

Ivan ŠULC*

MODIFICIRANI RAZVOJNI CIKLUS POST-SOCIJALISTIČKIH JADRANSKIH OTOKA: PRIMJER OTOKA MLJETA

DISTORTED LIFE CYCLE ON POST-SOCIALIST ADRIATIC ISLANDS: USING THE EXAMPLE OF MLJET, CROATIA

SAŽETAK: U radu se istražuje razvojni ciklus otoka Mljeta prema modificiranom Butlerovom (1980) modelu na temelju kriterija Lundtorpa i Wanhilla (2001) primijenjenih na broj turističkih noćenja. To predstavlja primjer razvojnog ciklusa deformiranog pod utjecajem rata, zbog čega se razvoj turizma istražuje u dva zasebna razvojna ciklusa međusobno odvojena Domovinskim ratom: (1) razvojni ciklus u socijalističkom razdoblju (1946. – 1991.) i (2) razvojni ciklus nakon Domovinskog rata (1993. – danas). Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da bez adekvatnog upravljanja turizmom i unaprjeđenja turističkog proizvoda poslijeratni oporavak turizma ne doseže automatski prethodnu razinu posjećenosti te da se već unutar nekoliko godina može pojaviti prijetnja ponovnog opadanja. Iako dio otoka ima status nacionalnog parka, razvojni ciklus pokazuje uobičajeni tijek i obilježja kao u drugim primorskim destinacijama.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: razvojni ciklus turističkih područja, postsocijalistički razvoj turizma, Mljet, Hrvatska

ABSTRACT: This paper investigates the life cycle of Mljet Island in Croatia according to a modified Butler's (1980) model using the criteria of Lundtorp and Wanhill (2001) applied to overnight stays. Since it represents an example of a war-distorted life cycle, the development of tourism on Mljet was investigated in two life cycles separated by the Croatian War of Independence: (1) the life cycle in the socialist period (1946 – 1991); and (2) the life cycle after the Croatian War of Independence (1993 – today). Research results suggest that without appropriate tourism management and product improvement, the post-war recovery of tourism would not automatically reach the previous level of visitation and that the threat of decline could even reappear in a few years. Although a part of the island is protected as a national park, its life cycle has the usual course and characteristics as other coastal destinations.

KEY WORDS: tourism area life cycle, post-socialist tourism development, Mljet, Croatia

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1. UVOD

Model razvojnog (evolutivnog ili životnog) ciklusa turističkih područja (Butler, 1980)¹ jedan je od najprimjenjivanijih modela na području turizma u svijetu, a stavlja u odnos karakteristike turista koji posjećuju određeni prostor, stupanj razvoja turizma te transformaciju središnjeg turističkog mjesta i čitave njegove regije pod utjecajem turizma (Slika 1.). Prema Butlerovom (1980) modelu turizam se u određenom području počinje razvijati s fazom istraživanja (*exploration*), i dolaskom prvih posjetitelja (avanturista), zatim slijedi uključivanje (*involvement*), s izgradnjom turističke infrastrukture i povećanjem broja turista, pa razvoj (*development*) u kojoj je apsolutni i relativni porast broja dolazaka najveći, nakon čega slijedi konsolidacija (*consolidation*), faza u kojoj broj turista i dalje raste, ali se stope porasta smanjuju, te stagnacija (*stagnation*) u kojoj se dostiže maksimalni broj dolazaka i stagnira na istoj razini (Butler, 1980). Nakon stagnacije moguće je nekoliko scenarija – od opadanja (*decline*) do revitalizacije (*rejuvenation*) koju prati potpuna promjena turističke ponude (Butler, 1980).

Već su prve primjene modela (Hovinen, 1981; 1982; Oglethorpe, 1984; Meyer-Aren-

1. INTRODUCTION

Butler's model of the tourism area life cycle (TALC) (1980) is one of the most applied tourism models in the world and it connects characteristics of tourists visiting an area, the level of tourism development, and transformation of central tourist resorts and their entire regions via tourism (Figure 1). According to Butler's (1980) model, tourism starts to develop in an area in the *exploration* stage, characterized by the arrival of the first visitors (adventurers). The area then passes into the *involvement* stage with the construction of tourism infrastructure and an increasing number of tourists, followed by the *development* stage with the highest absolute and relative increases of tourist arrivals (Butler, 1980). In the subsequent *consolidation* stage, the absolute numbers continue to increase but at a declining rate, while in the *stagnation* stage the peak number of tourists is reached and persists thereafter (Butler, 1980). After stagnation, tourism can face different scenarios from decline to rejuvenation, characterized by a complete change in the tourist offer (Butler, 1980).

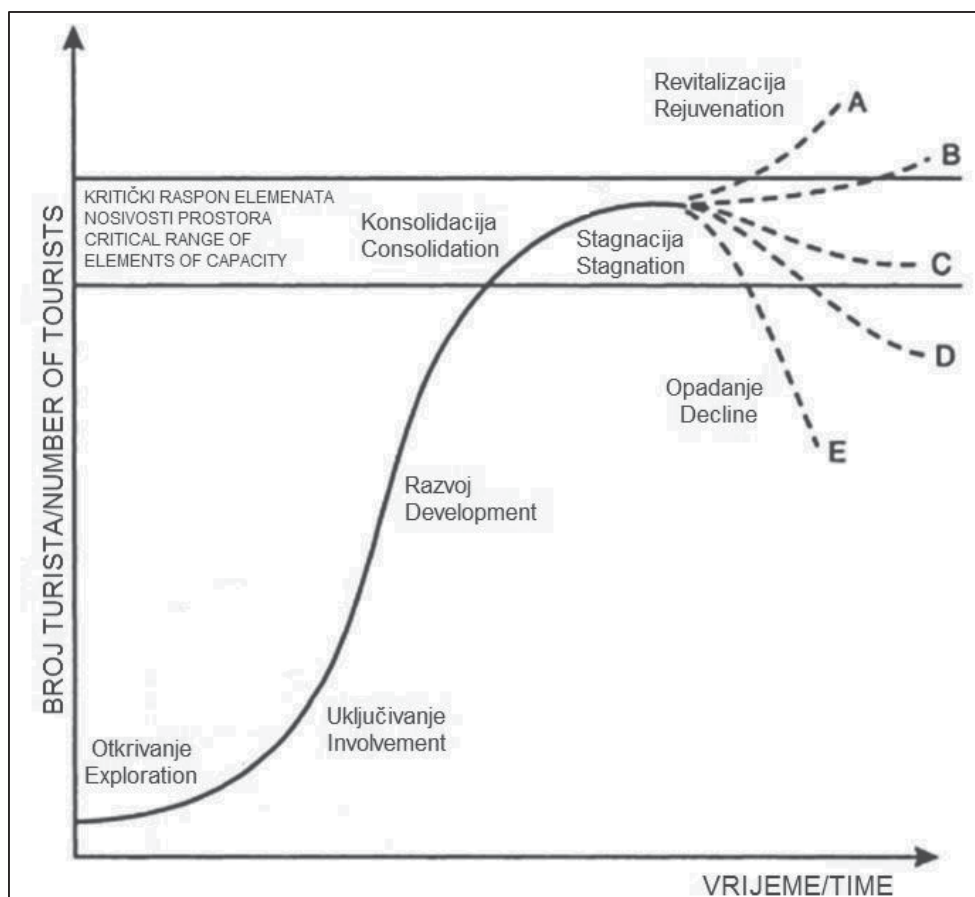
The first uses of the model (Hovinen, 1981; 1982; Oglethorpe, 1984; Meyer-Arendt, 1985) demonstrated its applicability in different tourism areas. Since the 1980s, the model has been widely applied to tourism areas of different levels and sizes, from individual development sites and tourist attractions (such as world heritage sites, cultural and historic sites, fairs, thematic parks) (Kruczek and Szromek, 2011), tourism resorts and regions (Weaver, 1990; Gonçalves and Aguas, 1997; Priestley and Mundet, 1998; Oreja Rodríguez et al., 2008; Pratt, 2011) to entire countries (Formica and Uysal, 1998). Most papers have investigated the application of the model in seaside resorts and have revealed similar patterns of tourism development. The period from World War II to the late 1970s corresponded to the

¹ Izvorni engleski naziv modela *tourism area life cycle* na hrvatski se jezik izravno može prevesti kao životni ciklus turističkog područja, *razvojni ciklus turističkog područja* ili *evolutivni ciklus turističkog područja*. Prema autorovom mišljenju, ako model promatra transformaciju cijelog turističkog područja pod utjecajem turizma, pojam životni ciklus ne predstavlja najprikladniji prijevod na hrvatski jezik. Naime, iako turizam može imati svoj početak i kraj u određenom području, to se područje transformira i prije početka turizma, i nakon njegovog pada. Budući da model uključuje promjene u turizmu i povezanim geografskim značajkama u cijelom turističkom području, opravdano je govoriti o razvoju ili evoluciji cijelog područja. Pojmu *razvojni ciklus* je dana prednost pred pojmom *evolutivni ciklus* jer je osnovna pretpostavka modela da se s razvojem turizma razvija cijelo turističko područje. Zbog toga se dalje u radu pretežno koristi pojam *razvojni ciklus turističkog područja*.

dt, 1985) pokazale aplikativnost na različita turistička područja. Model je od kraja 1980-ih doživio široku primjenu u turističkim regijama različite veličine i razine, od pojedinih razvojnih projekata i turističkih atrakcija (lokaliteti svjetske baštine, kulturna i povijesna mjesta, sajmovi, tematski parkovi ...) (npr. Kruczek i Szromek, 2011), preko pojedinih turističkih mjesta i regija (npr. Weaver, 1990; Gonçalves i Aguas, 1997; Priestley i Mundet, 1998; Oreja Rodríguez i dr., 2008; Pratt, 2011) do cijelih država (npr. Formica i Uysal, 1998).

aforementioned involvement, development, and consolidation stages, while in the 1980, the destinations in question started to show symptoms of slower tourism development, often leading to the stagnation stage. At the time Butler's (1980) model was first presented, only a few destinations had reached the post-stagnation stage, and the model presumed different post-stagnation scenarios (from decline to rejuvenation), but provided little explanation regarding the mechanisms of those scenarios.

Slika 1. Shema modela razvojnog ciklusa turističkog područja / Figure 1. Scheme of the model of tourism area life cycle



Izvor / Source: Butler (1980) (modificirano / modified)

Većina radova bavi se istraživanjem primjene modela na primorska turistička mjesta, uglavnom na Sredozemlju, i potvrđuju slične obrasce turističkog razvoja. Razdoblje od Drugog svjetskog rata do kraja 1970-ih uglavnom odgovara fazama uključivanja, razvoja i konsolidacije, dok 1980-ih destinacije počinju pokazivati prve znakove usporavanja turističkog razvoja koji često dovodi do faze stagnacije. Budući da su u razdoblju u kojem je Butlerov (1980) model predstavljen tek malobrojne destinacije doseglye post-stagnacijsku fazu, on je prikazivao različite post-stagnacijske scenarije (od opadanja do revitalizacije), ali nije pružio potpunija objašnjenja mehanizama koji dovode do ostvarenja tih scenarija.

Agarwal (2002) je provela istraživanje post-stagnacijske faze u primorskim turističkim mjestima u Engleskoj te je zaključila da je opadanje rezultat djelovanja unutarnjih i vanjskih faktora. Ipak, istraživana područja pokazala su da je revitalizacija destinacije moguća samo ako se transformira cijeli destinacijski proizvod te ako se razvijaju novi sadržaji i oblici turizma (Agarwal, 2002; Chapman i Speake, 2011). Garay i Cànoves (2011) u analizi turističkog razvoja Katalonije kombiniraju model razvojnog ciklusa s teorijom regulacije te smatraju da revitalizacija turizma od kraja 1980-ih odgovara postfordizmu.

Tek malobrojne destinacije u post-stagnacijskoj fazi u svijetu nisu do sada pokazale znakove opadanja, nego su ostale u stagnacijskoj fazi duže vrijeme (Cooper i Jackson, 1989; Getz, 2002). S druge strane, političke krize i ratovi često dovode do naglih padova ili sloma turizma (Akis i dr., 1996; Weaver, 2000b; Čorak, 2006), nakon kojih je potrebna dugotrajna revitalizacija kako bi se posjećenost vratila na prijašnju razinu (Šulc, 2014; 2016).

Za razliku od obalnih i otočnih područja, razvojni ciklus zaštićenih područja slabije je istraživani (Zhong i dr., 2008). Boyd (2006) provodi longitudinalnu i komparativnu analizu razvojnog ciklusa kanadskih nacionalnih parkova i zaključuje da se većina nacionalnih parkova nalazi u fazi razvoja, manji

Agarwal (2002) investigated the post-stagnation stage in seaside resorts in England and concluded that their decline was the result of both internal and external factors. However, the areas studied showed that destination rejuvenation is possible only if the complete destination product is transformed – offering new facilities and types of tourism (Agarwal, 2002; Chapman and Speake, 2011). Garay and Cànoves (2011) combined the life cycle model with regulation theory in their analysis of tourism development in Catalonia, and claimed that the revitalization since the late 1980s corresponded to post-Fordism.

Only a few destinations in the post-stagnation stage showed no signs of decline and remained in the stagnation stage for a long period of time (Cooper and Jackson, 1989; Getz, 2002). On the other hand, political crises and wars have often led to a sudden decline or breakdown of tourism (Akis et al., 1996; Weaver, 2000b; Čorak, 2006), after which revitalization takes a long time to return to the previous level of visitation (Šulc, 2014; 2016).

Unlike coastal and island destinations, the life cycle has been less applied to protected areas (Zhong et al., 2008). Boyd (2006) conducted a longitudinal and comparative analysis of the life cycle of national parks in Canada and concluded that most of them were in the development stage, a few were in the consolidation stage, and only a handful were in the stagnation stage. Weizenegger (2006) investigated the life cycle of selected national parks in Africa and divided the analysis into two separate life cycles – one related to hunting tourism and the other to photo-safaris that were replacing hunting tourism. Bao and Zhang (2006) conducted research of the life cycle of Danxia Mountain Geological Park and Protected Area in Guangdong Province, China. Zhong et al. (2008) analyzed the relation between the life cycle and its environmental, economic, and socio-cultural implications in the National

dio u fazi konsolidacije, a samo rijetki u fazi stagnacije. Weizenegger (2006) istražuje razvojni ciklus odabranih nacionalnih parkova u Africi i dijeli ga na dva zasebna razvojna ciklusa – jedan razvojni ciklus vezan je uz lovni turizam, a drugi uz foto-safari koji je velikim dijelom zamijenio lovni turizam. Bao i Zhang (2006) istražuju razvojni ciklus planine Danxia, geološkog parka i zaštićenog krajolika u kineskoj provinciji Guangdong. Zhong i dr. (2008) analiziraju odnos razvojnog ciklusa te njegovih okolišnih, ekonomskih i sociokulturnih implikacija u Nacionalnom parku Zhangjiajie u Kini. Butlerov model primjenjivao se ne samo na turistička područja, nego i na pojedine oblike turizma (npr. Collins-Kreiner, 2016, istraživali su odnos između hodočasnčkog i mračnog turizma na temelju modela razvojnog ciklusa).

Predmet ovog istraživanja predstavlja razvojni (evolutivni ili životni) ciklus otoka Mljeta, specifičnog rijetko naseljenog otoka, čiji je visoko vrijedni zapadni dio zaštićen kao Nacionalni park Mljet. Stoga je osnovni cilj rada utvrditi razvojni ciklus otoka Mljeta u cjelini, područja NP Mljet i ostalih otočnih turističkih mjesta.

