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The trouble with life isn't that there is no answer, it's that there are so many answers.

Ruth Benedict

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List of Abbreviations

- EEA: The European Environment Agency
- EU: European Union
- HGSS: Hrvatska Gorska Služba Spašavanja (Croatian Mountain Rescue Service)
- UMF: Ultra Music Festival
- UNWTO: United Nations World Tourism Organization
- WHO: World Health Organization

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to determine how tourism impacts people in Split, Croatia. This research developed from the author's previous research regarding tourism on Svalbard. Split and Svalbard both have seasonal tourism; however, due to the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic in March 2020, all travel was stopped and it was impossible to visit Svalbard. Last year was one of the most challenging years. And not only for anthropologists but for almost all people on the planet. People are fortunately skilled at adaptation and manage to find alternatives, and my adaptation to the pandemic was to perform research in Split, a more familiar area with easier access compared to Svalbard. The core interest of both studies was the relationship between people and tourism. Tourism impact assessment is significant for Split due to rapid growth of tourist demand. A transformation could be achieved by gaining knowledge about this relationship and tourism's impacts on the people. Being native to the area has its advantages and disadvantages, which are detailed later. Conducting this research as a native and during the COVID-19 pandemic makes this study interesting and different from others.

Tourism is a complex phenomenon with a long history and is widespread across all cultures of humankind. It is not isolated but is embedded in a larger social context. Smith (1989, p.1) describes a tourist as a "a temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change" (Smith, 1989, p. 1). This person is a guest at the host community and experiences change but also changes the host community. The terms "host" and "guest" are borrowed from Smith (1977) and used throughout the thesis. They refer to the local population and tourists respectively. She institutionalized these terms in tourism anthropology. The study of tourism originated from the anthropological concern with culture contact and change. Sociocultural anthropologists conduct the most tourism research. To grasp the cultural interconnections, anthropologists use various methodologies with the goal of understanding experiences and meaning from the locals' perspective. They can also be used to determine basic requirements for particular development scenarios.

This thesis explores and defines tourism, discusses it from a system's perspective and overviews its major impacts on the local population of Split. This work contains six major sections, structured as follows. The first chapter is the introductory part that presents the research question, context of tourism, goals of this research, researcher's positionality and this

study's scope and limitations. Next, the literature chapter defines tourism and presents the theoretical framework that informs research on tourism impacts. The third chapter details the research design, process of data collection and their analysis. The next section addresses the researched locality, while the fifth chapter overviews the impacts and other important findings. Finally, the sixth chapter contains the conclusion, which summarizes the impacts and overall tourism satisfaction of the locals. The thesis ends with the bibliography, online sources, appendices and abstracts. All sources used are available on the internet and support the research by varied foreign and domestic mediums and conducted interviews. During the course of writing an attention was paid to integrity, informed consent and anonymity. All informants were informed of their rights and guaranteed that their data will not be published. For the purpose of this research, aliases were used instead of their names.

This research was conducted and written qualitatively using a mainstream realism style of writing. According to Denzin (2014, p. 574), this style presents thick and thin transcriptions of the world studied, giving accounts of events, persons and experiences. In addition, all forms of qualitative analysis involve descriptions and interpretations. It is on the researcher to keep in mind that other interpretations are possible (Harding, 2013, p. 139, cited in Ngulube, 2015, p. 2). This means that all theories are partial and incomplete, representing a simplification of complex tourism phenomena, since there could be more than one valid theory (Maxwell & Chmiel, 2014, p. 22).

Research Question

What are the perceived impacts of tourism on locals in Split?

There is an increased interest in assessing the impacts of tourism due to rapid expansion of the sector. When expanding and developing tourism, its impacts play an important role. They show host and tourist satisfaction and dissatisfaction, and can help determine long-term benefits. The process of determining these benefits requires rationally examining every aspect of tourism. It is important to point out that tourism cannot be seen as isolated phenomenon, but as integrated part of the society. Cela (2007, p. 2) notes that the impacts of tourism are not only of interest to tourism businesses, but also to individuals living in the area. Besides expanding knowledge, this research was chosen to increase public awareness about tourism impacts, which affects the population of Split as well as the people in its vicinity. Split is the

largest cultural center in the region and offers more possibilities than smaller surrounding cities. Many people from the vicinity work in Split, attend school there or attend various activities.

Studies have already examined this topic but mostly from the economic perspective, while this research considers the anthropological view. Anthropologists interest in tourism is related to general interest in culture and sociocultural change. Tourist is seen as an intermediary between cultures, and could directly or indirectly cause change (Nash, 1989, p. 37).

Anthropology could provide the perspectives that other disciplines cannot and that could enable practitioners to understand the given conditions of the human dynamics (Eriksen, 2004, p. 7).

Croatia is currently a member of the European Union and receives about 20% of its income from tourism. This percentage is high and shows a partial dependence on tourism. Tourism can be economically measured, but it is difficult to measure culture and potential damage; therefore, the intent is to describe the political, economic and socio-cultural aspects of this culture and then explain the factors that surround tourism, contact between people and their cultures, and the consequences of this contact. Besides concern for the host culture change, a main motivation for conducting such research regards concern that there are too many negative impacts and locals' attitudes that can diminish the destination's appeal.

If local people perceive tourism in a negative way and this affects their attitude and reactions towards tourism, this is liable to have a negative effect on the experience of the tourist. A tourist who does not feel welcomed, or even threatened, by the local community is not likely to return and may encourage other people not to come. This, coupled with associated negative press that such a destination would eventually receive would result in decreases in tourism arrivals. (Diedrich & Garcia-Buades, 2009, p. 513)

Since this destination depends on tourism income, this scenario is far from ideal. It will be presented later in the thesis how local people that participated in this study perceive tourism.

Goals and Objectives

This qualitative study aims to gain insight into the complex nature and structure of tourism and its impacts, as well as understanding why residents perceive tourism positively or negatively. Tourism is an element of human culture and part of people's lives, and more information about the relationship between tourism and people is needed to ensure a destination's development with minimal impacts. Some anthropologists, such as Burns (1999, p. 83) argue that people living in the destination should be in the focus of the research, and not businesses. Conducting interviews with locals provides perspectives needed to answer some of the questions. Literature such as documents and policies are used to gain insight regarding how should things legally function, and they are compared to highlight important points.

This research has the following objectives: to research types of tourism and the impacts they have on the local community; to learn how the tourists are perceived; to determine whether negative impacts outweigh positive benefits or vice-versa; to realize whether the local culture has been transformed and cultural values destroyed; to determine whether tourism has impacted other industries; to identify certain attitudes that sustain mass tourism; to determine whether locals are included in the decision-making or problem-solving processes; and to gain knowledge to maximize the benefits of tourism for both hosts and guests.

This study is significant due to its anthropological focus and later could be put to use. The tourism literature is useful since analyzes tourism-related developments, which are used to review varied developmental strategies (Greenwood, 1989, p. 172). The aim is to get the complete picture of the issue that is being researched. This kind of research is important because understanding reasons for residents' satisfaction or dissatisfaction are crucial for proper tourism management, especially in a form of minimizing negative impacts (Vargas-Sanchez et al., 2011, p. 461). Many anthropological studies of tourism detect and measure the impacts rather than focusing on how to predict and prevent them. This thesis will detect the impacts, but also address future research possibilities that could help with preventing the negative ones. The goals of monitoring host perceptions and attitudes aim to decrease the frequency of unexpected changes; moderate the unforeseen or undesired consequences of planned or ineluctable changes; and facilitate sustainable planning aimed at moderating (or compensating for) the unavoidable negative impacts of tourism (Meredith, 1991). Such findings can aid those who study, promote and maintain tourism. Future research can show

whether anything changes over the years, and it is probable that technology will be refined to enable using additional tools to conduct the research.

The Context of Tourism

Alongside Dubrovnik, Split is the most important city of Croatian coastal tourism. It features millions of visits every year. Its advantageous geographic location, mild climate with hot summers and rich cultural heritage make it an attractive tourist destination. Croatia has the closest access to the Mediterranean Sea for many European countries and is easily reachable by car. Countries in the southern and eastern parts of the Mediterranean are fairly unstable, which helped develop tourism in Croatia.

Split has always been a large transit center and is one of the largest passenger harbors in the Mediterranean. It has also been a place where people would continue their trip to other Croatian coastal destinations or the Dalmatian islands. The success of tourism in Split is evident in the habits of guests that come here and tend to stay longer and longer. Although many guests still use Split as a departure point to other places, an increasing number of activities and amenities motivate them to prolong their stay. Beaches and typical "sea and sun" tourism are important along with various events, concerts, clubs, football games at Poljud Stadium, museums, galleries, restaurants and shops for pastry and ice cream. The offerings are improved every year.

Surrounding cities are also experiencing increased visitors, namely Kaštela, Solin and Trogir. Guests who fail to find accommodations in Split manage to find them in one of these places. Additional cities and villages have started to develop tourism, mostly in the form of family farms or isolated luxury villas, and there has been an increase in amenities and events in the vicinity.

From the locals' perspective, tourism is seen in two ways – as a tool for economic growth and for destination development. This was especially important after the war in the 1990s. Tourism impacts are felt in various ways by different groups of people. Tourism development resulted in a decline in traditional industries such as agriculture, fishing, shipbuilding, handicrafts, textiles and others. Assessing impacts shows whether the impacts could be

minimized, whether host and guest satisfaction could be increased and how tourism contributed to this destination.

There is also an impact from tourism when there are no tourists at the destination, which is exemplified by the current COVID-19 pandemic. Tourism and travel became paralyzed, which resulted in financial and health crises. The positive side is the resulting opportunity to view the larger picture and implement changes for long-term goals.

Researcher's Positionality

I am a native of the Split area, lived in Kaštela for the first 18 years of my life and possess local knowledge that was used in this research. In this context, local knowledge regards a collection of facts and relates to the system of concepts, beliefs and perceptions that people hold about the world around them. This knowledge includes how people observe the surroundings, solve problems and validate new information, and is a knowledge that people in a given community have developed over time and continue to develop. This knowledge is based on experience; often tested over centuries of use; adapted to the local culture and environment; embedded in community practices, institutions, relationships and rituals; held by individuals or communities; and is dynamic and changing (URL 1). Knowledge concerning language for better communication, socio-political conditions and people can be viewed to benefit the research process.

Another factor in this research is my work experience in nautical tourism for five years. Some aspects of this local world would be inaccessible to other researchers; however, I will not use my experience as data in order to avoid biased research. Bias and objectivity are disadvantages that can arise when the research is conducted by a native of the area. This problem is solved through constant reassessment in the researcher's diary or fieldnotes. In addition, my commitment is not obligated to anyone or any socially acceptable "mode" of research.

Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study focuses on the locals' perception of the tourism impacts to determine the benefits and consequences of Split's tourism model. The research initially aimed to include only residents of Split, but since the snowball technique was used to seek informants, some informants resided in the vicinity of Split. The vicinity regards places within 20 kilometers of Split and includes Kaštela, Solin, Srinjine and Dugi Rat. Although not all informants reside in Split, they work, attend school/university or have hobbies there since the vicinity has fewer activities to offer compared to Split. All informants are impacted by tourism during summer, and some of their lives completely change during these months. Their perspectives enable observing how they are impacted.

This research is categorized as phenomenological and is committed to staying close to the text under analysis, ensuring that the participants' accounts drive the interpretation. These accounts form the point of departure and foundation of the interpretation, and they are constantly revisited throughout the analysis (Willig, 2014, p. 143). This research focused on the informants' accounts; however, the researcher cannot determine the informants' accuracy. Ap (1992, p. 671) notes that although the interviewees have been asked about their personal experience, previous studies have shown that they might attribute meaning to tourism impacts without having relevant knowledge or enduring dispositions. "Even when people tell you what they think is the absolute truth, there is still the question of whether the information they give you is accurate" (Bernard, 2017, p. 189). The researcher's job is to estimate whether these accounts are valid. I believe I have collected valid accounts from the informants. Except for participants' accounts, the data provided from official sites, documents and literature are assumed to be reliable.

This study includes limitations. The ongoing COVID-19 pandemic has affected the global tourism sector and not only Split. This situation did not influence the process of finding and speaking to informants as much as anticipated before beginning the research, but it influenced the start of the tourist season. Split has a tourism model with high seasonality, which means that tourists visit at specific times during the year. In pre-pandemic times, the tourist season would start in May or the end of April; however, this year it was unknown whether or when it would start. Data collection for this research was conducted in March, April and May of 2021, but there were no tourists in Split at this time. It was thus impossible to conduct participant observation, which is a qualitative data collection method whereby the fieldworker

participates in and observes his surroundings. Had there been tourists during the data collection phase, I could have observed tourists and locals interact on the street, in a cafe, some other facility or could have joined one of the tours. There was no possibility to observe the encounters, and therefore this research relies on the personal and professional accounts of the participants. Some occupations of the informants would be impossible to observe, such as a cook, medical technician and search-and-rescue volunteer. There would have also been a possibility to follow participants after work to observe how tourists influence their free time.

The researcher's objectivity should also be considered, as the researcher should always be objective and not allow prior beliefs or perceptions to influence the outcome of the study. I am a native of this area of Croatia, and I thus hold opinions regarding the research question; however, to reduce bias, I have decided not to include personal accounts in the thesis or auto-ethnography, which is a self-reflecting method of research. Being a local has aided this research through knowledge of the local language (Croatian); socio-cultural knowledge of the area; and local inhabitants that helped me find other research participants. Local language knowledge also helped with the literature research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Anthropology is the study of humans and their cultures. Interest in humans dates back to the ancient times, when Greeks and Romans made notes about people they encountered. Tourism is usually referred to as the study of the tourist that leaves its place of living, the ordinary, and visits the tourist destination, the non-ordinary (Jafari, 2000, p. 585; Graburn, 1983, p. 11). This study started to develop in the 19th century when Bronislaw Malinowski (1922) conducted research on Papua New Guinea. Through his study of the Kula Ring, he gave deeper meaning to the ritualistic, social cohesion aspect of travel. This anthropological study concerns a multitude of topics including kinship, identity, gender, ethnicity, nationalism, migration, social inequality and globalization. Tourist motivation, cross-cultural communication, global interconnection and exchange also appear throughout tourism studies, because to anthropologists, tourism is a complex realm of behavior, representation and interaction. As a loosely integrated social field, it includes multiple actors with differing degrees of power and autonomy (tourists, workers, residents, expatriates, foreign, local guides and other intermediaries, including researchers); characteristic practices (travelling, sightseeing, photographing, shopping and relaxing or, conversely, marketing, selling, serving, guiding and ignoring); and constituent institutions (travel agencies, airports, hotels/hostels, museums, heritage sites and souvenir shops) (Leite & Swain, 2015, p. 2).

According to Graburn (1983, p. 10), this study has emphasized two main topics: the study of the tourist, and of economic and socio-cultural impacts that tourism has on the inhabitants of the tourist destination. This also includes the nature of the relationship between the tourists and hosts. The second topic is addressed by this research. Tourists influence the everyday life of the locals during tourist season, as visitors influence the cultural, economic and social activities of the residents. This research enables understanding how the destination can positively progress. Literature concerning anthropology of tourism and tourism impacts is presented in this chapter in four sections: The first introduces literature on anthropology of tourism; the second presents different types of tourism; the third describes how tourism developed; and the fourth highlights how tourism impacts arose during tourism development and overviews these impacts. The works in the next chapters were selected to emphasize a

part of tourism anthropology, where the focus is on the interaction between hosts and guests and on the products of this interaction.

Anthropology of Hosts and Guests

In the past, the study of tourism was viewed as unworthy of academic pursuit by anthropologists.

Judging by the smirk which the mere mention of tourism brings to the face of my colleagues, most social scientists do not take tourism seriously...most of my colleagues strongly imply that a professed interest in tourism constitutes little more than a clever ploy to pass off one's vacations as work. I would not deny that the study of tourism is great fun, but must a subject be boring to be worthy of study? By now, enough fascinating work on tourism...has been produced to document that tourism is not only a phenomenon of gigantic import to the modern world but also one presenting intellectually challenging problems. (van den Berghe, 1994, pp. 3-4, cited in Burns, 2004, p. 6)

Besides being considered boring or not worthy, the study of tourism was also avoided due to possible similarities between tourist journeys and the study of anthropologists. Some anthropologists did not want to be identified as tourists. In addition, tourism was primarily viewed as an economic activity and was thus mostly analyzed by economic and marketing scholars. "In the 1970s and 1980s, anthropologists began to engage with political and social realities of the post-colonial world, including tourism, focusing on modernity, development, urbanization and global South-North connections. Today, tourism relates to anthropological research on myriad topics, including local and global politics, economic development, social inequality, gender, ethnicity, nationalism, construction and performance of identity, cross-cultural communication, discourse, representation, diaspora and globalization" (Leite & Swain, 2015, p. 1).

