words by active participation in discussions and answering questions. Furthermore, it can be concluded that students find it easier to learn new profession-related vocabulary, since they consider it interesting and notice how it relates to other courses. A significant number of respondents among Italian language students stated that they faced no problems in class, which can be interpreted as high self-assessment of their own success and fast progress on basic levels. In contrast, no German language students stated that they were not faced with any problems. When learning German, grammar poses an obvious challenge, since it is deemed “insurmountable” if seen as “separate” from vocabulary, or if it is learned without understanding and connecting it to previously learned knowledge.

Table 4 Information on self-assessment of one's own progress in second foreign language aptitude

Question no. 6 Do you see progress in your language skills?	Student learning Italian	Student learning German
Yes, there has been significant progress since I started learning	25 (44.64%)	9 (17.30%)
I see some progress	25 (44.64%)	33 (63.46%)
No, I see no progress	6 (10.71%)	10 (19.23%)

A large number of Italian language students have noticed significant progress in their language skills. The results can be interpreted as arising from a non-classic approach to students which uses conversation and transfer of viewpoints through conversational patterns to enable students to improve their conversational LSP skills in a short period of time. As a result, they can let go of their fear of mistakes and notice progress when communicating in their second foreign language. In addition, there is constant interlocking and repetition of general linguistic principles, i.e. grammar. Italian language students see this interlinkage of professional content, vocabulary and grammar rules as an advantage, seeing as the communicated message still gets across. German language students, on the other hand, interpret this complexity as a disadvantage and aggravating circumstance. Students are constantly acquiring LSP skills and feel more competent owing to the correlation of topics and content with other courses. When examining comments provided in other questions, it is interesting to note that students notice progress in their LSP knowledge, while at the same time deeming that their general competencies are not improving enough. In other words, the linguistic knowledge level stays the same, with LSP-applicable skills being the only aspect to show progress.

Table 5 Information on utilising second foreign-language knowledge

Question no. 7 Are you putting your present knowledge to use?	Student learning Italian	Student learning German
Always when I am presented with the opportunity to do so	19 (33.92%)	8 (15.38%)
Often	9 (16.07%)	4 (7.69%)
Occasionally	21 (37.50%)	31 (59.61%)
Never, since I have never had the opportunity	7 (12.50%)	10 (19.23%)

Students use the skills learned thus far whenever they are presented with the opportunity to do so. The obtained results also lead us to conclude that students learn a foreign language to start applying it right away, on a daily basis. It is surprising that there are students who have yet to come in contact with native speakers of Italian/German, or have never been to Italy or Germany.

Table 6 Self-assessment of one's own second foreign language aptitude

Question no. 8 How would you rate your second foreign language knowledge?	Student learning Italian	Student learning German
I speak it fairly well considering how long I have been learning it	25 (44.64%)	10 (19.23%)
It could be better considering how long I have been learning it	26 (46.42%)	25 (48.07%)
I do not speak it very well considering how long I have been learning it	5 (8.92%)	17 (32.69%)

There is notable insecurity among students who study German, considering that quite a few of the respondents stated that their knowledge should be much better. Unfortunately, insufficient use of German in everyday life outside of the classroom, that is, via media or the Internet, contributes to these results. Italian language students on the other hand, considering how long they have been studying it as second foreign language, are critical of their self-assessment of the knowledge due to their desire for improvement. This seems to be a good thing, as students constantly strive to improve, which will indeed pay off in the future — all those who want to will work on perfecting their language skills. The other half of the respondents are aware of the fact that their skills could be much better considering the time they have spent learning the language. But their internal motivation is clearly not enough and they may rely on being encouraged or motivated by their teachers in order to improve.

SECTION III — STUDENTS' EXPECTATIONS FOR CLASSES IN THE TOURISM STUDY PROGRAMME

Table 7 Degree of representation of a second foreign language in the Tourism study programme

Question no. 9 In your opinion, how well-represented is your second foreign language at the VERN' University of Applied Sciences?	Student learning Italian	Student learning German
To a sufficient extent	40 (71.42%)	33 (62.26%)
To an insufficient extent	16 (28.57%)	20 (37.73%)

Table 7 shows that most students of both languages deem that their respective second foreign language is well-represented in the Tourism study programme of the VERN' University of Applied Sciences, although there are some who find that it is not sufficiently represented. This is considered an extremely good indicator, as they are aware of the importance of being able to speak foreign languages as future tourism workers. In their other comments, they point out that German is the most common language to be taught as the second foreign language in primary and secondary schools throughout Croatia, leaving the students with little opportunity to learn any other language as their second foreign language. They also emphasise that even though some were able to learn German in primary school, they were not provided with the opportunity to continue building on their knowledge in secondary school, barring those who were enrolled in linguistic grammar schools. Rather, they had to start "from scratch", causing them to, in their own words, "waste four years". It is not until college that some students gain the opportunity to expand their knowledge of their secondary foreign language.

Table 8 Increase in the number of second foreign language classes

Question no. 10 Would it be more useful for compulsory second foreign language classes to encompass a greater number of lessons or semesters?	Student learning Italian	Student learning German
Yes, definitely	30 (53.57%)	28 (53.84%)
No, those who want to can learn enough	14 (25.00%)	20 (38.46%)
No, there is a sufficient number of lessons in 3 semesters	12 (21.42%)	4 (7.69%)

The results gathered by this question are encouraging and positive, since an increased number of lessons would enable better acquisition of curriculum content. Consequently, increasing the number of foreign language lessons would motivate students to further improve their conversational competencies and significantly contribute to understanding of cultural and civilisation-related aspects of the of the studied language. Elements of both verbal and non-verbal communication are all but crucial in forming a first impression and meeting foreign people/visiting a foreign country. Although it is unrealistic to expect everyone at the destination to be an adept or excellent speaker of foreign languages, it is essential to provide tourism students with the opportunity to learn the basics of foreign languages during their education for the job for which they are preparing, along with both fundamental and expert knowledge of tourism,.

