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TURIZAM MALIH OTOKA: KRITIČKI OSVRT

SMALL ISLANDS TOURISM: A REVIEW

Turist turističkom agentu:

„Želim ići na usamljeni otok – s bogatim noćnim životom“.

Tourist to travel agent:

‘I want to go to a lonely island – with a lot of nightlife’.

SAŽETAK: U ovom članku razmatraju se osnovna pitanja i problemi svojstveni za turizam malih otoka koji se pojavio s razvojem zrakoplovstva nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata. Nakon definiranja pojma ‘otok’ i udjela otoka s razvijenim turizmom u svijetu, raspravlja se pet osnovnih tema: osobine koje neki otok čine privlačnim turistima, napetost između opće prihvaćenih mentalnih slika otoka i otočne stvarnosti, ambivalentni ekonomski učinci razvoja masovnog turizma te utjecaja otočnog turizma na okoliš. Zaključno se u članku skreće pozornost na premalo istraživana pitanja u području (otočnog turizma) naglašavajući potrebu integracije proučavanja otočnog turizma s rastućim područjem proučavanja otoka te se predlaže da se u istraživanju otočnog turizma u obzir uzmu i nova konceptualna saznanja o pomorskim studijama.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: otočni turizam, mentalne slike otoka, razvoj otočnog turizma, odnosi između turista i otočana, učinci otočnog turizma na okoliš

ABSTRACT: This article reviews the principal issues and problems inherent in small island tourism, as it emerged with the development of aviation after the Second World War: after dealing with the problem of definition of ‘island’ and the proportion of islands with a tourist industry among the world’s islands, the article discusses five major issues: the traits which make an island attractive to tourists, the tension between the popular imagery of islands and island reality, the relationships between tourists and islanders, the ambivalent economic effects of mass tourism development, and the environmental impacts of island tourism. In conclusion, the article draws attention to under-researched issues in the field, stresses the need to integrate island tourism studies with the emergent field of island studies, and suggests that island tourism researchers take account of new conceptual developments in marine studies.

Key words: island tourism, island imagery, island tourism development, tourist-islanders relations, island tourism environmental effects

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1. OTOCI KAO TURISTIČKE ATRAKCIJE

S naglim razvojem turizma na Zapadu, otoci, naročito oni mali, postali su glavne turističke atrakcije (Becker, 1969). Unatoč toj opće prihvaćenoj činjenici, puno manja je svijest o tomu da je broj otoka koji privlače značajan broj turista, iako stalno u usponu, vrlo malen u odnosu na velik broj otoka u oceanima, morima, jezerima i rijekama na zemlji. Stoga je važno odrediti posebne osobine otoka koji privlače turiste i ustanoviti glavne tokove i posljedice razvoja turizma na njima.

Definirati „otok“ složen je zadatak. Denotativno značenje je jednostavno: „Kopno okruženo vodom.“ No, konotativno je teže, a odnosi se na sve od osamljene stijene u moru do kontinenta poput Australije. Stoga se postavlja pitanje, koju veličinu kopnene mase možemo zvati „otokom“. Uvođenjem podkategorija i razlikovanjem manjih otoka, otočića i morskih hridi problem se pojašnjava, ali ne i rješava. Budući da ne postoji konsensus oko točnog određenja otoka, razlike procjena broja otoka na svijetu, na nekom području ili državi, su velike. Ukupan broj otoka na svjetskim morima stoga se ne može odrediti, ali procjena je nekoliko stotina tisuća. U ovome se članku bavimo prvenstveno otocima u „toplim vodama“ (Brown i Cave, 2010:88) u četiri svjetske regije koje turisti najviše posjećuju; njihov broj se procjenjuje kako slijedi: Tihi ocean oko 15.000, Jugoiistočna Azija oko 20.000, Karipsko područje oko 7.000, Sredozemlje oko 1.460; postoji još skoro 2.000 otoka na Maldivima te nekoliko većih otoka i skupina malih otoka u Indijskom oceanu. Otoci u „hladnim vodama“ (Brown i Cave, 2010:88) u subpolarnim i polarnim područjima obaju hemisfera, iako su zanimljivi po svojoj prirodnoj ljepoti, privlače relativno malo turista i nisu predmet razmatranja ovog osvrta.

