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**PREMA KONVERGENCIJI PROUČAVANJA  
TURIZMA I OTOČNIH STUDIJA**

**TOWARDS A CONVERGENCE OF TOURISM STUDIES  
AND ISLAND STUDIES**

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**SAŽETAK:** Otočni studiji i proučavanje turizma uvelike se bave istim temama, ali do sada je među njima bilo malo interakcije. Cilj nam je olakšati konvergenciju tih dvaju istraživačkih područja. Slijedeći praksu otočnih studija, članak propituje ulogu metafora ‘neba’ i ‘pakla’, odnosno ‘raja’ i ‘zastvora’, u dinamici turističkog razvoja na malim otocima. Snažna metafora otoka kao “raja na zemlji” potakla je razvoj koji se pokazao razornim upravo po rajske attribute otoka. Istovremeno, metafore ‘pakla’ privlače tanatoturizam, ali imaju manju preobražujuću snagu. Tvrdi se da metafore vezane uz ‘rajsko’ zanemaruju ljudski aspekt ‘otočnih’ rajeva te da istraživači otočnog turizma poklanjaju pre-malo pažnje utjecaju turizma na društvene promjene na otocima. Moguće je da bi intenzivnije bavljenje ovim pitanjem olakšalo konvergenciju otočnih studija i istraživanja u području turizma.

**KLJUČNE RIJEČI:** otočni studiji, otočni turizam, mali otoci, ‘rajevi na zemlji’, otočni ‘paklovi’

**ABSTRACT:** Island studies and tourism studies have overlapping interests, but there was little interaction between them. This article seeks to facilitate a convergence between the two fields. Taking its cue from island studies, the article investigates the role of the metaphors of ‘heaven’ and ‘hell,’ in the specific mode of ‘paradise’ and ‘prison,’ on the dynamics of touristic development on small islands. The powerful effect of the metaphor of islands as “earthly paradises” is brought out, but the very development which the metaphor provoked turned out to be destructive of their paradisiac qualities. Metaphors of ‘hell’ attract thanatourism but have less transformative power. It is argued that ‘paradisiac’ metaphors underemphasize the human aspect of ‘island’ paradises, while island tourism researchers pay insufficient attention to the effects of tourism on social change on such islands. It is suggested that greater attention to this issue might be a facilitating factor in the convergence of island studies and tourism studies.

**KEY WORDS:** island studies, island tourism, tourism studies, small islands, ‘earthly paradises’, island ‘hells.’

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## 1. UVOD

Otoci i turizam usko su povezani. Kao što je Becker (1969) primijetio prije gotovo 50 godina, mali otoci snažno privlače turiste; taj osobit „spoj izoliranosti, različitosti, udaljenosti, zasebne kulture i naslijeđa, divljine okoliša i male površina [predstavlja] svojevrsnu atrakciju“ (Brown i Cave, 2010:87). Turizam je glavni gospodarski sektor mnogih otoka, a naročito malih otočnih država u razvoju (*eng.*- SIDS). Devet od deset zemalja koje ponajviše ovise o „prihodima od turizma kao udjela u BDP-u“ male su otočne države u razvoju, uglavnom s područja Kariba i Tihog oceana; deseta na popisu je Hrvatska, zemlja s mnoštvom turistima privlačnih otoka (Scheyvens i Momsen, 2008a:23).

Usljed preplitanja geografskih, društvenih, kulturnih i gospodarskih osobitosti otoka, posljednjih se godina javila potreba za utemeljenjem novog područja istraživanja: otočni studiji, ili ‘nisologija’ (Baldacchino, 2008; McCall, 1994; Hay, 2006), uključuje „komparativno, globalno, interdisciplinarno i/ili trans-disciplinarno proučavanje otoka... obuhvaćajući i nadmašujući opseg konvencionalnih disciplina“ (Baldacchino, 2006: 6). Međutim, usprkos važnoj ulozi turizma u životu i gospodarstvu mnogih otoka, otočni se studiji relativno rijetko bave turizmom kao temom. Nasuprot tome, iako istraživači u području turizma drže kako „otočni turizam predstavlja zasebno polje istraživanja, definirano omeđenošću prostora, ljudi i procesa“ (Brown i Cave, 2010:87), rijetki su pri istraživanju otočnog turizma primijenili holistički pristup koji promiču zagovornici otočnih studija. Ovim člankom nastoji se olakšati konvergencija između otočnih studija i istraživanja u području turizma te istražiti potencijalne međusobne doprinose.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Islands and tourism are intimately related. As Becker (1969) noted almost fifty years ago, small islands exert a powerful attraction on tourists; their characteristic “gestalt of remoteness, difference, distance, distinct culture and heritage, wilderness environment, and small size [constitutes] an attraction” (Brown and Cave 2010: 87). Tourism is the principal sector of the economy of many islands, and especially of small island developing states (SIDS). Nine of the ten countries most dependent on “tourism receipts as a percentage of GDP” are SIDS, located mostly in the Caribbean and the Pacific; the tenth is Croatia, a country with numerous islands popular with tourists (Scheyvens and Momsen 2008a:23).

The configuration of geographical, social, cultural and economic characteristics of islands, has in recent year led to a call for the establishment of a new scientific field, island studies or ‘nissology’ (Baldacchino 2008, McCall 1994, Hay 2006), involving “the comparative, global, inter-disciplinary and/or trans-disciplinary study of islands... straddling as well as going beyond conventional disciplines” (Baldacchino 2006:6). However, despite its importance in the life and economy of many islands, tourism plays a relatively minor role among the many topics island studies engage in; contrariwise, while tourism researchers asserted that “island tourism is a distinct field of study, defined by the bounded nature of place, people and processes” (Brown and Cave 2010:87), tourism researchers rarely deployed a holistic approach to islands, as advocated by the promoters of island studies. This article intends to facilitate a convergence between the fields of island studies and tourism studies, and to explore the potential contribution each field can make to the other.

## 2. OTOČNI STUDIJI

Otoci su do danas ostali čestom temom u geografiji i drugim znanstvenim disciplinama, kao i u književnosti, prozi i poeziji (Baldacchino, 2006:6-7). Ideja o zasebnom znanstvenom području 'otočnih studija' navodi na zaključak da otoci imaju neko posebno obilježje koje ih razlikuje od kopna i čini privlačnim istraživačima i običnim ljudima. Glavni zagovornik otočnih studija, Godfrey Baldacchino, tvrdi da „suvremena opijajuća ‘privlačnost’ ili ‘fascinantnost’... otoka uvelike proizlazi iz činjenice da otoci ostavljaju dojam *tabulae rasae*, potencijalnih laboratorija u kojima bi se mogao provesti bilo koji ljudski projekt... Čini se da insularnost priziva specifičnost, veću prilagodljivost, manje inhibicije i temeljitiju kontrolu međuvarijabli koje zatim s većom vjerojatnošću jamče uspješne ishode“ (2006:5-6).

Protagonisti otočnih studija ulažu veliko svojih napora u razaranje „mita o otočnoj izolaciji“ (Baldacchino i Clark, 2013:131) naglašavanjem složenih oblika participacije otoka u kopnenim i globalnim procesima. Otočni studiji bave se višestrukom ekološkom povezanošću otoka s njihovim pomorskim okolišem (Gillis, 2014) te demografskim, gospodarskim i kulturnim vezama s kopnom. Globalni doseg događaja u slučaju, naizgled, malih izoliranih otoka snažno je oprimjeren u DeLoughreyevom (2013) članku o tome kako su američki nuklearni pokusi na udaljenim pacifičkim atolima prouzročili „radijaciju koja ne poznaje granice pa se danas nalazi nataložena u koštanom tkivu svih ljudi“ (Baldacchino i Clark, 2013:131).

Otočni studiji gledaju ne-esencijalistički, dinamično na prirodnu otoka. Baldacchino i Clark (2013) naglašavaju da otoci nisu statični, zadani entiteti: oni nisu 'zatečeni' nego su 'načinjeni' (str. 130). Otoci su uključeni u „sporne procese stvaranja i nastajanja“ (str. 130), a takav pristup nije u skladu s dijakronijskim, procesnim pristupom koji prevladava u suvremenoj sociološkoj teoriji

## 2. ISLAND STUDIES

Islands have been widely discussed in geography and in many other scientific disciplines, as well as in literature, prose and poetry (Baldacchino 2006:6-7). The idea of a separate scientific field of 'island studies' implies that there is something special about islands, which differentiates them from the mainland and makes them attractive to researchers as well as to the general public. The leading promoter of island studies, Godfrey Baldacchino, contends that “a significant component of the contemporary intoxicating ‘lure’ or ‘fascination’ of islands... has to do with the fact that islands suggest themselves as *tabulae rasae*, potential laboratories for any conceivable human project... There is something about the insular that beckons specificity, greater malleability, less inhibition, a more thorough control of intervening variables which then are more likely to guarantee successful outcomes” (2006:5-6).

Much of the effort of the protagonists of island studies is in fact directed to explode “the myth of island isolation” (Baldacchino and Clark (2013:131), by highlighting the complex modes of involvement of islands with mainland and global processes. Island studies dwell upon the many ways in which islands are ecologically related to their maritime environment (Gillis, 2014), and demographically, economically and culturally linked to the mainland. The global reach of events on seemingly isolated small islands is powerfully exemplified in DeLoughrey (2013) article on how U.S. nuclear tests on some off limits Pacific atolls spewed “radiation that knows no bound and is now deposited in the bone tissue of all human beings” (Baldacchino and Clark 2013:131).