Table 9 Demands of learning LSP compared to general language

Question no. 11 In your opinion, how demanding are LSP classes compared to general language classes?	Student learning Italian	Student learning German
Much more demanding	7 (12.50%)	10 (19.23%)
Equally demanding in all years, language skills must be perfected continuously	45 (80.35%)	39 (75.00%)
All classes are much too easy for my needs, they could stand to be much more demanding	4 (7.14%)	3 (5.76%)

As it can be seen, students find that learning LSP is as demanding as learning general language. LSP is better represented than general language in the curriculum, owing to the fact that students will be able to use it in their business and, above all, in direct contact with guests. Familiarity with LSP terminology gives the impression of greater professionalism, but only assuming that one has mastered general language competencies.

Table 10 Views on the correspondence between business needs in relation to LSP content

Question no. 12 In your opinion, to what extent does the representation of your second foreign LSP correspond to your future business needs?	Student learning Italian	Student learning German
LSP is over-represented	15 (26.78%)	3 (5.66%)
It is sufficiently represented	32 (57.14%)	41 (77.35%)
It is insufficiently represented	9 (16.07%)	9 (16.98%)

The students deem LSP representation to be satisfactory, leading to the conclusion that the current curriculum offers sufficient content and topics that can be applied and used professionally and as part of future jobs in the tourism and hospitality industry.

Table 11 Students' perception of usefulness of general language and LSP

Question no. 13 In your opinion, to what extent does the representation of your second foreign LSP correspond to your future business needs?	Student learning Italian	Student learning German
General linguistic knowledge	31 (55.35%)	34 (60.71%)
Professional tourism-related vocabulary	20 (35.71%)	21 (37.50%)
Italian/German culture and civilisation	6 (8.92%)	1 (1.78%)

General aptitude in Italian and German, accompanied by a tourism-related LSP vocabulary, are deemed pretty useful by both student groups, relying on the assumption that languages are probably the most important aspect in their future careers and everyday interaction with clients. It is common knowledge that a combination of general language and LSP earns the trust of the other participant in conversation, in this case, the client/guest. Students have acknowledged the vital importance of being able to speak languages in tourism. Their emphasis on the importance of general language may be construed as a failure of primary and secondary education, or inability to start learning at a younger age for various reasons. Therefore, we recommend that the curriculum of the Tourism study programme at the VERN' University of Applied Sciences include general language as a compulsory course, and as a prerequisite for studying LSP.

Table 12 Preferences in second foreign language classes

Question no. 14 What appealed to you the most in your classes of Italian/German as second foreign language?	Student learning Italian	Student learning German
General linguistic knowledge (1st year)	17 (30.35%)	17 (32.07%)
Tourism LSP (2nd year)	22 (39.25%)	35 (66.03%)
Italian/German culture and civilisation (3rd year)	17 (30.35%)	1 (0.19%)

When examining the information provided by students as a whole, all curriculum content of the study programme is equally interesting and makes an equally good impression. In contrast to Italian language students, German language students do not consider culture and civilisation to be an attractive aspect of studying the language. This information is certainly disappointing, as linguistic aptitude should be accompanied by cultural knowledge of German-speaking countries.

The last question of the survey questionnaire, no. 15, was an open-ended question and read as follows: *If you could, what would you change in your second foreign language classes, and why*? The answers given were sparse, but could be concisely grouped as follows:

- *Would not change anything because language was their favourite class*

- *More emphasis should be placed on general language and it should be made into a compulsory course throughout the study programme*
- *Introduction of more diverse forms of teaching (films, guest lecturers, debates, computers)*
- *Introduction of more second languages, or the possibility of attending both languages, since language is the most important aspect of tourism*
- *Increase in the total number of language classes, e.g. elective course in the 6th semester or preparatory general language as a compulsory course in the first year, since a foreign language should be used as much as possible*
- *More field classes abroad, allowing application of knowledge and development of practical skills*
- *Would not change anything, as the curriculum is very demanding and teachers do their best to explain the syllabus and make it accessible to students*
- *More conversation; Less grammar*
- *German should be taught "from scratch"*
- *Smaller groups would offer more interaction (up to 12 students, same as with foreign language schools)*

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Tourism in Croatia is an activity of great significance which generates considerable economic effects. Since the main factor of success in tourism is human resources, the employee function may very well be the one with the most significance in tourism. The Croatian education system for tourist needs is very varied and is not readily apparent from statistical data, which is why it would require more in-depth research. Hence, this paper only provides a brief overview of its issues. As a result of numerous discussions and proposals for improving this extremely significant education system, the secondary-school network in Croatia has not yet implemented certain programme reforms or, alternatively, there is no precise information on such reforms. Even though Croatia has relied on tourism as the leading economic impetus for years, there is generally too little attention paid to the importance of learning languages from the youngest possible age, both systematically and continuously. This is clearly supported by the following facts: a second foreign language is usually offered as an elective subject in primary schools and frequently cannot be continued at the same level in secondary school. Moreover, it is disappointing that only linguistic grammar schools offer the possibility to learn a third foreign language as an elective subject, and only from the third grade on. Sometimes, it is not taught at all due to lack of interest among students.

Education opportunities for tourism employees exist at the level of universities and universities of applied sciences where there is awareness of educated and professional workers as a key factor in promoting destinations. If we take into account the fact that every person employed in tourism or in a tourism-oriented country is also a promoter of their country, this should result in increased motivation in young people wishing to start an education in tourism. However, motivated students are not the only requirement — strategic support on the part of the state through education institutions is also needed to contribute to development of education in the field of tourism. As evidenced by the viewpoints of the students surveyed for this paper, a lack of knowledge of foreign languages in any business activity whatsoever is unimaginable in these contemporary times. It takes time to change an entire education system and people's perceptions. A good place to start would be to inform existing tourism employers, to encourage them to invest in and train the workers in whom they currently see potential instead of frequently changing seasonal workers.