1. ISLANDS AS TOURIST ATTRACTIONS

With the rapid development of Western tourism, islands, particularly small ones, became major tourist attractions (Becker, 1969). While this is generally recognized, it is much less noted that the number of islands which attract a significant number of tourists, though steadily growing, constitutes just a small proportion of the huge number of islands found in the oceans, seas, lakes and rivers of the Earth. It is therefore important to identify the particular traits of those islands which attract tourists, and identify the principal processes and consequences of their development for tourism.

The definition of 'island' is a complicated matter. The connotation is easy: "Land surrounded by water". But the denotation is difficult: the connotation covers everything, from an isolated sea-rock to a continent, such as Australia. Hence the question, how big or small should such a land-mass be to be called an 'island'. The issue is refined, but not solved, by the introduction of sub-categories, distinguishing substantial islands from islets or sea-rocks. Owing to the absence of an agreed denotation, there are big differences between estimates of the number of islands in the world, in a world region, or in a state. The total number of islands in the world's seas, hence cannot be strictly determined, but it is estimated on the order of several hundred thousands. This article is concerned primarily with 'warm water' (Brown and Cave, 2010:88) islands in the four world regions which are most popular with tourists; their numbers are estimated as follows: Pacific Ocean, about 15,000, South East Asia, about 20,000, the Caribbean region about 7,000, the Mediterranean region about 1,460; there are also close to 2000 islands in the Maldives, and several bigger islands and small island groups in the Indian Ocean. 'Cold-water' islands (Brown and Cave, 2010:88) in the sub-polar or polar re-

Otoci se često nalaze u skupinama ili arhipelazima (Mountz, 2014), obično s jednim ili nekoliko velikih i više manjih otoka. U prošlosti se proučavanje otoka više koncentriralo na pojedinačne otoke, ali postupno je prepoznata potreba pregleda njihovog mjesta i uzajamnih odnosa unutar arhipelaga. Hayward (2012:1) predlaže holističku analizu pojma 'aquapelag' kao „međuodnosa morskih i kopnenih prostora u područjima ... u kojima se mali dijelovi kopna agregiraju u morske prostore.“ Taj termin čini se korisnim u proučavanju nekih oblika pomorskog turizma, kao što su jedrenje i krstarenje među otocima u arhipelagu.

Politički, većina otoka pripada državama na kopnu, a malo ih ima autonomne političke entitete, poznate kao SIDS (Small Island Developing States) (Singh, 2008). Zbog velike raznolikosti lokacija, veličina i političkih statusa otoka teško je i nepouzdanost generalizirati zaključke o bilo kojoj temi pa i o turizmu.

Ne znamo koliko otoka ugošćuje turiste. Oni posjećuju veliki broj otoka, ali postotak onih koji imaju značajniji turizam relativno je malen, iako se sve više širi. Mnoštvo otočnog turizma je koncentrirano na nekoliko vrlo popularnih otoka i otočnih skupina, kao što su Havaji, Bali, Jamajka, Mallorca i Phuket.

Na pitanje o tomu što turistima otok čini privlačnim, predlažem četiri osnovne osobine:

1. Klima: tropska (Belle i Bramwell, 2005:35) ili blaga (ljeti)
2. Veličina: dovoljno velik da pruži osnovne usluge (zračna luka, smještajni kapaciteti restorani i zabavni objekti), ali ne prevelik da ne izgubi osjećaj otočnosti
3. Pristupačnost: lako dostupno zračnim ili morskim putem (ili mostom, nasipom)
4. Priobalni okoliš: pješčane plaže i toplo i prozirno (čisto) more.

gions of both hemispheres, though of interest for their natural beauty, attract relatively few tourists, and are not discussed in this review.