Island studies take a non-essentialist, dynamic view of the nature of islands. Baldacchino and Clark, (2013) emphasize that islands are not static, given entities: they are not 'found' but 'made' (p. 130). Islands are involved in “contested processes of creation

i istraživanjima u turizmu (Cohen i Cohen, 2012: 2180). Baldacchino i Clark (2013:129) predlažu koncept 'otočnosti' kao „posebnog stanja ili oblika postojanja“, a procesnost njihova pristupa odražava se u tvrdnji da imenica 'otočnost' kao posebno stanje ili položaj, no njihov se procesni pristup odražava u tvrdnji da ona korespondira s 'otočenjem' (eng. *islanding*) kao radnjom (str. 129); predložili su da se „otočiti rabi kao glagol, a otočenje kao izraz kojim se imenuje radnja“ (str. 129). Autori su tvrdili da im je izraz 'otočenje' potreban kako bi „posredovali i ublažili vrtoglave oscilacije između raja i zatvora, otvorenosti i zatvorenosti, korijenja i putova, materijalnoga i metafore [u prikazivanju otoka],“ kao i „kritizirali otrcano poimanje i kričavo brendiranje otoka kao izolata, odsječenih od matice; kao mjesta nevinosti, zaštićenih od razorne modernosti... kao netaknutih i posebice ekološki svjesnih društava; kao hirovitih, krajnje nestabilnih i ranjivih ekosustava“ (str. 129). Međutim, autori nisu pojasnili kako će nova riječ ostvariti sve te zadatke.

### Metafore otoka

Prihvaćajući pristup koji zagovaraju otočni studiji, u ovom ću se članku usredotočiti na međusobno djelovanje metaforičkih slika o malim otocima i njihovu transformaciju pod utjecajem turizma na osnovi suvremenih studija otočnog turizma.

Otoci su podložni različitim i suprotstavljenim predodžbama. Baldacchino (2006:5) je smatrao da je „zbog njegove očite čarobne otvorenosti, varljivo lako doživjeti 'otok' kao prikladno poprište ispunjavanja svakog hira ili želje... Otok može biti i raj i zatvor, i nebo i pakao.“ Hay (2006:27) je ukazao na sveprisutno korištenje riječi „otok' kao metafore za raj“, ali je istaknuo i da se „suprotnosti raja i zatvora često pojavljuju u istim literarnim konstrukcijama.“ Mountz (2015:636) je pak zamijetio da „otoci inspi-

and becoming” (p. 130), an approach that is in tune with the prevailing diachronic, processual approach in contemporary sociological theory and tourist studies (Cohen and Cohen, 2012: 2180). Baldacchino and Clark (2013:129) have proposed the concept of 'islandness' as a “particular state or condition of being”, but their processual approach is expressed in the pronouncement that “there is a correspondent action in islanding” (p. 129); they suggested the use of “island as a verb, islanding as an action” (p.129). The authors argued that they need the verb 'islanding' to “mediate and attenuate dizzying oscillations between paradise and prison, openness and closure, roots and routes, materialities and metaphor [in the representations of islands],” as well as “to critique hackneyed notions and flashy brandings of islands: as isolates, cut off from the mainstream; as innocent, protected from the ravages of modernity...as pristine and particularly environmentally conscious societies; as ecosystemic quirks, extremely unstable and vulnerable” (p.129). However, the authors left unexplained how the new verb will accomplish these tasks.

### Island metaphors

Adopting an approach favored in island studies, I shall in this article focus on the interplay between metaphoric images of small islands and their transformation by tourism, on the basis of contemporary studies of island tourism.

Islands are subject to different and contrasting imageries. Baldacchino (2006:5) maintained that, “thanks to an apparent beguiling openness, it is deceptively simple to conceive of “the island” as the convenient platform for any whim or fancy... An island can be both paradise and prison, both heaven and hell.” Hay (2006:27) observed that “the deployment of 'island' as a metaphor for paradise” is ubiquitous, but also pointed out that “the oppositions of paradise and prison are often present in the same literary constructions,” while Mountz (2015:636) remarked

riraju nebrojene maštarije, od snova o razvoju, bijegu i egzotičnosti do izrabljivanja i zatočenja.“

Hay (2006) je upozorio da bi „otočni studiji trebali zadržati skeptičan stav prema perspektivama književnih i kulturalnih studija koje, odbacujući fizičku prirodu otoka, promiču važnost metaforičkih apstrakcija“ (str. 29) i ustvrdio da je „metaforička ideja otoka toliko snažna da se može razvijati čak i ako nema ni najmanje povezanosti sa stvarnim obilježjima otoka.“ Hay je stoga tvrdio da se nisološka istraživanja umjesto metaforama trebaju baviti „stvarnošću otoka i okolnostima koje utječu na stvarne otoke i otočane u sadašnjosti i nadolazećem vremenu“ (str. 30). Međutim, Hay ipak priznaje da „metaforička značenja otočnosti na jedan značajan način pripadaju tematici otočnih studija, a to je kad se metaforički opisi otoka odražavaju na stvarne otoke i utječu na život na njima“ (str. 30). Više nego u bilo kom drugom području, potvrdu takvih odraza nalazimo u turizmu: metaforički opisi nekih otoka bili su i ostaju primarnim čimbenikom privlačnosti za turiste, a brza ekspanzija turizma na takvim otocima transformirala je njihov život, kulturu i okoliš do neprepoznatljivosti. Stoga ću istražiti poveznicu između metaforičkih slika otoka i transformacije otoka pod utjecajem turizma. Pri tome ću se usredotočiti na dvije vodeće, suprotstavljene metafore otoka kao ‘neba’ i ‘pakla’ ili ‘raja’ i ‘zatvora’.

Slijedeći procesni pristup Baldacchina i Clarka (2013) neću se prema tim metaforama odnositi kao prema opisima ‘esencijalnih’ obilježja određenog otoka nego ću se pozabaviti njihovom konstruiranom i krhkom prirodom. Zatim ću razmotriti diferencijalno međusobno djelovanje svake od tih metafora i turizma te istražiti njihove transformirajuće učinke na izgled, ekologiju i stanovnike otoka. Služit ću se uglavnom primjerima metaforičkih prikaza iz literature o tropskim otocima Tihog oceana i Kariba te vlastitih istraživanja tajlandskih otoka.

that “islands evoke infinite imaginaries, from dreams of development, escape, and exoticism to exploitation and imprisonment.”

Hay (2006) has warned that “island studies should look skeptically upon the perspectives of literary and cultural studies that dismiss the physicality of islands whilst promoting the relevance of metaphorical abstractions” (p. 29), and argued that “so powerful is the metaphorical idea of the island that it can be deployed in the absence of even the slightest reference to the reality of islands.” In contrast, Hay argued that nissological investigations should be concerned, rather than with metaphors, “with the reality of islands and how it is for islands and islanders in the times that are here and that are emerging” (p. 30). However, he concedes that “there is one important manner in which the metaphorical senses of islandness *are* the appropriate substance of island studies. That is when metaphorical descriptions of islands rebound upon *real* islands and influence life there” (p. 30). Tourism bears out such a rebound more than any other field: the metaphoric descriptions of islands have been the primary factor which made some islands attractive to tourism in the first place; and the rapid expansion of tourism on such islands transformed their life, culture and environment out of recognition. I will therefore explore the connection between metaphoric images of islands and their transformation by tourism, focusing on the two leading, contrary metaphors of islands as ‘heaven’ and ‘hell’ or ‘paradise’ and ‘prison.’

Following Baldacchino and Clark’s (2013) processual approach, I shall not relate to these metaphors as describing some ‘essential’ traits of an island, but dwell on their constructed and fragile character. I shall then turn to the differential interplay between each metaphor and tourism, paying attention to their transformative effects on the islands’ appearance, ecology and inhabitants. My examples are drawn mainly from the metaphoric representations in the literature of tropical islands in the Pacific and Caribbean, and from my own research on Thai islands.

### 3. METAFORE 'NEBA' I 'PAKLA'

Kao što je već primijećeno (Baldacchino 2007:165), otok je moguće zamisliti i kao nebo i kao pakao, kao raj i zatvor; moguće ga je doživjeti kao prirodnu oazu osjetilnih užitaka, ili kao jezovito divlje mjesto opasnosti i patnje. Nužno je napomenuti da konvencionalne metafore 'neba' i 'pakla' svoje duboke korijene imaju u zapadnoj religioznoj kozmologiji. Međutim, dok se zemaljski raj često zamišlja kao mjesto na nekom otoku (Cohen, 2004:258-261; Hay 2006:27), mjesto biblijskog pakla nikada se nije izričito smještalo na neki otok. Stoga možemo zaključiti kako se predodžba o otocima kao 'rajevima' izravno inspirira religioznom kozmologijom. Viđenje otoka kao 'pakla' relativno je recentna inovacija koja kozmološki pojam 'pakla' metaforički pridaje otocima slijedom opisa istraživača sa zapada koji su otoke doživjeli kao negostoljubiva mjesta te ih upotrebljavali (ili zloupotrebljavali) kao zatvore ili mjesta progonstva za protivnike zapadnih imperijalnih ili kolonijalnih režima. Otočni 'rajevi' zamišljaju se kao mjesta 'čiste' ili 'nedirnute' prirode; otočni 'pakli' prvenstveno se doživljavaju kao rezultat ljudskog djelovanja i ta razlika u percepciji utječe na turističku dinamiku određenih otoka.