Rapid changes in the tourist market, technology and all contact areas of tourism, as well as at the sociocultural level, call for a new approach to education for Croatian tourism of the 21st century. The new professionals arising from this approach must be educated without being creatively restrained, by being encouraged to be team players as early as their school years, by being provided with required complementary knowledge and taught that permanent education is the only viable way to tourism management. Interdisciplinarity and linguistic aptitude in some areas of the management process are prerequisites for making appropriate and complex business decisions with increasing effects on the total quality of life in receptive countries such as Croatia. In order for students to be able to do so, they should not only be trained to be professional workers, but also to have command over one or more foreign languages, for the very reason of engaging into economic practices.

In the context of interlinkage between language and tourism, direct, often first contact with guests calls for speaking, listening and conversation as the most represented forms of communication, even, to a lesser degree, for public presentations, such as when organising events. Reading and writing, on the other hand, are less represented, which is a fact to be considered when designing curricula and teaching.

Foreign language and LSP teachers play no small part in this context, with their ability to adapt their teaching to the needs of different groups of students as the fundamental quality. Through language, students are also taught about features of a certain culture, rules and value system influencing their perception of not only language, but foreign tourists as well. This is very important if the guest is to be made to feel “at home”, that is, to feel pleasant, relaxed and unencumbered, which is likely to result in them wishing to return to the destination or recommend it to others. Placing emphasis on communicating with guests and successful communication with guests is not only the best promotion, but also a great contribution to the quality of business. Command over foreign languages definitely benefits hospitality to an extensive degree.

Upon examination of the viewpoints expressed by the surveyed students, several conclusions can be drawn. Students stress the importance of verbal communication, conversation and discussion. Accordingly, students would rather study new material continuously than repeat the same, typical idiomatic phrases or grammar, which was graded as both the most difficult and the least interesting or useful aspect. Such views can be read as students being oversaturated with exercising grammatical structures in the course of previous formal education. Students are aware of the fact that there is a need for perfecting the LSP at the academic level, but still find general linguistic aptitude to be the most useful and interesting aspect. This, along with a selection of current and compelling topics, becomes the factor to inspire the most motivation for learning languages. As a rule, second foreign language classes are considered to be equally demanding in all years of study, and the importance of continuously refining foreign language skills is an accepted fact. Furthermore, students believe that there is no need to introduce major changes into the concept and manner of teaching, honestly citing instead the need to change their own sporadic approach to learning. A few of them cite the need for more frequent translations of sentences they deem especially useful. Furthermore, on average, nearly half of the students had no prior knowledge of their second language, but experienced noticeable progress in their language skills after starting to learn it. They also tend to use what they have learned whenever possible, which certainly has a positive effect on their motivation. When asked to assess their own motivation, students are realistic and satisfied with their progress, acknowledging when they could have improved their knowledge to a greater degree in relation to the period they have spent learning the language. In conclusion, students are aware of the vital importance of and the need for a second foreign language and LSP.

Finally, based on their opinions and survey results, there is room for improvement as evident from a number of suggestions and recommendations with the aim of improving the teaching of a second foreign language. Here are some of them:

- Selecting materials that are both interesting to students and relevant to the topics to be learned
- Fostering a communicative approach to teaching
- Giving assignments of appropriate difficulty level (corresponding to knowledge level) and linking invested efforts with success
- Linking content with students' personal examples through teamwork and using state-of-the-art technologies
- Helping students visualise the setting of their goals
- Expanding content beyond professional tourism-related topics and vocabulary, since tourism is an interdisciplinary industry and in itself an intersection of various factors
- Carefully choosing language teachers who are primarily characterised by flexibility, enabling them to consider the needs of different student groups

Indeed, the qualities of language teachers, who have the not at all easy task to adapt their classes according to goals, are one of the major factors showcasing the success of teaching. Such skilled, educated, modern and up-to-date teachers who also follow up on the achievements of the profession are the only ones who truly *want* to motivate their students to perfect their knowledge, through interactive, communicative approach-based teaching. In addition, it greatly matters to be able to design an individual approach to a certain group, i.e. to adjust the working pace of the group, without deviating from the curriculum. A competent teacher certainly must be able to set clear boundaries within which classes will be held, to be flexible and resourceful without too many deviations, to design lectures and exercises without making them too demanding or too easy, which would certainly result in declining motivation. Consequently, the role of the teacher is neither easy nor simple to perform.

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THE QUALITY OF TEACHER EDUCATION IN CROATIA ACCORDING TO STUDENTS

Abstract

Quality teacher education is one of the fundamental assumptions of successful educational activity in practice, and quality control in education is an important issue in European countries. In order to avoid learning from experience based on trial and error, it is necessary to capacitate future teachers with quality theoretical and practical foundations for the development of pedagogical competencies, with which they will be able to respond appropriately to the requests of educational practice. Therefore, we examined students' motivation for choosing the teaching profession, self-assessment of their own pedagogical competence, as well as their contentment with knowledge acquired during studies. As a reason for choosing pedagogical study programmes, students usually state their love for the teaching profession, but also the opportunity to gain teaching competence during the study. In general, students estimate their pedagogical competencies as very good and are mostly satisfied with the knowledge and skills acquired during their studies, with the exception of social and communication skills, so it is highly recommended to accentuate the acquisition of these competencies. These findings may provide some new ideas in a future design of the teacher-education curriculum.