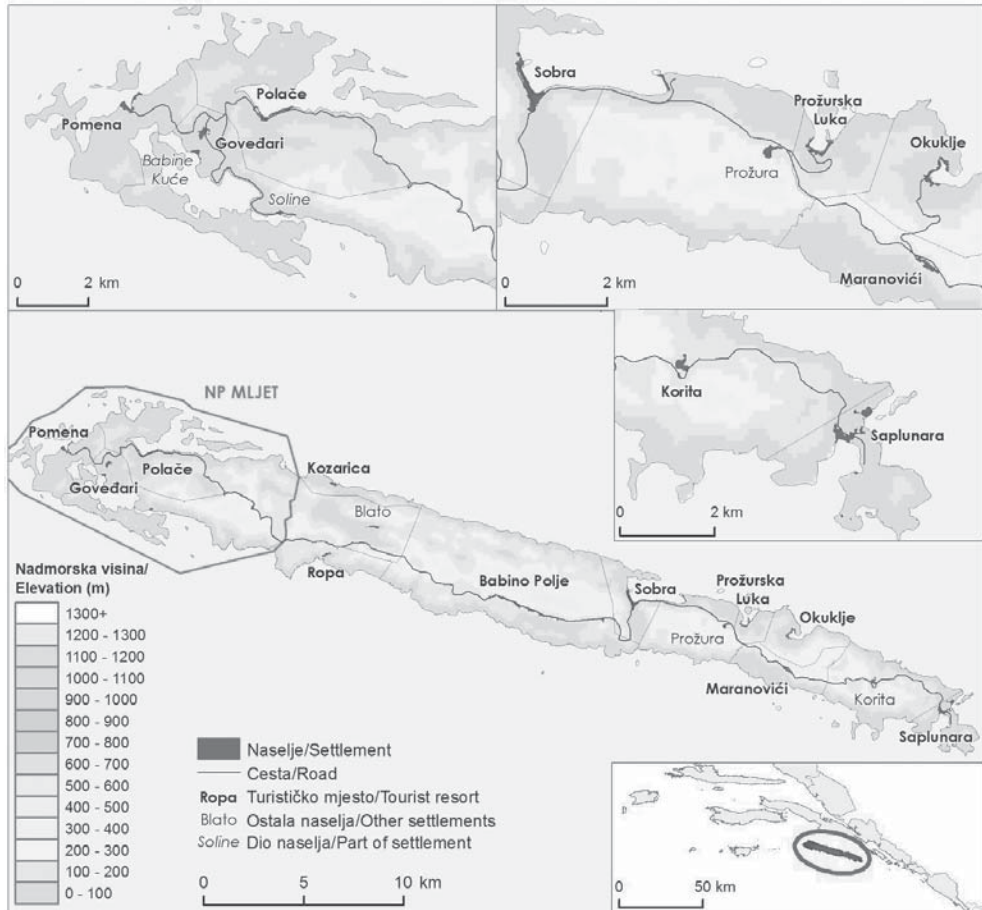
Otok Mljet (površine 92,02 km²) u funkcionalnom je smislu gravitacijski usmjeren na 40 km udaljeni Dubrovnik, a trajektnim i brodskim linijama povezan je s Dubrovnikom, lukom Prapratno na Pelješcu, Splitom, Korčulom i Lastovom (Duplančić Leder i dr., 2004; Šulc i Valjak, 2012). Ukupno 1088 stanovnika (2011. g.) živi u 14 malih naselja, devet smještenih uz obalu ili u neposrednoj blizini (od zapada prema istoku: Pomena, Goveđari, Polače, Kozarica, Ropa, Sobra, Prožurska Luka, Okuklje, Saplnara), a pet u otočnoj unutrašnjosti (Blato, Babino Polje, Prožura, Maranovići, Korita) (Slika 2.). Od 1960-ih Mljet je zahvaćen intenzivnim iseljavanjem pod utjecajem industrijalizacije u gradovima. Na otoku koji je nekad bio visoko usmjeren na poljoprivredu ne razvijaju se druge gospodarske aktivnosti, a ekstenzivni razvoj turizma ne uspijeva osigurati egzi-

Park Zhangjiajie, China. Butler's model was applied not only to tourism areas but also to general types of tourism (Collins-Kreiner, 2016, investigated the relation of pilgrimage tourism and dark tourism using the life cycle model).

The object of this research is the life cycle of Mljet, Croatia, a special South Dalmatian island with low population density; the western part is protected – National Park Mljet (hereinafter NP Mljet). The main goal of the paper is to determine the complete life cycle of Mljet, NP Mljet, and other resorts on the island.

Mljet (area: 92.02 km²) functionally gravitates toward Dubrovnik (only 40 km away) and it is connected by ferry and boat lines to Dubrovnik, to the ferry port Prapratno on Pelješac Peninsula, Split, Korčula and Lastovo Island (Duplančić Leder et al., 2004; Šulc and Valjak, 2012). The population of 1088 inhabitants (in 2011) lives in 14 small settlements, nine of them located on or near the coast (from west to east: Pomena, Goveđari, Polače, Kozarica, Ropa, Sobra, Prožurska Luka, Okuklje, Saplnara) and five in the island's interior (Blato, Babino Polje, Prožura, Maranovići, Korita) (Figure 2). Since the 1960s, Mljet has recorded intensive out-migration stimulated by the development of industry in cities. The high economic orientation of the island toward agriculture was not replaced by other economic activities and extensive tourism development did not manage to provide a solution for the majority of the population's existential issues. At the same time, a part of the population moved from older interior settlements to nearby coves and bays, forming small cores of new coastal settlements around former boat repositories and magazines (Šulc, 2016).

Slika 2. Otok Mljet / Figure 2. The island of Mljet



Izvori: / Sources: GIS Data (2005); DGU (2013)

stenciju većini stanovništva. Istovremeno se dio stanovništva iz starijih unutrašnjih naselja preseljava u obližnje uvale gdje, uz nekadašnja spremišta i magazine, nastaju jezgre novih malih naselja (Šulc, 2016).

2. TEORIJSKI PRISTUP

Široka primjena razvojnog ciklusa turističkih područja na veći broj turističkih područja različitog prostornog obuhvata i geografskih obilježja pokazala je brojna odstu-

2. THEORETICAL APPROACH

Wide application of TALC in tourism areas of different size and geographic characteristics revealed certain discrepancies from the original model, which resulted in numerous criticisms, modifications, and upgrades (Haywood, 1986; 2006; Strapp, 1988; Weaver, 2000a; Russo, 2002; 2006; Lagiewski, 2006). The most important issues can be summarized into three groups: (1) selection of indicators in the analysis of TALC; (2) deviation of TALC from the

panja od idealiziranog modela, što je rezultiralo brojnim kritikama modela, njegovim modifikacijama i prijedlozima unaprjeđenja (Haywood, 1986; 2006; Strapp, 1988; Weaver, 2000a; Russo, 2002; 2006; Lagiewski, 2006). Osnovne kritike i modifikacije modela mogu se sažeti u tri osnovne skupine problema: (1) odabir pokazatelja za analizu razvojnog ciklusa², (2) odstupanje ciklusa u turističkim područjima od predložene krivulje (Russo, 2006) i nemogućnost definiranja granica između faza (Agarwal, 1997) te (3) odstupanja od modela u fazi stagnacije (Lundtorp i Wanhill, 2001; 2006).

Osnovni pokazatelj razvojnog ciklusa kojeg koristi izvorni model i dio kasnijih radova predstavlja broj turističkih dolazaka iskazan na godišnjoj razini (Hovinen, 1981; Douglas, 1997; Lundtorp i Wanhill, 2001; Russo, 2006). Haywood (1986) izražava nesigurnost oko korištenja tog indikatora, što potkrepljuje različitim ponašanjem i aktivnostima turista u destinaciji. Do sličnih zaključaka dolaze i drugi autori koji koriste različite pokazatelje, no daju vrlo malo preporuka koje treba koristiti u istraživanju (Pulina i Biagi, 2006). Analiza dosadašnjih istraživanja pokazala je da se testiranje razvojnog ciklusa uglavnom temelji na statističkim pokazateljima vezanim uz turističku ponudu i potražnju, na percepciji lokalnog stanovništva i turista dobivenim anketama i intervjuima te na povijesnim podacima o razvoju turizma. Brojni autori kombiniraju više pokazatelja i različitih metoda u analizi razvojnog ciklusa (Ioannides, 1992; Pulina i Biagi, 2006; Russo, 2006; Oreja Rodríguez i dr., 2008; Dietrich i García-Buades, 2009; Cole, 2009; 2012; Ivars i Baidal i dr., 2013).

proposed curve¹ (Russo, 2006) and impossibility of defining stage boundaries (Agarwal, 1997); and (3) deviation from the model in the stagnation stage (Lundtorp and Wanhill, 2001; 2006).

The original model and many later works use the number of tourist arrivals (on a yearly basis) as the main indicator of TALC (Hovinen, 1981; Douglas, 1997; Lundtorp and Wanhill, 2001; Russo, 2006). Haywood (1986) expressed uncertainty about using that particular indicator, which he augmented with different behavior and activities of tourists in a destination. Other authors that use different indicators came to the same conclusion but they gave few recommendations for further research (Pulina and Biagi, 2006). The analysis of previous research revealed that authors who applied TALC usually used statistical indicators related to tourism offer and demand, the perception of the local population and tourists obtained by questionnaires and interviews, and historic data on tourism development. Many authors have combined several indicators and methods in their analyses of TALC (Ioannides, 1992; Pulina and Biagi, 2006; Russo, 2006; Oreja Rodríguez et al., 2008; Dietrich and García-Buades, 2009; Cole, 2009; 2012; Ivars i Baidal et al., 2013).

The original model of the TALC is graphically represented by a logistic curve. However, Butler (1980) himself stressed that the life cycle does not necessarily have to be equal in all tourism areas, and that the shape of the curve can vary depending upon different factors that influence tourism (e.g. increased rates, number of visitors, availability, legal system). Since the original model does not include any formulas for calculat-

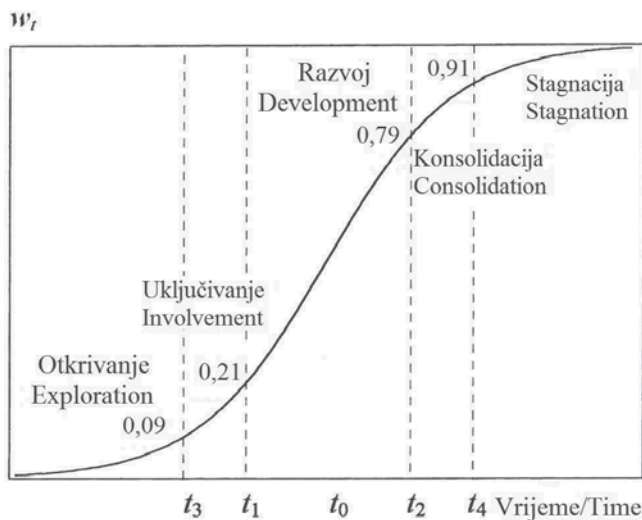
² Agarwal (1997) kao jedan od glavnih problema navodi slabu dostupnost nizova podataka o turizmu za duže vremensko razdoblje, a posebno za cijelo razdoblje razvoja turizma. U pitanje dovodi i pouzdanost tih podataka s obzirom na promjene u metodologiji njihovog prikupljanja.

¹ Agarwal (1997) stressed that one of the main problems is the low availability of ranges of tourism data over a long period and particularly during the entire tourism period. She even questions the reliability of the data, regarding the changes in the methodology of collecting data.

Izvorni model razvojnog ciklusa uglavnom se prikazuje logističkom krivuljom. Međutim, sam Butler (1980) ističe da tijekom razvojnog ciklusa ne treba biti isti u svim turističkim područjima, nego da se oblik krivulje može razlikovati ovisno o faktorima koji utječu na turizam (npr. stope rasta, broj posjetitelja, dostupnost, zakonodavstvo...). Budući da ne nudi formulu za izračun i predviđanje budućih faza razvoja turizma, kao ni čvrste kvantitativne kriterije za određivanje granica između faza, njegov model se često karakterizira kao deskriptivan. Kao odgovor na tu kritiku Lundtorp i Wanhill (2001; 2006) uvode logističku funkciju kao kvantitativnu aproksimaciju Butlerovog modela i precizno određuju granice između pojedinih faza na temelju kvocijenta (postotka) ostvarenog broja turističkih dolazaka i maksimalnog registriranog broja turističkih dolazaka u razvojnem ciklusu (Slika 3.). Prema tom konceptu područje ulazi iz faze otkrivanja u fazu uključivanja kada broj turističkih dolazaka dosegne devet posto maksimalnog

ing and predicting future stages of tourism development, or firm quantitative criteria for determining boundaries between stages, it is often criticized as descriptive. As a response to the criticism, Lundtorp and Wanhill (2001; 2006) introduced a logistic function as a quantitative approximation of Butler's (1980) model and determined precise boundaries between stages using the ratio (percent) of the registered number of tourist arrivals in a given year and the maximum registered number of tourist arrivals in the life cycle (Figure 3). According to the given ratio, when the number of tourist arrivals exceeds 9% of the registered maximum of tourist arrivals in the cycle, the area enters into the involvement stage (Lundtorp and Wanhill, 2001). The development stage begins with 21% of the maximum and is characterized by the highest increase rates. When the destination reaches 79% of the maximum, it passes into the consolidation stage, characterized by continued growth of tourist arrivals, but with lower rates than in the development stage. At

Slika 3. Granične vrijednosti između faza razvojnog ciklusa (relativni broj turista) u modelu Lundtorpa i Wanhilla (2001) / Figure 3. Stage boundaries in TALC (relative number of tourists) in the model of Lundtorp and Wanhill (2001)



Izvor: / Source: Lundtorp and Wanhill (2001) (modificirano / modified)

zabilježenog broja turističkih dolazaka u ciklusu (Lundtorp i Wanhill, 2001). Dostizanje 21% maksimuma označava prijelaz u fazu razvoja koju obilježavaju najviše stope rasta turističkog prometa. Kada prijeđe 79% maksimuma, destinacija ulazi u fazu konsolidacije, pri čemu se apsolutni broj dolazaka i dalje povećava, ali nižim stopama nego u fazi razvoja. S 91% destinacija ulazi u fazu stagnacije, a broj turističkih dolazaka se povećava malim stopama sve do dostizanja maksimuma (Lundtorp i Wanhill, 2001).

Lundtorp i Wanhill (2001) ističu da navedena krivulja odgovara Butlerovom modelu jedino ako su svi turisti ponovni posjetitelji jer u protivnom predstavlja samo aproksimaciju razvoja turizma. Ograničenje logističke funkcije leži u činjenici da se može primijeniti tek nakon što se odvije prvih nekoliko faza (Lundtorp i Wanhill, 2001; 2006). Također je nemoguće predvidjeti fazu opadanja koja može uslijediti nakon stagnacije (Kruczek i Szromek, 2011), kao i objasniti velike oscilacije turističkog prometa u odnosu na predloženu krivulju, posebno u fazi stagnacije, na što ni Butlerov model ne daje odgovor (Lundtorp i Wanhill, 2001). Stoga se ta odstupanja nastoje objasniti drugim modelima (Cole, 2007; 2009; 2012; Casanovas i Sanso-Roselló, 2010; Hernández i León, 2011) i statističkih testovima (Foster i Murphy, 1991; Getz, 1992; Di Benedetto i Bojanic, 1993; Lundtorp i Wanhill, 2001; Moss i dr., 2003; Casanovas i Sanso-Roselló, 2010).

Većina istraživanja razvojnog ciklusa odnosi se na primorska turistička područja s dominantnim ljetnim odmorišnim turizmom dok je model znatno manje primjenjivan na druge tipove turističkih prostora. Već su i malobrojna istraživanja pokazala da zaštićena područja imaju drugačiji tijek razvoja turizma od ostalih područja. Mnoga zaštićena područja, posebno ona upisana na UNESCO-ov Popis svjetske baštine, razvijaju se ne samo kao pojedinačne turističke atrakcije i dio turističkog iskustva, nego kao cjelovite turističke destinacije i predvodnici razvoja ekoturizma i

91%, the tourism area arrives at the stagnation stage and the number of tourist arrivals grows slowly until reaching the maximum (Lundtorp and Wanhill, 2001).

Lundtorp and Wanhill (2001) stated that the logistic curve corresponds to Butler's model only if all tourists are repeat visitors; otherwise it is only an approximation of tourism development. A limitation of the logistic function is the fact that it can be applied only when the area reaches the first several stages (Lundtorp and Wanhill, 2001; 2006). It is also impossible to predict the decline stage that can follow the stagnation (Kruczek and Szromek, 2011), and to explain great oscillations in tourism turnover compared to the curve, particularly in the stagnation stage, which are not explained in Butler's model (Lundtorp and Wanhill, 2001). Therefore, those discrepancies tend to have been explained using various models (Cole, 2007; 2009; 2012; Casanovas and Sanso-Roselló, 2010; Hernández and León, 2011) and statistical tests (Foster and Murphy, 1991; Getz, 1992; Di Benedetto and Bojanic, 1993; Lundtorp and Wanhill, 2001; Moss et al., 2003; Casanovas and Sanso-Roselló, 2010).