Islands often appear in groups, or archipelagos (Mountz, 2014), usually consisting of one or several big, and a number of smaller islands. In the past, island researchers tended to concentrate on single islands, but gradually recognized the need to look at their position and mutual relationships within archipelagos. Hayward (2012:1) recently proposed the concept of 'aquapelago' for a holistic analysis of 'the interrelation of marine and terrestrial spaces in areas... in which small fragments of land are aggregated in marine spaces.' This term seems to be of use in studies of some forms of marine tourism, such as yachting and cruising between islands in an archipelago.

Politically, most islands belong to mainland states, but a few are autonomous political entities known as SIDS (Small Island Developing States) (Singh, 2008). The great variety in location, size and political status of islands makes generalizations on any topic, including tourism, difficult and precarious.

We do not know how many islands host tourists. A great number of islands are visited by tourists, but the percentage of those having a substantial tourist industry is relatively low, but expanding. The mass of island tourism is concentrated on a number of highly popular islands and island groups, such as Hawaii, Bali, Jamaica, Mallorca, and Phuket.

This raises the question what makes an island attractive to tourists. I suggest four principal traits:

1. Climate: tropical (Belle and Bramwell, 2005:35) or mild (during summers).
2. Size: big enough to provide basic services (such as an airport, accommodations, restaurants and entertainment facilities) but not too big to lose its feel of 'islandness.'
3. Accessibility: easily accessible by air or boat [or causeway].
4. Coastal environment: sandy beaches and warm and clear seawater.

Iako potencijalni turisti možda mogu zamišljati odlazak na „dalek“ ili „usamljen otok“, većina suvremenih turista preferira relativno velike i lako pristupačne otoke u toplim vodama (Brown i Cave, 2010:88) s blagom, tropskom ili subtropskom klimom (u sezoni) i pješčane plaže. Međutim, male nenastanjene otočiće kupuju vrlo bogati pojedinci za svoje osobne rajeve (vidjeti popis privatnih otoka na *Wikipedia*, n.d.).

Prevladavajuće preferencije imaju neke značajne posljedice na dinamiku razvoja otočnog turizma. Prvo, jednom kad otok poprimi atraktivan imidž, broj turista vrto-glavo se penje ubrzavajući pružanje smještajnih i drugih povezanih usluga, što za uzvrat dovodi do sve većeg nesrazmjera između slike i stvarnosti te disfunkcionalnosti u okolišu koje ćemo kasnije razmatrati. Drugo, želja turista da budu blizu plaža utječe na dinamiku razvoja turizma: proces počinje gradnjom smještaja i drugih objekata na plažama na rubovima otoka, koji postupno ulaze u unutrašnjost, a s otežavanjem pristupa plažama stvaraju se umjetni nadomjesci za plaže, tj. bazeni. I treće, kako glavni otok u arhipelagu sve više postaje pretrpan turizmom, razvoj turizma postupno se seli na manje otoke počinjući sličan proces transformacije.

2. MENTALNE SLIKE OTOKA I STVARNOSTI

Otoci su oduvijek visoko kotirali u mašti čovjeka, provocirajući bogatu i kontrastirajuću brojnost slika koje grade značajnu osnovu za razvoj otočnog turizma. U povijesti Zapadnih poetskih slika otoci su lebdjeli između „raja“ i „pakla“ (Cohen, 2017:12-19; Manuel i Manuel, 1972) kao mjesta obilja i oskudice, utočišta i opasnosti. Otoci su idealizirani kao privlačni domovi „bezaslenih domorodaca“, ili su zastrašivali kao prebivališta ljudoždera i pirata. Otoci su privlačili umjetnike i pisce željne bijega od suvreme-

Though prospective tourists might fantasize about going to a ‘remote’ or ‘lonely island’, most contemporary mass tourists prefer relatively big, easily accessible ‘warm water’ (Brown and Cave, 2010:88) islands with a mild, tropical or sub-tropical climate (during the season), and sandy beaches. But small, uninhabited islets are purchased by very rich individuals, to serve as their personal paradises (see list of private islands on *Wikipedia*, n.d.).