Key words: *teacher education, pedagogical competencies, social competencies, communication skills*

INTRODUCTION

The pedagogical competences of teachers are one of the basic prerequisites of quality of the educational process (Kostović-Vranješ & Ljubetić, 2008). The pedagogical paradigm of the modern curriculum tends to promote the attitudes, behaviors and actions which contribute to the overall development of students, and it is based on partnership and cooperation. A curriculum is focused on the transaction and transformation of knowledge instead of on the transmission of knowledge, and it reflects those concepts according to which knowledge is constructed in the learning process, which takes constant personal and social change of the individual as the primary objective of learning (Slunjski, 2001). Different concepts, categories and theoretical approaches to the curriculum are mostly about its meta-orientation and areas of competence, about different pedagogical and didactic orientations, and class focused on the student is especially outlined, unlike the curriculum focused on teachers which still prevails in traditional schools (Blažević, 2016). Assessments of students and teachers involved in the education system particularly emphasize its following deficiencies: inadequate relation towards practice, insufficient connection between different education aspects, lack of focus on the development of social competence, inadequate relationship between the underlying science and professional skills, insufficient didactical training and insufficient involvement in research, lack of transparency requirements, a large number of individual disciplines involved in the system and the lack of practice and school work (Palekčić, 2008). In a study in which the participants were teachers, it was examined which competences participants consider most important. Communication and social skills were outlined as the most important. The teacher's competence profile was made of all competencies present in the contemporary literature: pedagogical, psychological, methodological, communication, social, information and communication, cross-cultural, organizational and the competence to work with children with special needs. Teachers consider themselves most competent in the field of communication and work with children with special needs. Pedagogical and intercultural competence were also highly assessed. The lowest is the estimate of organizational competence and computer literacy (Blažević, 2016). The aim of the present study was to examine which pedagogical competences students consider important, how much they consider themselves competent for teaching, and their opinion on the quality of their teacher education study programme.

METHODS

Participants

The sample consisted of 85 participants whose age ranged from 19 to 31 (M=23.9). The sample included 60 (71%) female and 25 (29%) male students. The selection of participants was based on willingness to participate in this research study. All of the participants were students of the University of Zagreb: Center for Croatian Studies, Faculty of Science, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Faculty of Teacher Education, Academy of Music and Academy of Fine Arts. Fields of study represented in the present study were Philosophy, Sociology, Psychology, Pedagogy, Geography, Croatian Studies, Latin, Mathematics, History, Arts, Croatology, Theology, Music Pedagogy, Croatian Language and Literature and Religious Science.

Instrument and Procedure

The questionnaire used in the study of the pedagogical competence profile of students was designed on the basis of previous theoretical research for the purposes of the present study. It is based on a similar questionnaire of the pedagogical competence profile of religious-education teachers (Ninčević, 2013), only with a minor adaptation to the student population. Participants assessed the importance of specific pedagogical competences, their personal level of pedagogical competence and their college satisfaction. Demographic questions examined age, gender, college, study and year of study. The study was conducted by the method of online surveys. The paper used empirical results obtained by self-assessment.

Table 1 Assessed importance of pedagogical competences

Pedagogical Competence	N	M	Sd
Motivating students to work	85	4.85	0.36
Comprehending the course content	85	4.81	0.45
Creating an enabling environment for learning in the classroom	85	4.75	0.46
Knowing the characteristics of students of a certain age	85	4.54	0.67
Participating in school life	85	3.74	0.92
Possession of entrepreneurial skills	85	3.60	1.1
Working in partnership to network with other schools and/or communities	85	3.42	0.96

Participants were asked which pedagogical competences they consider most important for the successful work of teachers. Motivation of students for work, subject matter knowledge, attainment of an enabling environment for learning in the classroom and knowledge of the characteristics of students of a certain age were estimated as the most important competences. Participation in school life, possession of entrepreneurial skills and partnership with other schools or local communities were estimated as the weakest link of pedagogical competencies (Table 1).

Table 2 Assessment of the level of specific competences

Competence	M	Sd
I could be the class teacher.	4.21	0.958
I will teach gifted students according to special programmes.	4.17	0.889
I will plan and prepare class according to contemporary didactic standards.	4.12	0.892
Organization of my classes meets the pedagogic standard requirements.	4.08	0.876
I am competent methodically for the organization of student's group work.	4.04	0.865
I am capable to work in a multicultural, multiethnic and multireligious environment.	4.02	1.046
I consider myself competent for work with parents.	3.79	0.952
I am satisfied with the way I organize class.	3.78	0.85
I can maintain classroom discipline successfully.	3.76	0.895
I will successfully animate students for the lessons.	3.76	0.959
I know and I can apply modern approaches to monitoring, evaluation and assessment of students.	3.73	0.918
During the study, I gained knowledge to teach in high school.	3.72	1.019
I am qualified for self-evaluation.	3.71	1.013
I am qualified to encourage independent learning skills in my students.	3.67	0.777
I am qualified for teamwork with other teachers.	3.59	1.025
During the study, I gained sufficient methodological knowledge for teaching.	3.58	1.078
I am satisfied with the acquired pedagogical knowledge that I gained during the study.	3.44	0.993
I am competent to work with students with developmental difficulties.	3.35	1.152

Participants believe that the greatest emphasis should be placed on the competence of teaching and didactic-methodological training, while the least importance should be given to social competence. Observed individually, participants assessed the developmental level of their personal competences and their satisfaction with their study programme. Students have assessed their competences with very good grades, but the level of knowledge and pedagogical skills acquired during the study was assessed as somewhat lower, as well as the competence to work with children with developmental disabilities.

DISCUSSION

From the students' assessment of the importance of pedagogical competencies, individual competencies have been selected and presented, and then included in the superior categories. Factor analysis revealed the same factors as in the original study from which the questionnaire used in this study was taken: teaching competence, didactic and methodological competence, social competence, the competence of communication, computer literacy and the competence of creativity. Thus, the students feel that the greatest emphasis should be placed on the competence of teaching and didactic-methodological training, while the least importance was given to social competence. We can assume that the reason for that is that students, during their studies, perform various practical exercises, but they do not have specific experience in conducting parent-teacher meetings, communication with parents in general, collaboration with other schools and other institutions, and they do not know how important of a role the mentioned cooperation plays in teaching (Dicke, Elling, Schmeck, & Leutner, 2015).