#### Metafore otoka kao 'raja'

Neki su autori dokazivali da je potraga za rajem duboko ukorijenjena u ljudskoj psihi. Istaknuti povjesničar religije, Mircea Eliade, tvrdio je da „u ljudskom stanju postoji nešto što bismo mogli nazvati *nostalgijom za rajem*“ (1969:55, naglašeno u izvorniku). U svom pokušaju da skiciraju povijest raja, Manuel i Manuel (1972) su sugerirali da ljudska čežnja za otočnim rajeovima predstavlja izraz (nesvjesne) želje za povratkom zaštitnoj tekućini otoka koji skriva ljudski fetus. Iako se ne moramo slagati s takvim sveobuhvatnim tvrdnjama, one svjedoče o dubini zamišljene

### 3. METAPHORS OF 'HEAVEN' AND 'HELL'

As (Baldacchino 2007: 165) observed, an island can be imagined as both heaven and hell, paradise and prison; it can be perceived as an untouched natural site of sensuous pleasure, or as an uncanny wilderness of danger and suffering. We should note that the conventional metaphors of 'heaven' and 'hell' have deep roots in the Western religious cosmology; but while the Earthly Paradise was often imagined as located on an island (Cohen, 2004:258-261, Hay, 2006:27), islands have not been expressly identified as the site of the biblical hell. The image of islands as 'paradises' thus borrows directly from the religious cosmology. But the perception of islands as 'hell' is a relatively recent innovation, by which the cosmological notion of 'hell' came to be metaphorically attributed to islands in wake of their description as inhospitable places by Western explorers or of their use (or misuse) as prisons or places of exile for opponents of Western imperial or colonial regimes. Island 'paradises' are imagined as 'pristine' or 'untouched' natural sites; but island 'hells' are seen primarily as manmade, a difference which has an impact on the respective islands' touristic dynamics.

#### Metaphors of islands as 'paradise'

Some authors have argued that the quest for paradise has deep roots in the human psyche. The eminent historian of religion, Mircea Eliade claimed that there is "something in the human condition that we may call *nostalgia for paradise*" (1969:55, emphasis in original). Manuel and Manuel (1972), in their attempt to sketch out a history of paradise, suggested that the human longing for island paradises expresses an [unconscious] longing to return to the protective fluid of the island in which the human fetus is ensconced. Though we might not necessarily agree with such totalizing assertions, they bear witness

veze između ljudi i težnji prema raju, veze koju priznaju ugledni istraživači.

U zapadnjačkoj mašti zemaljski se raj predočava kao Drugo, „mjesto koje je u svojoj biti *drugačije*... od svakodnevnog života“; to je mjesto „egzotično, neobično i različito“ (Costa, 1998:317), „metafora za negaciju svakodnevnog postojanja“ (str. 312). U raju „pravila i obaveze uglavnom ne vrijede, resursi su obilati, a nema ni poteškoća koje se povezuju uz svakidašnji zemaljski život“ (str. 317). Zemaljski raj „sadrži elemente ljepote, liminalnosti, izolacije, klimatske topline, neobuzdane seksualnosti, bogatog okoliša, opuštenog mjesta“ (str. 317).

U judeo-kršćanskoj tradiciji, uobičajeno je vjerovanje da se izgubljeni zemaljski raj nalazi na nekom udaljenom otoku ili planinskoj dolini na Zemlji (Costa, 1998:317), „izoliran od ostatka svijeta gotovo nesavladivom barijerom“ (str. 320) i stoga nepristupačan. Međutim, tijekom ere Otkrića zapadni su se „istraživači doslovno zaputili u potragu za zemaljskim rajem“ (str. 322). Vraćajući se sa svog trećeg putovanja, Kristofor Kolumbo pisao je svojim vladarima da je „dosegao vanjsko područje zemaljskog raja,“ a kao dokaz je naveo neobična zapažanja iz Zaljeva Paria [na delti rijeke Orinoco u današnjoj Venezueli] za koja je „postojalo samo jedno objašnjenje: oni (tj. brodovi) su se penjali prema umjerenim visinama zemaljskog raja odakle rijeke raja utječu u more“ (Pletcher, 2010:68-69).

Vjerovanje da se biblijski zemaljski raj nalazi na nepristupačnom mitskom otoku vremenom je ustupilo mjesto predodžbi o malim, udaljenim i geografski izoliranim otocima poput Havaja (Costa, 1998:322-325), Tahitija (Connell, 2003) i drugih južnopacifičkih (Cohen, 2004:257-264) ili karijskih (Montero, 2011; Sheller, 2004) otoka kao dostupnim zemaljskim rajevima (Costa, 1998:317-318). Međutim, za razliku od nepristupačnog mitskog raja, „ova zemaljska rajska mjesta moguće je posjetiti i u njima uživati“ (str. 317). „Pojednostavljene, kultu-

to the depth of the imagined link between humans and paradisiac strivings, espoused by respectable researchers.

In the Western imagination the earthly paradise is perceived as an Other, “a place essentially *unlike*...daily life”; it is “exotic, unusual and different” (Costa, 1998:317), a “metaphor for the negation of everyday existence” (p. 321). In paradise, “rules and obligations are largely suspended, resources are abundant, and hardships associated with quotidian earthly existence are lacking” (p. 317). The earthly paradise “contains the elements of beauty, liminality, isolation, climatic warmth, unfettered sexuality, bountiful environment, [a] leisured pace” (p. 317).

In the Judeo-Christian tradition, the lost Earthly Paradise was commonly believed to be located on some remote island or on a mountain valley on Earth (Costa, 1998:317), “isolated from the rest of the world by a nearly insurmountable barrier” (p. 320) and hence inaccessible. However, during the age of Discovery, Western “explorers literally set out to discover the earthly paradise” (p. 322). Returning from his third voyage, Christopher Columbus wrote to his sovereigns that “he had reached the outer region of the Earthly Paradise,” offering as proof some unusual observations from his sailing in the Gulf of Paria [on the delta of the Orinoco river, in present-day Venezuela], which “could have only one explanation: that they [i.e. his ships] mounted towards the temperate heights of the Earthly Paradise from which the rivers of Paradise flow into the sea” (Pletcher, 2010:68-69).

The belief that the biblical earthly paradise was located on an inaccessible mythical island overtime gave place to the perception of small, remote and geographically isolated islands, such as Hawaii (Costa, 1998:322-325), Tahiti (Connell, 2003) and other South Pacific (Cohen, 2004:257-264) or Caribbean (Montero, 2011; Sheller, 2004) islands, as accessible earthly paradises (Costa, 1998:317-318). However, in contrast to the inaccessible mythical paradise, “these earthly paradisa-

ralno-uniformne slike mjesta nalik na raj“ (Montero, 2011:21), projicirane na male tropske otoke, postale su u vremenu poslije Drugog svjetskog rata (Cowell, 1999) mamac koji je privlačio sve više i više hedonista na odmoru i s vremenom transformirao otoke u komodificirane „objekte za konzumaciju od strane zapadnih turista“ (Costa, 1998:318).

Zapadnjački opisi rajskih otoka obično su favorizirali prirodna obilježja a zanemarivali stanovništvo otoka; turiste na odmoru zapravo je privlačila prirodna ljepota otoka, a ne otočani. U promotivnoj literaturi otočani se ponekad posve zanemaruju (npr. Echtner, 2010), a čak i ako to nije slučaj, uglavnom su predstavljeni kao prijateljski raspoloženi, gostoljubivi domoroci (npr. Cohen, 1996: 161-162) dok su njihova razlikovna društvena i kulturna obilježja nedovoljno naglašena ili čak prešućena. Tako, primjerice, vodič kroz Thailand u izdanju tvrtke *Lonely Planet* (2005) opisuje kako su prvi turisti po dolasku u Koh Samui „nabasali na raj – bijele pješčane plaže i palme koje su se njihale na vjetru; čisto zeleno more koje se ljeskalo na suncu... savršene slike bujne zelene brežuljke i zagasite smeđe ceste koje su presijecale drvene konstrukcije“ (str. 555). Otočani ostaju potpuno anonimni u ovom stereotipnom opisu otočnog raja. Kasnije su ipak kratko okarakterizirani kao „čak prijateljskije raspoloženi od prosječnih stanovnika gornjeg dijela Tajlanda... s odličnim smislom za humor“ (str. 555), dok je zanemarena mračnija strana odnosa između otočana i turista na otoku (Cohen, 1996:202).

Rajski opisi otoka ne poživaju na urođenim arhetipovima već su relativno nedavnog nastanka. Na njih su utjecali opisi i prikazi europskih putnika i umjetnika koji su posjetili južni Pacifik, Karibe i druge novo-'otkrivene' otoke ili živjeli na njima od 17. do 19. stoljeća. Osjeća se i utjecaj romantičarskog devetnaestostoljetnog zanosa prirodom i njezinim izvornim stanovnicima (Cohen, 2004:258-261; Sheller, 2004). Raspravljajući o Fairchildovom (1928) prikazu 'egzotične'

sites can be visited and enjoyed” (p. 317). The “simplified, culturally uniform images of paradise-like places” (Montero, 2011:21), projected on small tropical islands, became in the post-Second World War era (Cowell, 1999) the allure which brought growing numbers of hedonistic vacationers to such islands, transforming them over time into commodified “objects of consumption of Western tourists” (Costa, 1998:318).

Western descriptions of paradisiac islands tended to prioritize their natural characteristics over those of the islands' inhabitants; and it was the natural beauty of the islands, rather than the islanders, which attracted the vacationers. In the promotional literature the islanders are in some instances disregarded (e.g. Echtner, 2010); even if they are not, they tend to be represented mainly as friendly and hospitable natives (e.g. Cohen, 1996:161-162), while their distinctive social and cultural traits are under-emphasized or disregarded. Thus, for example, the *Lonely Planet's* guide to Thailand (2005) describes how the first tourists arriving in Koh Samui “stumbled upon paradise – white sand beaches with palms blowing in the wind; clear green sea sparkling in the sunlight... a picture perfect background of lush green hills and rich brown roads interspersed with rough wooden structures” (p. 555). The islanders remain anonymous in this stereotypical description of an island paradise. But they are subsequently briefly characterized as being “even friendlier than the average upcountry Thai... and have a great sense of humour” (p. 555), while disregarding the darker side of relations between islanders and tourists on that island (Cohen, 1996:202).