The prevailing preferences have some significant consequences for the dynamics of island tourism development: First, once an island has acquired an attractive image, tourist numbers spiral, leading to an acceleration in the provision of accommodations and related services, which in turn ensues in a growing discrepancy between image and reality, and environmental dysfunctions, to be discussed below. Second, the tourists’ desire to be near beaches affects the dynamics of tourism development: the process starts with the establishment of accommodations and other facilities along the beaches on the islands’ margins, and gradually penetrates their interior; as access to the beaches becomes more difficult, artificial substitutes for beaches, particularly pools, are created. And third, as the main island in an archipelago becomes increasingly saturated with tourism, tourism development gradually moves to the smaller islands, stating a similar process of transformation.

2. ISLAND IMAGINARIES AND REALITIES

Islands have featured high in human imaginary, provoking a rich and contrasting multiplicity of images, which constitute an important background for the development of island tourism. In the historical Western imagery, the representations of islands hovered between Paradise and Hell (Cohen, 2017:12-19; Manuel and Manuel, 1972), a place of plenty and of scarcity, of refuge and of peril. Islands have been idealized as attractive sites of ‘innocent natives’, and feared

nog svijeta, ali su služili i kao mjesta izgnanstva kriminalaca i političkih protivnika. Ironija je u tomu da se neki od najstrašnijih otoka-zatvora iz prošlosti danas pokušavaju predstaviti kao turistički rajevi (Cohen, 2017; Hay, 2006:27).

U povijesti su rajske slike otoka uglavnom bile proizvodi mašte dok su ljudi na „stvarnim“ otocima u mnogim krajevima svijeta živjeli u oskudici i izolaciji. Prognanstvo na nenaseljeni otok doživljavalo se kao stravično iskustvo. Dobra ilustracija je očajnički boravak mladog junaka na golom Škotskom otočiću u romanu R. L. Stevenzona (Stevenson, 1886:106-116). U četiri područja koja razmatramo, otoci su često ostajali na marginama nastajućih nacionalnih država zbog čega je često bilo teško držati ih pod kontrolom. Otočna društva su često „insularna“, izolirana od društvenih struktura i sila na kopnu, obilježena unutrašnjim suparništva i mehanizmima autohtonog stanovništva u kontroli društva, a ponekad su i pod dominacijom onoga što nacionalne vlasti smatraju kriminalnim organizacijama, poput sicilijanske mafije (Gambetta, 1993). U mnogim nacionalnim državama u novim svjetskim područjima takve otočne strukture moći nisu se do dana današnjeg podredile državnim vlastima.

Otoci su postali privlačne destinacije za zapadnjake nakon popularizacije nekih otoka u djelima umjetnika i pisaca koji su otišli živjeti u trope i umjerene klimatske zone poput R. L. Stevenzona (Samoa), Paula Gauguina (Tahiti), Thea Meiera (Bali) i George Sands te puno kasnije Roberta Gravesa (Mallorca). Otočni turizam omogućen je i potaknut do današnjih golemih razmjera ubrzanim razvojem komercijalnog zrakoplovstva nakon Drugog svjetskog rata.

Ako uzmemo područje Pacifika kao glavni primjer, turizam je na tamošnje otoke projicirao sliku „stvarnih“, malih i udaljenih tropskih „rajeva“ koja je dostupna za užitek običnih turista „gdje se snovi mogu ispuniti“ (Schellhorn i Perkins, 2004). No,

as abodes of cannibals and pirates. Islands attracted artists and writers as escapes from the modern world, but were also designated as sites for the eviction of criminals and banishment of political opponents of states. Ironically, some of the feared island prisons of the past, presently seek to re-imagine themselves as tourist paradises (Cohen, 2017; Hay, 2006:27).