It is interesting that the students assessed their own competencies as very good, but somewhat lower ratings were given to their own college for efficacy in vocational training. It is possible that students assume that they developed these competencies independently or acquired in other, either formal or informal methods. Also, self-assessment of investment in the education process and assessment of personal competencies significantly depends on the motivation level (Afzal, Ali, Khan & Hamid, 2010; Moneta & Siu, 2002), so it is possible that the high assessments are to some extent a result of the high motivation of students for teaching.

Plans for future research in this area include conducting research on the students of the University of Zagreb and the comparison of results depending on different study fields.

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INTERPRETATION OF ONE'S OWN PERFORMANCE IN ENGLISH TESTS AT THE VERN' UNIVERSITY OF APPLIED SCIENCES

Abstract

Affective factors, i.e. the factors oriented towards the emotional sphere of the learning process are present at all stages of learning and its assessment. Attributions, i.e. attributing success or failure to different reasons, hold an important place among them. Attributions are classified according to locus (whether they occur from within or from outside), stability (whether the reason for failure or success will reoccur or not) and control (whether the reason is under the student's control or not). The results of recent research on high-school students have shown that students most commonly attribute their failure to internal causes (not enough effort) and their success to external causes (easy tasks). It is believed that it would be more efficient if students attributed their success to internal causes as well because the sense of one's own responsibility for it would better motivate them for further learning unlike other causal attributions which diminish proactivity and motivation in the learning process.

The aim of the research carried out at the VERN' University of Applied Sciences in the academic year 2015/16 was to determine what students of Business English and English for Hospitality Industry and Tourism attribute good or poor results they achieve in tests to, i.e. to provide an insight into students' perception of their performance in tests. The differences in attributions in regards to gender, course and year of study, English grades and an assessment of importance of English for their future careers were also examined. Since causal attributions are an important factor of the motivation for learning, whereby both students and teachers play an important role, the results gained in this research are important for planning teaching strategies, especially with less successful or less motivated students.

Key words: *attributions for success and failure, English language, VERN' University of Applied Sciences*

INTRODUCTION

Affective factors which influence learning are divided into attitudes, motivation, perception of one's self, fear and causal attributions. Causal attributions are defined as "the ways an individual explains the cause of his/her success or failure to one's own self as well as others" (Mihaljević Djigunović, 1998), or in other words, these are the causes or reasons which individuals use to explain their success or failure in a particular activity to themselves or others. It is self-understood that the so-identified attributions do not necessarily show the true reasons for being un/successful because different psychological characteristics, processes and states influence the awareness and verbalisation of attributions. Nevertheless, theoreticians find that one's own explanations of the reasons for one's own success or failure are more influential than the true reasons (Williams, Burden, Poulet, & Maun, 2004), because one bases future behaviour on them.

The knowledge of attribution principles, as well as of the tendency to attribute success or failure to certain causes by groups of students, is important when planning lessons, especially when choosing the teaching strategy for unsuccessful, unconfident and unmotivated pupils and students. Despite their potential importance in the learning process, hence in learning a foreign language, it is believed that affective factors are not researched sufficiently as compared to cognitive factors (Pavičić Takač & Varga, 2011) and that motivation-attribution theories provide an important line of investigation with much further scope (Dornyei, 2003).

One of the best-known and most widely-used attributional models, the Weiner's Model for performance attributions, includes antecedents, attributions and consequences of these attributions, i.e. all the three elements in the general model of attributional area. Initially, it was assumed that people use four causes for interpreting their and other people's success or failure: ability, effort, task difficulty and luck. However, further research showed that there are many more causes people attribute their performance to (e.g. other people, tiredness, illness, etc.) depending on the activity in question (e.g. school tests, sport competitions, social situations, etc.). In an effort to develop a classification scheme or a taxonomy of possible causes, Weiner and his associates (Weiner, 1985) first assumed two causal dimensions: locus of causality (whether the cause is within or outside a person, whereby they are divided into internal and external causes) and stability (changeability of causes over time, whereby they are divided into stable or unchangeable which do not change over time and unstable or changeable over time). This two-dimensional classification was changed with a three dimensional which introduced the dimension of controllability (differentiating between causes which one can or cannot control).

A lot of research confirmed the three-dimensional concept (Kamenov, 1991), which is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1 Three-dimensional scheme of causes for success and failure
Source: Authors' adaption according to Kamenov (1991).

Dimensions (causal locus, stability, controllability)	Internal		External	
	Stable	Unstable	Stable	Unstable
Out of control	Ability	Mood*	Task difficulty	Luck
Under control	Typical* effort	Current* effort	Typical learning conditions*	Current help *

Note: Additions to Weiner's original attribution model are marked with an asterisk.

According to Weiner, if one attributes success internally (to effort, ability or personality), it results in higher self-confidence than when one attributes it to external causes (luck, easy tasks), whilst attributing failure to internal causes results in lower self-confidence than when it is attributed externally (Hewstone, 1996, as cited in Ricijaš, 2009), especially if it is attributed to internal factors which one cannot influence. The tendency of self-preservation is reflected in attributing success to internal causes such as ability and effort, whilst failure is justified by being unlucky, i.e. other external circumstances (Pansu, Dubois, & Dompnier, 2008; Pansu & Jouffre, 2008). Therefore, a person is ready to take ownership of favourable results but does not accept the responsibility in case of failure, not allowing their self-image to be jeopardized.

Stability is connected to expectations of success or failure in the future. Attributing failure to stable and internal causes may lead to an unwanted feeling of helplessness when expectations are in question, based on previous experience of our actions not resulting in success (Pavičić Takač & Varga, 2011).