The vast majority of research on TALC refers to seaside tourism areas, while the model was less applied to other types of tourism areas. However, even some rare works have shown that tourism areas have different tourism development compared to other areas. Many protected areas, particularly those on the UNESCO World Heritage List, have developed not only as individual tourist attractions and segments of the tourist experience, but also as integral and complete tourist destinations and leaders of development of ecotourism and heritage tourism (Boyd, 2006; See: Armatiene et al., 2014; Duffy, 2015). The high number of visits has enabled many of them to rely on the income from tourism to justify their existence (Boyd, 2006). However, due to their fragility, they should not be treated as other destinations;

turizma baštine (Boyd, 2006; usp. Armatiene i dr., 2014; Duffy, 2015). Međutim, zbog posebne osjetljivosti ne smije ih se tretirati kao druge destinacije, nego treba jasno razdvojiti funkcije zaštite i posjećivanja (Weizenegger, 2006). Budući da zaštićena područja često nisu naseljena, puni efekti turističkog razvoja vidljivi su samo ako se promatraju zajedno s okolnim prostorom s kojim čine cjelovitu turističku destinaciju (Weizenegger, 2006). S obzirom da je dio otoka Mljeta zaštićen kao nacionalni park, ovaj rad donosi rezultate primjene razvojnog ciklusa na područje koja ima dvojaku funkciju u turističkom smislu – kao destinacija ljetnog odmorišnog turizma i turizma u zaštićenom području.

Iako izvorni Butlerov model nije eksplicitno koristio koncept kapaciteta nosivosti prostora, dodan je kasnije u okviru unaprjeđenja modela (Boyd, 2006; Butler, 2009; Torres-Delgado i Saarinen, 2014). Pretpostavlja se da je u fazama otkrivanja i uključivanja posjećenost zaštićenog područja slaba i da nema vidljivih prostornih učinaka turizma pa se smatra da se područjem upravlja na održivi način, s naglaskom na održanje ekološkog integriteta. U fazama razvoja i konsolidacije, s rastom broja i pritiska posjetitelja, fokus se premješta s ekološkog integriteta na postizanje ekonomske održivosti i daljnji razvoj (Boyd, 2006). Na prijelazu iz konsolidacije u stagnaciju destinacija je još uvijek ispod kritičnog kapaciteta nosivosti prostora, no povećani pritisci na prostor i sve vidljiviji prostorni učinci turizma upućuju na njegovo skoro premašivanje. Zbog toga se fokus ponovno premješta s ekonomske održivosti na zadržavanje ekološkog integriteta (Boyd, 2006). Jednom kada turizam prijeđe kapacitet nosivosti prostora i postanu vidljivi negativni učinci turizma, zaštićena se područja počinje promatrati kao područja kojima se upravlja na neodrživ način (Boyd, 2006; Torres-Delgado i Saarinen, 2014).

Radi ograničavanja negativnih učinaka turizma i zadržavanja turizma ispod kapaciteta nosivosti prostora, zaštićena područja

but the functions of protection and visitation have to be clearly distinguished (Weizenegger, 2006). Since there are often no human settlements in the protected areas, the full implications of tourism development are visible only if they have been investigated along with the surrounding area with which they form a complete tourism destination (Weizenegger, 2006). Since the western part of the island in this case study has the status of national park, this paper brings results of the application of the life cycle in an area that has a two-fold tourism function – as a destination of coastal tourism and tourism in protected areas.

Although Butler's original model did not explicitly use the concept of carrying capacity, it was added later when the model was upgraded (Boyd, 2006; Butler, 2009; Torres-Delgado and Saarinen, 2014). It is assumed that, in the stages of exploration and involvement, few visitors come to protected areas and there are no visible implications of tourism, therefore the management of the area is considered to be sustainable. In the stages of development and consolidation, with the growing number and pressure of visitors, the focus shifts from ecological integrity to achieving economic sustainability and further development (Boyd, 2006). In the beginning of the stagnation stage the destination is still below the critical carrying capacity, but higher pressure and increasingly visible spatial implications of tourism indicate that tourism is set to exceed the carrying capacity. Therefore, the focus switches from economic sustainability to maintaining ecological integrity (Boyd, 2006). In the moment when tourism exceeds the carrying capacity and negative impacts of tourism become visible, management of the protected area is considered unsustainable (Boyd, 2006; Torres-Delgado and Saarinen, 2014).

In order to suppress negative impacts of tourism and to maintain tourism below the carrying capacity, many protected areas limit the number of visitors using one of three

pribjegavaju ograničenju broja posjetitelja na tri osnovna načina: (1) visokim cijenama ulaznica (kontinuirano ili u razdobljima vršnog opterećenja), (2) kvotama i (3) ograničenjem smještajnih kapaciteta unutar zaštićenog područja (Weizenegger, 2006). Navedenim ograničenjima može se utjecati na promjenu tijeka razvojnog ciklusa zaštićenih područja. Primjerice, ako je ograničenje postavljeno ispod kapaciteta nosivosti prostora, moguće je spriječiti opadanje potaknuto gubitkom atraktivnosti područja pa krivulja razvojnog ciklusa neće imati svoj prirodni tijek. Ako je ograničenje postavljeno znatno više, razvojni ciklus imat će svoj uobičajeni tijek kao i u drugim turističkim područjima (Weizenegger, 2006). Turizam se može zadržati ispod kapaciteta nosivosti prostora i kvalitetnim upravljanjem, poput identifikacije zona različitog korištenja, čime se može povećati broj posjetitelja uz smanjenje negativnih učinaka turizma (Weizenegger, 2006).

Budući da je Hrvatska osjetila izravne i neizravne učinke Domovinskog rata (1991-1995) na turizam, prekid razvojnog ciklusa ratom zaslužuje kratki teorijski osvrt. Samo nekoliko znanstvenika istraživalo je učinke rata na turistička područja i njihov razvojni ciklus (Smith, 1996; 1998). Weaver (2000b) razmatra teorijske učinke modernih ratova na Butlerov razvojni ciklus i analizira moguća odstupanja. U svojem modelu razvojnog ciklusa deformiranog ratom (*war-distorted life cycle*) predlaže četiri glavne faze: (1) predratna faza, (2) rat, (3) poslijeratna faza A i (4) poslijeratna faza B (Slika 4.). U predratnoj fazi krivulja razvojnog ciklusa ima svoj uobičajeni tijek sve do dostizanja faze stagnacije (koju naziva *nestabilnost*) (Weaver, 2000b). Početak rata dovodi do potpunog sloma turizma ili u boljem slučaju do njegovog opadanja na najmanju razinu posjećenosti. Međutim, Weaver (2000b) tu fazu razmatra i kao fazu otkrivanja. Izvještavanje iz područja zahvaćenih ratom dovodi do stvaranja slika tih mjesta kod promatrača koji inače uopće ne bi čuli za njih (Wea-

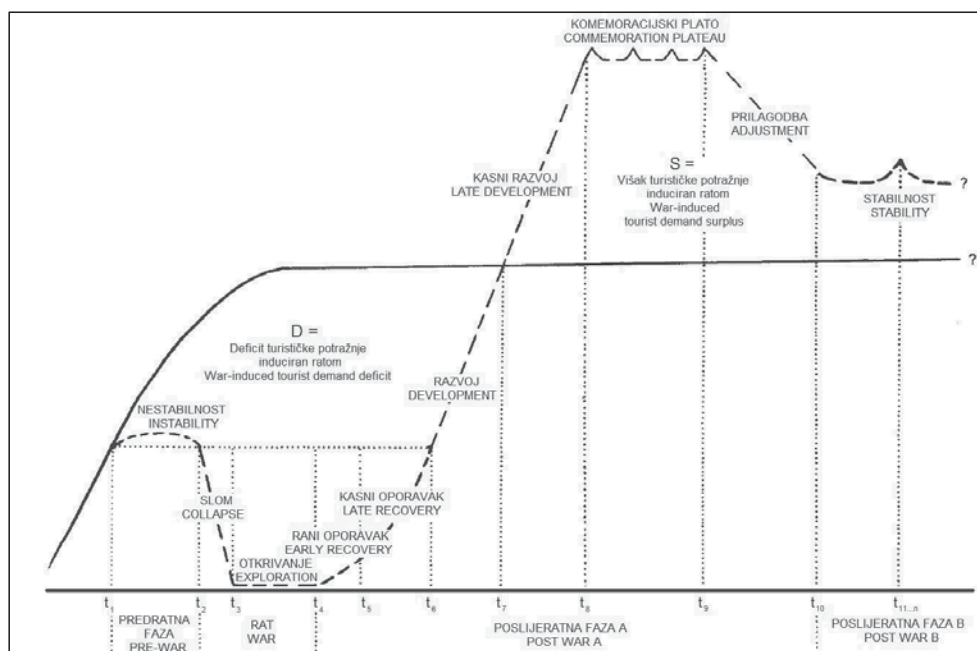
basic methods: (1) high admission prices (year-round, or in the peak periods); (2) quotas; (3) limits in the accommodation capacities within the area (Weizenegger, 2006). These limitations can cause a change in the course of the life cycle of a tourism area. If the imposed limit is below the carrying capacity, it is possible to prevent decline caused by loss in the attractiveness of the area, and the curve of TALC will not run its usual course. If the imposed limit is considerably above the carrying capacity, the curve will run its usual course as in other tourism areas (Weizenegger, 2006). Tourism development can also be maintained below the carrying capacity by quality protected area management, i.e. by identifying zones of different use, which can be a means of increasing the number of visitors and suppressing negative impacts of tourism (Weizenegger, 2006).

Because Croatia experienced direct and indirect effects of the Croatian War of Independence (1991-1995) in terms of tourism, the interruption of the life cycle by war deserves short theoretical consideration. Only a few authors have investigated the impact of war on tourism areas and their life cycles (Smith, 1996; 1998). Weaver (2000b) considered theoretical impacts of modern wars on the life cycle proposed by Butler (1980) and analyzed possible discrepancies. He proposed four main stages in his model of war-distorted life cycle: (1) pre-war; (2) war; (3) post-war A; and (4) post-war B (Figure 4). In the pre-war stage, the life cycle curve runs its usual course, until reaching the stagnation stage (instability) (Weaver, 2000b). The beginning of the war causes a complete breakdown of tourism, or its decline to the minimum level of visitation in the best scenario. However, Weaver (2000b) considered that stage as an exploration stage, as well. Reporting from the areas affected by the war caused their recognition as place-images among participants who probably would not have otherwise heard of those places (Weaver, 2000b). He also treated soldiers

ver, 2000b). Također vojnike i vojno osoblje smatra nenamjernim istraživačima koji poslije rata mogu generirati turističku potražnju (Weaver, 2000b). Nakon završetka rata (poslijeratna faza A) turističko područje počinje primati sve više posjetitelja kojima se kasnije pridružuju i ratni veterani s obiteljima posjećujući svoja nekadašnja bojišta. Visoki priljev posjetitelja osigurava turistički promet iznad uobičajene razine, što Weaver (2000b) naziva podfazom komemoracijskog platoa (*commemoration plateau substage*). Smanjenje kohorte veterana tijekom vremena uzrokuje blago opadanje turističkog prometa koji se vraća na *normalnu* razinu i naziva se podfazom prilagodbe (*adjustment substage*) (Weaver, 2000b). Nakon nje slijedi poslijeratna faza B, u kojoj tijek razvojnog ciklusa ovisi o atrakcijama o turističkom području, s povremenim povećanjima tijekom ratnih komemoracija i drugih događaja (Weaver, 2000b).

and military personnel as inadvertent explorers that could generate tourism demand after the war (Weaver, 2000b). After the end of the war (post-war stage A) the area would begin to receive a growing number of visitors, which would later be accompanied by the war veterans and their families that visit former battlefields. The high influx of visitors would provide tourism turnover above the usual level, which Weaver (2000b) called the “commemoration plateau substage”. The decrease in the veteran cohort, over time, would cause a mild decrease in tourism turnover, which would return to the “normal” level and is called the “adjustment substage” (Weaver, 2000b). This is followed by the post-war stage B, in which the course of the cycle would depend upon the attractions of the area, with episodic increases during war commemorations and other events (Weaver, 2000b).

Slika 4. Krivulja razvojnog ciklusa modificiranog ratom u Weaverovom (2000b) modelu / Figure 4. War-distorted curve of TALC in the Weaver's (2000b) model



Izvor / Source: Weaver (2000b, 153) (modificirano / modified)

3. METODE ISTRAŽIVANJA

Razvojni ciklus otoka Mljeta određen je na temelju *desk* metoda koje su uključivale prikupljanje i analizu podataka iz turističke statistike i kvalitativnih izvora te terensko istraživanje. Statističke podatke o turističkim dolascima, noćenjima i posteljama objavljuje Državni zavod za statistiku na temelju podataka prikupljenih od pojedinačnih poslovnih subjekata i turističkih zajednica. Podaci o turističkim dolascima i noćenjima prema zemlji podrijetla turista i vrsti smještajnih objekata objavljuju se na razini naselja od 1964. godine, a podaci o turističkim posteljama prema vrsti objekata od 1973. godine.³ Nažalost, ti podaci ne uključuju nautički turizam jer na otoku ne postoje registrirane luke nautičkog turizma pa taj oblik turizma, unatoč snažnoj prisutnosti i važnosti u turističkoj potražnji, prolazi potpuno neregistrirano. Službeni podaci ne uključuju ni nekomercijalni turizam (boravak vlasnika, članova njihovih obitelji i prijatelja u kućama i stanovima za odmor), kao ni neprijavljene dolaske i noćenja turista u komercijalnim objektima, a koji su i dalje prisutni. Zbog navedenog, stvarni broj turističkih dolazaka i noćenja osjetno je veći od registriranog pa je i faze razvojnog ciklusa, koje su dobivene na temelju službenih podataka, potrebno uzeti uz određenu rezervu.

Razvojni ciklus analiziran je korištenjem metode Lundtorpa i Wanhilla (2001) primijenjene na turistička noćenja jer realnije aproksimiraju stvarnu ulogu turizma i njegov pritisak na turistička područja nego turistički dolasci. U slučajevima kada nije bilo moguće kvantitativno odrediti granice, faze razvojnog ciklusa određene su na temelju ukupnih karakteristika turizma. Osim turističkih noćenja, tijekom razvoja turizma objaš-

3. METHODS OF RESEARCH

The life cycle of Mljet was determined using “desk” methods that included collecting and analyzing data from tourism statistics and qualitative sources, as well as field research. This paper uses statistical data on tourist arrivals, overnight stays, and tourist beds – published by the Croatian Bureau of Statistics – based on data collected from individual companies, organizations, and tourist boards. Data on tourist arrivals and overnight stays by the country of origin and type of accommodation facilities have been published regularly since 1964, and data on tourist beds by the type of accommodation facility since 1973.² Unfortunately, those data exclude nautical tourism (which goes completely unregistered), since there are no registered ports of nautical tourism, despite its high presence and importance in tourism demand. Official data do not include either non-commercial tourism (stay of owners, their families and friends in the second homes), or unregistered tourist arrivals and overnight stays in commercial facilities, which are still present. Hence, the real number of tourist arrivals and overnight stays is considerably higher than that registered, so the life cycle stages that have been based on official data should be treated with a certain caution.

The life cycle was determined using the method developed by Lundtorp and Wanhill (2001) applied to overnight stays, which better reflected the “real” role of tourism and its pressure on tourism areas, rather than focusing only on tourist arrivals. In the cases when it was not possible to determine the boundaries quantitatively, the life cycle stages were identified by general characteristics of tourism. Besides overnight stays, the ex-

³ Od 2010. g. turistički podaci za turistička mjesta s izrazito malim turističkim prometom ne objavljuju se javno pa se za razdoblje 2010. – 2014. koriste interni podaci Državnog zavoda za statistiku (DZS, 2011-2015).

² Since 2010, tourism data in tourism resorts with very low tourism turnover are not published, the analysis for the period of 2010-2014 is based on the internal data of the Croatian Bureau of Statistics (DZS, 2011-2015).

njava se uz pomoć promjene broja i strukture turističkih dolazaka i postelja.