Rather than innate archetypes, the paradisiac descriptions of islands are of relatively recent origins; they have been influenced by reports and representations by 17<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> Century European travelers and artists visiting or living on South Pacific, the Caribbean and other newly 'discovered' islands, and by the 19th Century's romantic appreciation



i 'romantično naturalističke' književnosti toga razdoblja, Ellingson (2001:6) je napisao: „u slučajevima koje Fairchild citira, 'primitivni' i 'prirodni' način života toliko su idealizirani i uzvišeni da se malo koji čitatelj neće zapitati kako je takav raj ikada mogao postojati na zemlji, ili, ako je zaista postojao, kako ga je itko ikada mogao zamijeniti 'civilizacijom'“.

Neki raniji dojmovi o mjestima koja su postala 'otočni rajevi' bili su posve drugačiji. U knjizi značajno naslovljenoj *Bali: stvoreni raj*, Vickers (2012) navodi da su „tijekom prošlog stoljeća pisci obogatili ideju o Baliju, "hvaleći 'njegovu ekstremnu plodnost, beskrajnu ljepotu, umjetnički talent i šarm njegovih ljudi'. Bali je stekao imidž mjesta 'bujne raskoši,' koje nastanjuje „umjetnički narod u harmoniji s prirodom.“ Međutim, kako ističe Vickers, „sadašnji imidž [Balija] čini se konačnim i trajnim, iako nije uvijek bio takav. Tijekom 19. stoljeća Bali nije uspijevao nikoga šarmirati. Štoviše, ispunjao je posjetitelje pravim osjećajem prijetnje.“ Vickers citira Nizozemca koji je rekao da su “stanovnici Balija žestoki, divlji, podmukli i ratoborni ljudi“, dok su ih drugi opisivali kao opasne ljude koji ne napuštaju „barbarske običaje poput spaljivanja udovica“ (n.p.)

Montero (2011) također ukazuje na promjene u prikazivanju malih otoka Grenade i Paname. Grenadski otok Carriacou u prošlosti je karikaturalno prikazivan kao „pospano, pasivno i podatno mjesto čija se populacija lako prepuštala ropstvu“ (str. 27), a stanovnici Paname 'donedavno' su doživljavali mali otok Colón kao 'neprivlačnu džunglu'. Ipak, vlade dviju država nedavno su počele te otoke predstavljati kao „udaljen, neiskvaren i idealan turistički 'raj.'“ (str. 27).

Imidž pojedinih otoka podložan je promjenama čak i u suvremenom razdoblju. Možda je najdojmljiviji primjer takvog procesa nedavno prikazivanje atola Bikini kao čiste edenske divljine (Davis, 2007) i to bez obzira na činjenicu da se „atol smatra previše radioaktivnim da bi se na njemu moglo živjeti“ (str.

of nature and its native inhabitants (Cohen, 2004:258-261; Sheller, 2004). Discussing Fairchild's (1928) survey of 'exotic' and 'romantic naturalist' literature of the period, Ellingson (2001:6) writes: "in the cases Fairchild cites, 'primitive' and 'natural' ways of life are so idealized and exalted that few readers could avoid wondering whether such paradises could ever exist on earth, or, if they did once, that anyone could ever exchange them for 'civilization.'"

Some earlier views of what became 'island paradises,' however, struck a very different note. Vickers (2012), in a book significantly titled *Bali: A paradise created*, states that "over the last century writers have enriched the idea of Bali", praising "its extreme fertility, its endless beauty, and the artistry and charm of its people". The island's image became one of 'crowded splendor,' populated with "an artistic people in harmony with nature." However, Vickers points out, "the image [of Bali] now seems so definite and permanent, but it has not always been so. In the nineteenth century Bali failed to charm, it was in fact positively threatening." Vickers quotes a Dutch visitor saying, "'The Balinese are a fierce, savage, perfidious, and bellicose people"; while others described them as dangerous and adhering to "barbarous practices, such as widow burning" (n.p.).

Similarly, Montero (2011) points out reversals in the representation of small islands in Grenada and Panama. Grenada's Carriacou island was in the past caricatured as "a drowsy, passive and docile place, its population submitting easily to slavery" (p.27). While Panamanians 'until quite recently' perceived the small Colón Island, 'as an unattractive jungle.' But the government of both states recently tended to represent both islands as "remote, unspoiled and ideal tourist 'paradise.'" (p. 27).

Images of particular islands are subject of change even in the contemporary period. Perhaps the most poignant example of such a process is a recent representation of Bikini Atol in the Marshall Islands, a site contami-

214). Atol se, naime, nalazi u sklopu Maršalovih otoka, područja koje je više od desetljeća (1946-1958) kontaminirano nizom atomskih pokusa koje su provodile SAD (Weisgall, 1994). Prema Davisu, „projekt nuklearnog testiranja ne samo da je izbrisan iz krajolika nego je rezultirao krajolikom kojeg većina smatra prirodnim“ (str. 214), što je paradoksalno jer je upravo kontaminacija spriječila ljudsku intervenciju u otočni okoliš. Sličan razvoj zabilježen je i nakon tsunamija koji je pogodio južni Tajland 2004. godine: odsustvo turista nakon katastrofe omogućilo je miran oporavak prirode i povratilo rajski izgled plažama (Cohen, 2008) koje su prije tsunamija stradale zbog prevelikog broja turista.

Baldacchino (2007) je ustvrdio da su otoci izvor noviteta, a povijest metafore ‘raja’ na neki način potvrđuje ovu tvrdnju. Iako se u početku odnosila na otoke, vremenom se odvojila od svoje specifične stereotipne konotacije nedirnutih plaža i palmi te se uopćeno i neprecizno koristi kao marka kojom se kao ‘rajevi’ promoviraju različite destinacije i usluge pa danas imamo ‘rajeve za kupovinu’, ‘golferske rajeve’, ‘ribičke rajeve’, ‘seksualne rajeve’, pa čak i ‘lovačke rajeve’ (oksimoron je posve očit). Oslobođena svojih određujućih obilježja otočnog mjesta, metafora ‘raja’ poprimila je generaliziranu konotaciju obećanja nespontanog hedonističkog prepuštanja užitku na raznim mjestima, koja nužno nisu niti otoci niti nedirnuti.

### **Metafore otoka kao ‘pakla’**

Metafore otoka kao ‘pakla’ manje su uobičajene – i manje popularne – od metafora ‘neba’. Takve metafore imaju dva odvojena, ali povezana izvora. Iako ponekad proizlaze iz predodžbe jalovog, nenaseljenog otoka kao negostoljubivog mjesta, češće nalazimo da odražavaju uvjete koji su djelo ljudskih gospodara otoka.

Stokstad (2004) je izvijestio kako je, prema arheološkom istraživanju Barryja

nated for more than a decade (1946-1958) by a series of U.S. atomic tests (Weisgall, 1994), as a pristine Edenic wilderness (Davis, 2007), notwithstanding the fact that “the atoll is regarded as too radioactive to live on” (p. 214). Davis argues that, “the project of nuclear testing [has] not only... been erased from a landscape, but also has produced a landscape widely regarded as natural” (p. 214), paradoxically because its very contamination precluded human intervention in its environment. A similar process has been noted in wake of the 2004 tsunami in southern Thailand: the absence of tourists following the disaster facilitated the undisturbed recuperation of nature, thus revitalizing the paradisiac appearance of the beaches (Cohen, 2008), which had before the tsunami been affected by tourist overuse.

Baldacchino’s (2007) has asserted that islands are a source of novelty; the history of the metaphor of ‘paradise’ in a sense confirms this claim. Initially applied to islands, it became over time detached from its specific stereotypical connotation of pristine island beaches and palms, and came to be deployed as a brand-name, to promote diverse destinations or services as ‘paradises’, in a broad and vague sense: nowadays there exist ‘shopping paradises’, ‘golfing paradises’, ‘fishing paradises’, ‘sex paradises’ and even (an apparent oxymoron) ‘hunting paradises’. Stripped of its distinguishing traits when applied to islands, the metaphor of ‘paradise’ acquired a generalized connotation as a promise of uninhibited hedonistic abandon to be enjoyed in various localities, which are neither islands nor pristine.

### **Metaphors of islands as ‘hell’**

Metaphors of islands as ‘hell’ are less common - and less popular – than those of ‘heaven’. Such metaphors have two separate, but related, sources: some are based on the perception of a barren, uninhabited island as inhospitable place, but more often, they reflect the conditions created on an island by its human masters.

Roletta, prirodna geografija pojedinog pacifičkog otoka, ponajprije zbog izoliranosti i ekološke osjetljivosti, predodredila isti ili za 'nebo', npr. Marquesas, ili za 'paklenu jamu', npr. Istočni otok.

Neke gole ili neprivlačne otoke prvi su posjetitelji sa zapada povremeno uspoređivali s 'paklom'. Navodno je u 17. stoljeću lunarni krajolik otoka Ascension u Atlantskom oceanu potakao jednog brodolomca da izjavi kako „bi svatko povjerovao da se sami đavao doselio kako bi uspostavio pakao na [otoku] Ascension” (prema Thomson, 2002).

Ipak, predodžba pakla mnogo se češće projicirala na neki otok zato što je poslužio imperijalnim, kolonijalnim ili drugim snažnim režimima kao zatvor ili mjesto progonstva za kriminalce ili protivnike. Valera i Boissoneault (2014) drže kako su „otoci dugo bili najprirodniji izbor za odvajanje društva od najopasnijih i najozloglašnijih. Kako su okruženi vodom... s otoka je teško pobjeći, a lako ih je čuvati.“ Otoci koji su odabrani za zatvore ili egzil uglavnom su bili i geografski udaljeni od kopna ili matice zemlje. No, nisu otoci postajali mjestima zatvora i egzila samo zbog svoje prikladnosti svrsi – odabiru bi pridonio i njihov politički i simbolički status. Takvi su otoci često bili društveno i politički marginalizirana mjesta, što je omogućilo zatvorskim vlastima da uspostave strogi disciplinarni režim i olakšalo zlostavljanje zatvorenika od strane čuvara daleko od očiju javnosti. Dok je udaljenost simbolički isključivala zatvorenike ili prognanike iz društva i obilježavala ih kao otpadnike, izdvajanjem iz moralne zajednice oduzimalo im se pravo na uobičajenu ljudsku skrb.