Controllability is the influence of willingness as estimated by others. If failure is caused by something one could have controlled, a possible consequence may be anger, while regret is a typical consequence in case of uncontrollable causes (Ricijaš, 2009).

In any case, causal attributions play an important role in human life. They enable the understanding of the cause and the effect principle in achieving success or failing, which makes them important determinants of human behaviour.

Research on the relationship between gender and causal attributing warns about the tendency that the success of men is more commonly attributed to their ability and success of women to their effort or luck. However, failure is more often attributed to insufficient effort when men are in question, and to lack of ability when women are in question. Some domestic research on a sample of secondary school pupils has shown that gender partially influences attributions of success in the following manner: female pupils attributed their success to being active and motivated, and they attributed failure to lack of ability in statistically much higher numbers than their male counterparts (Bugan, Bajs, & Stamać, 2001).

Mihaljević Djigunović (1998) showed in research carried out on primary-school children that effort and ability were most common attributions when success was attributed, and the lack of effort and task difficulty when failure was attributed. Another research on primary-school pupils showed that pupils attribute their success in English as a school subject in a similar manner. On the other hand, they attributed their failure to lack of luck and effort (Siročić, 2008, as cited in Pavičić Takač & Varga, 2011). These results were assessed as positive because of the importance pupils placed on effort.

Domestic research on secondary school pupils shed some light on the relationship between performance and its attributing. The interaction of performance and motivation proved significant: successful and highly motivated students attributed their achievements to their own activity and ability significantly more often than unmotivated successful pupils. Significantly more unmotivated and unsuccessful pupils attributed their failure to the lack of ability, unlike their highly motivated but unsuccessful counterparts (Bugan, Bajs, & Stamać, 2001). A more recent study of the high-school population has also shown pupils justify their perceived failure in the English Language with the lack of effort which is positive, but attribute their success to low task difficulty, which has led to the conclusion that "it would be pedagogically more favourable if pupils took responsibility for their success because it is assumed that the sense of pride would then motivate them for further learning" (Pavičić Takač & Varga, 2011, p. 39).

Some domestic research on student population showed that internal attributions were related to better academic performance. "While external attributions have no significant effect, the internal ones (ability and effort) significantly contribute to academic success. Students who believe that they can achieve success due to their own ability and effort will make more of an effort anticipating it will result in success" (Živčić-Bećirević, 2009, p. 131). This is not the case with the students who attribute their performance to external factors. It was also concluded that attributing success and failure to external circumstances substantially increases exam anxiety. "It is understandable that students who believe they cannot do anything to contribute to their future success and perceive it as something that solely depends on a set of different circumstances (such as the task, level of difficulty, etc.) will experience stronger anxiety as a consequence of their perception of not being able to control this stressful situation" (Živčić-Bećirević, 2009, p. 133).

It is important to emphasise that (as proved in foreign research) there is evidence of positive effect that re-attribution training has on the student success rate (Weiner, 1998; Hall, Hladkyj, Perry, & Ruthing, 2004). Therefore, the situation can change in a positive direction for both students and teachers.

In order to help their pupils/students change the unwanted attributions into wanted ones, it is important that teachers/professors know and take into account the way in which pupils/students explain their school/academic performance (Graham, 2006; Pavičić Takač & Varga, 2011).

The aims of this paper are to find out how students at the VERN' University of Applied Sciences attribute their English tests performance and gain insight into their actual performance in Business English and English in Tourism and Hotel Management, as well as their own assessment of the importance of the English language in their future careers. The differences between genders in attributing performance and the differences between performance and the perceived importance of English will also be studied, as well as the differences between courses and the year of study in order to both empirically and practically contribute to learning more about this issue. It is assumed that there are differences in attributing performance regarding gender, year of study, course of study and that there are no gender differences in test performance or perceived importance of English.

METHODOLOGY

Sample

The respondents in this research were first and second-year students at the undergraduate studies of Entrepreneurship Economics and Tourism and Hotel Management at the VERN' University of Applied Sciences. A large portion of the student population was included in the research (the students who were present the day it was carried out), totalling 115 respondents. The structure of the sample is shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2 Sample structure according to gender, course of study and year of study.

Sociodemographics		f	%
Gender	Male	62	53.9
	Female	52	45.2
	b.p.	1	0.9
	Total	115	100.0
Study	Entrepreneurship Economics	72	62.6
	Tourism and Hotel Management	43	37.4
	Total	115	100.0
Year of study	First	96	83.5
	Second	19	16.5
	Total	115	100.0

Process of Collecting Data

Research was conducted in the form of an anonymous survey, i.e. a questionnaire at the end of the academic year 2015/16. The students completed the questionnaire in class with clear instructions and assured anonymity during the process of filling in and collecting the completed questionnaires.

The Questionnaire and the Variables

The questionnaire titled "Writing English Tests" was devised for this paper. Along with the already mentioned sociodemographic variables (gender, course and the year of study), the questionnaire included open questions about the attribution of success or failure in English tests. The method of open questions limited to four possible answers was chosen because it enables every respondent to provide their own perception of the most important causes of success or failure. The questionnaire also included questions about the indicators of students' performance, i.e. the objective one and the subjective ones, as well as their attitude about the importance of knowledge of English for their future career.

Data Processing Methods

The results were processed and presented in a table using procedures of descriptive statistics. The open answers to the open questions had previously been logically grouped into a relatively small number of categories in order to be processed as groups. The statistical significance of differences was proved by a nonparametric $\varkappa^2$ test. The results were processed through the SPSS 11.0 programme.

RESULTS

Figure 3 shows the reasons students attribute their success or failure in English tests to, as well as the corresponding absolute and relative frequencies. The answers were labelled according to the original Weiner's model of causal attributions, i.e. two dimensions: locus and stability.