Besides Malinowski, other scientists laid the groundwork for tourism research, such as Mauss and his gift-giving and exchange research that paved the way for researching the clash between capitalist tourism and traditional reciprocity; Simmel developed the sociology of the "stranger;" Marx submitted ideas concerning class, production and consumption; and Van Gennep researched rituals and rites of passage that eventually led to Graburn's idea of tourism

as a ritual (Burns, 1999, p. 69). Graburn (1977) argued that tourism is a form of a secular ritual, a sacred journey that provides a restorative break from everyday life. His opinion aligns with Van Gennep's, and he (1909) provided the best framework for analyzing and understanding the ritual process, which includes a period of separation as going away from home; a middle period of limited duration-liminality; and return to home as a part of aggregation. The rite-of-passage type of tourism is commonly associated with major life changes, such as emergence into adulthood, divorce, widowhood or career changes. Such tourism often includes prolonged absences and is often arduous, providing self-testing wherein the individuals prove to the rest of the social group that they are ready and capable of assuming the new status expected of them (Graburn, 1983, p. 13). Other authors also contributed to the development of anthropology of tourism: MacCannell (1976), Smith (1977), Nash (1977), Cohen (1988), Urry (1990), Selwyn (1994), Boissevain (1996), Dann (1997), Burns (1999) and Jafari (2000). Not everyone who contributed was an anthropologist, such as MacCannell, Dann and Urry who were sociologists, and Marx was a sociologist, economist and philosopher; nonetheless, they all paved the path for future research.

Nash and Smith (1991, p. 22) note that it is not always easy to distinguish the contributions of anthropologists from those of other social scientists due to an overlap of disciplines, especially with sociology. In general, "study of society" tends to be called social anthropology by British or cultural anthropology by American academics (Burns, 1999, p. 17). Social problems in all societies could be better addressed by understanding all elements of the society, which is why anthropologists conduct fieldwork. They draw comparisons in the spirit of cultural relativism, but they remain concerned with the context, relationships and connections. The focus is not and could not be solely on the individual, but on the relationship between people and their environments. These relationships enable communication (Eriksen, 2021, p. 21).

There used to be a lack of tourism research, but now researchers are flocking to tourist centers, which is necessary since tourism is possibly the largest-scale movement of goods, services and people witnessed by humanity. Economists and planners have traced the outlines of this industry and its peculiarities, and many anthropologists and sociologists have charted the social effects of tourism on communities (Greenwood, 1989, p. 171). Anthropological literature regarding tourism research and analysis have expanded and progressed in the last couple of decades. Tourism has been chosen as a topic of research as a tool for maintaining cultural identities of the people researched. Smith (1989, p. 277) said that all anthropologists

have virtually agreed that there is no need for a particular "theory of tourism"; rather, the existing anthropological theories should be used when studying tourism. All anthropological approaches to tourism are united by the discipline's holistic and comparative perspective, which separates anthropological accounts of tourism from studies conducted by psychologists, economists, political scientists or sociologists (ibid, p. 278). Doing research within this discipline has the ability to combine local and global, and to make sense of the human dynamics.

Types of Tourism

Graburn (1983, p. 12) differentiates two categories of modern tourism – the modal type of tourism that includes weekend trip, holiday (Christmas, Easter, etc.) trip or some other type of annual trip that is repetitive. And the other form, that marks the special event in a person's life, such as marriage, graduation or retirement. Differentiating types of tourists is key to understanding tourist behaviors and motivations. Different tourist types place different demands on tourist destinations, where those that stay longer will assumedly have more understanding of the hosts and their culture (Cohen, 1988). Valene Smith (1989) followed Cohen and provided the most inclusive tourist typology. This typology differentiates tourists by the type of their activities: cultural, ethnic, environmental, historical and recreational tourism. In addition, there is a categorization according to the numbers of tourists and their adaptations to local norms (shown in Table 1). The table below is relevant for social and cultural impact studies.

<i>Type of Tourist</i>	<i>Numbers of Tourists</i>	<i>Adaptations to Local Norms</i>
Explorer	Very limited	Accepts fully
Elite	Rarely seen	Adapts fully
Off-beat	Uncommon but seen	Adapts well
Unusual	Occasional	Adapts somewhat
Incipient Mass	Steady flow	Seeks Western amenities
Mass	Continuous influx	Expects Western amenities
Charter	Massive arrivals	Demands Western amenities

Table 1: Smith's typology of tourists (Source: Smith, V. (1989). *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*. (2nd ed.). University of Pennsylvania Press)

Reasons to visit a destination are regarded as a travel motivation. Mentioned divisions were mostly used in the 1980s and 1990s, but tourism has since evolved and today there are additional types. Not only that there are additional types, but tourists often have more than one reason to visit a destination. Harrill and Potts (2002) emphasize that it is important to re-evaluate the tourist motivation due to rapid technological development and global economic integration. There could be many travel motivations but the foundation lies on these three elements: "tourism = leisure time + discretionary income + positive local sanctions" (Smith, 1989, p. 1). Leisure time has increased in the Western world since the workweek has decreased and people have been working fewer hours. Discretionary income is money not needed for personal essentials (food, clothing, housing...) and that could be spent on travel. It is an important factor when one chooses a travel style, the destination and the time that will be spent there. What was saving for "rainy days" became a means to travel. The sanctions for travel are closely linked to the motivation and therefore the kind of travel to be undertaken. Both sanctions and motivations are multiple, varied and complex (ibid, p. 2). There is also a difference between tourists that travel for a day or less, called excursionists, and those who stay overnight or longer. Since excursionists do not stay overnight, they will not demand accommodation but will use other infrastructure and activities, which could potentially impact the destination.

Tourism Proliferation

People have traveled since the beginning of time, but thanks to technology development, it has never been easier to travel across the planet. There are many affordable and easy-to-access tourism services such as budget airlines, Booking.com, Uber, Google maps, Google translator and others. Turner and Ash (1975) say that tourism is a form of economic exploitation, and that it does not differ much from the economic exploitations in the past. "If past generations created oil production, mining, or rubber-growing enclaves, ours has produced tourist resorts" (ibid, p. 249). According to the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) report, international tourist arrivals have increased from 25 million in 1950 to over 1.4 billion in 2018 (Figure 1). The expansion of this sector helped develop and transform entire communities. Such growth entails more responsibility to ensure effective destination management that minimizes the adverse effects of tourism (URL 2).

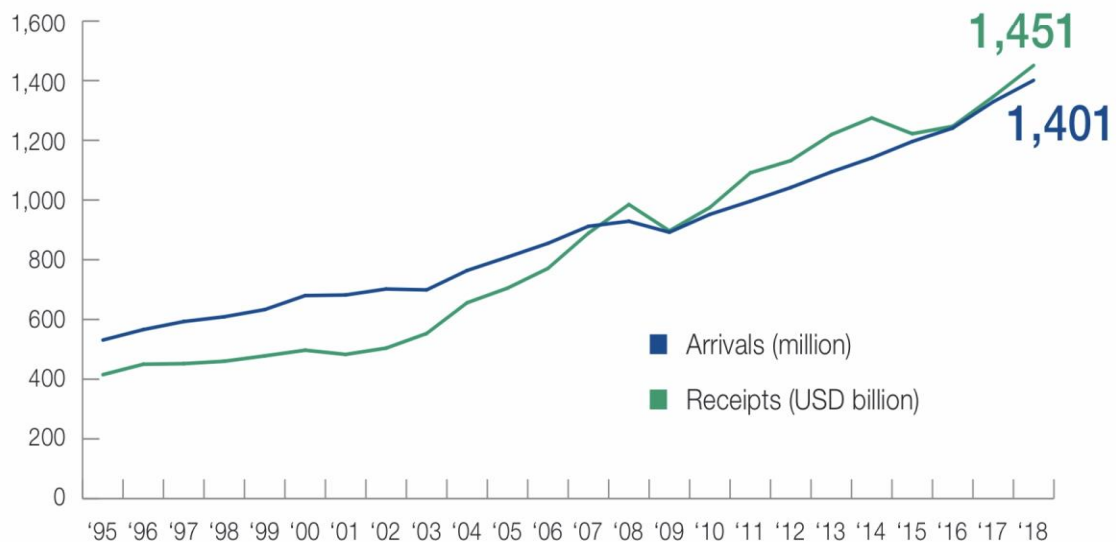


Figure 1: International tourist arrivals (Source: UNWTO <https://www.e-unwto.org/doi/pdf/10.18111/9789284421152>)

Although people started to move faster, last year it all stopped due to the COVID-19 pandemic, resulting in a significant drop in international arrivals (Figure 2).

The statistics of the UNWTO are based on official reports by the destinations; hence, it should be taken into account that not all destinations are directly connected to the UNWTO, and that some of them do not even have the means to record tourism properly (Winter, 2018, p. 9).

International Tourist Arrivals, % change

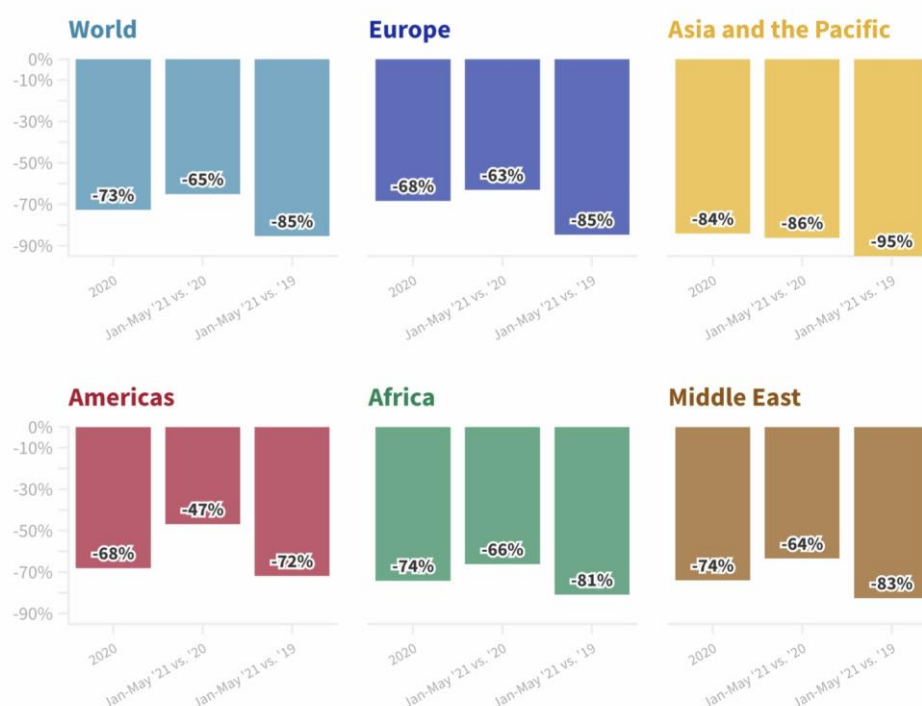


Figure 2: International tourist arrivals, % change (Source: UNWTO <https://www.unwto.org/international-travel-largely-on-hold-despite-uptick-in-may>)

The world's diverse populations have more frequently come into contact and have been forced to solve problems that become challenging due to the diversity of values (Bohren, 2021, p. 37). The links between tourism, globalization and international politics include obvious cultural changes and connections that are an acknowledged result of international travel. On the other hand, people are becoming more aware that tourism could be impacting their cultures negatively through the process of globalization (Burns, 1999, p. 125).

Tourism Impacts

In the process of tourism research, anthropologists have become more immersed into studied communities and involved in impact mitigation and conflict resolution (Burns, 1999, p. 15). This results in concern with the tourism impacts in Split, which could be positive or negative.

The impacts of the tourism development are often divided into three categories: socio-cultural that includes resurgence of traditional crafts and traditions, identity understanding and protection, culture changes, and increased crime rates; economic, including tax revenue and tax burdens, inflation, debt; and environmental, including pollution, litter crowding, wildlife and natural surfaces protection and destruction (Andereck, 1995). Guests influence everything from the nature of interpersonal relationships and social organizations, social stratification of the society, division of labor, separation of powers, rhythm of social life, to habits and art. All these impacts influence wider cultural, social, political, economic and ecological processes that are typical of guests and hosts. As mentioned before, socio-cultural, economic and environmental impacts can be classified both as positive and negative (Putova, 2017, p. 73). Positive economic impacts include employment opportunities and increased living standards, while negative impacts include increases in prices, economic dependence of the local community on tourism and foreign ownership and management. Destinations with a financial gap between guests and hosts are more affected. According to Winter (2018), regional products and services that are adjusted to the expenditure of tourism actors are heavily affected. In addition, the value of property and newly installed infrastructure may rise, causing residents to be unable to keep their property or to become financially denied access to improvements. These negative impacts can lead to negative adaptation and increases in

informal enrichment and thus crime, ranging from begging and prostitution to selling drugs and bribery.

Although tourism is often considered a clean industry, it can cause significant environmental damage since it is often developed in attractive but fragile environments. In addition, local development policy can become focused on meeting the needs of tourists, often without regard for the environment (Andereck et al., 2005, p. 1059). Natural attractions, namely flora and fauna, are directly harmed by many tourist activities. In addition, pollution is generated through tourist activities and facilities. Environmental tourism impacts are often regarded as initiators of climate change, which is especially evident in air and cruise travel (Winter, 2018). Andereck (1995) also mentions environmental consequences that disturb humans, including large buildings which destroy views; clashing and unfitting architectural styles; noise pollution from planes, cars and tourists; damage to geological formations such as erosions and vandalism; fishing line and tackle left by anglers; and graffiti. Monitoring impacts is important for predicting changes in society and environments, individual behavior, social relationships and living standards. This has led to better development of the industry toward more sustainable and responsible tourism models.

Modern tourism is often connected to the term "mass", because more people than ever before are traveling all across the globe. This mass movement of people has led to mass consumerism (Burns, 1999, p. 44), which is closely connected to capitalism. The capitalist mode of production has become nearly universal in the past 50 years. Furthermore, Burns (1999, p. 61) says that consumerism is a by-product of a broader movement of commoditization, where social institutions and cultural artifacts are considered expendable in the name of global capitalism. Over the years, there has been a shift in spending attitudes as people started spending only to spend. Thus, the provision of services and goods to tourists have been framed by mass consumption. Consumerism impacts destinations through tourists bringing urban attitudes of the consumer society in which they live (Burns, 1999, p. 58). Mass consumption becomes a significant problem since it causes the loss of custom local products, which is affected by the process of standardization. This process is an almost inevitable consequence of the connectedness that comprises major tourism groups, and it may dilute what is most precious about a destination: its individualism (Burns, 1999, p. 123). Destinations and their products thereby lose their individualism and authenticity. It is difficult to stand out in a world where modern technology globally creates phenomena (music, films, political issues, fashion, etc.). Something is no longer custom when you can buy it in Split,

London, Tokyo and other places in the world. Treating culture as a natural resource or commodity, over which tourists have rights, is not only perverse but is a violation of peoples' cultural rights (Greenwood, 1989, p. 179).

All aspects of our lives are affected by cultures that we occasionally encounter. These cultures influence us, and in turn we influence them. Cultures are thus influenced by both internal and external factors, willingly and unwillingly (Burns, 1999, p. 18). The encounter between the "host" and "guest" is a core interest of tourism study. Nash (1981, cited in Burns, 1999, p. 68) highlighted that cross-cultural encounters and consequential social transactions "provide the key to anthropologic understanding of tourism." Smith (1977) and others also argue that human interaction is a key factor in tourism. According to Stanković (1985, p. 76), four types of cultures come into contact in host-guest interactions: the host culture; tourists' own culture; tourist culture that arises from how tourists live while visiting a destination, which manifests through their ways of speaking, behaving, dressing and spending money; and mixed culture, which is the result of all these cultures that come into contact. Burns (1999, p. 94) emphasized that these encounters vary according the type of tourists and the length of the tourist season. Culture brokers have a special role in this. Smith (1977) described culture-brokers as mediators between the hosts and guests. Often, they have the ability to manipulate host cultures for tourists' purposes, which results in acculturation. Exchange between hosts and guests is not balanced, but rather asymmetric. And it is not rare situation that the dominant guests' culture controls and changes the hosts' culture (Putova, 2018, p. 78).

The clash between host and guest cultures often brings negative and positive impacts to both, but there is a greater imprint left on the host community. Tourism is based on consumption and modernization, and it is too often viewed as a commodity to be produced and consumed. Objects and performances created for local consumption become geared towards the tourism market and are consequently said to be exploited, debased and trivialized (Cohen, 1988). Such commodification can therefore be viewed as destroying the authenticity of local cultural products and relationships, and it leads to the "staged" or faked experiences created for external consumers (MacCannel, 1976). The commoditization of culture does not require the consent of the population from a culture or parts of it are being commoditized. Anthropology has focused on the constructed markers of commonality and difference that tourists consume. Ethnic customs, heritage sites, "traditional" dance, music, dress, rituals, environmental adaptations and unfamiliar social norms represent attractions packaged to draw tourists to specific destinations. Local arts and handicrafts are often produced for souvenirs, and thus

could be susceptible to change (Leite & Swain, 2015, p. 3). Greenwood (1989, p. 173) says that there is no problem when local people are paid to perform for tourists; instead, the problem arises when the local culture is expropriated and local people are exploited. He notes that we (scientists) have the social science tools to understand the fragility of local culture and the humanist's responsibility to use these tools. And these tools have stimulated preservation and appreciation for local traditions (Cole, 2006, p. 89).