Zamjetni nedostaci u statističkom praćenju turizma vezani su uz administrativne promjene u obuhvatu naselja na otoku. Do 1981. godine na otoku je statistički bilo registrirano samo sedam starijih naselja (Goveđari, Blato, Babino Polje, Sobra, Prožura, Maranovići i Korita). Mala naselja uz obalu, u kojima se zaista odvijao turizam, nisu bila službeno registrirana. Zbog toga je turistički promet, koji se u njima ostvarivao, pripisan starijim naseljima unutar kojih su se administrativno nalazila (Polače i Pomena su statistički bili dio naselja Goveđari, Ropa i Kozarica dio Blata, Prožurska Luka dio Prožure, Okuklje dio Maranovića, a Saplunara dio Korita). Iako se pretpostavlja da je sav turistički promet ostvarivan u obalnim naseljima, nije bilo moguće precizno odrediti kretanje broja turističkih dolazaka, noćenja i postelja za svako pojedinačno, što je onemogućilo analizu razvojnog ciklusa na razini naselja. Od početka 1980-ih svih 14 naselja registrirana su kao samostalna pa se turistički dolasci, noćenja i postelje iskazuju za svako naselje pojedinačno. Stoga se razvoj turizma razmatra za otok u cjelini, za NP Mljet i za sva ostala naselja zajedno.

Iako je istraživanjem obuhvaćeno cijelo razdoblje razvoja turizma, naglasak je stavljen na razdoblje od 1964. do 2014. godine, za koje postoje službeni statistički podaci. Za analizu ranijeg razdoblja koriste se podaci prikupljeni iz različitih izvora i objavljeni u radovima lokalnog karaktera (Šubić, 2008). Ti podaci odnose se samo na područje Nacionalnog parka Mljet, no nije moguće utvrditi metodologiju njihovog prikupljanja. Oni stoga mogu poslužiti samo kao okvirni pokazatelj intenziteta razvoja turizma. Geografski radovi lokalnog karaktera koriste se i za dobivanje informacija o ukupnim društveno-geografskim okolnostima u kojima se razvijao turizam (Stražičić, 1969; 1976; 1978).

planation of the life cycle used the change in the number and the structure of tourist arrivals and beds.

Administrative changes in the size of settlements constituted a significant disadvantage in terms of tourism statistics. Until 1981, only seven older settlements were statistically registered (Goveđari, Blato, Babino Polje, Sobra, Prožura, Maranovići, and Korita). Small coastal settlements, in which tourism actually took place, were not officially registered. Consequently, tourism turnover that occurred in those settlements was assigned to the older settlements which administered them (Polače and Pomena were statistically within the settlement Goveđari, Ropa and Kozarica within Blato, Prožurska Luka within Prožura, Okuklje within Maranovići, and Saplunara within Korita). It is assumed that all tourism turnover occurred in the coastal settlements, but it has not been possible to determine the precise changes in tourist arrivals, overnight stays, and tourist beds in each settlement, which made analysis on the settlement level impossible. Since the early 1980s, all 14 settlements have been registered individually and tourist arrivals, overnight stays, and tourist beds are regularly published for each of them. Therefore, this paper investigates overall tourism development of the island, in both NP Mljet and jointly in all other settlements.

Although the research covered the complete period of tourism development, the emphasis was placed on the period of 1964-2014 which is well-documented by the official statistical data. The investigation of the earlier period used data collected from different sources and published in the local papers (Šubić, 2008). Those data refer only to the area of NP Mljet, but it was not possible to determine the methodology behind their collection. Geographic papers focused on local issues provided information on the entirety of socio-economic circumstances of tourism development (Stražičić, 1969; 1976; 1978).

U radu se koriste informacije dobivene tijekom terenskog istraživanja provedenog od 12. – 15. 8. 2011. i od 20. – 31. 7. 2013. Terensko istraživanje uključilo je metodu opservacije s fotodokumentiranjem i omogućilo je uvid u aspekte razvojnog ciklusa i prostorne transformacije regije koji nisu dostupni ili vidljivi na temelju literature i izvora podataka.

4. RAZVOJNI CIKLUS U SOCIJALISTIČKOM RAZDOBLJU

Turizam se na Mljetu prvi put javlja 1924. godine kada nekolicina posjetitelja posjećuje otok. S obzirom na nepostojanje smještajnih objekata, ugošćuje ih lokalno stanovništvo. Službenim početkom turizma smatra se 1929. godine kada je na otoku zabilježeno 25 stacionarnih turista i 400 izletnika (Šubić, 1995). Glavno područje interesa predstavljaju Veliko i Malo jezero, duboko uvučeni zaljevi u zapadnom dijelu otoka. Godine 1930. redovna brodska linija počinje pristajati u luku Polače preko koje izletnici dolaze do jezera (Šubić, 1995). To razdoblje, s obzirom na posjet malobrojnih entuzijasta i nepostojanje turističke infrastrukture, odgovara fazi otkrivanja, a posjećivanje otoka potiče lokalno stanovništvo da se angažira u turizmu. Godine 1935. registrirano je 839 turističkih dolazaka i 2.516 noćenja, uz prosječni boravak od tri dana. Godine 1934. na predjelu Njivice uz Veliko jezero (dio statističkog naselja Goveđari) otvara se prvi pansion *Jezero* (Pansion Jezero, 2015), a 1936. godine tiska se prvi turistički prospekt otoka (Šubić, 1995). Ti potezi upućuju prijelaz u fazu uključivanja, no turizam je i dalje ograničen samo na krajnji zapadni dio otoka.

Faza uključivanja (1946. – 1970.)

Drugi svjetski rat prekida turizam na nekoliko godina, a prvi izletnici vraćaju se na

This paper includes information obtained from field research conducted from the 12th to 15th of August, 2011 and from the 20th to 31st of July, 2013. These included methods of field observation and photo documentation, which provided an insight into aspects of the life cycle and regional development that were not available or visible in data and literature.

4. TOURISM AREA LIFE CYCLE IN THE SOCIALIST PERIOD

Tourism first started in 1924 when visitors began to arrive on Mljet. Since there were no accommodation facilities, they were hosted by the local population. The official initiation of tourism occurred in 1929 when 25 over-night tourists and 400 excursionists were recorded (Šubić, 2008). Tourist interests were focused on Veliko and Malo jezero (Great and Small Lakes), connected closed bays, in the western part of the island. In 1930, the port of Polače was included in the regular ship line and was used as an entry port to the lakes for visitors (Šubić, 1995). Due to few enthusiasts coming to visit and the lack of tourism infrastructure, that period corresponded to the exploration stage and the presence of visitors encouraged the local population to become involved in tourism. In 1935, 839 tourist arrivals and 2,516 overnight stays were recorded, with an average stay of 3 days. In 1934, the first boarding house “Jezero” was opened in the area of Njivice on Veliko jezero (statistically part of Goveđari) (Pansion Jezero, 2015) and in 1936 the first tourist prospect of the island was published (Šubić, 1995). Those events marked the transition into the involvement stage, but tourism development was still limited to the western part of the island.

Involvement stage (1946-1970)

World War II interrupted tourism development for several years. The first excursionists had started to return to the island already

otok već 1946. godine, no stacionarni turizam se ponovno javlja tek nekoliko godina kasnije (Šubić, 1995). Iako turizam počinje gotovo ispočetka, s obzirom na informaciju o destinaciji i dosegnuti stupanj razvoja turizma prije Drugog svjetskog rata, opravdano je ovo razdoblje smatrati fazom uključivanja.

Sredinom 1950-ih mještani uređuju sobe za prihvata turista, a skromna turistička kretanja ograničena su na područje Jezera te Babine Kuće i Njivice, dislocirane zaseoke naselja Goveđari. Godine 1950. registrirano je 151 dolazaka i 800 noćenja⁴, 1955. godine 125 dolazaka i 802 noćenja, a 1960. godine 482 dolazaka i 4.032 noćenja. Cjelokupni turistički promet odvija se u 15-ak soba. Otok posjećuju najvećim dijelom domaći (jugoslavenski) turisti (Šubić, 1995), a još je uvijek potpuno nepoznat potencijalnim inozemnim turistima. Tada se ostvaruju osnovni preduvjeti turističkog i općeg društveno-gospodarskog razvoja otoka, snažno orijentiranog na poljoprivredu. Godine 1957. na Mljetu se osniva turističko društvo, a 1960. godine zapadna trećina otoka s Velikom i Malim jezerom kao temeljnim fenomenom zaštićena je kao Nacionalni park Mljet. Godine 1961. gradi se cesta od Polača do Velikog jezera, prva moderna cesta na otoku, te je srušen most kod Solina kako bi turistički brodovi mogli ulaziti u Jezero. Iste je godine u bivšem benediktinskom samostanu na otočiću Sv. Marije u Velikom jezeru otvoren hotel *Melita* s 80 postelja, čime započinje turistička ekspanzija, a sve su brojniji i organizirani izleti s Korčule. Godine 1964. otvara se turistički ured, a 1965. godine otok je elektrificiran (Šubić, 1995).

Unaprjeđenje receptivne ponude i infrastrukture potiče sve veću posjećenost i ubrzani porast turističkih dolazaka i noćenja pa je 1970. godine, na samom kraju faze uključivanja, na otoku registrirano ukupno 1.654 dolazaka i 17.715 noćenja (Tablica 1.; Slika

in 1946, but over-night tourism began a few years later (Šubić, 1995). Although tourism started almost from the beginning (of the period), due to the information on the destination and the achieved level of tourism development before the war, this period can be considered as the involvement stage.

In the mid-1950s, local inhabitants started to offer rooms to tourists, but the meager tourism flows were limited to the lake area, Babine Kuće and Njivice, dislocated hamlets of Goveđari. The statistics showed 151 arrivals and 800 overnight stays in 1950,³ 125 arrivals and 802 overnight stays in 1955, and 482 arrivals and 4,032 overnight stays in 1960. All tourism turnover was registered in 15 rooms and the island was visited predominantly by domestic (Yugoslav) tourists (Šubić, 1995); while it was completely unknown to international tourists. In that period, the island, which was highly oriented toward agriculture, managed to realize basic conditions for tourism and general socio-economic development. In 1957, the first tourism association was founded, and, in 1960, the western third of the island became a protected area - NP Mljet with Veliko and Malo jezero as the main phenomena. The transport isolation of individual settlements was partly reduced in 1961 by the construction of a modern road from Polače to Veliko jezero. At the same time, the bridge near Soline was removed so that tourist ships could enter the lakes. In 1960, the old Benedictine monastery on St. Mary's Island in Veliko jezero was transformed into "Hotel Melita" with 80 tourist beds. This initiated the expansion of tourism and organized visits from Korčula. In 1964, a tourist office was opened, and in 1965 the island got electricity (Šubić, 1995).

Improvements in the accommodation facilities and tourism infrastructure encouraged increasing visitation and a rapid increase in tourism arrivals and overnight stays. In 1970, at the end of the involvement stage, the island

⁴ Za 1946. g. nisu dostupni podaci pa se u izračunu pokazatelja koristi 1950. g., prva za koju postoje podaci.

³ Data from 1946 is not available and the indicators refer to 1950, the first year with available data.

5.). Gotovo tri petine turističkih noćenja ostvaruje se u privatnim kućanstvima, a dvije petine u hotelu *Melita*. Turisti su na otok privučeni mogućnostima boravka u vrijednoj i očuvanoj prirodi, na suncu, uz more u toplom dijelu godine. To potvrđuje boravak od 10,7 dana koji je posljedica dominacije ljetnog odmorišnog turizma i prometne izolacije. Slično kao i u drugim regijama Južne Dalmacije, zbog udaljenosti od emitivnih tržišta i slabijih prometnih veza, kraći boravci jednostavno se ne isplate (Šulc, 2014). Turizam se odvija samo unutar NP Mljet, a registrira se u statističkom naselju Govedari koje tada obuhvaća i naselja Polače i Pomena. Širenje informacija o destinaciji dovodi do povećanog interesa inozemnih turista pa na kraju faze uključivanja blago brojčano prevladavaju nad domaćim turistima (ostvaruju 55,9% dolazaka i 55,0% noćenja) (Tablica 1.).

registered a total of 1,654 arrivals and 17,715 overnight stays (Table 1; Figure 5). Almost three-fifths of overnight stays were recorded in private households, and two-fifths in Hotel Melita. Tourists were attracted to the island by the possibility of staying in pristinely-preserved nature, and basking in the sun and near the sea during the warm period of the year. This was shown by the average stay of 10.7 days, related to prevalent coastal tourism and transport isolation. As in other South Dalmatian regions, the distance from the market generating areas and underdeveloped transport connections did not make short visits worthwhile (Šulc, 2014). Tourism was still focused only on NP Mljet and was registered in the statistical settlement Govedari that included Polače and Pomena. An increasing amount of information on the destination attracted increased interest from international tourists, which mildly outweighed domestic tourists by the end of the involvement stage (international tourists recorded 55.9% of arrivals and 55.0% of overnight stays) (Table. 1).

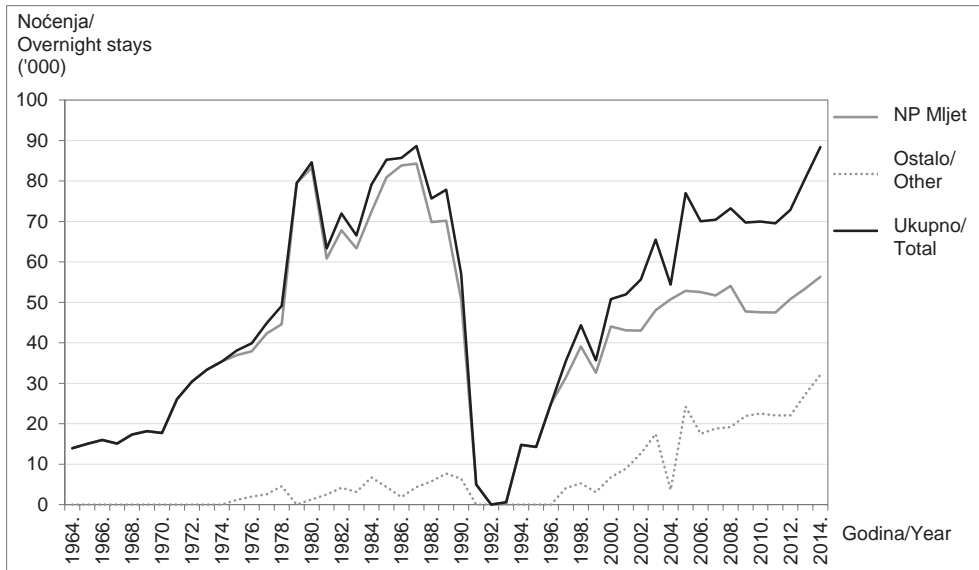
Tablica 1. Turistički dolasci, noćenja i prosječni boravak na Mljetu u ključnim godinama razvojnog ciklusa / Table 1. Tourist arrivals, overnight stays, and average stay on Mljet Island in the threshold years of TALC

Godina / Year	Turistički dolasci / Tourist arrivals				Turistička noćenja / Overnight stays				Prosječni boravak / Average stay
	Ukupno/ Total	Inoz. (%) / Intern. (%)	I	r_G	Ukupno/ Total	Inoz. (%) / Intern. (%)	I	r_G	
1970.	1654	55.9	-	-	17715	55.0	-	-	10.7
1979.	7769	38.4	321.2	18.8	79476	40.2	305.2	18.1	10.2
1984.	9517	45.3	122.5	4.1	79133	49.7	99.6	-0.1	8.3
1987.	11981	64.8	125.9	8.0	88615	66.1	112.0	3.8	7.4
1990.	7822	53.2	65.3	-13.2	57018	49.1	64.3	-13.7	7.3
1995.	1776	11.5	22.7	-	14243	10.7	25.0	-	8.0
2002.	9538	75.8	537.0	27.1	55675	78.7	390.9	21.5	5.8
2004.	11193	76.9	117.4	8.3	54389	80.9	97.7	-1.2	4.9
2009.	15085	76.9	134.8	6.1	69691	76.5	128.1	5.1	4.6
2014.	18884	85.5	125.2	4.6	88384	87.0	126.8	4.9	4.7

* Inoz. – inozemni; I – lančani indeks; r_G – prosječna godišnja (geometrijska) stopa promjene // * Intern. – international; I – chain index; r_G – average annual (geometric) rate of increase

Izvori: / Sources: RZS (1966-1969; 1970-1975; 1976-1991); DZS (1995-2006; 2007-2010; 2011-2015)

Slika 5. Broj noćenja u turističkim područjima otoka Mljeta 1964. – 2014.
/ Figure 5. Number of overnight stays in tourism areas on Mljet Island 1964 – 2014



Izvori: / Sources: RZS (1966-1969; 1970-1975; 1976-1991); DZS (1992-1994; 1995-2006; 2007-2010; 2011-2015)

Faza razvoja (1971. – 1979.)