Figure 3 Distribution of students' answers about their perception of the causes of success and/or failure in English tests.

#	I-E, S-N	Attributing success: Reason	f	%	Attributing failure: Reason	f	%
1	I-S	Learned/practiced	103	89.6	Did not learn/practice	83	72.2
2	I-S	Followed lectures actively	48	41.7	Did not pay attention, did not follow lectures actively	24	20.9
3	I-S	Attended lectures regularly	28	24.3	Did not attend lectures regularly	20	17.4
4	I-S	Has prior knowledge	30	26.1	Has no prior knowledge	3	2.6
5	I-S	Understood the content	6	5.2	Did not understand the content	8	7.0
6	I-S	Understood the tasks	8	7.0	Did not understand the tasks	1	0.9
7	I-S	Personal qualities: fast, talented…	13	11.3	Personal qualities: lazy, not persistent, slow…	7	6.1
8	E-S	Easy test or subject matter	8	7.0	Difficult test or subject matter	11	9.6
9	E-S	Interesting subject matter	5	4.3	Boring subject matter	3	2.6
10	E-S	Professor explained/ prepared well	20	17.4	Professor did not explain/ prepare well	3	2.6
11	I-N	Concentrated	10	8.7	Not concentrated, tired	15	13.0
12	E-N	Was lucky	4	3.5	Bad day, was not lucky	5	4.3
13	-	Other reasons	2	1.7	Other reasons	4	3.5

Legend: **I** — internal reasons, **E** — external reasons, **S** — relatively stable, **N** — unstable reasons.

Figure 4 shows the distribution of English grades in the previous semester (objective measurement of performance) and the distribution of students' own assessment of their performance in tests as well as their assessment of whether their grade is adequate as compared to the knowledge and the grade of their colleagues (subjective assessment of performance), all presented separately for male and female students. The presented results of the $\varkappa^2$ test indicate that there are no statistically significant gender differences in either the achieved grades or assessment of own performance and grade adequacy.

Figure 4 The differences between male and female students regarding performance and perceived performance in English

Performance indicators	Total f	Total %	Male f	Male %	Female f	Female %	χ^2,df,P
Grade in the past semester							
1. Insufficient	3	2.6	2	3.3	1	2.0	χ^2=2.515
2. Sufficient	12	10.4	7	11.3	5	10.2	df=4
3. Good	45	39.1	28	45.2	17	34.7	p=0.642
4. Very good	34	30.4	18	29.0	16	32.7	
5. Excellent	17	14.8	7	11.3	10	20.4	
Total	111	100.0	62	100.0	49	100.0	
Perceived performance							
1. I always do poorly	2	1.8	1	1.6	1	2.0	χ^2=0.597
2. I rarely do poorly	6	5.3	3	4.8	3	5.9	df=3
3. I sometimes do well	54	47.4	28	45.2	26	51.0	p=0.897
4. I always do well	52	45.6	30	48.4	21	41.2	
Total	114	100.0	62	100.0	51	100.0	
Perceived grade adequacy							
1. Inadequate	26	22.6	14	22.6	12	23.1	χ^2=0.004
2. Adequate	88	77.4	48	77.4	40	76.9	df=1
Total	114	100.0	62	100.0	52	100.0	p=0.950

*p <0.05; **p 0.01

The results in Figure 5 confirm that there is a statistically significant difference between women and men in perceiving the importance of English in their future careers. Although both genders highly value the knowledge of English, women place significantly more importance on this than men.

Figure 5 Differences between male and female students in perceived importance of English.

Perceived importance of English	Total f	Total %	Male f	Male %	Female f	Female %	χ^2,df,P
1. Not very important	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	χ^2=11.086
2. Somewhat important	2	1.7	2	3.2	0	0.0	df=2
3. Fairly important	38	33.0	28	45.2	10	19.2	p=0.004**
4. Extremely important	75	65.2	32	51.6	42	80.8	
Total	113	100.0	62	100.0	52	100.0	

*p <0.05; **p 0.01.

According to Figure 6, statistically significant gender differences in attributing success have been established for two causes of success. The first one is attendance, which is considered important for achieving success twice as often by female students as by their male counterparts. The second one is good prior knowledge, which twice as many men as women considered important.

Figure 6 Gender differences in attributing success and failure to particular causes.

	Total		Male		Female		
Attributing success	f	%	f	%	f	%	χ^2,df,P
3. Attendance	28	24.3	10	16.1	18	34.6	5.216a 1 0.022*
4. Prior knowledge	30	26.1	21	33.9	9	17.3	4.001a 1 0.045*

*p <0.05; **p 0.01.

Figure 7 shows the differences in attributing success between the two courses of study. The only statistically significant difference regarding the course of study has been established for attendance. Twice as many students of Tourism and Hotel Management found it important as their Entrepreneurship Economics colleagues.

No differences were found in causal attributing of failure between the two courses of study.

Figure 7 Differences in attributing success and failure between courses of study

Attributing success	Total		Entrepreneurship Economics		Tourism and Hotel Management		
	f	%	f	%	f	%	χ^2,df,P
3. Attendance	28	24.3	13	18.1	15	34.9	4.139 1 0.042*

*p <0.05; **p 0.01

The differences in attributing success between the two years of study are shown in Figure 8. A statistically significant difference has been found for only one cause of success, that is attendance. First-year students find it twice as important for achieving good results in tests as their second-year colleagues. Differences between first and second-year students in finding certain causes for failure have not been found.