In addition to observing host-guest interactions and reading official reports, recognizing and understanding tourism impacts requires considering residents' perspectives. Locals' opinions were previously regarded with secondary importance since the customers are outsiders and the capital and management are seldom local (Pi-sunyer, 1989, p. 188). This thesis follows previous tourism impact studies of MacCannell (1976); Greenwood (1977); Gamper (1981); Machlis and Burch (1983); Rossel (1988); Cohen (1988); Bendix (1989); Leong (1989); Ap (1992); Silverman (2001); Mason (2003); Andereck et al. (2005); and Gursoy (2010). These studies show that each destination is different and show how both positive and negative impacts are perceived and experienced. Some studies have also been conducted in Croatia, such as Horvat-Jokić (1997); Marković and Klarić (2015); Kovačić and Silviera (2018); Perajica (2018); Pavlić et al. (2020); Recher and Rubil (2020); and Relja et al. (2020). Marković and Klarić's analysis (2015, p. 107) has shown that tourism generally positively impacts the destination. This is especially the case when tourism is the only or one of the rare economic activities. In Croatia, tourism is showing a positive attitude. They noted that locals are more satisfied in the area where tourism is less developed, and less satisfied where tourism is the main economic activity. Split is one of the places where tourism is a dominant economic activity, and this research will either confirm or deny these findings.

Host-guest encounters do not always happen, however, and not all locals work in tourism and are "hosts." In the same way, not all tourists are "guests" or plan on engaging with the locals, and it could be impact-less if they do. Smith (1989, p. 9) said that the tourism does not have to be culturally damaging. Many tourists want to forsake the "tourist bubble" and become acquainted with the local people and their culture. Tourism can be a bridge to appreciating cultural relativity and international understanding; however, if there is no interaction between hosts and guests, the locals could still be impacted. A literature review suggests that this discipline fairly developed when comparing newer texts to the ones conducted at the beginning of the discipline. Additional research and action are required in order to help the communities, which is where anthropology is needed. Anthropology teaches invaluable

knowledge, which is especially important in this modern globalized time, when so many people of different backgrounds come into contact (Eriksen, 2021, p. 22).

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research Design

This research is considered to be qualitative and captures current literature and personal accounts describing aspects of life that are impacted by tourism. This chapter will present the methods that were used.

The research was divided into three major stages. The first occurred from December 2020 to February 2021, which included reading literature, conducting online research and studying demographics and official documents. The second phase was data collection performed in March, April and May of 2021. During this phase, the interviews were conducted and transcribed. The third phase included analysis, making sense of the data, drawing conclusions and writing the thesis, and it happened in June of 2021. Fieldnotes were kept throughout all three phases.

The goal was to collect a sufficient variety of data until the data began to repeat, which occurred after the 9th interview out of 11 conducted. The research was performed in two languages: English and Croatian. German was used for small parts, and a greater part of the literature was written in English. Some documentaries and clips were also watched to gain additional secondary information about the topic. Materials in Croatian included official documents, books, articles, case studies, fieldnotes, newspapers and interview transcripts. Although this thesis is written in English, most of the material was in Croatian, and knowing the local language creates a sense of belonging and local cohesion.

Data collection and protection are core to this research, which is especially problematic when data are publicly available or stolen, so they must be handled with moral and ethical responsibility. Despite international standards of ethical anthropological research, the researcher is relied on to carefully use the (personal) information (Gobo, 2008, p. 135). All research was saved onto a Google Drive account, which is useful in cases of technical malfunction of devices storing the information. All data could be accessed through my phone or laptop, making it pertinent to secure them with passwords and fingerprints. If one or both devices become stolen, the data will remain safe. During the course of the study, it was emphasized that the informants' information is of utmost importance. Before conducting interviews, assurance was given to respondents that they will be anonymous and that their

data will be secured. Some allowed for their names to be used, but I decided to give all of them aliases in the form of "Person A," "Person B" and so on.

Regarding the organization of the collected data, there was no need for a software program or application since I used my own organizing system, where the data were divided into ca. 20 text files with titles for easier management. The interview recordings were saved onto my cellphone. The data were later combined into this thesis.

The Process of Data Collection

This study uses qualitative research methodologies to investigate community perceptions toward tourism impacts. Qualitative research methods have been introduced in social science to enable studying social and cultural phenomena. The main goal of qualitative research is to grasp phenomena from the views of participants in substantial and specific social contexts (Toloie-Eshlaghy et al., 2011). These types of materials may be obtained through utilizing qualitative approaches or designs such as case studies, historical research, grounded theory, ethnography, content analysis, phenomenology, action research, hermeneutics and discourse analysis (Mills, 2014, cited in Ngulube, 2015, p. 4). This research used content analysis.

The data collection process in this research involved varied qualitative methods, including sampling, collecting primary (book, articles, newspapers, interview transcripts and fieldnotes) and secondary (book reviews, articles, essays and documentaries) sources. Primary sources are lucrative since they present immediate and firsthand results of research activities. Secondary sources review, analyze and discuss primary sources. Qualitative research usually involves a large amount of material.

Quantitative methods were not used due to the brief timeframe to conduct the research and write the thesis, which focused on what participants said rather than how many said something in the interviews. Interview transcripts and observation protocols represent data types, that are now complimented with variety of visual, textual and acoustic data. These forms of data represent diverse methods of communication and documentation of individual and social experiences (Flick, 2014, p. 5). Studying tourism requires considering power relations and the media influence.

Interviews

This study uses interviews as the main method for data collection. Interviewees are vital for this research since they provide better understanding of the tourism situation and are a valuable method of gaining insight into people's perceptions, understanding and experiences of a given phenomenon. Interviews usually take two forms: informal conversations, which primarily arise in situations of participant observation; and explicit interviews, which are agreed upon with the actors. The former have casual characteristics and are often viewed as a method of enabling access to the field, and interviews are oriented towards social science-documented forms and especially occur during late research phases (Breidenstein et al., 2013, p. 80). This research contained only explicit interviews since the participant-observation method was not used.

Interviews are a form of conversation and according to Holstein and Gubrium (1997, p. 113) they can vary from highly structured, standardized, quantitatively oriented survey interviews to semi-formal guided conversation and free-flowing informational exchanges. Ten semi-structured and one structured interview have been conducted. Structured interview includes informants being asked the same questions in a form of constructed guidelines. The aim of these types of interviews is to compare people's responses (Bernard, 2017, p. 195); however, since only one structured interview was conducted, there was no possibility for a comparison. A comparison was nonetheless made between all interviews. One (structured) interview was conducted via e-mail because the interviewee could not find time for a face-to-face conversation. The other interviews that were conducted were semi-structured. These types of interviews follow a general script and are open-ended. According to Berg (2009), the questions in this type of interview are more flexible.

Interview guide is a general script used in an interview. It contains a list of topics and questions that need to be answered by the respondents. The questions and topics are based on the personal knowledge and previous studies. "Adequate applications of interviewing techniques presuppose a basic understanding of the communicative norms of the society in question" (Briggs, 1983, p. 94). Before starting the interview method, I possessed linguistic and socio-cultural knowledge, which I combined with the initial literature research results and known background of some interviewees. Three types of questions were used (Hussy et al., 2013, p. 216): introductory questions, guideline-based questions and ad hoc questions. The introductory part of the interview included an assurance of anonymity and confidentiality,

description of my research topic and explanation of why their opinion is important for this research. The introductory question was then asked: "What is the biggest tourism impact according to your opinion?" Guideline-based questions were not answered in the same order in all interviews, but they were all eventually answered. Froschauer and Lueger (2003) suggest being guided by the interviewee rather than by the interviewer. The interview was guided by the interviewees and depended on their interests. The interviews also contained different probes. According to Bernard (2017), the key to proper interviewing is learning how to use probes. Using probes means stimulating interviewees to produce more information, but without directing their answers. I used the silent probe, "uh-huh" probe and "tell-me-more" probe. The silent probe consists of remaining quiet and waiting for the informant to continue, and sometimes the silence was accompanied by a nod. Another way to encourage the interviewee to continue with the narrative is through affirmative comments such as "uh-huh" and "yes, I see." The "tell-me-more" probe is one of the most common forms, involves saying "Can you tell me more about it?" or "Why do you say that?" and often leads to more information from the interviewees. The complete interview guide can be found in "Appendix A."

There were 11 interviews conducted and 13 interviewees, and the complete interviewee list can be found in "Appendix B." All interviews were conducted in Croatian language, which is important to protect the integrity, meaning and authenticity. This might not be achieved if the interviewees speak in a language other than their mother tongue. Knowing the language and possessing the local knowledge aids understanding the research question. Two interviews were conducted with two interviewees. Some but not all interviewees work in or have connections to tourism, which provided both perspectives. Two interviewees are considered experts. In expert interviews, the focus is on the informants' institutionalized role as representatives of the group and associated special expertise. Despite this lack of focus on the informants in the expert interviews, during one I also asked questions about the interviewee. These expert interviews were conducted with the director of the Split Tourism Board and with a participant who is a tourist guide and tour agency owner who sometimes collaborates with the Tourist Board. The interview with the director was both expert and structured. Before beginning the research, I expected more interviews to be conducted this way due to the ongoing pandemic; however, this did not influence people so much that they did not want to participate in person. The aim was to gain answers from these people regarding city policies and decision-making process, and their answers concerned tourism impacts, development and marketing.

All interviews were conducted in locations of the interviewees' choosing, including cafes, parks, homes or workplaces. Evans Pritchard shared the advice he himself got as a novice, and it was "not to converse with an informant for more than twenty minutes because if you aren't bored by that time he will be" (1983 (1937), pp. 239-54, cited in Eriksen, 2001, p. 26). Most interviews lasted approximately 20 minutes, but the longest lasted for 59 minutes and 23 seconds and the shortest for 9 minutes and 28 seconds. A couple shorter ones were conducted in the interviewees' place of work since they lacked additional spare time. The interviews generally had a relaxed atmosphere, although some interviewees were slightly nervous at the beginning since the interviews were recorded, which they would later forget. Nervousness is a reason that I took notes immediately after the interviews instead of during them. During a couple interviews, people told me something important after stopping the recording; I then added this information later in the fieldnotes.

Sampling

To find interested interviewees, a sampling strategy was implemented. Sampling is a process of selecting individuals for interviewing from the target population (Sommer & Sommer, 2002, p. 235). According to Rapley (2014, p. 49) sampling matters for the analytic process, from initial questions about the phenomenon to the presentation of the work. Because the claims of qualitative researchers are routinely based on working with small numbers of people, interactions, situations or spaces, they should be chosen for appropriate analytic reasons. This research used the snowball sampling strategy, which Gobo (2004) refers to as being purposive and emblematic. A snowball effect occurred when I picked only a few people, who then proposed others that I should interview. They were interviewed in no particular order and with no particular criteria except that the respondents had to work and/or live in Split. Having too many criteria can make the research biased. I later received suggestions for more people that I should interview but had to decline since I had enough contacts and information started to repeat itself. I categorized the respondents into two groups: those who worked in tourism and those who did not.

Of the 13 respondents, three are between 40 and 55 years old, two are between 30 and 40 and eight are between 20 and 30. Five live in the city and eight in the vicinity (no more than 20 kilometers from Split). Four are married, four are single and five are in a relationship. Their

professions are: Tourist Board director, tourist guide/tourist agency owner, medical technician, search and rescue volunteer, soldier (ex-fireman), boat charter manager, cook, construction worker (ex-cook in tourism), three waiters, surveyor, and a professional driver. Four (Tourist Board director, tourist guide, boat charter manager and cook) work in the tourism sector, and four (three waiters and a medical technician) have an increased workload during the tourist season. The rest (surveyor, soldier, construction worker, search and rescue volunteer and professional driver) do not depend on tourism and lack direct connections to it, although the construction worker has experience in the tourism sector along with a soldier who used to be a fireman. The aim of this sampling technique was to determine how participants are impacted by tourism, both professionally and privately. Except for the Tourist Board Director, who gave only a professional opinion, all other interviewees stated their private stances on tourism impacts and other tourism-related themes during the interviews.

Transcription

Transcription represents an inevitable, laborious and time-consuming step in qualitative data analysis. According to Peez (in Flick, 2014, p. 65), all social scientists doing qualitative research must carefully address the research material while transcribing. Kowal and O'Connell (2014, p. 67) present transcribing as an activity done by one or multiple persons, sometimes done by the researcher himself or personnel not involved in the research. Some researchers emphasized that transcribing and the analysis should be conducted by the same person (Chafe, 1995; Lapadat & Lindsay, 1999). Chafe (1995, p. 61) said that a person cannot fully understand the data unless they have been included in the research since the beginning. Therefore, all parts of this research have been done solely by myself.

Transcripts from this research were made according to Chafe's (ibid.) advice, where the same person conducted, transcribed and analyzed the interviews. I chose to perform a standard orthography, which is a method of spelling words according to a standard dictionary (Flick, 2014, p. 70). The interviews were originally conducted in Croatian but required translation to English for the purpose of the research; therefore, translation occurred simultaneously with the transcription process. When interviews are conducted in languages such as English and German, software can aid the researcher's translation, but there is none that could translate Croatian. The interviews were transcribed and translated completely while considering the

meanings to avoid their loss in translation. This process was time consuming but enabled preemptively beginning analysis. The interviews were recorded on my phone, lasted 288.98 minutes and required 15 to 16 hours for transcription, which resulted in 96 pages.

Technology is an important aspect of conducting interviews. Recording creates new opportunities and enables listening to the interviews an infinite number of times, thereby removing the need to take notes throughout the interview. The recordings can also be saved as material for future research.

Other Textual and Visual Data

Most qualitative research occurs in settings that are "documented" in various ways. Besides interviews, "state" and other kinds of documents are designed as records of action and activity. These documents are used for social purposes. They provide a mechanism for understanding social and organizational practices (Coffey, 2014, p. 367). According to Gobo and Molle (2017), there are three main types of text: public documents (files, databases, forms, official statistics, company reports, official proceedings, restaurant menus, etc.); personal documents (letters, diaries, autobiographies, suicide notes, post-it messages, etc.); and images, photographs, symbols, timetables, signs, notices, warnings and prohibitions, web pages, intranet and extranet communications (e-mails) and television programs.

This research used public rather than personal documents, including official government documents and reports that provided valuable information. According to Coffey (2014, p. 371), some have specialized language with significant knowledge to gain by paying attention to structures, registers and forms. She also suggests considering how documents function. Websites that were researched to find them included the Ministry of Tourism, The City of Split (URL 3), Tourist Board of Split (URL 4) and Split-Dalmatia County Tourist Board (URL 5), all of which offered the latest tourism-related information, and past information could be found in the archives. These four sources inform about the coronavirus. The Croatian Ministry of Tourism and Sport contains the latest news and advice; different rules and orders for the gastronomy and the hospitality sectors; the number of arrivals and overnight stays on the state level; locals' tourism activity in Croatia; and other statistics such as tourism agencies and nautical tourism numbers. The City of Split's official website contains the least tourism-related information among these four but includes information about some tourism impacts

that are a part of some greater internal problem, such as infrastructure and traffic projects, EU projects and smart city projects. Because this research regards tourism impacts, this site allows locals to engage and work with the authorities to improve the city better, such as by minimizing negative tourism impacts. The Tourist Board of Split site presents details about the city, its map, sights and a guide; useful advice about the events and other activities; statistics of overnight stays in the area under the Tourism Board's jurisdiction; and the ability to view some places in Split via camera in real time (URL 6). The Split-Dalmatia County Board site also contains similar information as well as a Tourism Development Strategy of Split-Dalmatia County (2017-2027) (Tomljenović, 2018). These sites were found in the Croatian language. The Tourist Board of Split and Split-Dalmatia County websites enable changing the language to several others.

Some visual data were collected, including 47 documentaries and short clips found on YouTube that address tourism and its impacts in Split as well as other parts of the world. Information was also gathered from local newspapers such as "Slobodna Dalmacija," "Dalmatinski Portal" and "Dalmacija Danas." Some other websites and blogs were also researched, but little Split-related information was found. All newspapers were written in Croatian. Most of the material from YouTube was in English but some were found in Croatian.

All the material can be used differently in conjunction with quantitative or qualitative methods. Treating the data quantitatively enables identifying phenomena and establishing connections (Blaikie, 2010, p. 207) via analysis regarding thematic content to reveal patterns and sequences. All material was found digitally, indexed and analyzed. As mentioned before, digital media have extended reach into everyday life and have become a part of the data collection process. New technologies offer new ways of engaging with the emergent research environments.

Fieldnotes

Fieldnotes are vivid descriptions after witnessing something, including personal feelings and reactions. They serve as a tool for reflection and include observations, thoughts and ideas that were written through all stages of this research. They were usually written in a phone application for notes and later retyped on a computer. Before the research began, potential

interview answers and tourism impacts were noted to be later used for comparison with the results and are mentioned in the findings section. Notes were also written after the interviews regarding the atmosphere while conducting interviews, interviewees' behavior and about the material they provided. The notes were written afterwards because they can distract the researcher and interviewee. Sometimes the silences can be useful for showing agreement or disagreement. Respondents taking time to think or to respond a question could also be understood as answers or as hints. Head movements, eye gaze and gestures can be used since such details matter in any interaction. After the interviews finished and the recording stopped, sometimes the interviewees added things that they did not say during the recording. Fieldnotes were also written when some ideas, conclusions or information would arise during the literature and online research.