Iako su geografska udaljenost i prirodna obilježja mogli utjecati na odabir nekih otoka kao mjesta zatvora i egzila, nisu oni stekli epitet 'pakla' zbog svojih prirodnih obilježja nego zbog zatvorskih uvjeta i patnje koja je tamo nametana zatvorenicima. Rani primjer predstavlja Malsagovljevi (1926) *Otok pakao*, knjiga o sovjetskom zatvoru na dalekom sjeveru. Metaforu otočnog arhipelaga, gulaga,

Stokstad (2004) reported that, according to an archeological study of Pacific islands by Barry Rolett, the natural geography of islands, particularly their isolation and environmental fragility, shaped their destinies to become either 'heaven' or 'hellhole', presenting the Marquesas as an example of the former, and Eastern Island of the latter.

Some barren, or otherwise unattractive islands were occasionally compared to 'hell' by early Western visitors. Thus, the 'lunar-like' landscape of the isolated Ascension Island in the Atlantic Ocean reportedly drove a 17<sup>th</sup> century shipwrecked sailor to declare that, "Anybody would have believed that the Devil himself had moved his quarters and was coming to keep Hell in Ascension [Island]" (quoted in Thomson, 2002).

However, the image of hell was more often projected upon an island as a consequence of its use as a prison or place of exile for criminals, or adversaries, by imperial, colonial or other powerful regimes. Valera and Boissoneault (2014) maintain that "islands have...long been the most natural choice when it comes to separating society from the most dangerous and infamous. Surrounded by water... islands are difficult to escape from and easy to guard." Islands chosen for prisons or exile were also mostly geographically remote from the mainland or the mother country. But it is not just the functional suitability of islands that made some of them into locations for prisons and exile, but also their political and symbolic status. Such islands were often socially and politically marginal places, which made possible the installment of severe disciplinary regimes by the prison authorities, and facilitated the abuse of prisoners by guards away from the public view, even as their remoteness symbolized the exclusion of the prisoners or exiles from society, and marked them as outcasts, thus removing them from the moral community and denying them common human concern.

Though the geographical remoteness and natural characteristics might have influenced the choice of some islands for imprisonment

kasnije je razvio Solženjicin (2006) kako bi metaforički opisao Staljinov sustav zatvorskih logora (iako se oni obično nisu fizički nalazili na otocima). Možda je najpoznatiji primjer otočnog zatvora u zapadnom svijetu Vražji Otok u Francuskoj Gvajani. Francuzima je služio kao kaznena kolonija između 1852. i 1946. (Redfield, 2005), a ozloglašen je postao kao mjesto zatočenja Alfreda Dreyfusa (Harris, 2010) krajem 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća. Poznat je postao i zbog opisa života na tom otoku-zatvoru koji je Henri Charrière (2011) objavio pod pseudonimom *'Papillon'*. Ležeći, prema tadašnjem stavu, na samom 'kraju zemlje' (Redfield, 2000:XIII). Vražji je Otok nazvan 'kolonijom prokletih' (Miller, 1988) te je opisan kao mjesto "pada tisuća muškaraca u srce tropskog čistilišta" (Redfield, 2000:XIV). Opisi drugih zloglasnih otočnih zatvora, npr. Alcatraza u SAD-u, otoka Robben u Južnoj Africi, ili otoka Con Son u arhipelagu Con Dao, današnjeg Vijetnama, (služio je kao otok-zatvor za vrijeme svih režima između 1862. i 1975. [Hayward i Tran, 2014]), prizivaju neke iste paklene osobine, čak i ako nisu izričito okarakterizirani kao 'pakao.' Dok su u zadnje vrijeme mnogi po zlu poznati otočni zatvori ukinuti, suvremeni otoci-zatvori postali su mjesta deportacija druge vrste – za neželjene imigrante bez dokumenata. Australija je danas vodeći eksponent ove prakse (Grewcock, 2014), budući da zatvara tisuće tražitelja azila u dvije svoje nekadašnje kolonije – na udaljenom malom golom otoku-državi u Pacifičkom oceanu, Nauru (Fleay i Hoffman, 2014; Isaacs, 2017) i na otoku Manus u Papuanskoj Novoj Gvineji (Fletcher, 2014). Iako se ne opisuju kao 'pakao', beznadnost deportiranih određuje ove logore značajkama 'pakla.'

and exile, the prevailing conditions of imprisonment and the suffering imposed upon the prisoners on the islands, rather than merely their natural characteristics, were the principal reasons for endowing them with the epithet of 'hell.' An early example is Malsagoff's (1926) book 'An Island of Hell,' on a Soviet prison island in the far North. The metaphor of an island archipelago, the Gulag, was later deployed by Solzhenitsyn (2006) to describe metaphorically Stalin's system of prison camps (though these were not usually physically located on islands). Perhaps the best known example of a prison island in the Western world is the Devil's island in French Guiana, which served as a French penal colony between 1852 and 1946 (Redfield, 2005), and acquired notoriety as the place of imprisonment of Alfred Dreyfus (Harris, 2010) at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The island prison was popularized by Henri Charrière's (2011) description of the life on the prison island, published under the pen-name 'Papillon'. Situated on what was perceived as 'the ends of the earth' (Redfield, 2000:XIII), Devil's Island was called a 'colony of the damned' (Miller, 1988), and described as the place of "fall of thousands of men into the heart of tropical purgatory" (Redfield, 2000:XIV). Descriptions of other notorious island prisons, such as Alcatraz in the U.S., Robben Island in South Africa, or Con Son island in the Con Dao archipelago in today's Vietnam (which served as a prison island during various regimes between 1862 and 1975 [Hayward and Tran, 2014]), invoke some of the same hellish traits, even if they were not expressly epitomized as 'hell.'

While most of the notorious island prisons were closed in recent times, islands in the contemporary period came to serve as places of deportation of another kind: undesired, undocumented immigrants. Australia is presently a leading exponent of this practice (Grewcock, 2014), detaining thousands of asylum-seekers on two of its previous colonies, on Nauru, a remote, small, and barren island state in the Pacific Ocean (Fleay and Hoffman, 2014; Isaacs, 2017), and on Manus

#### 4. USPOREDBA: METAFORE OTOKA I DINAMIKA OTOČNOG TURIZMA

Vraćajući se Hayevoj (2006:30) tvrdnji da su „metaforička značenja otočnosti primjere- na materija za otočne studije [samo pod uvjetom da] metaforički opisi otoka odražavaju stvarne otoke i utječu na otočni život,“ sada propitujem kako metafore ‘neba’ i ‘pakla’ koje primijenimo na otoke utječu na dinamiku otočnog turizma.

##### ‘Raj’

‘Raj’ jer vjerojatno najraširenija i najutjecajnija metafora koju razvija globalna turistička aktivnost. Neki tropski otoci poput Tahitija i Balijski uživali su reputaciju ‘rajeva’ relativno dugo. Međutim, od šezdesetih godina 20. stoljeća mnogi su mali otoci postali poznati kao ‘tropski otočni rajevi’ ili su kao takvi promovirani. Obično bi ih ‘otkrili’ slučajni posjetitelji s ruksacima (Cohen, 1973) koji bi na praznim plažama uspostavili male enklave za sebi slične putnike (npr. Cohen, 1982; Scheyvens, 2006). Te bi enklave često postale jezgrom turističkog razvoja. Mali lokalni poduzetnici pružali bi gostima jednostavne i jeftine usluge. Međutim, na veće i pristupačnije od ovih ‘rajskih’ otoka u Tihom oceanu, na Karibima i jugoistočnim dijelovima Azije, vrlo brzo su se probile domaće i međunarodne turističke tvrtke, uz plaže uspostavile odmarališta za goste dubljeg džepa (Harrison i Pratt, 2015; Montero, 2011:39) i transformirale te otoke u destinacije za masovni turizam.

Međutim, umjesto zaštite navodnih ‘rajskih’ obilježja, poduzetnici su često pokretali projekte koji su bili štetni za krhku ekološku ravnotežu otoka, posebne lokalne običaje i društveni život domaćina. Baldacchino (2007:169) navodi da je takav pristup razvoju turizma rezultirao besprimjerno „iznenadnim, sveprisutnim, jansnim, a možda čak i ne-

Island in Papua New Guinea (Fletcher, 2014). While not described as ‘hells’, the hopelessness of the deportees endows these camps with a defining characteristic of ‘hell.’

#### 4. COMPARISON: ISLAND METAPHORS AND THE DYNAMICS OF ISLAND TOURISM

Coming back to Hay’s (2006:30) dictum that “the metaphorical senses of islandness are the appropriate substance of island studies [only when] metaphoric descriptions of islands rebound upon *real* islands and influence life there”, I now turn to the question of how the metaphors of ‘heaven’ and ‘hell’ applied to islands reverberated on the dynamics of island tourism.