Historically, the paradisiac image of islands was mostly a product of fantasy, while human life on ‘real’ islands in many parts of the world was often one of scarcity and isolation. To be cast away on an uninhabited island was perceived as a horrible experience, as described, for example, by Robert Louis Stevenson’s young hero’s desperate sojourn on a barren Scottish islet (Stevenson, 1886:106-116). In the four regions under discussion, islands have often remained marginal to the emergent nation states, which often found it difficult to bring them under full control. Island societies tend to be ‘insular’, isolated from the mainland societal structures and forces, marked by internal power struggles and indigenous mechanisms of social control, and sometimes dominated by what the national authorities considered criminal organizations, such as the Sicilian mafia (Gambetta, 1993). In many nation states in the emergent world regions, such insular power structures have not been overcome by the states’ authorities up to the present.

Islands became attractive destinations for Westerners in the wake of the popularization of particular islands in the tropical or moderate climatic zones by expatriate artists and writers, such as Robert Louis Stevenson (Samoa), Paul Gauguin (Tahiti), Theo Meier (Bali), and George Sands, and, much later, Robert Graves (Mallorca). Island tourism became possible, and was spurred on to contemporary massive dimensions, by the rapid development of commercial aviation after the Second World War.

Taking the Pacific region as a leading example, the tourist industry cast upon the

kako su se „netaknuti“ prirodni Pacifički rajski otoci postupno mijenjali pod navalom masovnog turizma, ubrzo su se pojavila proturječja između „rajske“ slike otoka i njihove stvarnosti, što je navelo planere u turizmu na stvaranje standardizirane, pojednostavljene i stereotipne slike „tropskog otočnog raja“ (Cohen, 2004:264-276) koja se tada proširila i poslužila kao prototip za konstruiranje „otočnih rajeva“.

Dakako, mnogi su turistički visoko razvijeni nekadašnji „rajevi“ pretrpjeli potpuno nepopravljivu degradaciju okoliša u svojim tradicionalnim područjima unatoč tomu što su još uvijek vrlo omiljeni kod stranih posjetitelja. Na tim je otocima turizam često ograđen (Edensor, 2008): tamo su poduzetnici u turizmu često gradili „pozlaćene enklave“ heterotopijskih, umjetnih, bogatih turističkih „rajeva“ koji su funkcionalno, a katkad čak i fizički, segregirani „od okolnog prostora“ (Minca, 2000). Te su enklave često potpuno samostalne i odvojene od okoliša (Edensor, 2008), što je neokolonijalni fenomen koji doprinosi malo otočnom gospodarstvu, a puno netrpeljivosti mještana prema turistima.

3. TURISTI KAO OTOČANI

Turisti posjećuju otoke pretežito zbog odmora, a rjeđe zbog razgledanja atrakcija. Njih zanimaju pogodnosti, sadržaji i usluge više od kulture, uz neke značajne iznimke (kao što je Bali), i ne tiču ih se njihovi stanovnici koje često doživljavaju kao stereotip „prijateljskog domoroca“ koji im služi jela ili prodaje stvarčice. Promotivnom literaturom o otočnom turizmu, u kojoj se doslovce ignoriraju stanovnici otoka i naglašavaju fizičke ljepote i sadržaji otoka, učvršćuje se njihovo neuvažavanje (Costa, 1998:310; Echtner,

Pacific islands an image of ‘real’, small and remote tropical ‘paradises,’ which can be actually accessed and enjoyed by ordinary tourists: places, ‘where dreams may be fulfilled’ (Schellhorn and Perkins, 2004). But as ‘untouched’ natural Pacific paradise islands were gradually transformed under the onslaught of mass tourism, a discrepancy soon emerged between the ‘paradisic’ image of the islands and their reality, leading the industry planners to develop a standardized, simplified and stereotypical image of a ‘tropical island paradise’ (Cohen, 2004:264-276), which was then disseminated, and came to serve as a prototype for the construction of ‘island paradises.’