Detailed documentation of research design, plans and data collected can help organize the research and research question. Such documentation can be reviewed, reexamined and reinterpreted before subsequent analysis and incorporation into the text. Emerson et al (1995, cited in Emerson, 2011, p. 363) note that researchers need to edit the fieldnotes before incorporating them into finished texts. This is done to eliminate excess of information or to provide the anonymity of the respondents.

The process of diary-keeping helps with understanding the scientific in contexts that are being studied. The understanding of the context, i.e. beliefs, values and practices comes from being a native of the region. Because a diary was not kept for this research, fieldnotes enabled reflexivity and self-assessment, which involves reflection to investigate processes of knowledge production (May & Perry, 2014).

Data Analysis

In the last decades, there has been a growing interest in tourism research and consequently the literature regarding methods of qualitative data analysis has expanded (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996; Blaikie, 2010; Flick, 2014). Qualitative data analysis was chosen for this research to analyze the data and explore hidden meanings in the text, and it occurs after selecting the field and collecting, recording, transcribing and elaborating the data. According to Flick (2014, p. 5) qualitative data analysis regards the classification and interpretation of linguistic (or visual) material to make statements about implicit and explicit dimensions and structures of meaning-

making in the material and what it represents. Qualitative data analyses are means for meaning-making. They can discover issues in the field or within the research processes. Often, there is the aim of getting generalizable statements. This type of analysis is flexible, systematic and can reduce data. It also transforms data by searching, categorizing, evaluating topics in order to interpret them (Ngulube, 2015).

Data analysis is central and one of the most challenging parts qualitative research. The data analysis forms the outcomes of the research (Flick, 2014, p. 3). The aim of this analysis was to describe the phenomenon of tourism with a focus on people's experience with tourism and the links and patterns. "Analysis is the search for patterns in data and for ideas that help explain why those patterns are there in the first place. It starts before you collect data...and it continues throughout any research effort" (Bernard, 2017, p. 355).

Qualitative content analysis can analyze various types of data, but this data need to be transformed into written text before analysis starts. If the data originate from existing texts, the choice of the content must be justified by the research aim (Patton, 2002), which is why the interviews are transcribed. Interviews are traditionally analyzed as descriptions of experience and reports or representations of reality, including information which is "produced, shared and used in socially organized ways" by participants rather than the researcher (Atkinson & Coffey, 1997, p. 47). According to Holstein and Gubrium, (1997, p. 126), the analysis entails coding, summarizing the descriptions and providing framework that gives the account of the researched social world. Interviews are a special kind of social encounter, where the researcher and respondents are removed from a natural setting, which means that the behavior and interaction are reported rather than observed. The interviews were analyzed using a content analysis approach, which regards systematic coding and categorizing to explore large amounts of textual information to ascertain the trends and patterns of words used, their frequency, relationship and structures, contexts and discourses of communication (Grbich, 2013, p. 190, cited in Ngulube, 2015, p. 13). This approach facilitates producing data through the method of reduction and analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Before coding, the interview transcripts were printed and patterns were manually sought.

Besides interviews, qualitative content analysis is suitable for a range of materials, including visual and verbal ones sampled from available sources (websites, newspapers, magazines and others). Coding works better for textual rather than visual accounts. The steps taken include selecting the material, building the coding frame, evaluating and modifying the coding frame,

analysis and interpretation. According to O'Reilly (2005, p. 184), a researcher should make sense of the material through the following: summarize, sort, translate and organize; explore to identify the unobvious; observe which patterns emerge; think and theorize to draw conclusions that can be generalized. The results of the analysis are presented in Chapter 5.

Coding

Coding is the most widely used categorizing strategy and involves labeling and grouping data segments by category before they are examined and compared, both within and between categories. Most researchers who use the coding strategy eventually develop patterns among the codes and their categories (Maxwell & Chmiel, 2014). Kowal and O'Connell (2014, p. 67) note that coding depends on previous transcription and entails a further theoretical orientation as a foundation for its categorizations.

Before the beginning of the coding process, codes must be established and coding frame must be built.

The coding frame is at the heart of the method. It consists of at least one main category and at least two subcategories. Main categories are those aspects of the material about which the researcher would like more information, and subcategories specify what is said in the material with respect to these main categories. (Schreier, 2014, p. 174)

Type of coding used for this research was open coding. Open coding involves categorizing the data and making comparisons within the categories (Maxwell & Chmiel, 2014, p. 30). This process was performed using a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis (CAQDAS) software program called MAXQDA. Writers, such as Coffey and Atkinson (1996), suggest that coding is not a substitute for data analysis. The software could be a useful tool that keeps all the data in one place in a digital form. The data that it could contain could be in a video and audio form. Data could also be saved in a written form, e.g. interview transcripts or newspapers articles. Computer analysis of qualitative data has majorly influenced the analysis process.

After reading all the material, coding categories were generated according to Flick's (2014) list of questions. These codes represent descriptions rather than interpretations of the issues.

There are 25 codes: seasonality, tourism dependency, tourist profile, income, employment, cross-cultural awareness, culture preservation, cultural identity, marketing, prices, traffic, foreign labor, environment, stereotypes, authorities, criminal, tourist behavior, investments, fines, complaints/participation, festivals, safety, pandemic, internal problems and solutions. After generating these codes and examining the material, the consistency of the process was checked and notions about the data were constructed.

Some categories group several elements under one concept; for instance, the code "seasonality" includes opinions or potential solutions regarding prolonging the tourist season or making year-round tourism; "traffic" includes road and pedestrian traffic and parking; "prices" include price increases and decreases, double menus (one menu for tourists and one for the locals) and housing prices; "environment" includes all kinds of littering and pollution; "internal problem" includes problems that are not explicitly tourism related that exist outside of the tourist season; "solutions" includes respondents' propositions for different impacts but does not include the "fines" category, because fines were mentioned many times and deserve a separate category.

Summary

The aim of this methodology chapter is to offer technical information regarding the empirical part of this research. Data collection ended when the data started to repeat. Since this study regards empirical rather than theoretical research, the most valuable method was conducting interviews. There was no opportunity to conduct a participant-observation method that would have given even more empirical data. There was a vast amount of other materials, including documents, statistics, reports, images, documentaries, short clips, newspapers and other websites. These are places where cultural and political life occur, and each do not exist in isolation but instead have their own value and make sense together.

The next step is for the researcher to make sense of the material collected and present what has been learned from it. I analyzed the material and found commonalities as well as conflicting points. I focused on aspects of meaning, repeating patterns and their alignment with the theory. Linking the data to theory is the most important step in qualitative research and is achieved via comparison and discovery. The data are coded into categories to support the generation of ideas, which are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4: SPLIT

Introduction

Split is a coastal Croatian city located on a semi-island in the hearth of Dalmatia, which is surrounded by the islands Šolta, Čiovo, Brač and Hvar. In the hinterlands of the city, there is a mountain massif with the mountains Mosor and Biokovo, which ease the severest blows of the wind "bura." Split is one of the oldest cities located in the Adriatic Sea region and currently has 26 districts. Some districts in the city's vicinity fall under its administrative jurisdiction, including Slatine, Stobreč, Kamen, Žrnovnica, Donje Sitno, Gornje Sitno and Srinjine. Some neighboring municipalities and cities are also connected to Split, including Dicmo, Dugi Rat, Dugopolje, Kaštela, Klis, Lećevica, Muć, Omiš, Podstrana, Sinj, Solin and Trogir.

According to the 2011 census, Split has 178,102 residents and 400,000 in its broader vicinity (Marina to Pisak) (URL 7). It is the largest city in the Split-Dalmatia County, Adriatic Croatia, Eastern Adriatic and second largest in the country. The city covers an area of 22.82 km² (79.92 km² with the outside districts). The population of Split includes a mix of indigenous citizens, newcomers from nearby islands (called boduli) and newcomers from the hinterlands (called vlaji) and Herzegovina (a region from the nearby country). Like Croatian culture as a whole, Split's culture is a mix of Balkan and Western cultures (URL 8).

The climate in Split is mild. Summers are hot, and the temperatures often go above 30 degrees Celsius. Winters temperatures rarely go below zero with only a few snowy days (if any). Sea-swimming period is from June to September, and sometimes in May and October. Some locals swim throughout the whole year.

The city of Split is easily reachable via five modes of transportation: car, bus, plane, ship and train. A 131 km A1 highway passes through the Split-Dalmatia County and connects to other Croatian and European highway networks. Among cities in the region, Split has the most developed public transportation with more than 40 urban and suburban lines. Other parts of the region are less well connected with a low railway availability and only 45.6 km of tracks in the region. There is a connection in the north to Zagreb but not in the south, where there are no railway tracks except in Dubrovnik, which connect it to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Although there are 424 km of tracks to Zagreb, the trip lasts around six hours in the daytime and eight hours in the nighttime, which is well below the European standard. It is also possible to reach Split by plane. The airport of Split, Resnik, is located in Kaštela. The distance between it and Split is around 25 km. In 2019, there was more than three million passengers that went through the airport. It is Croatia's second busiest airport. Resnik Airport has had an annual 10% increase in arrivals until 2020 (URL 9). People can also arrive by ship at the Port of Split (Trajektna luka). About 4 million passengers go through it in a year (Tomljenović et al., 2018). Forster (1964, p. 219, cited in Smith 1989, p. 42) said that cheap and adequate transport are important factors in the tourist destination.

The attractiveness of Split's location lies in the beautiful Adriatic coast, the semi-island it is positioned on, and Marjan. Marjan is a hill covered in a dense Mediterranean pine forest. Both natural and anthropogenic sites make it an attractive tourist destination. Besides architectural and natural scenery, Split is known for gourmet food and wine experiences as well as numerous cultural events such as film and theater festivals, exhibitions, museums and concerts (URL 10).

History of the City

The Split area was previously inhabited by ancient Greek colonies, but the Roman Emperor Diocletian is considered its first citizen and founder. He built his lavish villa of around 300 square meters near the city of Salona in the 4th century since he wanted to build a fortress to spend his retirement. Diocletian's villa later turned into a city of Split. It protected the inhabitants of ancient city of Salona, who fled from Avars and Slavs. Many different authorities changed throughout the years – Croatian kings in the 10th century, Hungarian and Venetian administration, French rulers and Austro-Hungarian monarchy. 20th century moved Split from the kingdom of Yugoslavia through the Italian and German occupation during WWII, when Split was a center of anti-fascist resistance, to Socialist Yugoslavia and finally to Croatia as an independent country and a member of the European Union (ibid).

Over 17 centuries, Diocletian's Palace became the large city that Split is today. Both the palace and city core have been on the World Heritage UNESCO list since 1979. They represent a remarkably preserved example of a Roman site that is still inhabitable by people. UNESCO protects the world's cultural heritage from human influence.

After the 1990s, Croatia underwent thorough economic transformation which, according to Cela (2007, p. 10), has manifested in the transformation of socially owned property into private property and in the development of a market-oriented economy. Efforts have aimed to fully establish a market of goods and services, capital and labor. The country's economy overcame a mild recession in 2000 through tourism, banking and public investments.

Progression of Tourism

Mass tourism phenomenon started to reach the coast in the 1960s which was part of the post-WWII development. According to Pi-sunyer, (1989, p. 191) some European regions were transformed into "summer playgrounds" for the lower-middle classes of more affluent nations. The number of arrivals dropped during the wars of the early 1990s. But later, tourism development became a way to Croatia's development. This is how Split obtained its "sea and sun" tourism model. Its favorable location and natural beauties have been an important tourist destination since the start of large-scale international tourism, which generates congestion and feeds regional imbalances. Orsini & Ostojić (2018) came to the conclusion that Croatia has outperformed the average of the other EU countries in the Northern Mediterranean region (Malta, Spain, Greece, Italy and Cypruss). The economic effects of tourism and market launching of the tourism product are important for Croatia as a precondition for further development (Horvat-Jokić, 1997).

The creation of a tourist destination opens interaction between hosts and guests that can be long term or short term, cyclical (e.g., seasonal), non-cyclical, simple (the guest-host relationship), or complex (including elaborate touristic organization) (Putova, 2018, p. 79). Split features a seasonal type of tourism, where most tourists visit between May and October, but July and August are considered to be the high season period. Seasonality affects local employment and gives periods of "rest" from the tourists (Burns, 1999). This tourism model is challenging for local businesses and the economy due to a lack of jobs in winter and no activities for the locals. Smith (1989, p. 7) notes how there could be periods of "feast or famine" for the individuals that are a direct result of this model. It is not only challenging for individuals, but for legal person too. The hotels may stay empty in winter, and tour operators without tourists to provide services to.

According to the Tourist Board data, Split had 2,737,157 overnight stays during 2019 (URL 11). Most tourists that visit Split come from countries with greater economic standards than Croatia, including Poland, Germany, Czech Republic, domestic market, UK, France, Sweden, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Austria, Slovenia, Slovakia, Southeast Asia, USA, Australia and then the rest. Croatia has a slightly lower standard of living than the regions from which the tourists arrive.

The destination is desired to offer varied options to satisfy the touristic impulse. The city and region of Split have many anthropogenic and natural sights worth visiting. The main organizations in charge of tourism development are the Tourist Board of Split and Tourist Board of Split-Dalmatia County, which are centers that provide tourist information to visitors regarding an area's attractions, accommodation, maps, and other items relevant to tourism.

Types of Tourism in Split

According to a tourism development strategy (Tomljenović et al., 2018), the types of tourism and products in Split and Split-Dalmatia County are divided as follows: The first category contains primary products: "sun and sea," natural heritage (cultural tourism), yachting (nautical tourism), gastronomy (cultural tourism) and trail walking (sport tourism); the second type contains secondary products: rural and mountain tourism, creative (cultural tourism), wine, cycling (sport tourism) and diving (sport tourism).

"Sun and sea" tourism refers to travels for the purpose of staying in or near beaches and clear water. The quality of the beaches is demonstrated by the large number of EU blue flags awarded each year, certifying conditions and amenities. The beaches with the blue flag are "Bačvice," "Radisson Blu-Resort Split," "Blaženog Ivana Pavla II," "Bene," "Stobreč (kamp)," "Kašjuni," "Ovčice," "Žnjan," "Trstenik," "Duilovo" and "Kaštelet." This type of tourism is closely connected to nautical tourism.

Nautical tourism is one of the most popular types of tourism in this area. According to the Law on Providing Tourism Services (Official Gazette of the Republic of Croatia (NN) No. 130/17), nautical tourism is defined as the sailing and staying of tourists on board yachts, boats and cruisers for personal or business purposes (Kovačić & Silveira, 2018, p. 282). Croatia has a coastline that is 5,835 km long, of which 4,058 km belong to more than 1,000 islands (Duplančić et al., 2004), meaning the country has natural, hydrographic and climate

preconditions for the development of nautical tourism. There were 11 ports in 2006 and 27 in 2017 in Split-Dalmatia county (Kovačić & Silveira, 2018). Kovačić & Silveira (ibid) are also of the opinion that Croatia needs new infra- and supra-structures, which are reflected through investments in new marinas, anchorages and other facilities. These efforts are under development, as the infrastructure has developed alongside nautical tourists' growing interests, with numbers rising every year until 2020. This type of tourism greatly affects the environment, so future development must be sustainable.

Cultural tourism consists of multiple types of tourism: heritage tourism, event tourism, gastronomy tourism. These tourists can view architecture dating back 17 centuries and everything that was built since, including Diocletian's Palace, its famous basements, Peristil, Prokurative, Tvrđava Gripe, Jupiter's Temple and the city's four main entrances (Golden, Silver, Iron and Brass Gates). The Cathedral of Saint Domnius is located right at the Peristil square and it is among many sacral objects that could be visited. There are also many museums and galleries, such as the Archaeological Museum Split, Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, Ethnographic Museum Split, City Museum of Split, Croatian Maritime Museum, Museum of Fine Arts and others. Cultural tourism includes interest in the region's food and drinks, and this category includes event tourism. The most popular events in Split are the Split Summer Festival and Ultra Music Festival. The former (Splitsko Ljeto) is held during July and August in Split in various locations, including the Croatian National Theater, peninsula Sustipan, Split Peristil and others. This event consists of theatre plays, concerts and exhibitions. Ultra Europe Festival (UMF) is one of the most famous European electronic music events that is held in Split in stadium Park Mladeži each year in July. A few open-air cinemas operate in Split during summer months and host different events, the most famous being Bačvice and Golden Gate (URL 12).

There are various types of environmental tourist experiences, including adventure, sport, recreational and natural-sights tourism, which can be experienced in the air, on land and in the water. Activities include diving, snorkeling, rafting, rowing, windsurfing, hiking, trekking, cycling, sea kayaking, sailing and riding. Natural sights include the park-forest Marjan, city parks and many beaches mentioned above. With this type of tourism, it is important for tourists to try to cause the smallest effect possible due to their visit.