Figure 8 Differences in attributing success and failure between years of study

Attributing success	Total		First year		Second year		
	f	%	f	%	f	%	χ^2,df,P
3. Attendance	28	24.3	27	28.1	1	5.3	4.501 1 0.034*

*p <0.05; **p 0.01

DISCUSSION

The results have led to the conclusion that internal and stable factors one can influence play the most important role in attributing success when students of the VERN' University of Applied Sciences are in question (Figure 3). The most common reasons students have attributed their success to are: learned/practiced, actively listened during lectures, attended lectures regularly and has good prior knowledge. All the reasons relate to the work and the effort they have put in, which is in accordance with the previously cited results of other similar research. However, failure has also often been attributed to insufficient work and effort: did not learn/practice, did not pay attention during classes, did not attend classes regularly. All these attributional choices can be assessed as positive because they motivate the students to devote more effort in the future, rather than giving up or relying on other explanations.

Internal personal characteristics (in the sphere of cognitive abilities and personal traits) are considered much less responsible for failure or success. It is the same is with the external causes which arise from the content, which is a positive finding as well, because they cannot be influenced easily.

A significant number of students mentioned the role of professors as the external cause of success, while it was mentioned only sporadically when attributing failure. This can be attributed to the "test what you teach" approach, so that the students who attend classes regularly and revise before test achieve better results in tests.

It can also be noted that students assess their performance in English tests quite positively (Figure 4). The most frequent answers are *I sometimes do well* and *I always do well*, and the highest number of students, almost four-fifths, find that their grade is adequate, which all together leads to the conclusion that the predominant student perception of grade objectivity and fair-play is positive. It is possible that this influences the frequent internal attributing of success and failure as well as the rare excusing of failure with external causes. That no statistical differences between male and female students were found regarding the previous semester grade as an objective measurement of success, as well as regarding their subjective assessment of own success in English tests, is also a positive finding. It is interesting that 93% of respondents think they sometimes or always do well in English tests, although the highest number of students (39.1%) have the grade 3, which shows they perceive that grade 3 is a success.

It was found that a majority of both genders evaluate the importance of English as very important (Figure 5), whereby women place more importance on it for their future careers than men (every other man and four out of five women find it extremely important) and this difference proved statistically significant. This leads to the conclusion that women see themselves in jobs which require communication skills, hence better knowledge of foreign languages, especially English.

In regards to gender differences in attributing, it turned out that women find attendance twice as important for achieving success as their male counterparts (Figure 6), which confirms previous research findings that women attribute success to devoted effort more often than men do. On the other hand, men attribute success to prior knowledge twice as often as women. This confirms previous research in primary and secondary schools, if previous effort is understood as ability.

With regard to the course of study, it seems that students of Tourism and Hotel Management place more importance on attendance as the reason for their success than their colleagues who study Entrepreneurship Economics (Figure 7). As expected, first-year students find that attendance is important in much higher numbers than their second-year colleagues (Figure 8).

It is not surprising that second-year students find attendance less important than first-year students, because the experience they gained writing first-year tests has made them more independent, which means that they rely less on the professor and lectures.

Since not much research of this kind has been done on the student population, these results present an empirical contribution in this field, but can also be useful for teaching practice. The fact that a high number of students at the VERN' University of Applied Sciences feel successful and adequately graded and that they place great importance on the knowledge of English, proves that a favourable atmosphere for learning and teaching has been created. The findings which show that both success and failure are explained by internal and controllable, and not external and uncontrollable reasons, as well as the fact that gender differences, although existing, are not significant, open the possibility for making further positive steps in teaching. Causal attributions are an important factor in the learning process and consequently in the test performance. Apart from students, teachers/professors play an important role in this process, which makes the findings of this research important for planning the strategy of teaching, especially with less successful and less motivated students.

The methodological limitation of this research is the sample of the students at the VERN' University of Applied Sciences, which means that the results are not representative of a broader student population. The applied instrument relies on the respondents' statements, i.e. they are susceptible to subjective distortion. It needs to be highlighted that the stated reasons for success and failure in English tests are not indicators of the personal attributional style, but attributing success and failure in English tests only. However, it is necessary to continue researching this issue for both the empirical contribution and the importance it has in the teaching practice, in this case teaching EFL.

CONCLUSIONS

This research has shown that the surveyed students at the VERN' University of Applied Sciences attribute their success in tests to learning, attendance and being active in classes, i.e. internal and stable factors they can influence, which is a positive finding aligned with the findings yielded by previous research on the samples of pupils in primary and secondary schools. Students attributed their failure to internal factors: insufficient effort, i.e. not learning, not attending classes and not being active in classes, which is a positive finding, as well because students who make such attributional choices can be motivated to change this behaviour in the future. When attributing success, women place more importance on attendance, while their male counterparts find good prior knowledge to be more important. This partially confirmed previous research findings, which showed that women attribute success to effort much more often than men, who attribute it to ability. A favourable finding is that there were no differences between genders in attributing failure, unlike previous research on pupils which showed that women attributed failure to inability and men to the lack of effort.

The students of Tourism and Hotel Management, as well as the first-year students, estimated attendance as more important than their colleagues studying Entrepreneurship Economics or the second-year students.

The respondents assessed their test performance positively, as well as the objectivity of their grade, and no differences were found regarding gender. Female students see English as extremely important for their future career in much higher numbers than their male colleagues, i.e. four-fifths of women find English extremely important, while this attitude is shared by a half of their male counterparts.

Empirical contribution and methodological limitations indicate that it is important and necessary to investigate this area further.

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Cyril Isnart, PhD, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique

As a result of the scientific co-operation between VERN' University of Applied Sciences and the Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar a conference was organized on the beautiful yet remote Croatian island of Vis at VERN' Island School, focussing on the a variety of issues facing the Mediterranean sea and the Adriatic islands in a trans-national and global context… I would like to congratulate my colleagues in Zagreb for their outstanding achievement in having succeeded in convening a wide-ranging group of specialists from within Croatia as well as outside with widely differing specialisations to all sit round a conference table on the island of Vis in order to highlight the specific (or otherwise) problems insular communities are facing in former and in this recent period of globalisation.

Prof. em. Dr. Michael Ursinus, Heidelberg University

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