However, most touristically highly developed former ‘paradises’, while they remain highly popular with foreign visitors, suffered virtually irreversible environmental degradation of their long-standing tourist areas. Tourism on such islands tends to become enclavic (Edensor, 2008): on those islands, tourism developers increasingly created ‘gilded enclaves’ of heterotopic, artificial, affluent tourist ‘paradises,’ which are functionally and sometimes even physically segregated ‘from the surrounding territory’ (Minca, 2000); these enclaves tend to be completely self-contained and cut-off from their surroundings (Edensor, 2008), a neo-colonial phenomenon, which contributes little to the island economy, while increasing local hostility to tourists.

3. TOURISTS AND ISLANDERS

Tourists visiting islands are predominantly vacationers, rather than sightseers: They are interested in the amenities and services provided, rather than, with some notable exceptions (such as Bali), in the islands’ cultures, and are little concerned with their inhabitants, often perceiving them stereotypically as ‘friendly natives,’ serving meals or selling gadgets. The promotional literature for island tourism reinforces that disregard of the islands’ inhabitants, by virtually ignoring them (Costa, 1998:310; Echtner, 2010:83),

2010:83). U istraživanjima otočnog turizma proučavali su se stavovi stanovnika prema turistima (npr. Ribeiro, Pinto, Silva i Woosnam, 2017), ali rijetko se posvećivala pozornost na promjene u otočnim zajednicama koje prate razvoj turizma.

Mnoge otočne zajednice imaju neke posebnosti koje su često u suprotnosti sa slikom „rajskog“ otoka kakvu turizam promovira. Otočne zajednice često su uživale znatnu autonomiju: imali su vlastite strukture moći i mehanizme društvene kontrole, a njihova unutarnja politika bila je obilježena katkad nasilnim unutarnjim borbama između frakcija koje su se zasnivale na mjesnim i rodbinskim mrežama. Otočani su se često bavili aktivnostima koje su se u očima nacionalnih (ili internacionalnih) vlasti često smatrale nelegalnim djelatnostima, kao npr. krijumčarenje i piratstvo. Njihov društveni poredak održavao se i bio je podređen onima koje bi autsajderi mogli nazvati kriminalnim organizacijama, poput sicilijanske mafije (Gambetta, 1993). Otočani su općenito bili sumnjičavi prema strancima i od početka nisu shvaćali motive turista-posjetitelja. Rast turizma u nekim je slučajevima prouzročio razbuktavanje starih lokalnih konflikata, ili pojavu novih, naročito oko kontrole obalnih posjeda koji su u prošlosti malo vrijedili, a čije su vrijednosti eskalirale dolaskom turista i vanjskih investitora u turizam. S ogromnim rastom vrijednosti zemlje na nekim otocima, kao npr. Mauricijusu, Wortman, Donaldson i van Westen tvrde da su „sve veći nedostatak zemlje i rastuće cijene kuća onemogućili velikom broju lokalnih stanovnika da si mogu priuštiti dom“ (2016:139).

Turisti često nisu svjesni sumnjičavosti, netrpeljivosti ili prepredenosti koja se često skriva ispod prijateljskih osmjeha otočana upućenih naivnim posjetiteljima. Tako su turisti katkad izvrgnuti neočekivanoj i nerazumljivoj agresiji otočana. Iako ni na koji način ne namjeravaju generalizirati, vlastitim sam očima svjedočio takvim događajima na jednom od najpopularnijih otočnih

while stressing the islands' physical amenities. Researchers of island tourism have studied residents' attitudes to tourists (e.g. Ribeiro, Pinto, Silva and Woosnam, 2017), but rarely paid attention to the changes in island societies, which accompany tourism development.