Godine 1971. u NP Mljet otvara se kamp *Vrbovica* koji dovodi do snažnog porasta turističkog prometa. Broj noćenja premašuje 21% maksimuma u ciklusu, čime Mljet ulazi u fazu razvoja. U ovoj fazi turizam se javlja i izvan NP Mljet – 1975. godine po prvi je put registriran turistički promet u Sobri, glavnoj otočnoj luci smještenoj u središnjem dijelu otoka, a 1976. godine i u Okuklju, malom obalnom naselju u istočnom dijelu otoka. Turistički promet u tim je naseljima malen i registrira se isključivo u malobrojnim kućanstvima, dok je najveći dio stanovništva i dalje orijentiran na poljoprivredu. Budući da turistički promet za Okuklje i Sobru nije iskazivan u svim godinama, za pretpostaviti je da u stvarnosti bio i veći od registriranoga. Najveći projekt u fazi razvoja predstavljala je izgradnja hotela *Odisej* s 350 postelja u Pomeni 1978. godine. Otvaranje novog hotela

Development stage (1971-1979)

In 1971 a new camping site “Vrbovica” was opened in NP Mljet and encouraged an intensive increase in tourism turnover. The number of overnight stays exceeded 21% of the maximum in the life cycle and marked the transition to the development stage. In this stage, tourism started to develop outside NP Mljet – in 1975 tourism turnover was first registered in Sobra, the main island port located on the central part of the island, and in 1976 in Okuklje, a small coastal settlement on the eastern part of the island. Tourism turnover in those settlements was very low and it was recorded exclusively in several private households while the majority of population was still oriented toward agriculture. Since the statistics did not record tourism turnover in Okuklje and Sobra in all years, the number of tourism arrivals and overnight stays, in reality, must have been higher than

dovelo je do naglog skoka u turističkim dolascima i noćenjima, što je pretvorilo Pomena u turističko središte otoka i značajno je pridonijelo razvoju turizma u zapadnom dijelu otoka. Upravo taj primjer pokazuje izrazitu ovisnost tijeka razvojnog ciklusa o otvaranju novih smještajnih objekata u područjima s apsolutno malim intenzitetom turizma.

U 1979., zadnjoj godini u fazi razvoja, registrirano je ukupno 1.245 postelja, od čega 436 u hotelima (*Melita* na otočiću Sv. Marije i *Odisej* u Pomeni), 400 u kampu u Goveđarima i 509 u kućanstvima (Tablica 2.; Slika 6.). Turistički promet je u fazi razvoja utrostručen pa je 1979. godine ostvareno 7.769 dolazaka i 79.746 noćenja. Glavni nositelji turističkog razvoja postaju hoteli (posebno *Odisej*) koji ostvaruju 53% dolazaka i noćenja. Kamp u NP Mljet ostvaruje petinu noćenja, a kućanstva četvrtinu (Slika 7.). Ponovno se povećava udio domaćih turista (ostvaruju 62% dolazaka i 60% noćenja), što je posljedica slabije promocije na inozemnom turističkom tržištu, dojma izoliranosti i slabije prometne dostupnosti (Tablica 1.).

Faze konsolidacije, stagnacije i opadanja

Godine 1980. turistička noćenja premašuju 79% maksimuma u ciklusu što označava prelazak u sljedeću fazu. Nakon naglog skoka izazvanog otvaranjem novog hotela i ekspanzijom smještaja u kućanstvima, početkom 1980-ih uslijedilo je usporavanje rasta sa snažnim oscilacijama pa se to razdoblje može smatrati *fazom konsolidacije* (1980. – 1984.). Najznačajniji vanjski faktor usporavanja rasta je recesija potaknuta naftnom krizom koja se odražava na smanjenje putovanja na Mljet. Na unutarnjem planu problem je zatvaranje kampa unutar NP Mljet (1981. – 1983.) i neprijavlivanje turista u kućanstvima, zbog čega je nemoguće utvrditi stvarni turistički promet. Registrirani turistički promet 1984. godine iznosio je 9.517 dolazaka, 22,5% više nego 1979.

registered. The biggest investment project in the development stage was the construction of the “Hotel Odisej” in Pomena with 350 beds in 1978. It was followed by an instant take-off in tourism turnover, which positioned Pomena as a new tourist center of the island and additionally contributed to the development of tourism on the western part of the island. That example particularly demonstrates the high dependence of the life cycle upon opening new accommodation facilities in areas with low tourism turnover.

In 1979, the last year of the development stage, Mljet registered 1,245 tourist beds, out of which 436 were in the hotels (*Melita* on St. Mary’s Island and *Odisej* in Pomena), 400 in the camp in Goveđari, and 509 in private households (Table 2; Figure 6). Tourism turnover tripled in the development stage and reached 7,769 arrivals and 79,746 overnight stays in 1979. Hotels became carriers of tourism development (particularly *Odisej*) with 53% arrivals and overnight stays. The camp in NP Mljet recorded a fifth, and private households a fourth, of all overnight stays (Figure 7). The share of domestic tourists slightly increased (62% of arrivals and 60% of overnight stays) due to lesser-developed promotion on foreign tourist markets, perception of isolation, and low transport availability (Table 1).

Stages of consolidation, stagnation and decline

In 1980, overnight stays had exceeded 79% of the maximum in the cycle and marked the transition to the next stage. After the sudden increase caused by the construction of the new hotel and the expansion of accommodation into private households in the early 1980s, Mljet recorded slower growth with expressed oscillations. Therefore, the period of 1980-1984 can be considered to be the consolidation stage. In 1984, a total of 9,517 tourist arrivals were registered, 22.5% more than in 1979, and 79,133 overnight

godine i 79.133 noćenja, 0,4% manje nego 1979. godine (RZS, 1976-1991). Smještajni kapaciteti istovremeno bilježe blagi rast (na 1.424 postelje 1984. godine ili za 14,5%), i to isključivo u kućanstvima. Stoga je 1984. godine u hotelima, kampu i u kućanstvima registrirano po trećinu ukupnog broja postelja. U prostornoj strukturi i dalje dominira NP Mljet koji ostvaruje 94% turističkih dolazaka i 92% noćenja. Od toga statističko naselje Goveđari (zaseoci uz Jezera) ostvaruje 55% dolazaka i 47% noćenja, a Pomena 39% dolazaka i 55% noćenja. Izvan NP Mljet Sobra bilježi 5% dolazaka i 7% noćenja, a Okuklje tek 1% (RZS, 1976-1991).

stays, 0.4% less than in 1979 (RZS, 1976-1991). The main factor of the slower increase was the economic recession brought on by the oil crisis, which eventually reflected in less frequent visitation. Primary internal factors were the facts that the camp in NP Mljet was closed from 1981 to 1983, and not all tourists staying in private households were statistically registered. Accommodation capacities, at the same time, recorded a mild increase (to 1,424 tourist beds in 1984 – 14.5%), exclusively in private households. Hence, in 1984, hotels, the camp, and private households each registered a third of total tourist beds. With 94% of tourist arrivals and 92% of overnight stays, NP Mljet still dominated the island's tourism. Only the statistical settlement Goveđari (with hamlets facing the lakes) recorded 55% of all tourist arrivals on the island and 47% of overnight stays, and Pomena 39% of arrivals and 55% of overnight stays. Outside NP Mljet, Sobra recorded 5% of tourist arrivals and 7% of overnight stays; while Okuklje had only 1% (RZS, 1976-1991).

Tablica 2. Turističke postelje na Mljetu u ključnim godinama razvojnog ciklusa / Table 2. Tourist beds on Mljet Island in the threshold years of the life cycle

Godina / Year	Ukupno / Total	Hoteli (% / Hotels (%))	Kampovi (%) / Camping sites (%)	Kućanstva (%) / Households (%)	Ostalo (%) / Other (%)	I	r'_G
1979.	1245	35.0	24.1	40.9	0.0	-	-
1984.	1424	30.6	35.1	34.3	0.0	114.4	2.7
1987.	1420	30.7	21.1	48.2	0.0	99.7	-0.1
1990.	1050	41.5	28.6	29.9	0.0	73.9	-9.6
1995.	396	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	37.7	-
2002.	1504	22.9	8.0	69.1	2.3	379.8	21.0
2004.	968	35.6	20.1	44.2	4.1	64.4	-19.8
2009.	1551	22.2	12.6	62.9	4.6	160.2	9.9
2014.	1514	21.3	20.8	53.8	8.2	97.6	-0.5

* I – lančani indeks u promatranom razdoblju; r'_G – prosječna godišnja (geometrijska) stopa promjene / * I – chain index in the observed period; r'_G – average annual (geometric) rate of increase

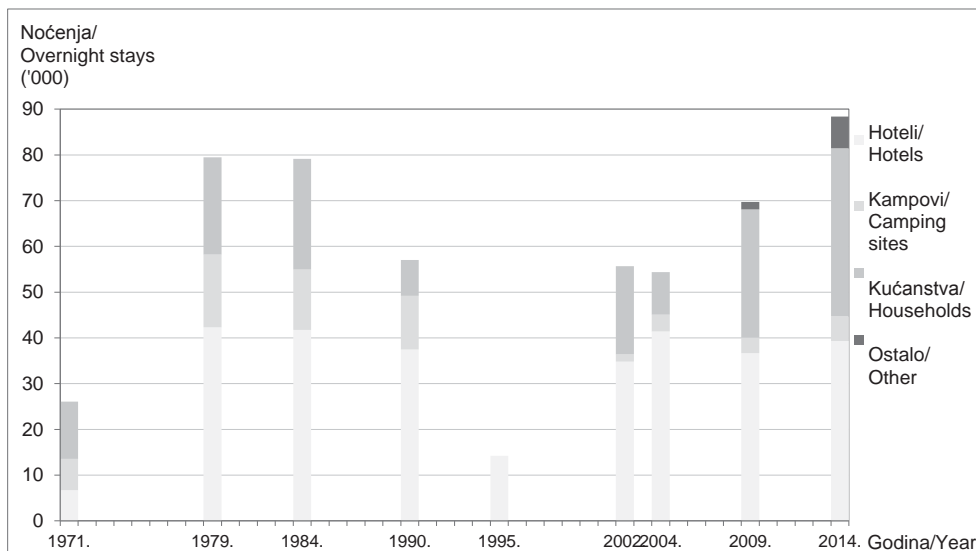
Izvori: / Sources: RZS (1970-1975; 1976-1991); DZS (1992-1994; 1995-2006; 2007-2010; 2011-2015)

**Slika 6. Broj postelja u turističkim područjima otoka Mljeta 1972. – 2014. /
Figure 6. Number of beds in tourism areas of Mljet Island 1972-2014**



Izvori: / Sources: RZS (1970-1975; 1976-1991); DZS (1992-1994; 1995-2006; 2007-2010; 2011-2015)

Slika 7. Ostvarena noćenja na otoku Mljetu prema vrsti smještajnih objekata u ključnim godinama ciklusa / Figure 7. Realized overnight stays on Mljet Island according to the type of accommodation facilities in threshold years of the life cycle



Izvori: / Sources: RZS (1966-1969; 1970-1975; 1976-1991); DZS (1992-1994; 1995-2006; 2007-2010; 2011-2015)

Godine 1985. turistička noćenja prelaze 93% maksimuma u prijeratnom ciklusu, što jasno kvantitativno ukazuje na prelazak u *fazu stagnacije* (1985. – 1987.). Turistički promet povećava se do 1987. godine kada je registriran maksimum od 11.981 dolazaka i 88.615 noćenja, što prati značajno povećanje udjela inozemnih turista (65% dolazaka i 66% noćenja), uz nepromijenjenu strukturu turističkog prometa prema vrsti smještajnih objekata. U tom razdoblju snažnije se širi informacija o Mljetu na inozemnim turističkim tržištima koji, zbog očuvanog okoliša i atraktivne baštine, postaje popularan u uvjetima složenije motivacije putovanja. No, turistička ponuda i dalje se svodi pretežno na ljetni odmorišni turizam pa je rast turističkog interesa kratkotrajan. Gotovo sav turistički promet (93% dolazaka i 95% noćenja) i dalje se ostvaruje u NP Mljet, dok središnji i istočni dio otoka u turističkom smislu zaostaju. Uz Sobru i Okuklje, u turizam se uključuje Saplunara, vrlo malo naselje na krajnjem istočnom dijelu otoka, a sav turistički promet ostvaruje se u kućanstvima (RZS, 1976-1991).

Iako ukupni broj postelja stagnira (1987. godine 1420), otvaranjem novih soba i apartmana u kućanstvima, raste udio privatnog smještaja (48%), a smanjuje se udio kampova (21%). U prostornoj strukturi smještajnih kapaciteta dominiraju Goveđari sa 794 postelje i Pomena s 360 postelja (u hotelu), dok u Sobri (160), Okuklju (45) i Saplunari (71) postoji samo smještaj u kućanstvima (RZS, 1976-1991).

Kao i u drugim južnodalmatinskim turističkim područjima, turistički promet na Mljetu počinje se smanjivati već i prije Domovinskog rata, što je posljedica smanjenja cijene zračnog prijevoza, saturacije turističkog proizvoda *sunce i more*, slabije opremljenosti otoka za turizam, nerazvijenosti dopunske turističke ponude te diskrepancije između promijenjene motivacije za putovanja i stvarne turističke ponude. Mljet time ulazi u *fazu opadanja* (1988. – 1992.), koja

In 1985, overnight stays exceeded 93% of the pre-war maximum, which clearly indicated the transition to the stagnation stage (1985-1987). Tourism turnover had been growing until 1987, when it reached a maximum of 11,981 arrivals and 88,615 overnight stays, and it was followed by a significantly increased share of international tourists (65% of arrivals and 66% of overnight stays); while the composition of tourism turnover by the type of accommodation capacities remained unchanged. This corresponded to wider-reaching information regarding the island on foreign tourism markets, which, due to its preserved environment and attractive heritage, was becoming popular under the conditions of more complex motivations for travelling. However, since the tourism offer was still limited to coastal tourism, the increased tourist interest was short lived. Almost all tourism turnover (93% of arrivals and 95% of overnight stays) was still taking place in NP Mljet, while the central and eastern parts had little tourism development. The small settlement Saplunara, located at the eastern end of the island, involved itself in tourism at this stage along with Sobra and Okuklje, but tourism turnover was registered exclusively in private households (RZS, 1976-1991).

Although the general number of tourist beds stagnated (1,420 in 1987), the opening of new rooms and apartments caused an increase in private households (48%) and a decrease in camping (21%). Hamlets within Goveđari dominated with 794 beds, followed by Pomena with 360 beds (in the hotel), while Sobra (160), Okuklje (45), and Saplunara (71) had only beds in private households (RZS, 1976-1991).

Similar to other South Dalmatian destinations, tourism on Mljet had started to decline even before the Croatian War of Independence, because of the reduction in air transport prices, saturation of the tourism product "Sun & Sea," management of the island that was insufficiently prepared for tourism development, a scarcely-developed

prije rata zahvaća sva turistička mjesta, osim Sobre u kojoj broj turističkih dolazaka i noćenja raste sve do 1990. godine. Zadnje prijeratne godine (1990.) ostvaruju se tek dvije trećine turističkog prometa prijeratnog maksimuma, uz izjednačeni udio domaćih i inozemnih turista. Blago se smanjuje udio turističkog prometa u NP Mljet (89% dolazaka i noćenja), a raste udio ostalih naselja (11%), što pokazuje umjerenu prostornu difuziju turizma. Hoteli pritom pokazuju veću otpornost na opadanje (ostvaruju dvije trećine turističkog prometa), dok izraženije smanjenje registriraju kućanstva i kampovi (Tablica 1.). U fazi opadanja iz turizma prvo „izlaze“ kućanstva, čiji su kapaciteti prepolovljeni i generiraju ukupno smanjenje broja postelja (1990. godine registrirano je 1.050 postelja, za trećinu manje nego 1987. godine). Hoteli i kamp imaju i dalje nepromijenjeni kapacitet (RZS, 1976-1991).

U drugoj polovici 1991. godine u Hrvatskoj započinje Domovinski rat koji ne zahvaća otok Mljet, ali se odvija u neposrednoj blizini. U 1991. godini otok posjećuje vrlo mali broj turista, a u 1992. godini uopće se ne bilježe turistički dolasci i noćenja. Strah od rata, opća nesigurnost i blizina izravnih sukoba sprečavaju turiste da posjete Južnu Dalmaciju, što dovodi do potpunog prekida u razvojnem ciklusu otoka Mljeta.