Each type of tourism has a special scale of values and hierarchy of prestigious places; however, two or more types are often combined in one trip; for example, one might visit the

museums, Cathedral and Diocletian's palace (cultural historical tourism) and afterwards go hiking on mountain Mosor near Split (environmental tourism). Any combination of tourism types is possible. Styles of tourism may be indicators of fundamental changes occurring in a class or national culture. Orsini and Ostojić (2018) concluded that tourism is a key sector of the Croatian economy and that the excessive reliance on the current tourism model may be unsustainable. The infrastructure problems may be solved by new investments, but environmental and socio-cultural concerns still remain.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS

Introduction

This chapter presents the key findings of this research, which are interconnected and further discussed. The findings are assembled by sorting and comparing data and considering links between them. This step involves understanding the identified themes and answering the research question. Qualitative research is fundamentally interpretative and represents the researcher's understanding of the phenomenon. The descriptions and interpretations of the findings should provide the reader sufficient information to understand the problems. As Willing (2014, p. 137) noted, different interpretations of the same material can be the result of having different research question and ask different questions in the course of the research. This would mean that every interpretation is underpinned by the interpreter's assumption of what is important. The data are presented using direct quotations, descriptions of people and processes and representations of key concepts. Verbatim quotations of the participants assist in "revealing how meanings are expressed in the respondents' words rather than the words of the researcher" (Baxter & Eyles, 1997, p. 508, cited in Ngulube, 2015, p. 18). Two combined approaches are used to interpret the material: suspicious and empathic interpretation. They produce different types of knowledge, so using only one provides incomplete results. An empathic interpretation concerns understanding, while suspicious regards explaining. Without interpretation, it is hard to make sense of the data. Data and findings are tools for social change, and anthropologists have a responsibility to advocate for change.

This chapter is constructed in six sections. The first section outlines the aspects of seasonality in Croatia and Split as well as the tourism sector's growth and development. The second section outlines the impacts and conceptualizes the relationship between tourism and the local population. The impacts section is divided into three sub-categories: environmental, socio-cultural and economic. Each addresses a specific impact type, but they are all interconnected. The third section examines residents' perception toward tourism, while the fourth section presents the barriers to tourism development. The fifth section shows the COVID-19 pandemic's influence on tourism in Split, and the last section discusses the most important points.

Tourism in Split

Croatia has experienced a rapid expansion of the tourism sector. The country has an advantageous location with the closest access to the Mediterranean Sea for many European countries. Its tourism has also increased since countries of the southern and eastern parts of the Mediterranean are fairly unstable. In recent years, Croatia has surpassed its competitors in the Mediterranean regarding arrivals and revenue (Orsini & Ostojić, 2018) (Figure 3). The figure below shows a comparison between Croatia (HR), Malta (MT), Cyprus (CY), Italy (IT), Spain (ES) and Greece (EL). Croatia features a typical "sun and sea" model, which includes relatively long stays concentrated in the coastal areas during the summer months. This seasonality is found nowhere else in the European Union. Around 70% of overnight tourist stays occur in July, August and September, which is when most tourism impacts occur, cause residents discomfort and presumably degrade visitors' experience. This summer season tends to be more disruptive than other year-round activities. The tourist season can be harsh, especially for those with nothing to gain from tourism. The tourist season in Split lasts approximately from June to September. May and October are less popular but they can also be busy, and October and November are especially popular with nautical tourists due to favorable winds during this time. Winter is a period of rest for the locals (Burns, 1999). Tourism development has resulted in wealth maldistribution and social stratification.

Some respondents admit that the people and economy have become too dependent on this industry, as people became accustomed to earning money during summer and not working during winter. Many consider how they can make business out of tourists without offering value to the local people. Price increases during summer months have helped sustain this kind of tourism. Tourism dependency was especially observed during the previous year due to the coronavirus outbreak and travel bans. "I think that as a country we have gone in the wrong direction and became too dependent on it. We can see that now" (Interview H). Many mentioned that for a long time, the focus was only on tourism, and other industries slowly closed or were sold. A change in opinion and switch to other industries are needed. Orsini and Ostojić (2018) note that potential risks to this type of tourism could be decreased by developing other types such as continental tourism, heritage tourism, gastronomy-based tourism and medical tourism.

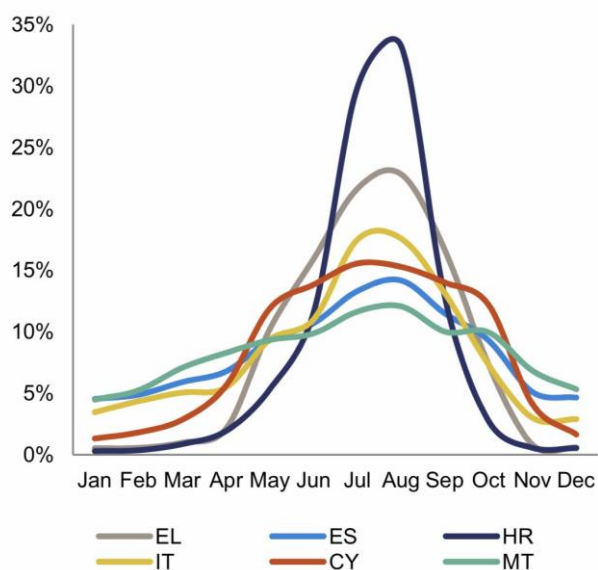


Figure 3: Yearly distribution of overnights by international tourists, 2016 (Source: Orsini, K. and Ostojić, V. (2018). Croatia's Tourism Industry: Beyond the Sun and Sea. European Commission – *European Economy Economic Briefs* 036 – March 2018)

Among various types of tourism products, "sun and sea" and festival tourism have attracted the most tourists in the past years and were mentioned in almost every interview. Gallagher and Pike (2011, p. 158) have focused their research on the maritime events and festivals and have come to the conclusion that the number of maritime festivals and cultural events, but also others, has increased in the last years. Unfortunately, there has been less growth of museums and other cultural attractions. The number of festivals has increased because of the increased demand, but also strategic initiatives instigated by governments to enhance economic and regional development. Many festivals and celebrations occur in Split during the tourist season, including Split summer festival, Diocletian's Days, Mediterranean film festival Split, Chamber music festival and Ultra Music Festival (UMF). These events range from single-day to extended season-long activities.

The extent of the impacts depends on the size and nature of the festival; however, the impacts will inevitably affect social wellbeing, economic growth and environmental quality, which relates to what is known as the "triple bottom line" in terms of business. This phrase was coined by Elkington (1994). And it is used to reflect to an expanded spectrum of values and criteria for measuring organizational and business success (Gallagher & Pike, 2011, p. 159). These impacts include many things, all the way from economic leakage to foreign parties, pollution of the local environment, to ethical concerns relating to festival-associated

procurements. Except for the negative ones, impacts from festivals might include cultural awareness that is spread by the event or happiness that is generated by it.

The festival mentioned the most in the interviews was UMF. It is an outdoor electronic music festival that lasts for three days in Split. Afterwards, the party moves on to the islands in the Split archipelago. The festival used to occur at Poljud Stadion but was recently changed to Park Mladeži. It is the largest event in the area and attracts more than one hundred thousand people. Locals favor these kinds of tourists because in addition to attending the festival, they eat in restaurants, have to sleep somewhere and some visit sights too. "From sights to cafes, clubs and everything. It is all connected to UMF. Everyone gets income. Also transport carriers" (Interview A). One respondent (Person C) divided the season into UMF and post-UMF periods, because there is a different atmosphere in the city during the days of the festival, and afterwards everything slows down with fewer negative impacts from the festival's visitors. Many of them drink and abuse drugs in the parks and surrounding neighborhoods, make noise and leave trash, which significantly bothers people. Drug and alcohol abuse are a problem because of creating significant work for the medical workers. Although the visitors book accommodations and spend their money in Split, the locals agree that many of them are not large spenders. All participants agree that there should be more organization and order, and some even that if they were to switch to another kind of tourism, such as that of Dubrovnik, then this festival would not be needed income wise. The social significance of festivals extends beyond tourism since it connects hosts and guests, which is important for the host community that is not characterized by a variety of cultures, religions and ethnic groups.

Authorities and Policies

Every social system requires rules or norms that reflect society's values, and a system of sanctions changes over time along with the society (Eriksen, 2001). Authorities include governmental officials and the Tourist Board. The task of policy-makers is to pursue social welfare. Authorities and policy-makers are both elected by the people, and not by tourists. Therefore, they should work more in favor of the local communities. Positioning the destination and distributing touristic activities require knowledge about the destination's lifecycles, history and cultural properties. Authorities in Croatia are aware of the challenges that this tourism model imposes, but not doing much to mitigate the negative impacts. They should address them and support the tourism development towards more sustainable future.

The problem, however, concerns the policies' application. Overtourism is a consequence of mass tourism, especially during the tourism season. Tourism congestion regards the number of visitors and capacity to manage them. Management should be addressed through the cooperation of communities with tourism and non-tourism administrations and the private sector. In nautical tourism, laws are regulated and adjusted to the economy (Interview G), like with other types of tourism. Authorities should employ scientists to perform research, and gather and analyze data, make decisions and develop a system that satisfies all sides involved in tourism. One participant offers an interesting solution: "I think that all of them [authorities] should work couple of years in tourism, but really on the reception, or lead tours, carry the luggage [on the airport], and then they can bring laws" (Interview D).

Regarding how authorities perform their job, similar answers were given from almost all respondents. Person C said "I think they are not doing much. Just fictively increase the numbers so they attract more people, make bigger circulation in the city. Which means that more people will buy something or sit in a restaurant. The point is the numbers. They look at it only through that" (Interview C). Person J had a similar opinion: "I think they are only focusing on accommodation. There are not economic stimuli and also there are no activities for these people that come. You don't have anything to offer them [to tourists] except the sea" (Interview J). Person B said: "They don't do it [their job]. Actually, they do a good one. I admire them. For 30 years, people are not doing anything but steal money, and that's it. One must know how to do that. [laughter] politics" (Interview B).

Regarding locals' participation in tourism, an interviewee said:

Tourist Board and the inhabitants of Split together take part in different projects, but if we are talking about cooperation in regard to problem solving, then we have to mention their involvement in clean-ups. They also partake in solving problems by reporting them to us, which we submit to the relevant services. (Interview E)

This was not possible to verify because no non-expert interviewees had participated in such activities. When asked about participation, they said that they do not react if something is not directly affecting them. Some said that they are not interested because these issues are connected to politics, which is a complex topic in Croatia.

Marketing

Marketing is one of the most important aspects in tourism management. Tourist perceptions, motivations and understandings are shaped by ideas about the community. According to the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) (n.d.), tourism marketing is a management philosophy which enables using tourist demand and research to forecast and select tourism products/services from suppliers that are aligned with the organization's purpose and tourist satisfaction (URL 13). Cultural impact studies can support tourism by indicating which elements of a specific culture are "public" and can be marketed as "local color" without serious disruption (Smith, 1989, p. 16). Destinations should develop marketing plans that maximize the benefits of tourism without negative impacts. In Split, the Tourist Board is in charge of marketing Split as a destination. "Tourist Board works according to the Law of tourist boards and the promotion of Croatian tourism and activities. The role of the Board is to promote the destination and attract tourists into the city but also to create content and encourage project and event development" (Interview E). All the respondents stated that the city is favorably marketed but that visitors market it better by spreading the word. The problem arises when individual businesses are not well advertised; for example, participants J and K recently wanted to visit a zip-line near Split (in Rupotina), but they could not find it due to a lack of instructions on the internet. This also occurred when they wanted to visit ancient Roman water wells (in the village of Nisko), where some locals pointed them in the right direction. They mentioned Istria as an example of a well-advertised and managed area (Interview J). Other individuals also ruin the reputation of the city by offering cheap wine, food and services for high prices (Interview H). Respondents have favorable opinions about the city's reputation and marketing, but they agree that locals and the Tourist Board should expend more effort to keep this reputation.

Tourist organizations, especially tourist boards, play an important role in tourism's development. Since the 1990s, tourist boards have been the only form of tourist organization in Croatia, so their existence is vital to the successful development of the tourist sector. These boards are intermediaries between tourists and the network that responds to tourist needs. There are 48 in the Split-Dalmatia county and 313 in Croatia (URL 14). Some respondents believe that there are too many of them and that the number needs to be reduced.

The Tourist Board of Split often receives complaints from locals, and the problems "... are solved by the administrative department for utility services, community wardens and local

self-government after we submit the request" (Interview E). Locals mostly complain about the noise, waste and dirt. According to most respondents, complaints are mostly mentioned in the UMF context and regard urinating, shouting, sleeping on public surfaces, and drug and alcohol abuse. They note that if tourists did not abuse these substances, they would behave normally. Substance abuse causes problems for emergency services such as police and medical workers. It is sometimes more difficult for medical workers because they need to assess the needs of casualties, which can be difficult when people do not know what they took.

The Growth of Split and Its Development Strategy

Croatia developed as an independent state in the 1991. Since then it has been burdened by economic and social problems. The country managed to develop a tourism sector while carrying these burdens, including the consequences of the war and changes in the new country's operating models, due to the attractiveness of its location and strong interest from the international market.

Despite these problems, Croatia has shown great resilience; however, there is still significant unused potential, which was also mentioned by participants. The Tourism Development Strategy of the Republic of Croatia, Tourism Development Strategy of Split-Dalmatia County and National Development Strategy confirm these opinions. Plans for further development are described in the documents (URL 15 and Tomljenović, 2018). Areas to be worked on the most include health and quality of life; energy and sustainable environment; transport and mobility; and security and food. The plans include analyzing the existing state as a starting point for further development, strategical frame, strategy for product development and strategic and operative plans. Key challenges for tourism development include improving the business environment for tourism business (property rights, efficiency of legal framework in setting disputes, time required to handle construction permits, time to start a business, concessions and labor tax rate); security (tourists' safety); human resources and labor market (lack of quality staff, matching education with labor market needs, training and lifelong education); digitalization (increase the use of information and communications technology in the tourism sector); Croatian brand strategy (increase Croatia's rating); sustainable tourism valorization of natural and cultural resources; climate change (develop other tourism products to be less dependent on the sun and sea); quality of tourist infrastructure (public tourist infrastructure, private accommodation); development of tourism products that are competitive

in the global market; and linking tourism with production sectors (especially agriculture and the food sector).

The Perceived Impacts of Tourism

Tourism, as one of the complex phenomena in modern times impacts economy, society, conditions and ways of living. According to Andereck (1995), three categories of impacts emerge from tourism development: economic, environmental and socio-cultural impacts. The benefits of tourism and travel are undeniable, but there are also drawbacks. Tourism development tends to address economic impacts and conditions before socio-cultural and environmental ones. It is important to recognize the impacts, especially negative ones, in order to properly manage tourism.

	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
ECONOMIC	employment income poverty reduction	prices increase foreign labor tax burdens wealth stratification dependence on the industry
ENVIRONMENTAL	protection of wildlife and natural resources	air, water and noise pollution litter vandalism
SOCIO-CULTURAL	socio-cultural awareness community pride heritage preservation (resurgence of traditional crafts)	restricted access to (tourist) facilities and the city in general increased crime rates change in traditional culture

	infrastructure development	transformation of value system and standard
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Economic Impacts

The most obvious positive impacts of tourism are employment and therefore income. Tourism is responsible for generating many jobs and thus significantly influences the economy.

Tourism's creation of jobs is viewed as a benefit among the locals that participated in this research. Tourism also enables new investments (foreign and domestic), which create new jobs and generate tax revenues for the government to positively affect the whole economy.

Hosts try to maximize the price for provided services and guests strive to maximize the experience. Refinements in research methods have provided new insights into the economic role of tourism vis-à-vis other industries. Early economic studies suggested that profits earned by foreign investors were commonly siphoned back to the source of capital in process known as economic leakage. (Smith, 1989, p. 6)

Opening new jobs means less foreign emigration of locals and the improvement of purchasing power and life standards. Many people changed their occupations to work in tourism and make more money, such as Person D: "I am the first one to do that. I worked in the education as a professor and had a salary of 4,000 kuna and now I could earn it in a very short period of time (as a tourist guide)" (Interview D). Some occupations do not fall under the tourism sector but are interconnected with it; for instance, tourists that arrive by plane are most likely to use taxis or public transportation, which means that the taxi drivers and public transportation employees also benefit. During the interviews, many participants mentioned that income is the most important reason that people work in tourism. They kept saying: "people live from this."

Like other destinations, Split promotes tourism for its economic benefit, and the degree of development is often measured only by economic parameters. Croatia receives about 20% of its income from tourism, and this kind of economic dependence is viewed as a negative side of tourism. Harambopoulos and Pizam (1996) considered employment to be a measure of dependency. Tourism creates jobs, but most are relatively low level with low wages and few prospects for advancement or promotion. These jobs are unstable, unsecure and often illegal, without healthcare and pension funds. Another negative side is that tourism has created great

class differences among the local population that can sometimes create tensions, because those in lower classes have fewer resources and opportunities.

Many respondents view foreign labor as a negative impact of tourism. People migrate due to better employment opportunities, healthcare and education; however, tourism regards seasonal rather than permanent migration. In Split, most foreign workers come from Croatia's vicinity, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, Northern Macedonia and others. The problem is that these workers return to their countries after the tourist season finishes, and they thus do not spend the money in Croatia. In addition, these neighboring countries have lower living standards than Croatia, resulting in lowered salaries of the locals. The respondents' opinions were clear:

This might sound a bit harsh since we are supposed to be liberal and, in the world "without borders," but we don't need them [foreign workers]. At least not now. Don't get me wrong. They are making me move away from this city. I won't get the salary I deserve as a cook because the employer will import a worker let's say from Serbia, that will do the same work but for 4,000 kuna less. (Interview B)

Many respondents agree, and some added that we should not completely ban but instead limit foreign workers' quota. They say that employment rates are high and that employers need to give proper salaries. Some also suggested employing high schoolers from vocational schools to work positions such as cooks and waiters (Interview J). This would help individuals and the economy, because the higher proportion of profits would remain in the country. One respondent works as a tourist guide and complained that foreign guides are now allowed to provide tours in Croatia:

And what the government is doing to us now, under the pressure of the EU, is that they are abolishing the licenses. Not in this sense, but now a guide from Bratislava can lead tours in Split, Trogir and Dubrovnik. It is not yet legally regulated. We are still localized. I cannot lead in Dubrovnik unless I pass the test. 1,000 euros here, 1,000 there. 21 regions. It is stupid. (Interview D)

Khan (1997) came to the same conclusion that many goods and services required by a typical tourist must be imported from capitalist countries, which results in a major proportion of tourism expenditures leaking from the local economy.