##### ‘Paradise’

‘Paradise’ is probably the most ubiquitous and most influential metaphor deployed by the global tourist industry. Some tropical islands, such as Tahiti or Bali have enjoyed a reputation as ‘paradises’ for a relatively long time. But, beginning in the 1960s, many small islands became known, or were promoted, as ‘tropical island paradises.’ Such islands were often initially ‘discovered’ by backpacking ‘drifters’ (Cohen, 1973), bringing about the establishment of small backpacker enclaves on their empty beaches (e.g. Cohen, 1982; Scheyvens, 2006). The enclaves frequently constituted the nucleus around which tourism development took place. Local small-scale entrepreneurs initially provided the enclaves with simple and cheap services. However, the bigger and more accessible of these ‘paradisiac’ islands in the Pacific, the Caribbean and the Southeast Asian regions, were soon penetrated by national or international tourism companies, which established higher-end resort projects along their beaches (Harrison and Pratt, 2015; Montero 2011:

opozivim te neodrživim utjecajem turizma na male otoke, njihova... staništa i zajednice.“ Rastao je pritisak na ograničene resurse, pogotovo na vodu i zemljište (Twining-Ward i Butler, 2002:363); cijene zemljišta, naročito duž plaža, skočile su u nebo (Wortman, Donaldson i van Westen, 2016); slabijim i siromašnijim slojevima lokalnog stanovništva zapriječen je pristup resursima (Picard, 2010); degradacija okoliša i gomilanje otpada pogoršali su se (Scheyvens i Momsen, 2008:494); priljev stranaca, turista, zaposlenika turističkih tvrtki i migranata koji su nalazili zaposlenje u turizmu (Soontayatron, 2010) doveli su do naprezanja otočnih kapaciteta (Wong, 2015) dok se nasilje i kriminal povećalo (Chesney-Lind, 1986; Coomansingh, 2011; de Albuquerque i McElroy, 1999; Picard, 2010). Ubrzani razvoj masovnog turizma na malim otocima ozbiljno je ugrozio njihovu održivost (Belle i Bramwell, 2005; Brown i Cave, 2010; Twining-Ward i Butler, 2002), a rješenje problema u sadašnjim se okolnostima ne nazire.

Te su promjene prouzročile progresivnu degeneraciju 'rajskog' izgleda otoka koji su i doveli turizam na otok. Graham Dann (2017) stoga je nedavno ustvrdio da je „izraz 'turistički raj' oksimoron“ (str. 8), (tj. „jezična figura koja... sadrži dva suprotstavljena elementa [i generira] novi pojam“ [str. 3], jer, ako „milijuni turista tragaju za istim rajskim ciljem“ (str. 8), neminovno je da će značajno utjecati, ako ne i uništiti, upravo ona 'rajska' obilježja koja su ih prvotno privukla na to mjesto.

Minca (2000:390) je prikazao mračnu sliku stvarnosti „zrelih egzotičnih" destinacija u zemljama u razvoju“ tvrdeći da ih karakterizira „značajna degradacija odnosa između lokalnog stanovništva i turističkih masa uslijed uzajamnog razočarenja, neispunjenih očekivanja i nerazumijevanja...“. Prema njemu, u nekim popularnim turističkim destinacijama, uključivo i 'rajske' otoke poput Balijske i Phuket, „individualni putnici na udaru su prosjaka, uličnih trgovaca, pre-

39) and transformed the islands into mass tourism destinations.

However, rather than protecting their alleged 'paradisiac' qualities, the developers often initiated tourist projects without much attention to the islands' fragile ecology, distinct local customs and indigenous social life. Consequently, as Baldacchino (2007:169), noted "the impact of tourism [was] nowhere more sudden, pervasive, transparent, and perhaps even irrevocable and unsustainable than on small islands and their... habitats and communities." Pressures on limited resources, especially on water and land, mounted (Twining-Ward and Butler, 2002:363); land prices, especially along beaches, sky-rocketed (Wortman, Donaldson and van Westen, 2016); the weaker and poorer strata of the local population were denied access to resources (Picard, 2010); environmental degradation and accumulation of waste intensified (Scheyvens and Momsen, 2008b:494); the influx of outsiders, tourists, employees of tourist establishments and migrant workers (Soontayatron, 2010), stretched the islands' carrying capacity (Wong, 2015); while violence and crime intensified (Chesney-Lind, 1986; Coomansingh, 2011; de Albuquerque and McElroy, 1999; Picard, 2010). Large-scale mass tourism development on small islands hence raised serious sustainability issues (Belle and Bramwell, 2005; Brown and Cave, 2010; Twining-Ward and Butler, 2002), which are under the circumstances irresolvable.

These developments effected a progressive degeneration of the islands' 'paradisiac' appearance, which had attracted tourism in the first place. Graham Dann (2017) hence recently asserted that "the expression 'tourist paradise' is oxymoronic" (p. 8), (i. e. "a figure of speech that... contains two contradictory elements [generating] a new concept" [p. 3]), because, if "millions of tourists seek the same paradisiacal goal" (p. 8), they will significantly affect, if not destroy, the very 'paradisiac' qualities that made it originally attractive.

Minca (2000: 390) has painted a dark picture of the reality in "mature exotic' des-

prodavača droge i prodavača suvenira dok ih istovremeno pljačkaju i maltretiraju uporni prevaranti koji se predstavljaju kao vodiči“ (str. 390). Dinamika masovnog turizma, međutim, nije se zaustavila zbog destrukcije i dezorganizacije koju je prouzročila. Kao što navodi Minca (2000), „suočivši se s tako ‘patološkim’ turističkim prostorom“ vrh tržišta odgovorio je „gradnjom ‘skloništa’“, konstruirajući „pročišćene turističke otoke na kojima više nema problema“ koje je sam turizam stvorio (str. 380-391). Tržište je iniciralo ‘autocentrični’ proces segregacije „najbogatijeg segmenta turističke potražnje... uspostavivši funkcionalnu, a ponekad i fizičku odijeljenost posljednje generacije pozlaćenih enklava od okolnog teritorija“ (Minca, 2000:390). Foucaultovim (1986) riječima rečeno, došli smo do diskontinuirane (turističke) heterotopije. Minca je tvrdio da takva odvojenost „postaje nužna zbog *de facto* zaštite [bogatih turista] od najštetnijih učinaka ranijih turističkih teritorijalizacija“ (str. 390) te je ovaj zaokret u razvoju turizma nazvao ‘sindrom Balijski’, a za primjer je naveo havajske i polinezijske otoke. Trebalo bi na popis sličnih primjera dodati i otoke u drugim regijama, posebno otoka poput Jamaice (Altinay, Var, Hines i Hussain, 2007), otoka Sv. Lucija (Pattullo, 2005) na Karibima te obalna mjesta Koh Samui i Phuket u jugoistočnoj Aziji. Minca (2000: 393) je došao do značajnog zapažanja da takvi heterotopični prostori „mogu, u teoriji, postojati bilo gdje i bilo kada; aluzija na vanjski svijet koji ih karakterizira u velikoj je mjeri tek koreografske prirode“; oni su ‘parodija mjesta’. Mogli bismo ih nazvati i ‘nadomjesnim rajevima’, hedonističkim samodostatnim ‘otocima’, odvojenim od otočnog okruženja koje je izgubilo svoje ‘rajske’ osobine.

Ali masovni turizam u rajskim destinacijama nije samo ‘autocentričan’ – jer se sklanja u heterotopične enklave; on je istovremeno ‘heterocentričan’ jer se upušta u potragu za novim, još netaknutim ‘rajskim’ otocima te se često širi s glavnog na manje, ekološki

tinations in the developing world,” claiming that they are marked by “a substantial deterioration in the relationship between the local population and the tourist masses due to mutual disenchantment, unfulfilled expectations and misunderstandings...”; according to Mirca, in some popular tourist destinations, including ‘paradisiac’ islands such as Bali and Phuket, “the bane on individual travelers... has become the increasing harassment by beggars, street merchants, drug-peddlers and souvenir sellers, even as they were robbed, and tormented by insistent conmen posing as guides” (p. 390). But the dynamics of mass tourism did not stop with the destruction and disorganization that it bought about. As Minca (2000) argued, “faced with such ‘pathological’ tourist space” the top of the market responded by “building ‘shelters,’” and constructing “purified tourist islands purged of the problems” that tourism itself had created (pp. 390-391). The market initiated an ‘autocentric’ process of segregation of “the most affluent segments of tourist demand” by “creating a functional and sometimes even physical separation between the latest generation of gilded enclaves and the surrounding territory” (Minca, 2000:390), or what in Foucault’s (1986) terms amounts to a discontinuous (touristic) heterotopia. Minca argued that such a separation is “becoming a requisite for *de facto* protection [of up-market tourists] form the most damaging effects of past tourist territorializations” (p. 390), and called this turn in tourism development the ‘Bali Syndrome,’ naming the islands of Hawaii and Polynesia as examples of that syndrome. To this should be added similar examples of islands in other regions, especially such as Jamaica (Altinay, Var, Hines and Hussain, 2007) and the island of Sta Lucia (Pattullo, 2005) in the Caribbean, and Koh Samui and Phuket in mainland Southeast Asia. Minca (2000: 393) makes the significant observation that such heterotopic spaces “could, in theory, exist anywhere and everywhere; the allusion to the external world that characterizes them is

još osjetljivije otoke te agresivno „preobražava pred-turističke teritorijalnosti u gotovo neprepoznatljive oblike“ (Minca, 2000:392).

S porastom popularnosti, konotacija metafore ‘raja’ doživjela je suptilnu promjenu. Od deskriptivnog je postala preskriptivni izraz. Dok se ranije upotrebljavala u opisu postojećih otoka, s vremenom se počela upotrebljavati kao standardizirani propis o tome kako bi ‘tropski otočni raj’ trebao izgledati. Naposljetku, izrađivani su planovi za prilagodbu otočnih destinacija standardiziranim predodžbama o raju (Cohen, 2004). Paradoksalni vrhunac takvog jednog pothvata dosegnut je 1998. godine kada je za potrebe snimanja jedne scene filma *Plaža* (po romanu Alexa Garlanda) pješčana plaža Maya Beach na jednom od svjetski poznatih tajlandskih Phi Phi otoka, poznata po svojoj iznimnoj ljepoti, transformirana u stereotipnu „plažu na tropskom otoku“ (Cohen, 2005).