5. RAZVOJNI CIKLUS NAKON DOMOVINSKOG RATA

Oslobađanjem okupiranih područja u Južnoj Dalmaciji i smirivanjem ratnih zbivanja prvi turisti na otok ponovno dolaze već 1993. godine. Radi se uglavnom o domaćim turistima koji bolje poznaju ratnu situaciju u Hrvatskoj te percipiraju Mljet kao siguran za odmor. Hotel u Pomeni, prvi smještajni objekt koji se ponovno uključuje u turizam, nastoji privući turiste niskim cijenama smještaja i time barem djelomično nadoknaditi gubitak turista. Iako se turizam razvija na istoj turističkoj ponudi kao i prije rata, zbog

additional tourism offer, and a discrepancy between changed travel motivation and real tourism offer. Therefore, Mljet entered the decline stage (1988-1992) that soon affected all tourism resorts except Saplunara, which had an increase in arrivals and overnight stays through 1990. In the last pre-war year (1990) the island achieved only two thirds of the maximum, with a numerical balance between domestic and international tourists. At the same time, the share of NP Mljet was slightly decreasing (89% arrivals and overnight stays) and the share of other settlements was mildly growing (11%), leading to moderate spatial diffusion of tourism. Hotels demonstrated stronger resistance to decline (they recorded two-thirds of tourism turnover) while private households and camps registered an almost instant decrease (tab. 1). The capacities of private households were cut in half, which generated a total decline in the island's accommodation capacities – marking the first of those who “exited” tourism (in 1990 a total of 1,050 tourist beds was registered, a third less than in 1987). At the same time, hotels and the camping sites had unchanged capacities.

The Croatian War of Independence, which started in the second part of 1991, did not affect Mljet directly, but war operations indeed took place in the vicinity of the island. In 1991, few tourists still visited the island and in 1992 no tourist arrivals and overnight stays were recorded. Fear of the war, general insecurity, and minimal distance from conflict zones prevented tourists from visiting South Dalmatia, which led to a complete interruption in the life cycle of Mljet.

5. TOURISM AREA LIFE CYCLE AFTER THE CROATIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

The first tourists had returned to the island already by 1993, after the occupied territories in South Dalmatia had been liberated and when the intensity of war had lessened. These predominantly-domestic tourists

kasnijih promjena u turističkim kretanjima i procesima na otoku, ponovno otvaranje hotela i dolazak prvih turista na otok može se smatrati početkom novog (poslijeratnog) razvojnog ciklusa. Izraziti pad i prekid turizma trajali su relativno kratko (dvije godine), zbog čega se prvi turisti koji dolaze na otok ne mogu smatrati „istraživačima“ koji ponovno otkrivaju otok, nego se radi o osobama koje su ranije već boravile na otoku ili su ga htjele posjetiti, ali su svoj posjet odgodile zbog rata. Zbog navedenog i činjenice da je otok imao djelomično etablirani imidž na turističkom tržištu, novi razvojni ciklus ne započinje fazom otkrivanja, nego novom fazom uključivanja.

Faza uključivanja (1993. – 1995.)

Operacije oslobođenja hrvatskog teritorija *Bljesak* i *Oluja*, za razliku od drugih regija, ne utječu značajnije na smanjenje turističkog prometa 1995. godine. Ipak, cjelokupni turistički promet ostvaruje se isključivo u hotelu u Pomeni dok je bivši samostan na otočiću sv. Marije vraćen Crkvi i gubi funkciju hotela. Tako je 1995. godine registrirano 1.776 dolazaka i 14.263 noćenja, od čega čak 89% ostvaruju turisti iz Hrvatske, što ukazuje na snažnu percepciju rata i nesigurnosti u Hrvatskoj na inozemnom turističkom tržištu (Tablica 1.).

Faza razvoja (1996. – 2002.)

Pravi oporavak turizma uslijedio je nakon završetka rata, a obilježava ga ubrzani rast turističkih noćenja, koja već 1996. godine prelaze 21% maksimuma u ciklusu pa otok ulazi u novu fazu razvoja. U razdoblju 1996. – 2002. broj dolazaka povećan je za 5,4 puta, a noćenja za 2,2 puta pa je 2002. godine na otoku ostvareno 9.538 dolazaka i 55.675 noćenja. Sporiji rast noćenja u odnosu na dolaske ukazuje na skraćivanje prosječnog boravka (2002. godine iznosi 5,8 dana),

knew the war situation in Croatia better and deemed the island to be safe for their vacation. The hotel in Pomena, the first accommodation facility that got involved in tourism again, tried to partially compensate the loss of tourists by attracting them with low prices. Although tourism developed on the same basis as before, the re-opening of the hotel and arrival of the first tourists is taken as the beginning of the new (post-war) life cycle. The intensive decline and interruption in the life cycle were rather brief (two years), so the first after-war tourists cannot be considered to be “explorers” that discovered the island. Some of them had been on the island before and others had wanted to visit it but had postponed it because of the war. The aforementioned, and the fact that the island already had an established image on the tourism market, led to the conclusion that the new life cycle began with the involvement stage and not with the exploration stage.

Involvement stage (1993 – 1995)

War operations *Bljesak* and *Oluja* (Flash and Storm) did not result in a sharp decline in tourism turnover in 1995 (on Mljet) like in other regions in Croatia. However, all tourism turnover on the island was recorded exclusively in the hotel in Pomena, while the former monastery on St. Mary's Island was repossessed by the church and lost its tourism function. In 1995, the island registered 1,776 tourist arrivals and 14,263 overnight stays. Tourists from Croatia had a share of 89%, which showed the strong perception of the war and insecurity in foreign tourism markets (Table 1).

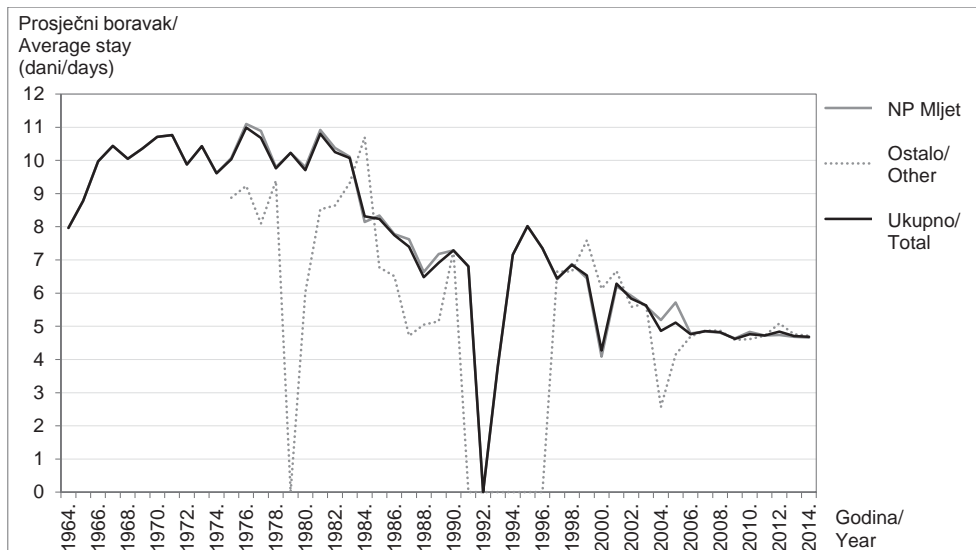
Development stage (1996-2002)

Real revitalization of tourism began after the war, and it was marked by the accelerated increase of overnight stays that had, already in 1996, exceeded 21% of the maximum in the cycle, leading to the new development

a vezan je uz rast udjela kraćih posjeta NP Mljet, ali i nerazvijenost dopunske turističke ponude (Tablica 1.; Slika 5. i 8.). Istovremeno se odvija snažna internacionalizacija turizma pa 2002. godine inozemni turisti ostvaruju čak 76% dolazaka i 79% noćenja. U turizam se, uz Pomenu koja dominira u turizmu otoka (ostvaruje 62% noćenja), uključuju i druga naselja, ali isključivo ona smještena unutar ili u blizini NP Mljet – Goveđari, Ropa i Babino Polje. Zatvaranjem hotela *Melita* i kampa u NP Mljet osjetno je smanjen udio Goveđara u prostornoj strukturi turizma (2002. godine ostvaruju 15% noćenja). Iako je značaj stacionarnog turizma u Goveđarima smanjen, veliku važnost ponovno imaju izletnička komponenta (posjet temeljnom fenomenu NP Mljet) i funkcije vezane uz upravu NP Mljet.

stage. In the 1996-2002 period, tourist arrivals increased 5.4 times and overnight stays 2.2 times, reaching 9,538 arrivals and 55,675 overnight stays in 2002. Slower growth of overnight stays compared to tourist arrivals resulted in a shorter average stay (5.8 days in 2002) which was related to the increased share of shorter visits to NP Mljet and underdeveloped additional tourism offer (Table 1; Figures 5 & 8). The development stage recorded a strong internationalization of tourism – international tourists made up 76% of tourist arrivals and 79% of overnight stays in 2002. Pomena still dominated in tourism and recorded 62% of total overnight stays, but other island settlements started to get involved in tourism, particularly those located within NP Mljet or near its borders (Goveđari, Ropa, and Babino Polje). The share in overnight stays decreased to 15% in 2002 due to the closing of Hotel Melita and the camp in NP Mljet. Although the importance of overnight tourism was considerably lower, Goveđari focused on daily visits to NP Mljet and on functions related to the management of the park.

**Slika 8. Prosječni boravak u turističkim područjima otoka Mljeta 1964. – 2011. /
Figure 8. Average stay in tourism areas of Mljet 1964-2011**



Izvori: / Sources: RZS (1966-1969; 1970-1975; 1976-1991); DZS (1992-1994; 1995-2006; 2007-2010; 2011-2015)

Ropa, malo obalno naselje smješteno uz samu granicu NP Mljet službeno se u turizam uključuje 2000. godine otvaranjem manjeg kampa te 2002. godine ostvaruje 3% noćenja. Turizam u središnjem otočnom naselju Babino Polje svodi se na manji kamp i iznajmljivanje smještaja u kućanstvima te 2002. godine ostvaruje 20% noćenja (DZS, 1995-2006). Iako se otok nalazi u fazi razvoja, stupanj turističkog razvoja generalno je manji nego u drugim južnodalmatinskim regijama i na razini otoka još ne utječe na značajniju fizionomsku transformaciju, no ima veliku socioekonomsku ulogu za lokalno stanovništvo.

Faza konsolidacije (2003. – 2004.)

Iako turistička noćenja 2003. godine još ne dosežu 79% maksimuma, ta godina označava završetak kontinuiranog rasta i početak oscilacija, pa su ta i sljedeća godina izdvojene kao zasebna prijelazna faza konsolidacije između razvoja i stagnacije. Godine 2004. ostvareno je 11.193 dolazaka, čak 17,4% više nego dvije godine ranije, no istovremeno je broj noćenja smanjen za 2,3% i iznosi 77.019 (DZS, 1995-2006). Naglo smanjenje nije moguće jednostavno obrazložiti, tim više što se radi o gospodarski prosperitetnom razdoblju u Hrvatskoj i Europi, no faktori smanjenja posredno se mogu spoznati analizom na razini naselja. U 2003. godini sva turistička mjesta doživljavaju značajan rast. No, 2004. godine turistički dolasci i noćenja rastu samo u Pomeni, u Goveđarima se smanjuju, a istovremeno se javlja turistički promet u naselju Polače⁵. Babino Polje, koje je također zabi-

The small coastal settlement Ropa, located on the park border, officially got involved in tourism in 2000 by opening a small camp, and recorded 3% of overnights stays in 2002. Tourism in the island's central settlement Babino Polje was limited to a small camping site and renting accommodation in private households, which registered 20% of overnight stays in 2002 (DZS, 1995-2006). Although the island was still in the development stage, the level of tourism development was generally lower than in other South Dalmatian regions. This did not cause significant physical transformation of the island, but it had a great socio-economic role for the local community.

Consolidation stage (2003-2004)

Although the overnight stays were still below 79% of the maximum in the cycle, 2003 marked the end of the steady increase and the beginning of oscillations in the cycle. Consequently 2003 and 2004 were defined as a transitional consolidation stage between development and stagnation. In 2004, the island registered 11,193 arrivals, 17.4% more than two years before, but, at the same time, the number of overnight stays amounted to 77,019, recording a decrease of 2.3% (DZS, 1995-2006). The sudden fall cannot be explained easily; furthermore, it was an economically prosperous period in Croatia and Europe, but the factors of decline can be seen in the analysis on the settlement level. All tourism resorts recorded an increase in 2003. In the following year, however, the number of tourist arrivals and overnight stays increased only in Pomena; Goveđari recorded a decrease, and at the same time tourism turnover first appeared in the settlement Polače⁴. Babino Polje, which

⁵ Iako turistička statistika ne daje napomene vezane uz promjene iskazivanja podataka po naseljima, fizionomska transformacija naselja upućuje na činjenicu da se turizam u Polačama odvijao i ranije, ali se turistički promet pripisivao naselju Goveđari. No, čak i ako se turistički promet u Polačama doda Goveđarima, turistički dolasci i noćenja 2004. godine u ta dva naselja osjetno su manji nego 2003. godine.

⁴ Although tourism statistics do not give any reference related to the changes in publishing data for settlements, the physical transformation of the island suggests that tourism in Polače took place even earlier, but the tourism turnover was assigned to the statistical settlement Goveđari. Nevertheless, even if tourism turnover in Po-

lježilo smanjenje 2004. godine, nije imalo registriranih turističkih dolazaka i noćenja u privatnim kućanstvima, što može upućivati ili na pogrešku u statistici ili na činjenicu da domaćini nisu prijavljivali svoje goste. Osim toga, 2004. godine uopće nije iskazan turistički promet u Ropi, što dovodi do zaključka da je kamp (jedini turistički objekt) te godine bio zatvoren.

Imajući u vidu navedene manjkavosti u statističkom iskazivanju turističkog prometa, smanjenje prosječnog boravka turista (2004. godine 4,9 dana) može se povezati sa segmentacijom turističkog tržišta ili neiskazivanjem turističkog prometa u kupališnim turističkim mjestima s dužim boravkom. Uz to je vidljiv nastavak trenda povećanja udjela inozemnih turista uslijed rasta popularnosti otoka (ostvaruju 77% dolazaka i 81% noćenja 2004. g.) (Tablica 1.).

Faza stagnacije (2005. – 2014.)

Iako 2005. godine turistička noćenja dosežu tek 87% maksimuma u poslijeratnom ciklusu, od tada pa sve do 2012. godine turističke dolaske i noćenja obilježavaju povremenim skokovima i padovima koji osciliraju oko stagnacije. Zbog toga je cijelo razdoblje od 2005. godine do danas uvršteno u fazu stagnacije. Minimum unutar stagnacije zabilježen je 2009. godine, kada su glavna emitivna turistička tržišta duboko u recesiji, a tome doprinose i unutarnji faktori, posebno slabo razvijena turistička ponuda koja se svodi na iznajmljivanje smještaja i posjete NP Mljet te manjak izvanpansionskih sadržaja (posebno barova i restorana).

U fazi stagnacije turizam se širi u gotovo sva otočna naselja. Godine 2006. u turizam ulaze Kozarica, Prožurska Luka, Saplnara i Sobra, a 2009. godine i Okuklje. Radi se o malim naseljima smještenim u uvalama uz sjevernu i istočnu obalu s relativno brzim rastom turističkog prometa, ali se turizam svodi na iznajmljivanje manjeg broja soba i

also recorded a decrease in 2004, did not have any registered arrivals and overnight stays in private households, which either refers to an error in the statistics or that hosts did not register their guests. Additionally, tourism turnover in Ropa was not recorded at all, which leads to the conclusion that the camp (the only tourist facility) was closed in 2004.

Having in mind these shortcomings in the statistical registration of tourism turnover, the decrease in the average stay (4.9 days in 2004) can be explained either by the segmentation of the tourism market or not registering tourism turnover in the coastal tourism resorts with longer stays. At the same time, the share of international visitors continued to increase (77% of arrivals and 81% of overnight stays in 2004) due to the growing popularity of the island (Table 1).