During summer months, the prices of food, drinks and other items increase. In some places, prices change during the day, such as rising after midnight if the place operates at night (Interview I). The problem is that salaries stay the same while prices increase, so the employer is the only person making a profit. Prices for natural and cultural sights have also increased and not within Western frames.

And especially now during pandemic when we depend on domestic tourists, the most on them. But the prices are still not going down. The only price they decreased is the entrance ticket for the Diocletian's Palace basements, it is 30 [kuna] but used to be 45. Now is 30. For students 15. And there I don't think anyone enters. But the Cathedral has really increased the price from 25 to 50. Unbelievable ... even Italy that is a crib of current dominating religion, and has churches under its jurisdiction. In their churches people can enter for free, in the sacral part. If you'll enter vault, sacristy, or walk up the bell tower then you'll pay. But you as one believer, and 90% of the people in Croatia say they are Catholics, can't enter Cathedral in Split. (Interview D)

Increased prices that are not aligned with Croatian standards raise questions regarding double price lists. The respondents' opinions on this matter were divided: Some think it is not fair to charge tourists more money, while others say that the prices are too high for people living there. One respondent previously worked as a cafe manager and said:

I have also had it in a cafe where I worked. But it worked this way. The prices were the same the whole year. The coffee was 12 kuna, but locals got discount. For them it was 8 kuna. But the cafe was in the center. We lived from the locals. (Interview H)

Another respondent said:

We should completely decrease the prices for locals. Stupid, unreal, but with showing IDs. At least that for all Dalmatians, also people from Trogir, Solin or the region. National parks are the same. Entrance for Plitvice is 300 kuna. So, 1,200 kuna [for 4 membered family] only to enter. Without food or drink. And also, the highway toll. And it does not even lead to it. I have to drive for 2 hours on the old road. (Interview D)

Due to tourism, people are moving away from the urban center to the periphery and renting or selling their real estate in the city, which means that the destination loses its character. The problem is also that there are no apartments for rent for the local population or that they are

too expensive. "There are not many available long-term properties for locals. They have made everything into tourist apartments, houses and villas with pools. People don't have anywhere to live" (Interview L). Even when there are apartments, locals can rent them but are forced to move out on June 1st.

Environmental Impacts

Environmental impacts were mentioned multiple times throughout the interviews, mostly with negative connotations. Many respondents agree that tourists are significant polluters and that they pollute more than at their home countries, especially with plastics. Plastic is a world-wide problem, and there is no need to worsen this problem by buying (and throwing away) more plastic. Tourists often buy water bottles. In some of the tourists' home countries, the tap water is not for drinking, but they should inform themselves before visiting. The tap water in Croatia is of exceptional quality and there is no need to buy it. Tourists should also pay attention to avoid polluting the Adriatic Sea. Water pollution represents a global rather than local problem that impacts everyone. Scientists and professionals need to reimagine the water system and work together with individuals to protect it. One participant highlighted this problem as the most important:

The negative side is ecology. Nowadays it is very attractive topic, especially plastics. Adriatic Sea is questionable...we receive a big number of vessels. And simply we don't have any ecological study that researches how many boats can there really be. How many can Adriatic take? We just receive and receive and as government change also laws change. No one has calculated some kind of limit – how many boats can there be in a charter, how many can there be private ones, how many in general can enter Adriatic Sea. Adriatic is like one big lake, so it is not open sea. Internet is reaching everyone. People see that there are islands of plastic and trash. Now this ecology is eating us up and we are not even aware of it. Food, fish, everything. So, this is the most negative thing. (Interview G)

He also mentioned that boats release gray tank contents into the sea; however, these materials (sink, toilet and shower water) are biodegradable. In addition, there is no marina in Croatia with a system to handle this issue, so these materials are bound to end up in the sea.

The other negative side of the environmental impacts is a lack of education for both tourists and locals. Locals in Split have no habit of recycling and keeping the environment clean.

Some respondents mentioned cigarette butts on the floor and other garbage. There is a lack of garbage and recycling bins. Although this situation has improved in recent years, there is much more to work on. Many still throw garbage and cigarette butts on the floor. Some respondents mentioned the bad situation with the cigarettes. In addition to education, the environmental laws should be better implemented to make people take better care of the environment.

People value the environment little, despite its importance. Orsini and Ostojic's (2018, p. 9) study confirms these statements. Numerous activities in tourism are causing pressure on the environment. Even when tourists act responsibly, tourism can cause damage. During the summer months in Split, infrastructure and ancient sights endure increased traffic. Some also suffer permanent damage. Environmental protection depends on environmental laws and the people's education and consciousness. The European Environment Agency (EEA) warns that tourism density, infrastructure and activities can have irreversible effects on the destination.

The positive environmental impacts of tourism include raising awareness for environmental protection and conservation. Increased tourism has forced some local governments to protect certain natural resources, such as nature and national parks (URL 16).

Socio-cultural Impacts

Socio-cultural impacts were mentioned the most during the interviews, which relates to culture and cultural change. The local identity in Split has weakened under the influence of tourism. Most souvenirs are mass produced, and local crafts have disappeared. Restaurants and cafes have taken over the city, and change has also occurred in gastronomy.

And this cuisine is like a fusion. And instead of regular grilled fish, škarpina, that we all know what it is, we'll go to a filet or boneless drumstick or something other...And which has nothing to do with our cuisine. And cooking cream. When did we use it? Everything was based on the olive oil. (Interview D)

The same interviewee mentioned how mainstream stores such as Zara could be found all over the city. Something is no longer local when you can buy it in Split, London or New York City. Another interview (Interview J) showed that some people are annoyed by the authorities not upholding traditions. The interviewee specified how when renovating buildings and objects, the authorities choose more modern styles instead of traditional ones. They

complained about putting blinds instead of shutters on the apartment windows in the Diocletian's Palace and about how authorities do not preserve the traditional style of other buildings, benches and street lights. They called this "architectural criminal." Greenwood supports these findings:

Culture is being packaged, priced and sold like building lots, rights-of-way, fast food and room service, as the tourism industry inexorably extends its grasp. For the monied tourist, the tourism industry promises that the world is his/hers to use. All the "natural resources," including cultural traditions, have their price, and if you have the money in hand, it is your right to see whatever you wish. (1989, p. 179)

The role of tourism in creating contemporary cultural products should not be underestimated. Cultural tourism research should openly engage with the sector on difficult discourses regarding the politics of heritage and its representation (Kelly, 2006, p. 52). Tourists tend to be attracted by and shape cultural heritage for the future. Heritage tells a story about the past and is not static but dynamic and constantly negotiating meaning. Tourists should share knowledge and a stake in the heritage. Locals live their lives through their heritage, which is especially evident in their cultural identities related to this locality, ethnicity, religion, social class and generation. Their cultural identity is sea related, Mediterranean-ish, temperament and impulsive.

Among the different effects of globalization, anthropology advocates protecting and preserving cultures. New lifestyles and changing value orientations considerably influence new tourism demands (Horvat-Jokić, 1997, p. 61). After observing deep admiration of their culture by tourists, locals are encouraged to value, protect and further develop their culture and cultural manifestations. The protection of key aspects is important, otherwise there will be nothing to promote. Education and training play a big role in this. During the online research phase, "Taste Atlas" was discovered. It is an encyclopedia of flavors, traditional dishes and ingredients. Restaurants where all of these could be found and tried are also mentioned on the site. They have catalogued over 10,000 foods and drinks (URL 17). This is only one of the methods of cultural preservation.

Meeting other people and learning about their cultures, languages, perspectives and traditions can serve to broaden one's horizons and to preserve culture by spreading knowledge. It was highlighted as a positive socio-cultural impact of tourism. "You find out some new cultures, languages and traditions. You realize you are not alone in the world" (Interview J). This is especially important in a small community with no diversity. The inclusion of people of all

ages is significant for maintaining tourists' influx. "Split is the center of the world in some heads. But in the last years, more and more people from Split have started travelling" (Interview D). People travelling and interacting with tourists lowers xenophobia and homophobia. One interviewee (Interview D) mentioned how accepting others has changed over the past ten years, with the first gay parade in Split given as an example. On the 11th of June 2011 police arrested and pressed charges against more than 150 protestors. Eight persons were injured in the violence. According to police estimates, the gay pride brought 10,000 people, where 8,000 protested against the event (URL 18). The situation has marginally improved since 2011, partially due to tourism and because local people started to travel more; however, respondents noted that hosts might not change their views yet act like they did for the economic benefit.

Cultural differences may initially cause curiosity, but once they exceed the local community's acceptability, they evoke tension, irritation, aggression, intolerance in the hosts and may result in cultural conflict (Putova, 2018, p. 84). Tourism in Split has not reached these negative scenarios, but some respondents mentioned that learning about new people and cultures does not always result in acceptance and friendships but instead the avoidance of certain nations or learning how to treat them. This has also led to the creation of stereotypes.

When the international community promotes diversity and encourages tolerance today, certain people are still targeted according to their nationalities. In Split, this mostly occurs through stereotypes, which are generalized beliefs about a particular people or cultures and are known to exist in almost all cultures. Many respondents relied on stereotypes as a point of reference when discussing other nations, and one respondent stated after the interview that he did not think it was proper to mention it, while almost all other respondents did; for example, the French were portrayed as terrible, English as loud and problem making, Swedish as dumb, Indians as obnoxious, other Asians as boring and Polish as cheap and poor drivers.

Regarding poor driving or traffic, the phenomenon of overtourism occurs in Split during the summer months, which is a result of increased disposable income, technological developments, cheap flights and Airbnbs as well as marketing, media and social media. This phenomenon disrupts locals' quality of life, degrades the destination's natural and sociocultural assets and overcrowds the infrastructure. In some cases, this has led to civic protests and residents demanding changes, such as in Barcelona or Venice. There have been cases of activism in Dubrovnik but not yet in Split. Overcrowding, traffic and congestion emerged as major negative impacts of concern that place pressure on natural and

anthropogenic cultural sites. Diedrich and Garcia-Buades (2009, p. 520) argue that tourism cannot be permitted to grow uncontrollably and that every destination has a threshold that cannot be surpassed without dire societal, economic and environmental consequences. Tourism thus needs to be managed.

Infrastructure and space are used by locals and tourists. Marković and Klarić (2015, p. 99) concluded that space used for tourism must be perceived as a resource with geographic, social, economic, cultural, ecological and other value. They note that from the geographical perspective it would be necessary to develop adequate methods of evaluating space. This could be done by considering the area's physical- and socio-demographic characteristics. Concern about the space and population should not be the responsibility of one sector, because space is a common good and the whole community should benefit from it.

Traffic in different contexts is the negative impact that was most mentioned, which includes overcrowding streets with cars, sidewalks, beaches and other public surfaces with pedestrians and public transport with passengers. I received many answers regarding why this occurs, with outdated infrastructure representing the greatest problem.

The state of the roads is terrible. They are not constructed properly. They are being reconstructed at the period when they shouldn't be. I am not saying that they should renovate them in the worst weather in December, but also you cannot start doing them on 1st of July. They should renovate them right now, when the weather is good, it is not the tourist season and it is not too hot or too cold. (Interview A)

Road construction and urbanization were unplanned, and today there are more cars than predicted when the roads and parking lots were built. At the time they were built, there was only one car per household.

There have also been problems with urban planning. A large legalization project a few years ago caused all objects (private houses and apartments) to become legalized even if they were not, which brought more urbanization problems. Some infrastructural projects have waited decades for execution, mostly due to a lack of financial resources, unsolved proprietary and legal relationships for cadastral land registry. Another problem is that Split lacks spatial opportunities for further development. There are only four entrances to the city, and Figure 4 shows the city's layout.

But none of Dalmatian cities has space. But they were placed strategically like that for defense reasons. From Salona to others. These are always some gulfs, semi-islands, where you're surrounded by sea so enemies cannot approach you. Mountains are too steep. Almost all urban centers, also little ones, are geographically limited. You have nowhere to go. But you could organize it smarter. (Interview D)

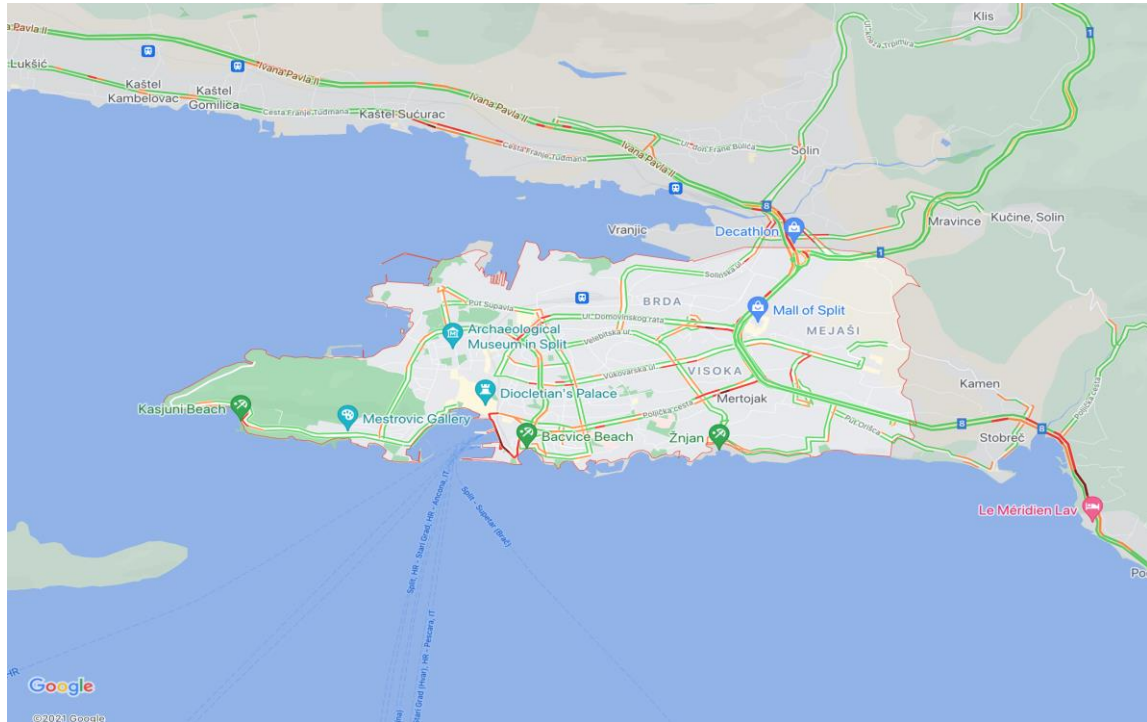


Figure 4: Split layout (Source: Google Maps

<https://www.google.com/maps/@43.5246033,16.464016,13z/data=!5m1!1e1>)

The ferry port (Trajektna luka) is a place in the city where there is always traffic (Figure 5), which is due to poor organization. The same area has the city's main bus and railway stations. Many goods are delivered to the city via train and then further delivered by lorries.

A concrete example is ferry port where they made changes and switched to one-way traffic that goes over the bridge that is not that sturdy. All these lorries. And it is only a matter of time when all will collapse. Or some mega accident would happen. Just cut off the traffic in Split. Sometimes getting to and from city can take hours. (Interview D)

This problem has lasted for years. When many different modes of transportation are in the same place, it is no wonder that congestion results. On the bright side, there are plans to move the main bus station to the other side of the city, but it is unknown when this will occur.