Iako su procesi transformacije pod utjecajem turizma i ‘otočnih rajeva’ široko rasprostranjeni, oni nisu univerzalni. Literatura o dinamici otočnog turizma dovoljno ne razlikuje takve procese na malim otočnim državama u razvoju i na otocima koji pripadaju većim političkim entitetima. Prema uvjerljivoj argumentaciji Scheyvensa i Momsena (2008b), čini se da upravo mala površina i neovisnost malih otočnih država, npr. Samoa u Tihom oceanu ili Dominike na Karibima, doprinose njihovoj otpornosti na razvoj masovnog turizma od strane međunarodnih turističkih kompanija te im omogućava održavanje turizma u manjem opsegu. Stoga ne dolazi do razaranja ekološke osnove njihova društvenog života.

### ‘Pakao’

Relativna važnost dviju suprotstavljenih metafora otočnog turističkog razvoja nejednaka je. Rajski imidž otoka potakao je razvoj masovnog odmorišnog turizma. Imidž ‘pakla’ izazvao je znatno rjeđu pojavu mračnog

largely choreographic; they are a ‘parody of place.’ One could also label them ‘ersatz paradises,’ hedonistic self-contained ‘islands’ detached from the very island environment, which had lost its ‘paradisiac’ qualities.

But mass tourism to paradisiac destinations is not only ‘autocentric’ – secluding itself in heterotopic enclaves; it is also ‘heterocentric,’ as it engages in a quest for new, as yet untouched ‘paradisiac’ islands, and often expands from major to smaller, ecologically even more sensitive islands, thereby aggressively “transforming pre-tourist territorialities into almost unrecognizable forms” (Minca, 2000:392).

With growing popularity, the connotation of the metaphor of ‘paradise’ underwent a subtle change, from a descriptive to a prescriptive term: while initially used to describe existing islands, it became progressively a standardized prescription of how a ‘tropical island paradise’ should look like; consequently, plans were hatched to adjust island destinations to this standardized paradisiac image (Cohen, 2004). The paradoxical high point of such an endeavor was reached in 1998, in the effort by film-makers to transform Maya Beach, a sandy beach on one of Thailand’s world-renown Phi Phi islands, known for its exceptional beauty, into a stereotypical “tropical island beach” for the shooting of a scene of *The Beach*, a film based on Alex Garland’s novel (Cohen, 2005).

While the processes of transformation and of ‘island paradises’ by tourism are widespread, they are not universal. The literature on the dynamics of island tourism has insufficiently distinguished between such processes in small island states (SIDS) and islands which belong to larger political entities. As Scheyvens and Momsen (2008b) have convincingly argued, the very smallness and independence of SIDS, such as Samoa in the Pacific and Dominica in the Caribbean, seems to endow them with a resilience to mass development by international tourist companies, and enables them to



ili tana turizma (Seaton, 1996; Stone i Sharpley, 2008) na otocima koji su se tijekom povijesti koristili kao zatvori. Dok je većina ozloglašanih otoka zatvora zatvorena, neki su transformirani i ponovno otvoreni za javnost kao lokaliteti baštine ili turističke atrakcije. U nekim drugim slučajevima, otoci zatvori dobili su novi vizualni identitet kako bi privukli turiste. Sve je bilo praćeno pokušajima da se ukloni njihov zloglasni imidž.

Među najmračnije tana-turističke atrakcije pripadaju zatvori na Con Son otoku u vijetnamskom Con Dao arhipelagu. Vijetnamske vlasti pretvorile su ga u lokalitet baštine, što je uključilo održavanje zatvorskih lokaliteta, dostupnost oznaka, dokumentacije pa čak i „izradu i postavljanje skulptura okovanih i izglednijih zatvorenika u starim zatvorskim zgradama[...] ... nalazeći se u stvarnim zatvorskim prostorima [oni] pružaju jedno od ‘najmračnijih’ zamislivih tana-turističkih iskustava“ (Hayward i Tran, 2014:118). Drugi zloglasni zatvorski lokaliteti, poput Alcatraza i otoka Robben, također su pretvoreni u muzeje i lokalitete baštine (Shackley, 2001; Strange i Kempa, 2003). Međutim, za razliku od ‘rajskih’ otoka, turistički potencijal takvih lokaliteta je ograničen. Oni su mjesta za promatranje ili razgledavanje, ali ne mame turiste da produže svoj boravak ili da u posjet uvrste i dodatna ‘lakša’ iskustava (kao što je primjer s mnogim mjestima hodočašća).

Francuska Gvajana, čiji je imidž „neodvojiv od njezine povijesti kao kažnjeničke kolonije“ (Dehooe i Jolliffe, 2013:157), ulaže napore u svoje rebrandiranje. ‘Odbojne konotacije’ koje otok izaziva nailaze na ‘aktivni otpor suvremenih Gvajanaca’ (str. 158). Nacionalni turistički odbor ne promovira kažnjeničke lokalitete (poput Đavoljeg otoka) kao mjesta mračnog turizma nego kao povijesne lokalitete, a Euromonitor niti ne spominje „povijesne lokalitete povezane s mračnom poviješću“ na teritoriju Gvajane. Umjesto toga ističu se „zelene turističke atrakcije poput amazonske kišne šume... ..

keep tourism at a small scale, which prevents it from destroying the ecological basis on which their social life is based.

### ‘Hell’

The relative significance of the two contrasting metaphors for island tourism development is uneven: the paradisiac image has encouraged the development of massive vacationing tourism; the image of ‘hell’ has engendered dark or thana tourism (Seaton 1996; Stone and Sharpley, 2008) to sites of historic island prisons on a much smaller scale. Most of the notorious island prisons have been closed down, but some have been transformed and re-opened as heredity sites or tourist attractions; in some other cases, prison islands have been re-branded to attract vacationing tourism, even as efforts were made to erase their notorious image.

The darkest thana-tourist attraction are probably the prisons on Con Son island in Vietnam’s Con Dao archipelago, which were returned by the Vietnamese authorities into a heritage site. This involved the maintenance of the prison sites, provision of signage, documentation and even “the design and installation of sculptures of shackled and emaciated prisoners in old prison buildings [which] located within the actual spaces’ of incarceration... provide... one of the “darkest” imaginable thanatouristic experiences” (Hayward and Tran, 2014:118). Notorious other prison sites, such as Alcatraz and Robben Island have also been converted to museums and heritage sites (Shackley, 2001; Strange and Kempa, 2003). However, in contrast to ‘paradisiac’ islands, the touristic potential of such sites is limited: they are places of observance or sightseeing, but do not invite extended sojourn, supported by other, ‘lighter’ experiences (as do, for example, many pilgrimage sites).

French Guiana, however, whose image is “inseparable from its history as a penal colony” (Dehooe and Jolliffe, 2013:157), seeks to re-brand itself. The island’s ‘repulsive

[njezine] bujne flore i faune [te] prekrasnih plaža“ (str. 163). Mračni imidž paklene divljine koju obilježava „beskrajno prostiranje neprohodne, zastrašujuće šume u kojoj žive divlje zvijeri i zastrašujući insekti“ (str. 157) u kojoj su zatvorenici „tonuli u zaborav“ sada se iznova brendira kao još jedan ‘tropski raj’.

### Pakleno u raju

Za razliku od biblijskog Edena, otoci su krhki rajevi. Njihovi bi se imidži mogli doslovce preko noći preobraziti iz raju u pakao pod udarom prirodnih katastrofa, poput tsunamija (Cooper, Hunter i Chandler, 2009) zbog terorističkih napada, ili ubojstva.

Raspravljajući o pojmu ‘turističkog raju’ kao o oksimoronu (vidi gore), Graham Dann tvrdi da „kontradiktorni pojam turističkog raju doseže svoj vrhunac tek kada se uključi i njegova paklena suprotnost. Do diskrepancije dolazi... u slučajevima kad bude ubijen strani turist... [tada] novinski naslovi pišu o ‘smrti u raju’ dok bi se u protivnom isticao život“ (Dann, 2017:8).

Nije dovoljno da se radi o pukoj smrti, nego je ‘ubojstvo’ primjer najdisonantnijeg prodora paklenskog u ‘raj.’ Razaranje rajskog imidža lokaliteta posebno je izraženo ako je nedjelo počinio jedan od stanovnika otoka.

Najrecentniji primjer ‘ubojstva u raju’ bio je pokolj para mladih britanskih putnika s ruksacima na ‘rajskom’ ronilačkom otoku Koh Tao u južnom Tajlandu 2014 godine, događaj koji je privukao pozornost svjetske javnosti (Cohen, 2016; Dann, 2017: 8). Tijekom kontroverznog suđenja dva su burmanska radnika proglašena krivima za ubojstvo i osuđena na smrt. Žalili su se na presudu, ali i dalje kruže glasine o tome da su ubojstva počinili članovi jedne od moćnih lokalnih obitelji (Cohen, 2016). Ova su ubojstva imala prolazan utjecaj na imidž otoka Koh Tao: 2015. TripAdvisor je otok proglasio azijskim otokom broj 1 (*Thai PBS Reporters*, 2015).

connotation... is actively opposed by contemporary Guyanese’ (p. 158). Its Tourism Committee does not promote the penal sites (such as Devil’s Island) as sites of dark tourism, but as historical sites, while the Euromonitor does not even mention ‘historic sites related to dark history’ in the territory; rather it points out its ‘green tourism attractions, such as its Amazonian rain forest...[its] abundant flora and fauna [and] beautiful beaches’ (p. 163). The dark image of a wilderness hell, marked by the “endless extent of impenetrable, frightening forest, with its wild beasts and frightening insects” (p. 157) in which prisoners were “sinking into oblivion,” is being rebranded as just another ‘tropical paradise’.