Stagnation stage (2005-2014)

Although tourist arrivals in 2005 reached only 87% of the post-war maximum, from 2005 to 2012 tourist arrivals and nights recorded great oscillations with occasional leaps and declines, oscillating around stagnation. Therefore, the whole period from 2005 has been defined as the stagnation stage. The minimum within the stage was recorded in 2009 when the main tourist generating markets were deeply affected by the recession. The decline was also influenced by internal factors, such as the underdeveloped tourist offer, which was largely based on renting accommodation and visiting NP Mljet, accompanied by the lack of an additional offer (particularly bars and restaurants).

In the stagnation stage, almost all island settlements got involved into tourism. In 2006, tourism started to develop in Kozarica, Prožurska Luka, Saplnara, and Sobra, and in 2009 in Okuklje. All of those settlements

lače is added to Govedari, tourist arrivals and overnight stays in 2004 in those two settlements are considerably lower than in 2003.

apartmana u kućanstvima. U turizam se još uvijek ne uključuju Korita i Prožura, mala unutrašnja naselja s ostarjelim stanovništvom. U Maranovićima se u turizam kratkotrajno uključuje tek nekoliko kućanstava (2009. – 2012.), a u Blatu se prvi dolasci i noćenja registriraju tek zadnje promatrane godine.

U 2013. i 2014. godini ponovno je primjetan rast turističkog prometa koji se poklapa s gospodarskim oporavkom na europskim emitivnim tržištima i turističkim rastom u Hrvatskoj u cjelini. Stoga je 2014. godine registrirano ukupno 18.884 dolazaka i 88.384 noćenja, čak dvije trećine više nego na kraju faze konsolidacije. NP Mljet i dalje predstavlja glavno turističko područje otoka sa 64% dolazaka i noćenja. Samo Pomena, glavna turistička luka, ostvaruje polovicu turističkog prometa, a generira je jedini otočni hotel. Goveđari bilježe znatno niži turistički promet nego u fazi razvoja te je 2014. godine registrirano tek dvije trećine turističkog prometa iz 2003. godine. Istovremeno snažno raste turizam u Polačama koje ostvaruju 10% dolazaka i 7% noćenja, što uzrokuje snažnu fizionomsku i socioekonomsku transformaciju malog obalnog naselja. Budući da je zbog prirodne predispozicije područje Polača najatraktivnije nautičkim turistima, pretpostavlja se da se tamo ostvaruje najveći dio nautičkog turizma, no on prolazi potpuno neregistrirano. Ako se trima turističkim mjestima unutar NP Mljet pridoda turistički promet ostvaren u Kozarici i Ropi, malim obalnim naseljima smještenim na samoj granici, proizlazi da se u zapadnom dijelu otoka ostvaruje 72% dolazaka i 71% noćenja otoka (Tablica 3.).

Ipak, ostvarivanje više od četvrtine ukupnog turističkog prometa u ostatku otoka jasno ukazuje na prostornu difuziju turizma. To se posebno odnosi na Saplunaru (7% dolazaka i 10% noćenja), u kojoj se odvija intenzivna fizionomska transformacija pod utjecajem izgradnje smještaja u privatnim kućanstvima, te Sobre, u kojoj se turizam

were small tourism resorts located in bays on the north and east coast with a rather rapid increase in the tourism turnover, but tourism was limited to renting a few rooms and apartments in the households. The small settlements Korita and Prožura with aged population, located in the island interior, stayed out of tourism. Tourism turnover was briefly registered in a few households in Maranovići (2009-2012) while Blato recorded its first tourist arrivals and overnight stays in the last observed year.

In 2013 and 2014 Mljet recorded new growth in tourism turnover corresponding to economic revitalization on European tourist markets and general growth of tourism in Croatia. Therefore, in 2014, the island registered a total of 18,884 arrivals and 88,384 overnight stays, two-thirds more than at the end of the consolidation stage. NP Mljet is still the island's main tourism area, with 64% of arrivals and overnight stays. Only Pomena records half as much tourism turnover, generated mostly by the only hotel on the island. Goveđari has considerably lower tourism turnover than in the development stage, and in 2014 it registered only two-thirds of the tourism turnover recorded in 2003. At the same time, tourism in Polače has been rapidly growing, reaching 10% of arrivals and 7% of overnight stays, which has been causing intensive physical and socio-economic transformations in this small coastal settlement. Due to its natural advantages, Polače is the most appealing for nautical tourists and it is assumed that most of Mljet's nautical tourism takes place there, but this occurs completely unregistered. If tourism turnover in Kozarica and Ropa, small coastal settlements on the border of the national park, were to be added to previously mentioned resorts, the western part of the island would have 72% of the arrivals and 71% of the overnight stays of the whole island (Table 3).

However, a quarter of total tourism turnover, recorded on other parts of the island, clearly indicates a spatial diffusion of tourism. This has particularly affected Saplunara

razvijao i ranije (7% dolazaka i noćenja) (Tablica 3.). Međutim, turistički razvoj tih naselja svodi se isključivo na otvaranje novih postelja u kućanstvima dok dopunska ponuda gotovo ni ne postoji.

(7% of arrivals and 10% of overnight stays) where an intensive physical transformation has occurred due to construction of accommodation in households, and Sobra, where tourism developed even earlier (7% of arrivals and overnight stays) (Table 3). However, tourism development in those settlements is limited exclusively to new tourist beds in the households, while an additional offer hardly even existed.

Tablica 3. Turistički dolasci, noćenja i postelje po skupinama naselja otoka Mljeta 2014.
/ **Tab. 3. Tourist arrivals, overnight stays, and tourist beds by settlements groups on Mljet in 2014**

Naselje / Establishment	TURISTIČKI DOLASCI / TOURIST ARRIVALS			TURISTIČKA NOĆENJA / OVERNIGHT STAYS			Prosječni boravak / Average stay	Broj postelja / Number of beds
	Ukupno / Total	Domaći / Domestic	Inozemni / Intern.	Ukupno / Total	Domaći / Domestic	Inozemni / Intern.		
NP Mljet	12084	2227	9857	56297	8624	47673	4.7	687
Ostala – obalna Other – coastal	5017	443	4574	27392	2673	24719	5.5	588
Ostala – unutrašnja Other – interior	1089	30	1059	2793	68	2725	2.6	205
Ostala – ukupno Other – total	6800	513	6287	32087	2868	29219	4.7	827
Mljet – ukupno Mljet – total	18884	2740	16144	88384	11492	76892	4.7	1.514

Izvor: / Source: DZS (2011-2015)

Na Mljetu je 2014. godine ukupno registrirano 1.514 postelja, što pokazuje oscilacije na istoj razini u cijeloj fazi stagnacije. Smještajna struktura poprilično je nepovoljna s čak 54% postelja u privatnim kućanstvima koja doživljavaju ekspanziju u svim otočnim turističkim mjestima, a u nekima su jedini oblik smještaja (Blato, Okuklje, Polače, Prožurska Luka). Godine 2014. statistika bilježi poseban oblik smještaja *Sobe i apartmani* kao kolektivne jedinice u kategoriji *Ostalo*. Radi se o obliku smještaja srodnom kućanstvima koji čini 4,1% postelja (u Sapunari, Sobri i Goveđarima). U kampovima je registrirana petina ukupnih postelja, i to većinom unutar većeg kampa u Babinom Po-

Therefore, in 2014, Mljet registered 1,514 tourist beds, showing oscillations on the same level as in the whole stagnation stage. The accommodation structure is rather unfavorable, with 54% of beds in private households, which have expanded in all island resorts, and in some resorts they represent the only type of accommodation (Blato, Okuklje, Polače, Prožurska Luka). In 2014, the statistics registered a special type of accommodation “rooms and apartments” as collective units in the group “Other”. In reality, they represent accommodation units similar to private households and have a share of 4.1% (in Sapunara, Sobra and Goveđari). Camping sites recorded only a fifth of total beds, mostly

lju, a manjim dijelom u malim kampovima u Kozarici i Ropi. Na cijelom otoku i dalje postoji tek jedan hotel u Pomeni s 21% postelja cijelog otoka (DZS, 2011-2015).

Strukturu postelja odražava i struktura turističkih dolazaka i noćenja prema vrsti smještajnih kapaciteta. Izgradnjom novih objekata kućanstva su postala podjednako važna kao i hotel u ostvarivanju turističkog prometa te obje skupine čine 40 – 45% registriranih dolazaka i noćenja. Ako se privatnim kućanstvima dodaju sobe i apartmani za iznajmljivanje, koje se vode u kategoriji *Ostalo*, proizlazi da kućanstva i srodni oblici smještaja ostvaruju gotovo polovicu ukupnog turističkog prometa. Kampovi u Babinom Polju, Ropi i Kozarici ostvaruju znatno manji turistički promet (11% dolazaka i 6% noćenja), ali uvelike poboljšavaju turistički dojam jer omogućuju autentični doživljaj očuvane prirode.

Ipak, usporedno s promjenama u turističkoj ponudi odvija se kontinuirano smanjenje prosječnog boravka turista (4,7 dana 2014. godine), što je posljedica rastućeg trenda kraćih putovanja i segmentacije turističke potražnje, ali i nedostatnih izvanpansion-skih sadržaja na samom otoku. Iako posjet nacionalnom parku nije glavni motiv dolaska na otok za sve turiste, otok zbog zaštićene i očuvane prirode posjećuju visoko motivirani turisti potaknuti mogućnostima odmora u čistom prirodnom okolišu daleko od užurbanog načina života, što dodatno potencira i udaljenost od kopna. To se posebno odnosi na inozemne turiste, čiji se udio sve više povećava (2014. godine ostvarili su 86% dolazaka i 87% noćenja) (Tablica 1.). Smanjenje udjela domaćih turista može se dijelom objasniti i snažno izraženom gospodarskom i unutrašnjom krizom u Hrvatskoj koja im u uvjetima sve većih cijena smještaja, prijevoza i komplementarne turističke ponude čini boravak na Jadranu nedostižnim.

Unatoč pojedinim pozitivnim trendovima u hrvatskom turizmu, stagnacija u dru-goj polovici 2000-ih suočila je mjerodavne

within a large camping site in Babino Polje, and few in small camping sites in Kozarica and Ropa. There is still only one hotel located in Pomena (the only one on the island) with 21% of all tourist beds (DZS, 2011-2015).

The structure of tourist beds is reflected in the structure of tourist arrivals and overnight stays by the type of accommodation. By constructing new facilities, private households have become equally important to the hotel in accommodating tourists, and each group recorded 40-45% of registered tourist arrivals and overnight stays. If rooms and apartments in the "Other" category were added to the households, it turns out that private households and common types of accommodation carried almost half of the total tourism turnover. Camping sites in Babino Polje, Ropa and Kozarica have considerably lower tourism turnover (11% of arrivals and 6% of overnight stays) but they have largely improved the tourism image because they offer an authentic experience of preserved nature.

However, changes in the tourism offer have occurred parallel to the decline in the average stay of tourists (4.7 days in 2014). This is a result of the growing trend of shorter trips and segmentation of tourism demand, as well as the lack of additional activities on the island. Although visiting the national park is not the main motive for all tourists that come to the island, its protected and well-preserved nature attracts highly motivated tourists willing to spend their vacation in a clean natural environment far away from the stresses of daily life; this is additionally amplified by the distance from the mainland. This also refers particularly to international tourism demand, whose share is still increasing (in 2014, international tourists recorded 86% of arrivals and 87% of overnight stays) (Table 1). The decrease in the share of domestic tourists can be explained by the strong economic and internal crisis in Croatia, which makes a stay in the Adriatic unreachable for many, under the conditions of growing prices of accommodation, transport, and additional tourism offer.

institucije s mogućom prijetnjom ponovnog opadanja turističkog prometa. Stoga institucije zadužene za razvoj turizma na državnoj, regionalnoj i lokalnoj razini donose strategije i planove budućeg turističkog razvoja u Hrvatskoj koji bi trebao ostvariti pomak od monokulture ljetnog odmorišnog turizma prema kompleksu koji, uz ljetni odmorišni turizam, čine različiti složeni oblici turizma temeljeni na raznovrsnoj turističkoj ponudi. Godine 2013. donosi se *Strategija razvoja turizma Republike Hrvatske do 2020.* te županijske strategije, od kojih je za Mljet najvažnija *Strategija razvoja turizma Dubrovačko-neretvanske županije 2012. – 2022.* (ZPP DNŽ, 2013). Strategija na Mljetu predviđa intenzivnije povećanje smještajnih kapaciteta i turističkog prometa temeljeno na razvoju ljetnog odmorišnog, nautičkog, ruralnog i turizma posebnih interesa (ekoturizma). Planirano povećanje smještajnih kapaciteta za 50% na 2.650 postelja 2020. godine ostvarilo bi se izgradnjom novog ekoturističkog naselja s 400–500 postelja u okolici Saplunare, izgradnjom marine sa 150 vezova u blizini NP Mljet i otvaranjem 100 novih postelja u prenamijenjenim postojećim ruralnim objektima (kuće za odmor i *bed&breakfast*) (ZPP DNŽ, 2013). Time bi se riješila sadašnja situacija, u kojoj nautičari neorganizirano i neregistrirano sidre u brojnim uvalama, no ni u jednom naselju nema adekvatne i koordinirane turističke ponude te često dolaze u koliziju s kupališnim turizmom. Stoga je izgradnja marine poželjna, tim više što bi uključila koncentraciju većeg broja ugostiteljskih objekata od čega bi koristili imali svi turisti na otoku.

Na temelju navedenih projekata planira se dosegnuti 200.000 noćenja do 2020. godine, 2,5 puta više u odnosu na 2014. godine. Hoteli bi trebali realizirati 50% noćenja, kampovi 4%, kućanstva 20%, a luka nautičkog turizma i ruralni objekti 26%. Ljetni odmorišni turizam i dalje bi trebao ostvarivati većinu noćenja (60%), a ostatak bi se generirao unutar nautičkog (20%), ruralnog (10%)

Despite certain positive trends in Croatian tourism, stagnation in the first half of the 2000s presented the institutions in charge of tourism with the potential threat of a new decline of tourism turnover. Therefore, these institutions aimed to develop tourism on the national, regional, and local levels have been creating strategies and plans for future tourism development in Croatia that should make them turn away from the monoculture of coastal tourism to a complex offer consisting of coastal tourism and various forms of tourism based on Croatia's abundant tourism options. In 2013, the *Strategy of Tourism Development of the Republic Croatia* was adopted, as well as counties' strategies, among which the *Strategy of Tourism Development of Dubrovnik-Neretva County* (ZPP DNŽ, 2013) is the most important (the island of Mljet is part of Dubrovnik-Neretva County). The strategy proposes an intensive increase in the accommodation capacities and tourism turnover on the island based on the development of coastal, nautical, rural, and special interest tourism (e.g. ecotourism). A planned increase of 50% in accommodation capacities, to 2,650 beds in 2020, should be realized by constructing a new ecotourism resort with 400-500 beds near Saplunara and a new marina with 150 berths near NP Mljet, and by opening 100 new beds in rural facilities converted from existing houses (vacation houses and bed & breakfast) (ZPP DNŽ, 2013). This would definitely help to solve the current situation, in which nautical tourists anchor their ships in small bays in an unorganized and unregistered manner, and there is no adequate and coordinated tourism offer in any settlement, which is at odds with coastal tourism. Therefore, a new marina is desirable, and, furthermore, it would attract a concentration of many catering facilities, which would be favorable for all tourists on the island.

Based on the aforementioned projects, the strategy plans to reach 200,000 overnight stays on Mljet by 2020, 2.5 times more than in 2014. In the future, hotels should reach 50% of overnight stays, households 20%, and the

i turizma posebnih interesa (10%). Pritom bi nautički i turizam posebnih interesa imali najvažniju ulogu u izgradnji imidža otoka (ZPP DNŽ, 2013). Treba napomenuti da će realizacija ovih planova uvelike ovisiti o financijskoj i demografskoj situaciji na otoku te da je upitna njihova puna ostvarivost do predviđenog roka, a upravo o tome će ovisiti i daljnji tijek razvojnog ciklusa otoka.

6. RASPRAVA

Analiza razvojnog ciklusa otoka Mljeta u potpunosti je ispunila zadani cilj i pokazala je da, unatoč zaštiti, područje pokazuje tijek ciklusa karakterističan za primorska turistička područja, a ne za zaštićena područja (usp. Boyd, 2006; Weizenegger, 2006; Armatiene i dr., 2014; Šulc, 2014; 2016; Duffy, 2015). Unatoč važnosti zaštićene prirode, teško je izdvojiti primarni motiv dolaska turista na otok, pogotovo zato što se motivi vezani uz posjet zaštićenom području uglavnom preklapaju s motivima vezanim uz boravak na suncu uz more. Primarna motivacija posjeta zaštićenom području vidljiva je samo kod jednodnevnih izletnika iz okolnog područja. To potvrđuje ranije iznesenu činjenicu da se razvojni ciklus zaštićenih područja treba nezostavno promatrati zajedno s okolnim područjem koje mu gravitira u funkcionalnom smislu.