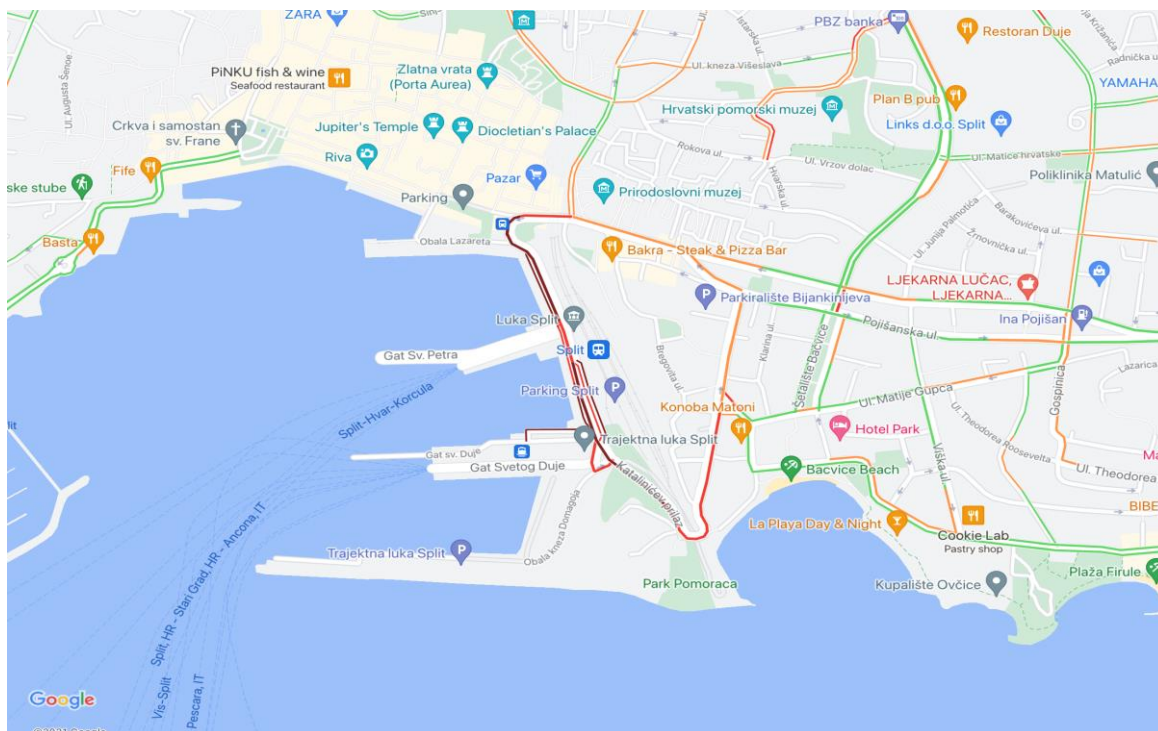


Figure 5: Ferry port (Source: Google Maps

<https://www.google.com/maps/@43.5040242,16.4404201,16.5z/data=!5m1!1e1>)

There is also the problem that tourists arrive by car or by plane and use taxis. Tourists should find alternatives to driving (car use) while visiting this destination, such as public transport, cycling, biking or Uber share. Public transportation should thus lower the ticket price so that more people use it. Another problem is that due to increased tourism development, many locals have rented out their own apartments in the city and moved out to the vicinity. This causes problems at the entrances of the city when they go to work or elsewhere. Only one respondent did not view traffic as a problem, but this is because he did not drive until recently and thus had few opportunities to experience the same impacts as other driver respondents.

Parking is also a problem since there is a lack of parking places due to poor planning. "They destroyed main parking in the city. And why? Because they will make a shopping center that will have its own underground parking so the problem is fixed. But what happened is that this thing fell through because another shopping center was built in a different place...in any case that didn't happen and you lost parking for 700 cars in the city center. And now this whole area is empty, not used for anything. (Interview B)

Previous parking example is just one of the many similar problems of this type. It is also an example of bad management and planning.

Besides Diocletian's Palace, the most frequently visited sights are city squares (Prokurative, Pjaca and others), Riva, Zapadna obala, Ribarnica, Pazar, Middle Ages mansions and city beaches. Due to congestion on the roads, footpaths, city center, shops, cultural and leisure facilities, gastronomy and clubs, some respondents say that they avoid going to the center in summer months. The city can be unburdened with proper planning and motivating visitors to visit sights in the vicinity rather than only in the city.

There might be a stereotype that some or all tourists are poor drivers, but they are indeed often behaving improperly. Mostly negative aspects are mentioned regarding tourist behavior, including noise, rudeness, meltdowns, wearing inappropriate clothes, damaging ancient ruins and not obeying laws. Other demographic, socio-cultural and personal characteristics could cause irritation or annoyance with the local population but none as much as poor behavior. Tourists' behavior is different from at home. "[It] can be labeled as a tourist culture, a subset of behavioral pattern and values that tend to emerge only when the visitors are travelling but which, when viewed by local people in receiving areas, project a false and misleading image of the visitors and the societies they represent" (Postma, 2013, p. 144). Socio-cultural differences do not usually cause conflict in Split since most tourists come from Europe, resulting in smaller cultural differences; however, people still have prejudice according to some stereotypes. The respondents who mentioned tourists' poor behavior as a negative impact say that the tourists become too relaxed when away from home, where this kind of behavior is punishable. "Probably because their countries are stricter, and Split has the reputation of being "loose" where there are no laws" (Interview L). Many gave examples of places where this behavior is punishable, such as England, France, Austria and so on, and some believed that tourists think everything is theirs because they paid to come here (Interviews J and D). Respondents that work as waiters had more problems with tourists regarding work, stating that some tourists would have a false representation of this destination as being super cheap, so they would expect to pay less. Some said that they even had guests that left without paying. Being too picky also arose as a problem:

They order a grilled fish (lubin) filet and garlic on it. And when you put garlic on it, he says that now he doesn't want that and wants something else now. And won't pay for what you have already made. And this kind of things. But this is only in restaurants. There are idiots everywhere here, so they can be foreign too. (Interview C)

Respondents in direct contact with tourists had more negative impacts compared to those who are not; however, some note that tourists make minimal disturbance compared to locals, who can act like barbarians (Interview I).

Safety is another important factor in tourism. If a destination has a poor reputation, fewer people would visit. In places with wide economic disparities between hosts and guests or widespread narcotics usage, tourists may be singled out for robbery or terrorism since they are easy targets. Smith (1989, p. 7) highlighted that even more “professional” travelers are sometimes unaware of the differences between them and the locals which makes them an easy target. She also points out that many are just careless.

Split is generally a safe city; incidents exist, but the crime rate is lower than most countries. The opinions of the respondents were divided: Some say there is no crime increase in summer since tourists are easy targets, and others think that there is no increase.

Criminals in Split prey on tourists and steal from them. It is mostly that and selling of illegal substances. So, I think it increases during season. In winter there are not as many tourists and they do not want to deal much with the locals. But foreigners...it is seen in their way of walking, behaving and in general some attitude. When you see a foreigner and a local from Split on the street it is a big difference. The guy from Split is "full of himself," like he is something special. And foreigners are more shy and keep to themselves. And their clothing too. You can recognize them by that. It is different. (Interview I)

In the past year, safety was mostly mentioned in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. The outbreak stopped global travel for a while in 2020, but the situation is improving in 2021 as people are becoming vaccinated and tested regularly. There are restrictions for entering Croatia, and travelers must show a vaccination confirmation, negative test or confirmation that the person overcame the infection. To accommodate a large number of guests this summer, a destination has to be prepared with basic supplies (food, medicine, care).

There will be a collapse without the tourists. According to my estimates in 10-15 days if the number of hospitalized people continues to increase. If there is only 70% of the number of hospital admissions we had in the past weeks, we will not be able to endure it. And especially if the tourists come. Number of staff is too low to endure it. (Interview A)

This interview occurred in March, and at the time of writing this, this scenario has not occurred. It is also important to emphasize that at this time the tourist season has not even started yet.

Safety in Split and its area could be discussed from the perspective of one respondent who works as a volunteer for the Croatian Mountain Rescue Service (HGSS). It is a national voluntary organization that focuses on working in the public interest. This organization deals with preventing accidents, and providing rescues and first-aid services in inaccessible areas (URL 19). My knowledge about this organization originated from the media, which always wrote that tourists lack information and equipment, which results in them having accidents in inaccessible areas. The result of this interview showed the opposite, as the interviewee said that there are more search and rescue missions for locals from other parts of Croatia than for tourists.

There are people that have went to the nature first time in their lives, or hiked the mountain. So, they are not well equipped, don't know where they are going, they stumble somewhere...I think from the start of this year that we have had around 40 rescues, not searches, but rescues. I am only talking about the Dalmatia region. But if I were to say the numbers on the state level, they'd be huge. (Interview H)

He also said that the Tourist Board should partake in bringing the mission numbers to the minimum, perhaps through better communication and education of the visitors, which should include nature and climate conditions and rules regarding behavior. He also mentioned that the Tourist Board should work on weekends since the HGSS occasionally has these missions on the weekend, and when a missing person is a tourist, they cannot acquire information about him until the first working day.

The Covid-19 Pandemic

On the 11th of March 2020, the World Health Organization (WHO) declared the global pandemic. It was caused by a coronavirus. According to the WHO, coronaviruses (CoV) are a large family of viruses that can cause illness ranging from the common cold and mild symptoms to more severe diseases and death (URL 20). Almost all countries have imposed

travel restrictions, some of which are still in force, which has resulted in reduced revenue and tourism numbers. Events were canceled and everything non-essential was closed, which has also motivated the local population to leave the tourism sector and seek another. This has resulted in some people finding new and lower-paying jobs compared to those in tourism (Interview C). Before the pandemic, tourism was one of the largest and fastest-expanding markets. As an industry highly vulnerable to numerous environmental, political and socio-economic risks, tourism is resilient and used to recovering (Sigala, 2020, p. 312); however, it is unknown when and how this will occur. Inflation combined with vague uncertainties concerning the future have encouraged people to save money rather than spend it on travelling, where the extra money once saved for trips has become money for "rainy days" (Smith, 1989).

Although travel stopped, people sought alternatives such as virtual travelling, visiting remote places in nature and domestic tourism. Domestic tourism showed positive signs in many markets; however, some will not travel because they are overwhelmed by information (government travel restrictions, safety measures and quarantine rules). Even if the tourists come, social distancing may influence their perceptions of health hazards, insecurity and unpleasant tourism experiences (Sigala, 2020, p. 316). Person D said that the process of "dumping" will occur, which means that if a person loses their job, they will no longer be able to travel. The same person will save money, which will affect their hairdresser and butcher, who will feel that they will also be unable to travel (Interview D). Two respondents had positive opinions towards the pandemic (Interviews D and B). Tourism workers received rest and there was no congestion of public surfaces. "To be honest, I really liked the last season. I had place at the beach. There wasn't much traffic in the city, although there were some tourists. You could see the difference. I work in a profession that had work so in reality from my side it was really good" (Interview B, person P).

Vaccination will play a large role for the next season; however, if the rules change mid vacation, tourists may have to isolate upon returning to their country of origin.

It is clear that the number of arrivals will depend on the epidemiological situation in our country, that every individual is responsible for, but also the situation in other places. In the most other places, stricter measures are in effect, which I believe will contribute to decrease of the infected and increase the possibility of travelling in summer months. Vaccination of the people is also one of the prerequisites for fighting the pandemic and strengthening the picture of a safe destination. We think that it is

almost impossible to predict tourism arrivals in this year, but we can confirm that the interest is high, especially in Germany, Austria, Slovenia, Poland, Czech Republic, Italy and others like United States and Korea. But for the bigger arrivals' numbers, relaxation of the measures and decrease of the number of infected are needed. There is still an ongoing trend of organizing activities in the open that offer personalized offer and allow social distance. Promotion of Split and Croatia as a safe destination and care about the health security in all kinds of facilities has contributed to the increase for all kinds of accommodation. We hope that the efforts put into promotion of Croatia as a safe destination and decrease of the numbers of infected will result in the same tourism traffic as the last year's one. (Interview E)

There are ongoing vaccination politics in Europe and in many places in the world. Some respondents were already vaccinated, but others were not and do not plan to unless they have to. They think that the government will try to force them to by forbidding working and attending public places. This is yet to be seen, but respondents' satisfaction with the government's handling of the pandemic was generally negative.

I wanted to say that our country has made a mistake with the first lockdown. In my opinion they had to isolate only the old people and the ones that fit into the risk category. And the rest would work. The younger ones should follow some measure, keep the distance and wear masks, disinfection. It was not needed. It could have been done better. (Interview I)

In addition, many small businesses had to close, while large conglomerates (e.g., shopping centers) worked the whole winter of 2020 and spring of 2021. Governmental COVID-19-relief was not sufficient; for people who used to work full time, they gave only 4,000 kuna, which is not aligned with prices and salaries and thus impacts people's livelihoods.

This can change for the better if the tourist season is successful. "Yes, there will. Some countries will allow tourism. I don't have the complete knowledge of the situation on the state level but I think Croatia will have to too. Not to increase the economy, but to save it. Without it we will bankrupt faster" (Interview A). The problem is that there are no more budget and last-minute flights, so travel has once again become expensive. But the locals still hope that tourists will arrive by car. There is nonetheless uncertainty and reservations are changing on a daily basis. Tourism dependency is especially visible during the pandemic. People become nervous since they earn less than they used to. Some invested in apartments to rent and other

things in the tourism sector. Data collection for this study was conducted in March, April and May, and these months are usually busy with people are preparing for the season and workers getting employed. This year it was different, as there were no job opportunities besides construction and delivery.

Nautical tourism is one type of tourism that this destination has and that is considered safer than others. Split is a well-known destination for this type of tourism and has three major and a couple smaller islands in its archipelago. This type of tourism is considered safe because a family or group of friends are isolated on the boat, or some rent a skipper. The skipper, tourists and other marina and charter company personnel must have a negative test or vaccination proof. In addition, everything is sanitized and there are other safety protocols. Other types of tourism are ore challenging because more people can come into contact.

This situation is both a challenge and an opportunity for all destinations, not just Split. Other industries should be developed and destinations should be less dependent on the tourism. Crisis events can sometimes provide positive outcomes such as new ideas, products or markets (Okumus & Karamustafa, 2005). Hazards, disasters and illnesses are an integral part of human and environmental systems, and they affect most aspects of community life. They provide a test for social adaptation. Disasters reveal things about social structures and are the product of natural events as well as social, political and economic environments. As Wisner et al. (2003) pointed out, it could be wrong to treat disasters as something different. Disasters have always happened and always will. Technological advancements and digitalization are possible solutions. According to Sigala (2020, p. 314), technology can provide multiple solutions for fighting the pandemic. These solutions could lead to re-opening tourism and other sectors and could be achieved by the use of tracing apps, digital passports, social distancing and sterilizing public spaces. Many crises in history have triggered innovation, which can bring permanent changes. Telišman-Košuta (2020) assumes that the pandemic will deeply and permanently scar the tourism industry but that it will also change for the better. Krešić and Mikulić (2020) share this opinion and believe that the post-pandemic recovery will appear similar to the recovery from the 1990s civil war. They estimate that full recovery will occur when there is no more risk of infection. Future outbreaks and other illnesses are possible. This outbreak showed the need for a global health system, where everyone, especially people in poor countries will have the access to healthcare. It is important to rapidly identify and treat future outbreaks. Higgins, Martin and Vesperi (2020, p. 2) note that

anthropologists can make valuable contributions by clarifying the biological and social complexities of COVID-19.

Local Residents' Perceptions of Tourism

Tourism planners and developers must consider residents' opinions toward tourism since positive perceptions can enhance support for tourism development, while negative ones can hinder it. The following section presents residents' perceptions regarding the needs of the community and the country's internal problems that hinder development. Clear points for organizing successful tourism have been identified, as well as some negative impacts and challenges that threaten sustainable future.

Tourist development should occur according to the needs and resources of the destination and its people. The attitudes of respondents varied in this matter, where those who work in tourism or have some other benefit from it tended to have more positive opinions towards the industry, while those who do not benefit had differences in opinion. They all agreed, however, that tourism is a positive thing for this destination and that better management is needed. It is important to point out that although the respondents presented the negative tourism impacts and problems in Split and Croatia, they were not so active in sorting them out. Partially they are right because this discourse and problem solving should be extended to national and local government, government agencies, media and partially to tourists themselves.

Barriers to Tourism Development

Tourism development barriers are destination specific. For this research conducted in Split, the following barriers were identified by interviewees to be hindering tourism development:

Many participants mentioned corruption and nepotism as aspects that are the core problem of tourism or any kind of development. Participants stated that one often cannot do anything without bribing someone, varying from medical treatments to school enrolment to acquiring a permit from local administration.

Currently, there is a lack of tourism research and knowledge. Tourism knowledge, skills and awareness are important in tourism development, whose proper management requires

knowledge. This barrier is closely connected to the previous one because many people involved in important tourism functions lack knowledge to work their position yet managed to get the job due to political connections. These people do not conduct research to understand the contribution of tourism, which due to a lack of education and community involvement. People do not take things so seriously and thus do not participate. These problems also arise when something is renovated or upgraded, which is often done in a modern style and not according to tradition.

Tourism-related problems and others require a lot of time to be solve. Both administration and individuals in Split are relaxed most of the time. A couple sayings are known among people: "pomalo" and "nema žurbe," both mean "no hurry." This is the way of life in Split. People's attitudes also started to become a problem regarding working, as many grew used to only working during summer months and being lazy in the winter.

Participants argued that most problems in (tourism) development would be solved by proper organization and application of laws. Some noted that these should also be applied to locals since they are sometimes worse than tourists. Locals often throw trash on the street or in the sea and make noise or cause problems, because they know that they can and that there are no consequences.

Discussion

The present research analyzed the impacts of the tourism industry on the local population of Split using three sub-domains: economic, socio-cultural and environmental. The analysis showed that tourism significantly impacts all aspects of society and that the industry has more positive than negative effects, but the negative ones are not negligible.

The percentage of tourism income (20%) shows this industry's significance to Croatia and Split. People in this destination need to understand their place in Europe and determine how to maximize profits and develop other tourism types. The currently dominant "sun and sea" tourism is not sustainable and causes negative impacts. Culture is one of the ways to promote tourism, but it needs to be promoted in the not damaging way, so the significance and meaning remain. Culture and tradition became a commodity, and discussions regarding commodification and authenticity pervade the tourism literature. There are many possibilities to develop the industry, and ideas could be drawn from traditions. Souvenirs do not have to be

imported but can be manufactured in Split from local materials; carob, lavender and other herbs and plants could be used; and traditional recipes and music "klape" could be used to show tourists the roots of Dalmatian culture.