### The Hellish in Paradise

In contrast to the biblical Eden, islands are fragile paradises; their images might fluctuate virtually overnight between heaven and hell under the impact a natural disaster, such as a tsunami (Cooper, Hunter and Chandler, 2009), an act of terrorism, or a murder.

Discussing the concept of a ‘tourist paradise’ as an oxymoron (see above), Graham Dann asserts that “the full contradictory notion of a tourist paradise only reaches a peak when the hellish opposite is included. An instance of this discrepancy occurs...in cases where foreign tourists are killed... [In such instances] newspaper headlines refer to “Death in Paradise” when otherwise the accent would be on life” (Dann, 2017:8).

Not mere killing, but ‘murder’ instantiates the most dissonant penetration of the hellish into ‘paradise,’ shattering the paradisiac image of a site, especially if the deed was committed by one of an island’s local inhabitants.

The most recent instance of a ‘murder in paradise,’ was the slaughter of two young British backpackers on the ‘paradisiac’ diving island of Koh Tao in southern Thailand in 2014 which provoked world-wide attention (Cohen, 2016; Dann, 2017:8). In a controver-

## 5. ZAKLJUČCI

Krenuvši od Hayeve (2006:30) tvrdnje da otočni studiji trebaju propitivati kako se „metaforički opisi odražavaju *nestvarne* otoke,“ ovaj članak bavi se različitim utjecajem metafora ‘neba’ i ‘pakla’ na dinamiku turizma na malim otocima. Pokazalo se da su ove metafore društveno konstruirane i površne te su ponekad nametnute nekom otoku zbog njegovih prirodnih obilježja. Metafora ‘neba’, posebice njezina verzija ‘otočnog raja’, proizvela je izvanredno snažne preobražujuće učinke. Djelovala je kao katalizator turističkog razvoja koji se u konačnici pokazao neodrživim. Masovni odmorišni turizam uglavnom je utjecao upravo na ‘raj-ska’ obilježja koja su i privukla turiste. Kao rezultat toga, turizam u zrelim destinacijama povlači se u osamljene heterotopijske ‘pozlaćene enklave.’ Takav razvoj prati i potraga za novim, svježim ‘rajevim’ koji će postati žrtvom sličnih preobrazbi. Metafora ‘pakla’, odnosno ‘zatvora’ kao specifične verzije pakla, imala je znatno slabiji preobražujući učinak. Otočni zatvori iz prošlosti postali su mjesta tanato-turizma, ali je njihov turistički potencijal relativno ograničen. U barem jednom slučaju želja da se na otok privuku turisti na odmoru dovela je do pokušaja ponovnog brendiranja paklenog imidža zemlje brisanjem mračne povijesti njezinih otočnih zatvora i prikazivanjem istih kao prirodnih ‘rajeva’.

Temeljem uvida do kojih su došli Scheyvensa i Momsena (2008b) predlaže se hipoteza o specifičnom utjecaju političkog konteksta malih otoka na razmjere njihove preobrazbe pod utjecajem turizma. Čini se da su male otočne države u razvoju otpornije na transformirajuće učinke turizma i da bolje zadržavaju kontrolu nad turističkim razvojem nego mali otoci koji su dio većih političkih entiteta. Ovu je hipotezu, međutim, potrebno dodatno istražiti.

Rajski imidž malih otoka stavlja naglasak na njihovu prirodnu ljepotu, a premalo

sial trial two Burmese laborers were found guilty of the murder and sentenced to death, but the case is under appeal, as rumors continue that the murders were committed by a member of one of the powerful local families (Cohen, 2016). However, the impact of the murder on KohTao’s image was ephemeral: in 2015 it was named Asia’s No. 1 island by TripAdvisor (*Thai PBS Reporters*, 2015).

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

Departing from Hay’s (2006:30) dictum that island studies should be concerned with the question, how “metaphoric descriptions of islands rebound upon *real* islands,” this article examined the differential influence of the metaphors of ‘heaven’ and ‘hell’ on the dynamics of tourism on small islands. These metaphors turned out to be socially constructed, ephemeral and sometimes imposed on particular islands on the basis of their natural characteristics. The metaphor of ‘heaven,’ in the specific version of ‘island paradise,’ has had enormously powerful transformational effects: it served as a catalyst of tourism development, but this development proved unsustainable: mass vacationing tourism tends to affect the very ‘paradisiac’ qualities which have attracted it in the first place, giving rise to tourism’s regress into segregated heterotopian ‘gilded enclaves’ in mature destinations, as well as to a search for new, fresh ‘paradises,’ to be transformed in turn by a similar process. The metaphor of ‘hell,’ in the specific version of ‘prison,’ had a much weaker transformative effect: island prisons of the past became sites of thanatouristic visits, but their touristic potential is relatively limited. The desire to attract vacationing tourism has at least in one case led to an attempt to rebrand a country’s hellish image, by erasing the dark history of its island prisons and presenting it as a natural ‘paradise.’

Following the work of Scheyvens and Momsen’s (2008b) work, the hypothesis is

se pažnje poklanja lokalnom stanovništvu. Istraživači u području turizma bavili su se ulogom otočnog stanovništva u razvoju turizma, ali su premalo pažnje posvetili širim učincima prodora turizma na otočne zajednice. U istraživanjima turizma na malim otocima jasno se uočava nedostatak etnografskog pristupa otočnom stanovništvu. Većina istraživanja tek se neodređeno dotiče lokalnih stanovnika, ali malo koje prikazuje precizne podatke o strukturi otočne zajednice i njezinoj kulturi. Većina istraživača u turizmu ne pokazuje previše interesa za učinke turizma na lokalne društveno-kulturne promjene. Prava je rijetkost da se itko osvrne na antropološka istraživanja o malim otocima, ili da se itko pozabavi pitanjima strukturnih promjena u lokalnim zajednicama, pojavom novih vođa i gospodarskih elita, političkih sukoba oko koristi od turizma ili društvenog učinka migranata koji stižu na otok privučeni poslovima u turizmu. Ne samo da je ova tema relevantna za istraživanja u turizmu, ona bi mogla predstavljati poveznicu između istraživanja u turizmu i otočnih studija, poveznicu koja će naglasak staviti na procese društvenih promjena na otocima. Kada bi istraživači u turizmu posvetili više pozornosti složenosti veza između turističkog razvoja i dinamike društvene i kulturne promjene na malim otocima, možda bismo napravili veliki korak prema konvergenciji proučavanje turizma i otočnih studija.

Konačno, iako je središnji koncept otočnih studija – ‘otočnost’ – korisno poslužio za senzibilizaciju znanstvene zajednice, čini se donekle neprozirnim i teško objašnjivim. Moguće je da bi taj ponešto diskutabilan, metafizički pojam bio analitički korisniji kao varijabla, pri čemu bi različiti otoci manifestirali različite razine ‘otočnosti.’ Vjerojatno je da će se obilježje ‘otočnosti’ naći u obrnutom odnosu s veličinom i udaljenosti otoka. Što je otok manji, to bi značajnija bila njegova otočnost. Ako tako redefiniramo pojam, mali, daleki i marginalni otoci vjerojatno će manifestirati najviši stupanj ‘otočnosti’ i

suggested that the political context of small islands may have an influence on the extent of their transformation by tourism: SIDS seem to be more resistant to the transformative effects of tourism, and to retain better control over tourism development, than small islands that constitute parts of larger political entities. This hypothesis, however, needs further investigation.

The paradisiac images of small islands was found to prioritize their natural beauty, while generally paying scant attention to the local inhabitants. Tourism researchers have related to the role of the islands’ inhabitants in tourism development, but paid scarce attention to the wider effects of tourism penetration upon island societies. There is in the studies of small island tourism a marked absence of an ethnographic approach to the islands’ population. Most studies refer vaguely to the local people, but few offer any detailed information on the structure of island society and its culture. Most tourism researchers show little concern for the effects of tourism on local socio-cultural change. They take rarely recourse to anthropological studies of small islands, or themselves study such issues as structural changes in local societies, the emergence of new leaders and economic elites, the political conflicts surrounding the spoils of tourism or the social impact of in-migrants attracted by jobs in tourism. This topic is not only of significance for tourism studies; it might constitute a vital link between tourism studies and island studies, in which processes of social change on islands are high on the agenda. A more detailed attention by tourism researchers to the complex ways in which tourism development is interwoven with the dynamics of social and cultural change on small islands, could constitute a major step to greater convergence of tourism and island studies.

Finally, the concept of ‘islandness,’ at the heart of island studies, though useful as a sensitizing idea, appears to be somewhat opaque and difficult to pin down. It seems

najsnažnije privlačiti turiste. No, kako turističkih razvoj takvih otoka povećava njihovu ekološku, gospodarsku i političku ovisnost o kopnu, njihova će 'otočnost' vrlo brzo pretpjeti određene učinke. Male otočne države u razvoju predstavljaju važnu iznimku za učinke ovakvog procesa. Drugi bi otoci od njih mogli naučiti kako održati određeni stupanj autonomije od vanjske dominacije i zaštititi svoju 'otočnost.'

that, rather than a somewhat moot, metaphysical concept, it would be analytically more valuable as a variable, with various islands manifesting different degrees of 'islandness.' The quality of 'islandness' will probably be found to stand in a reverse relationship to the size and remoteness of an island: the smaller the island, the more significant its islandness. So redefined, small, remote and marginal islands, would probably be found to manifest the highest degree of 'islandness,' and also exert the greatest attraction on tourists. But since tourism development of such islands increases their ecological, economic and political dependence on the mainland, their 'islandness' will be also most rapidly affected. The SIDS represent an important counter-example to such a process; other islands might learn from them how to maintain a degree of autonomy from outside domination and safeguard their 'islandness'.

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