Analiza je također potvrdila pretpostavku iz prijašnjih istraživanja da Butlerov model predstavlja idealiziranu aproksimaciju razvoja turizma i turističkog područja dok u stvarnosti turistički razvoj područja može znatno odstupati, što se objašnjava različitim teorijama i modelima (Weaver, 2000). Za razliku od većine radova koji uzimaju broj turističkih dolazaka (usp. Butler, 1980; Hovinen, 1981; Agarwal, 1997; Douglas, 1997; Lundtorp i Wanhill, 2001; Russo, 2006), u istraživanju razvojnog ciklusa otoka Mljeta upotrijebljen je broj turističkih noćenja na koje su u određivanju granica faza primijenjeni

marina and rural establishments 26%. Coastal tourism should still be generating the majority of overnight stays (60%) and the rest would be recorded in nautical (20%), rural (10%), and special interest tourism (10%). Nautical and special interest tourism are expected to have the most important role in creating the image of the island (ZPP DNŽ, 2013). It is important to stress that the realization of those plans will largely depend upon the financial and demographic situation on the island, and that they will determine the future life cycle of tourism, but they are not likely to be fully accomplished until the proposed deadline.

6. DISCUSSION

The analysis of the life cycle of Mljet has shown that, despite protection, the course of the life cycle is typical for seaside tourism areas and not for protected areas (See: Boyd, 2006; Weizenegger, 2006; Armatiene et al., 2014; Šulc, 2014; 2016; Duffy, 2015). Despite the importance of protected nature, it was difficult to define the primary motive for visitation; furthermore, the motives related to visitation of protected areas usually overlapped with motives related to leisure, i.e. sun and surf. Daily excursionists from other destinations are the only visitors whose primary motivation was to visit the protected area. This confirmed the aforementioned fact that the life cycle of a protected area should inevitably be investigated together with the surrounding area.

The analysis also confirmed the statement from previous research that Butler's model represents an ideal approximation of development of tourism, while, in reality, tourism development of an area can deviate significantly from the curve, which is explained using different theories and models (Weaver, 2000a). Unlike most papers that use tourist arrivals (See: Butler, 1980; Hovinen, 1981; Agarwal, 1997; Douglas, 1997; Lundtorp and Wanhill, 2001; Russo, 2006), the investigation of the life cycle of Mljet was conducted using the number of overnight

kriteriji Lundtorpa i Wanhill (2001). Iako je primjena turističkih noćenja dala očekivani rezultat, rad je pokazao da se analiza turističkih područja s malim turističkim prometom ne može oslanjati samo na jedan pokazatelj, nego je potrebno kombinirati više kvantitativnih indikatora i kvalitativnih obilježja turizma. Ovisnost o malom broju smještajnih objekata i skokoviti rast često dovode do vrlo kratkog trajanja faza ili njihovog preskakanja dok stvarne karakteristike turizma ne prate fazu u kojoj se područje nalazi prema kvantitativnim pokazateljima (usp. Agarwal, 1997; Lundtorp i Wanhill, 2001; Andriotis, 2006a; 2006b; Pulina i Biagi, 2006). To pokazuje da je analiza razvojnog ciklusa turističkih područja s malim obujmom turističkog prometa čak i zahtjevnija za istraživanje jer njihov turistički razvoj ovisi o otvaranju pojedinih smještajnih objekata, zbog čega pokazatelji nerijetko daju iskrivljenu sliku stvarnog stanja. Stoga je u analizi razvojnog ciklusa takvih turističkih područja uputno uzimati turistička noćenja kao realniji pokazatelj intenziteta turizma u turističkom području i kombinirati ga s drugim pokazateljima razvoja ili pritiska turizma. Na taj će se način izbjeći diskrepancija između faze dobivene na temelju statističkih pokazatelja i inducirane izgradnjom pojedinih smještajnih objekata te stvarne razine turističkog razvoja.

U istraživanju su se pojavili neki otprije poznati problemi vezani uz istraživanje razvojnog ciklusa, poput promjene metodologije prikupljanja i objavljivanja statističkih podataka o turističkom prometu (usp. Agarwal, 1997). No, veći dio potencijalnih problema prevladan je ili ublažen upotrebom više različitih metoda i pokazatelja. Ipak, analizirani razvojni ciklus prikazuje manji intenzitet razvoja turizma od stvarnog jer nije mogao uključiti neregistrirani turistički promet na kopnu i u nautičkom turizmu. To upućuje na zaključak da se analiza razvojnog ciklusa manjih turističkih područja ne bi trebala provoditi samo na temelju statističkih pokazatelja, nego bi neizbježno trebala

stays, on which the criteria of Lundtorp and Wanhill (2001) were applied to determine the stage boundaries. Although the application of overnight stays brought the expected result, this paper demonstrated that the analysis of tourism areas with small tourism turnover could not rely only on one indicator, but that it should be combined with other quantitative indicators and qualitative characteristics of tourism. Dependence on few accommodation facilities and sudden growth often leads to skipping stages or their short duration, while the real characteristics of tourism did not follow the stage in which tourism actually was, according to the quantitative criteria (see: Agarwal, 1997; Lundtorp and Wanhill, 2001; Andriotis, 2006a; 2006b; Pulina and Biagi, 2006). This confirmed the presumption that the analysis of the life cycle in areas with low tourism turnover was even more demanding to investigate because tourism development in those areas depended highly upon the opening of individual accommodation facilities, due to which the indicators often provided a distorted image of the real situation. Therefore, analyzing the life cycle in those areas, using overnight stays as a more objective indicator of the intensity of tourism development combined with other indicators of tourism development or pressure, is highly recommended. That would prevent the discrepancy between the stage determined by statistical indicators and induced by constructing individual accommodation facilities, and the actual level of tourism development.

The research revealed some previously-known problems related to the investigation of the life cycle, i.e. the changes in the methodology of collecting and publishing statistical data on tourism turnover (see: Agarwal, 1997), but most potential problems were overcome by using several methods and indicators. However, the analyzed life cycle demonstrated a lower intensity of tourism development than what was actually taking place, because it could not include unregistered tourism turnover on the island and in

uključivati terensko istraživanje te uvid u stvarno odvijanje turizma u tom području.

Doprinos ovog rada predstavlja analizu prekinutog razvojnog ciklusa i njegova obnova nakon rata. Ipak, razvojni ciklus ne odgovara predloženom Weaverovom (2000b) modelu zbog činjenice da otok nikada nije bio izravno zahvaćen ratom. Zbog toga je razvoj turizma na Mljetu razmatran u okviru dva odvojena razvojna ciklusa (Šulc, 2014; 2016). Kao i većina turističkih područja na Europskom Sredozemlju, Mljet prvu stagnaciju doživljava već sredinom 1980-ih, nakon čega ubrzo započinje blago opadanje (Formica i Uysal, 1996; Andriotis, 2001; 2003; 2004; 2006a; 2006b; Erotokritakis i Andriotis, 2006; Pulina i Biagi, 2006; Chapman i Speake, 2011). Međutim, u razdoblju kada druga sredozemna područja intenzivno rade na revitalizaciji i restrukturiranju turističke ponude, razvojni ciklus Mljeta potpuno prekida rat. Da nije bilo rata, turizam na Mljetu bi vjerojatno nastavio opadati te bi bilo nužno hitno donošenje aktivnih mjera za sprečavanje opadanja i revitalizaciju turizma.

Završetak rata dovodi do obnove turizma na temelju iste turističke ponude i motivacije turista kao i prije rata te je ne prate veća ulaganja u unaprjeđenje turističke ponude. Nakon kratkotrajnog ubrzanog turističkog rasta, i to već sredinom 2000-ih dovodi do nove faze stagnacije, koja zahtijeva hitnu primjenu mjera za unaprjeđenje turističke ponude i zadržavanje postojeće razine posjećenosti. Iz toga proizlazi da je prekid uzrokovan ratom imao za posljedicu odgodu promjene turističke ponude za minimalno 15 godina u odnosu na druge sredozemne destinacije (Aguiló i dr., 2006; Pulina i Biagi, 2006; Chapman i Speake, 2011). Ipak, važno je istaknuti da unatoč stagnaciji otok nije doživio intenzivan turistički razvoj te da je turistička posjećenost na značajno nižoj razini nego u drugim turističkim područjima u Hrvatskoj. Uz manju receptivnu ponudu, to je odraz stvarne, troškovne i perceptivne

nautical tourism. This has led to the conclusion that the analysis of the life cycle in small tourism areas should not be conducted using only statistical indicators, rather that it should inevitably include some sort of field survey and insight into "real" development of tourism in that area.

The contribution of this paper is the analysis of an interrupted life cycle and its revitalization after a war. However, the life cycle did not correspond to the proposed model of Weaver (2000b), due to the fact that the island was never directly affected by war. Therefore, tourism development on Mljet was investigated within two separate life cycles (Šulc, 2014; 2016). As most tourism areas in the European Mediterranean, Mljet faced its first stagnation in the mid-1980s, after which tourism soon started to decline (Formica and Uysal, 1996; Andriotis, 2001; 2003; 2004; 2006a; 2006b; Erotokritakis and Andriotis, 2006; Pulina and Biagi, 2006; Chapman and Speake, 2011). However, in the period when other Mediterranean destinations put much more effort into revitalizing and restructuring their tourism offer, the war in Croatia completely interrupted the life cycle on Mljet. If there had been no war, tourism on the island would probably have continued to decline and it would have been necessary to create active measures to prevent this and to achieve the revitalization of tourism.

The end of the war encouraged the revitalization of tourism that occurred, based on the same tourism offer and motivation of tourists as before (the war) and was not followed by larger investments into improving the island's tourism offer. After a short-lived accelerated spurt of tourism growth, it led to the new stagnation stage by the mid-2000s, which required urgent application of measures designed to improve the tourism offer and to maintain the existing level of visitation. Consequently, it can be concluded that the interruption of the cycle imposed by the war resulted in setting back the changes in the tourism offer for at least 15 years in regard to other Mediterranean destinations

udaljenosti, zbog čega Mljet posjećuju visoko motivirani turisti željni boravka u visoko vrijednoj i očuvanoj prirodi. Stoga se pretpostavlja da će otok, unatoč stagnaciji, i u budućnosti generirati određenu turističku potražnju.

Dakle, pojava rata dovodi do opadanja i prekida turizma u razvojnem ciklusu ne samo u onim područjima koja su izravno zahvaćena ratom, nego i u drugim područjima podalje od ratne opasnosti. U odbijanju turista da posjete taj prostor ključni su stanje smanjene sigurnosti i atmosfera straha zbog kojih turisti odabiru druga, sigurnija turistička područja. Iako opadanje izazvano ratom ima vrlo nepovoljne socioekonomske posljedice na turističko područje, ako receptivna ponuda i turističke atrakcije nisu oštećeni, turisti se vrlo brzo počinju vraćati u turističko područje, što označava spontani oporavak turizma i/ili ulazak u novi razvojni ciklus. Zbog prethodno navedenih faktora taj se oporavak ne može smatrati fazom (ponovnog) otkrivanja, nego uključivanja u turizam, koja, zbog intenzivnog rasta turističkog prometa, vrlo brzo prelazi u fazu razvoja. Međutim, ako se takav oblik oporavka ne iskoristi za prestrukturiranje turističke ponude i ako se razvojem turizma ne upravlja sustavno, turističko se područje vrlo brzo suočava s ponovnom stagnacijom i potencijalnim opadanjem, a da nije ni dosegnuta razina ranije turističke posjećenosti.

7. ZAKLJUČAK

Primjer Mljeta potvrđuje da razvoj turizma čak i u populacijski malim područjima s apsolutno malim obujmom turističkog prometa odgovara razvojnem ciklusu turističkog područja. Model otoka Mljeta dovodi u opasnost održivost razvoja turizma jer se zrele faze događaju vrlo brzo, a posjećenost izrazito ovisi o posebnoj motiviranosti turista, što rezultira velikim oscilacijama i mogućim padovima. Stoga pravi izazov predstavlja

(Aguiló et al., 2006; Pulina and Biagi, 2006; Chapman and Speake, 2011). However, it is important to stress that despite the stagnation, the island did not achieve intensive tourism development, and tourism turnover is still considerably lower than in other tourism areas in Croatia. Besides its lower receptive offer, this is a reflection of reality, cost, and perceptive distance, due to which Mljet is visited mostly by highly-motivated tourists for its precious, preserved nature. Therefore, it is presumed that, in spite of the stagnation, the island will continue to generate a certain level of tourism demand in the future.

The paper showed that the beginning of war led to a decline and interruption in the life cycle, not only in tourism areas directly affected by the war, but also in other areas further away from the threat of war. Key factors that prevented tourists from visiting the area were the state of reduced safety and the atmosphere of fear, due to which tourists chose to visit other, safer tourism areas. Although the decline caused by the war had very unfavorable socio-economic impacts on the area, if the respective capacities and tourist attractions were not damaged, tourists begin to return very soon after the war, which is a signal of the spontaneous revitalization of tourism and/or transition to a new life cycle. Having the previous factors in mind, the revitalization cannot be considered as a stage of (new) exploration, rather as a new involvement stage that will soon be replaced by a development stage due to the intensive increase in tourism turnover. Though, if the revitalization is not used for restructuring the tourism offer and if tourism development is not managed systematically, the area will soon face a new stagnation and potential decline, without having reached the previous level of visitation.

7. CONCLUSION

The example of Mljet confirmed that tourism development in areas with small population and low tourism turnover corresponds to

mogućnost umjerenog povećanja turističke posjećenosti, uz blago obogaćivanje turističke ponude aktivnostima i sadržajima primjerenima otočnom ambijentu, a da se pritom ne naruši očuvana priroda koji predstavlja glavni motiv privlačenja turista na otok. Kao glavni imperativ nameće se kvalitetno integrirano upravljanje turizmom kako bi se riješili problemi vezani uz turizam, zaštitio okoliš te razvila ujednačenija i raznovrsna turistička ponuda temeljena na različitim oblicima turizma. To bi omogućilo optimalno vrednovanje otoka i dolazak većeg broja turista u vremenski duljem razdoblju u godini bez povećanja pritiska na prostor. Stoga će upravo o kvalitetnom upravljanju destinacijom u budućnosti ovisiti tijek razvoja turizma i kretanja unutar razvojnog ciklusa.

Model razvojnog ciklusa u ovom obliku omogućuje utvrđivanje faktora i procesa koji su utjecali na tijek razvoja turizma i pomaže uspješnijem upravljanju turističkim područjem. S obzirom na kriterije koji su određeni kao relativni pokazatelji, može ga se jednostavno primijeniti i na druga primorska turistička područja s različitim intenzitetom razvoja turizma, radi planiranja aktivnosti koje će dovesti do maksimiziranja pozitivnih i umanjivanja negativnih učinaka turizma. Daljnji tijek istraživanja trebao bi ispitati primjenjivost ovog modela na druge tipove turističkih područja, posebno na gradove i zaštićena područja u unutrašnjosti.

the tourism area life cycle. The model on the island of Mljet threatens the sustainability of tourism development, because mature stages occur rapidly and the level of visitation is highly dependent upon specific tourist motivation, which results in great oscillations and possible decline. Therefore, the challenge is to increase the tourism turnover moderately and to improve the tourism offer incrementally through activities and facilities adjusted to the local ambience – that do not disrupt preserved nature, i.e. the main tourism attraction. Hence, the main imperative is quality integrative tourism management, which should solve the problems related to tourism, protect the environment, and develop a more balanced and diverse tourism offer based on different forms of tourism. This would enable an optimal valorization of the island and attract more tourists over a longer tourism season, without increasing pressure on the area. Consequently, further development of tourism and changes within the life cycle will depend primarily upon quality destination management.

The life cycle model in this form enables the determination of factors and processes which influenced the progress of tourism development, and aids in the more-successful management of a tourism area. Due to criteria defined as relative indicators, it can easily be applied to other seaside tourism areas with different intensities of tourism development, in order to plan activities which will lead to maximizing the positive and diminishing negative impacts of tourism. Further research should question the applicability of this model to other types of tourism areas, particularly in cities and protected areas on the mainland.

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