The impacts of tourism development have interested many in the past decade. Planning and marketing have been oriented toward the needs of tourists, while less attention was paid to locals' needs and satisfaction. The benefits and costs of tourism accrue in different ways for different groups of people in Split. This research provides current tourism knowledge, validating previous literature. Moreover, the present research suggested that the tourism sector should accommodate additional host and guest demands to keep pace with the sector's trends and growth. Additional funds should be dedicated to solving negative impacts and better tourism management. Every tourism decision should be created and applied in accordance with the whole tourism sector and other sectors. There should also be fewer Tourist Board offices and workers, and these workers should be professionals rather than people acquiring the job via personal or political connections. Efficiency and market logic require offices to merge, resulting in sector reconstruction.

The government's development strategies are focusing on overall sustainable development however this is mostly "on paper" while money is devoted to expansion of private businesses which further develops mass tourism, but also corruption and nepotism. These were previously identified as main barriers to proper tourism development and minimizing the negative impacts. There should be a commitment to a collective well-being that rationally examines every aspect, makes changes and creates opportunities. There should also be individual empowerment and responsibility. Education can transform individuals and society. Change is required in political or economic systems and in mindsets.

The world is experiencing a rapid transformation caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, which provides an opportunity for change. Locals have observed how it is when there are no tourists and have felt the dependency on them. Other sectors should be developed to decrease this dependency.

CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

The purpose of Chapter 5 was to answer the research question: "*What are the perceived impacts of tourism on locals in Split?*" The results implied that tourism and its impacts are intertwined with other sectors and all aspects of life, and tourism researchers should consider such relationships when conducting similar studies. The following chapter is divided into three sections: The first summarizes the findings; the second outlines implications and recommendations; and the third proposes future research possibilities for policy makers and planners for further tourism development as well as to private businesses, different agencies, communities and individuals.

Summary of the Findings

This study shows a balance between positive and negative impacts. Despite many negative impacts, the economic benefits prevail according to the locals' opinions. The tourist season between June and September is viewed as a period when people are profiting and as something that one must endure. Individuals who perceive greater personal benefit from tourism also perceive greater positive effects, and those who work in the sector but do not directly interact with tourists tend to have more positive attitudes. Despite great tourism satisfaction, many negative impacts arose as annoying. This kind of success often brings suffering to people who do not gain from tourism but are in constant direct or indirect contact with tourists. Understanding locals' opinions toward tourism and tourism development is vital in the development process. The problem is that tourists' needs are often prioritized over residents' needs. Hence the title of this thesis. Meaning that locals have prioritized the economic benefit and neglected almost all negative tourism impacts. It is in everyone's best interest that all concerned parties' needs are satisfied. This also regards increasing salaries when the prices are increased, lowering taxes and employment of less foreign labor.

High seasonality arises as one of the greatest problems in this model of tourism, which is highly challenging for local business and infrastructure, and it degrades residents' quality of life. During recent pre-pandemic years, the season started to prolong itself since tourists

wanted to avoid chaotic scenes during the high season, which means that some impacts are also prolonged. Other European destinations (such as Venice and Barcelona) that are impacted similarly have taken measures to keep tourists away, which seems counter-intuitive, but overtourism is a serious problem. These cities are attempting to move toward more sustainable tourism models.

If left unchecked, this tourism model may hit a saturation point. A possible solution is to develop another sustainable tourism type. Sustainable tourism growth should be one of the main concerns of the destination that develops tourism. One of the main conditions for it is establishing a balance between economic, socio-cultural and environmental aspects (WTO, 2004). Sustainable tourism growth should be the prevailing interest of tourism destination development, which could establish a balance between economic, environmental and social aspects of tourism development to guarantee its long-term sustainability (World Tourism Organization, 2004). The WTO's core principles of sustainable tourism development are to improve the quality of life of the host community; to provide high quality experiences for visitors; and to maintain the quality of the environment, on which both the host community and visitors depend (Mill & Morrison, 2002). Sustainability requires careful management of all resources so that all needs could be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity and a healthy environment. All stakeholders should participate in tourism development and management so that everyone becomes permanent beneficiaries rather than victims of the development (Andereck et al., 2005). Becoming "sustainable" is especially important for destinations such as Split that are dependent on income from tourists. Sustainability could be achieved by designing qualitative plans, promoting buying local products and reducing costs for locals. It is also important to educate the community in a sense of proper business conducting and taking care of the environment. Tourists should also be stopped from behaving poorly, which could be achieved by educating them about the visited culture and the vulnerability of environment as well as by placing signs to increase awareness. Sustainability cannot be achieved without community involvement, which can ensure that further tourism development will be socially and environmentally responsible.

All respondents believe in the possibility of year-round sustainable tourism with effective organization. In this model, the summer months would stay as busy as ever while there will be tourists during other months. Some respondents mentioned other places in Croatia and the world with year-round tourism. In Zagreb for instance, nothing closes during winter, and restaurants, cafes and activities are focused on the locals. Some also mentioned poor winter

weather conditions as an obstacle, but many places in Europe and other parts of the world have harsher winters and tourism. Not all types of tourism are possible in winter; for example, nautical tourism would be impossible during February and March due to strong winds called "Bura" and "Jugo." Seasonality and tourism depend on flights, which are more expensive outside of the current season. Tourist offerings are also a significant factor, because there are currently no activities, places are closed and the city is empty during winter. The respondents say that other qualities of this destination should be shown, including food, drinks (especially wine), family farms, ranches, caves, national parks and other places in the vicinity of Split. "We have so many things for sightseeing, we are not even aware of the things that are around us" (Interview H). This would improve the spatial distribution of visitors.

There should also be a balance within the city and an equal number of places in restaurants, hotels, buses, planes, trails and sights. Too many restaurants and activities demand more accommodation, which brought people in Split to rent out their homes. This has brought traffic problems since the locals who rented their homes drive to work every day from the vicinity to Split, and it also brings problems for other locals since everything is rented by tourists so that locals lack long-term rent possibilities. The citizens of Split are often imposed by individual interests that are presented as common. Tourism management is poorly organized due to a lack of clear or properly implemented rules. Fines are a significant factor in creating new sustainable types of tourism. Increased fines could solve a couple tourism-related problems by improving the behavior of tourists and locals, so that people would no longer do as they like. "And then we have these mandatory fines, but they are again 2-3k kuna maximum and they will earn it from 11 to 12 and so they rather pay fines than concessions and permits and others" (Interview D). To implement such changes, there should be more police and monitors to issue these fines. The infrastructure of the city could also be improved to minimize tourism's negative impacts, which includes roads and facilities. The popular opinion of respondents is that a bridge between Split and Kaštela should be built to decrease pressure on the other four entrances to the city. Lowering the cost of public transportation tickets and its modernization would also contribute. Regarding private modes of transportation, more parking should be built. Although authorities and services are working on solutions to some problems, they should do so more quickly and efficiently.

Besides negative impacts, positive ones include more job opportunities and therefore income. The destination image is more positive, and there are more events for locals and tourists. Tourism also reinforces hosts' cultural identity and stimulates guests' interest in the local

culture and cultural image. Steps should be taken to conserve and protect this culture, environment and to improve the locals' economic and social well-being. Possible solutions include careful planning and management of a model that is economically, culturally and environmentally sustainable. Except for carefully planning and managing the tourism sector, the economy of Croatia should be diversified. These solutions could be expensive but are effective.

Tourists cannot be considered a homogenous group because they are characterized by different and changeable attitudes, values and requirements, which are determined by the individual and his or her upbringing. Future studies should investigate how much development is likely to be supported by local residents. Interactions between guests and hosts will continue to aid understanding social, cultural, political, economic and environmental processes as well as the characteristics of hosts and guests. This study examined the phenomenon of overtourism that occurs during the tourist season, but everything changed with the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, so perhaps future research can address undertourism.

Implications and Recommendations

The implications of this research are connected to the findings to provide practical policy suggestions. In Split and many other destinations, tourism received developmental priority due to the expected economic benefits. Through the development process, tourism increased employment, local business, balance of payments by bringing foreign currency, increased taxes and infrastructure projects; however, when a destination develops tourism, significant costs require consideration. Tourism has major negative impacts that affect the environment and quality of life during summer months. This model of tourism can easily hit a saturation point, which is especially important for natural resources that are limited since it might not be possible to save them. Regarding policy implications, this study discovered tourism impacts on the locals caused by wealth stratification that can threaten the community's sustainability. Many policy makers and planners rely on survey information as a source of data, and they should invest in professional qualitative and quantitative research to achieve proper outcomes.

Some recommendations that address this tourism model are utilized as follows: the methodology utilized in this study can be applied in other destinations to assess the tourism

impacts, particularly on the local population; this study can be used to evaluate the impact of different tourism typologies on the national economy, providing a useful information; the study could reveal significant information. Emphasis is on interviews as a main research method since it gives insight into what people perceive/want; for missing information, no method or replacement should be used; and participant-observation could be used to understand the host-guest interaction; however, these interactions cannot always reveal locals' true opinions towards tourists since many locals work in the tourism branch and are thus "required" to treat tourists "properly."

Future Research

This research helps decision makers formulate appropriate development plans. This is the first study of its kind to be conducted during the pandemic, and it represents a starting point for revealing the impacts of tourism on a destination. Future research suggestions are as follows:

First suggestion is to assess the impacts of different types of tourism on a destination. This study focused on revealing tourism impacts from all kinds of tourism, but the same methodology could be used for a specific type as well. Future research can identify the impacts whilst providing useful instruments for policy and decision-making processes. Second suggestion is to focus only on certain types of tourism impacts. Although all types of tourism impacts are interconnected, this type of research could focus on a single type, such as cultural changes. Third one is to develop methods to measure the distribution of tourism impacts. The research for this study was conducted to identify impacts at the destination level, but it may be useful to focus on the country level. This kind of analysis could identify unequal distributions of benefits. Fourth suggestion is to integrate tourism research with other research in other sectors. This study researched tourism impacts and is constrained by the lack of perspective derived from other sectors, such as economics. Fifth suggestion is to monitor changes caused by tourism impacts over time. This research examined the impacts of tourism during the tourist season, which are the result of overtourism. Future research could focus on how many tourists are too many or how many vessels in the Adriatic Sea are too many. The impacts are partially caused by internal problems and residents' attitudes. Future research could be repeated after a certain period to compare findings. The phenomenon of undertourism could also occur, which would be caused by the pandemic. The last suggestion is to research impacts on specific actors or sectors. The focus of this research was on the local

population, but similar research could focus on tourism companies or (public or governmental agencies) or on tourism impacts in other sectors.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Guide

Before start of the interview (the same for both expert and non-expert interviews):

- Outline the goal and set up of research.
- Explain scope of the interview.
- Explain processing of information.
- Ask whether they agree with recording.
- Assure of anonymity and confidentiality.
- Briefly asking about the background of the person.

Questions for the non-expert interview:

- What is the biggest negative and positive tourism impact on you? Professionally and privately?
- How do you deal with the negative ones?
- Do you have a proposal how to deal with the negative impacts?
- Have you ever turned to some service for help? Or complained somewhere?
- What do you think about the seasonality? And also increased prices during season?
How about double menus in cafes or other places?
- What do you think about importing labor from foreign countries?
- Do you think that the criminal increases during tourist season?
- How would you rate the cleanliness of the city?
- What do you think about the marketing of this destination?

- Do you think local and national authorities are doing a good job with managing tourism?

Questions for the expert interview:

- What are the biggest and negative impacts of tourism?
- Which role does this office play in this?
- What are the impacts that your office gets most complains for?
- What is the most challenging in resolving this problem/s? What are the strategies? Is there some problem/s that is unresolvable?
- What are the organizations with whom you collaborate most frequently during solving the problems caused by tourism impacts?
- What kind of activities could local public authorities undertake to improve the situation in this area?
- What do you think are the main causes of the impacts? Is the problem that most tourists come at the same time, during season?
- How do you stay up to date with the latest trends in the industry?

Appendix B: Interview Overview

Date	Name	Sex	Age	Occupation	Length
9.3.2021	Interview A	m	20-30	medical technician	00:21:00
11.3.2021	Interview F	m	20-30	driver	00:09:28
17.3.2021	Interview B (person P and B)	f	20-30	surveyor	00:45:49
		m	20-30	cook	
20.3.2021	Interview E	f	45-55	Tourism Board director	2 pages of answers to questions
23.3.2021	Interview L	f	30-40	waiter	00:20:13
23.3.2021	interview C	m	20-30	construction worker	00:27:29
25.3.2021	Interview J (person J and K)	f	20-30	soldier	00:26:31
		f	20-30	waiter	
27.3.2021	Interview G	m	45-55	charter boat agency manager	00:16:56
27.3.2021	Interview D	m	45-55	tourist guide	00:59:23
29.3.2021	Interview H	m	30-40	volunteer	00:37:38
1.5.2021	Interview I	m	20-30	waiter	00:32:32

Abstracts

Abstract English

What are the perceived impacts of tourism on locals in Split?

This thesis examines tourism impacts in Split from the anthropological perspective. Two factors differentiate this research from similar studies: First, the author is a native of this region, which provides better understanding of the circumstances in Split and eases contact with the locals; second, the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic has showed that the "sun and sea" tourism model is highly unsustainable and that changes are needed. This research used qualitative methods that focus on locals' opinions towards tourism impacts and attitudes towards tourists. The findings indicate that many locals have become dependent on the current model of tourism, which has emphasized seasonality where most tourist arrivals occur during summer months. The seasonality affects all aspects of locals' life and other sectors. The thesis presents both positive and negative impacts, which could be categorized as economic, socio-cultural and environmental. These impacts are the result of direct and indirect contact between "hosts" and "guests" and also Croatia's internal problems and locals' attitudes. The impacts are not taken seriously because tourism is a major source of income in this area. Many locals got used to working hard in summer and not working in winter. However, this is not the case for all people so the negative impacts are greater for locals that do not work in or have no connections to tourism. The suggestion is that other tourism model/s should be implemented, and sectors other than tourism should be developed. This is important to accomplish while there is still time and before permanent damage is caused. This study contributes to anthropological tourism knowledge and can be translated into policy recommendations and be used as a basis for further research.

Key words: anthropology of tourism, tourism impacts, seasonality, COVID-19

Abstract German

Wie werden die Auswirkungen des Tourismus auf die Einwohner von Split wahrgenommen?

In dieser Arbeit werden die Auswirkungen des Tourismus in Split aus der anthropologischen Perspektive betrachtet. Zwei Faktoren unterscheiden diese Studie von anderen ähnlichen Studien: Die erste ist, dass die Autorin aus der Region stammt, was ein besseres Verständnis der Umstände in Split ermöglicht und den Kontakt mit den Einheimischen erleichtert; der zweite Faktor ist, dass die COVID-19-Pandemie noch andauert. Diese Pandemie hat gezeigt, dass das aktuelle "Sonne und Meer"-Tourismusmodell unhaltbar ist und Änderungen vorgenommen werden müssen. Im Rahmen der Untersuchung werden qualitative Methoden angewandt, die sich auf die Meinung der Einheimischen zu den Auswirkungen des Tourismus und ihre Einstellung gegenüber den Touristen konzentrieren. Die Ergebnisse deuten darauf hin, dass viele Einheimische vom derzeitigen Tourismusmodell abhängig geworden sind, bei dem die Saisonalität im Vordergrund steht und die meisten Urlaubsgäste in den Sommermonaten anreisen. Dies hat Auswirkungen auf alle anderen Sektoren und alle Aspekte des Lebens der Einheimischen. In dieser Arbeit werden sowohl positive als auch negative Auswirkungen aufgezeigt, die in wirtschaftliche, soziokulturelle und ökologische Kategorien einordnen werden können. Sie sind das Ergebnis des direkten und indirekten Kontakts zwischen "Gastgebern" und "Gästen", der internen Probleme Kroatiens und der Einstellung der Einheimischen. Die Auswirkungen werden nicht ernst genommen, da der Tourismus in diesem Gebiet eine wichtige Einnahmequelle ist. Viele Einheimische haben sich daran gewöhnt, im Sommer hart zu arbeiten und im Winter nicht zu arbeiten. Dies ist jedoch nicht für alle Menschen der Fall, so dass die negativen Auswirkungen für die Einheimischen, die nicht in der Tourismusbranche arbeiten oder mit ihr in Verbindung stehen, viel gravierender. Es wird vorgeschlagen, dass andere Tourismusmodelle eingeführt und auch andere Sektoren als der Tourismus entwickelt werden. Es ist essenziell, dass dies geschieht, solange noch Zeit ist und keine dauerhaften Schäden eingetreten sind. Die Ergebnisse dieser Studie sind nur ein kleiner anthropologischer Beitrag zum Thema Tourismus, können aber in der Zukunft in politische Empfehlungen umgesetzt werden und als Grundlage für weitere Forschung dienen.

Schlüsselwörter: Anthropologie des Tourismus, Auswirkungen des Tourismus, Saisonalität, COVID-19