Many island societies share some distinct features, which often stand in contrast to the 'paradisiac' island image promoted by the tourist industry. Island societies have frequently enjoyed a considerable autonomy: they had their own power structure and mechanisms of social control, and their internal politics, marked by sometimes violent infighting between factions, based on locality and kinship networks. Islanders often engaged in what national (or international) authorities considered illicit activities, such as smuggling and piracy. Their social order was in some instances maintained and dominated by what outsiders perceive as criminal organizations, such as the Sicilian Mafia (Gambetta, 1993). Islanders tended generally to be suspicious of strangers, and initially lacked comprehension of the motives of visiting tourists. The growth of tourism in some cases caused existing local conflicts to flare, or new ones to emerge, particularly around the control of beach properties, which have been of little economic use in the past, but whose value escalated with the arrival of tourists and outsider tourism developers. As land values rocketed on some islands, such as Mauritius, it was asserted that 'the increasing scarcity of land and rising house prices are making it impossible for growing numbers of local people to afford a place to live' (Wortman, Donaldson and van Westen, 2016:139).

Tourists tend to be unaware of the suspicions, animosity or cunning, often hiding beneath the smiling friendliness displayed by islanders toward their guileless visitors. This sometimes exposes tourists to unexpected and incomprehensive aggression by islanders. While by no means intended as a generalization, my own observations of the very early stages of bungalow tourism on, by now, one of the most popular island destinations in Thailand, bore witness to such exigencies.

destinacija na Tajlandu u ranim stadijima razvoja turizma.

Jedne me noći u kasnim 70-ima probudio vlasnik malog turističkog naselja (Cohen, 1982) na plaži Koh Samui i obavijestio da je skupina otočana, od kojih je jedan imao pušku, stigla s namjerom da ubiju neke strance jer su odbili platiti vozaču koji ih je dovezao. Otišao sam gostima javiti opasnost u kojoj su se našli, a oni su tvrdili da im je vozač u luci obećao besplatan prijevoz. Nesporazum s lokalnim ljudima ubrzo se izgadio uz tajlandski viski; no incident je lako mogao završiti ubojstvom.

Dolazak i rast turizma na otocima u mnogim je slučajevima potaknuo nacionalne vlade da postrože propise i kontrole te osiguraju veću zaštitu turista od samozvanih moćnika. No, lokalne strukture moći često su ustrajale ispod ulaštene površine zakona i reda. Tako je 2014. godine na drugom popularnom tajlandskom otočiću, Koh Tao, lokalna policija odbila ispitati članove glavnih otočnih obitelji o ubojstvu dvoje mladih turista s rukscima da bi na kraju za zločin optužila dvojicu ilegalnih radnika iz Burme na temelju labavih dokaza (Cohen, 2016). Oni su bili osuđeni na smrt, ali nakon nekoliko godina čekanja izvršenja, kazna im je 2020. godine preinačena u doživotan zatvor.

Dok otočani i njihova kultura možda nisu posebno privlačni turistima (Harrison i Pratt, 2015:8), turizam ima socio-kulturni utjecaj na otočane: dokazano je da smanjuje socijalnu koheziju i poštivanje tradicionalnih običaja (Kinseng *et al.*, 2018). Oblikovanje otočkih kultura, kako bi udovoljili navodnim očekivanjima turista, u mnogim je slučajevima, kao na primjer na Karibima, dovelo do „lažirane predstave za zaradu od turista“, jer su „autohtoni kulturni... atributi hotimice iskripljavani za cijenu zabave turista“ (Wong, 2015).

In the late 1970s, I was once woken at night by the owner of a small bungalow resort (Cohen, 1982) on a Koh Samui beach, who informed me that a group of islanders, one carrying a gun, arrived with the intention to shoot some foreigners, because they had insulted a pick-up driver, who brought them to the resort, by refusing to pay for the transportation (claiming that the driver at the port promised to provide free transport to the resort). I went to talk to the newcomers and explained the danger in which they found themselves. They quickly agreed to make up with the locals by offering them a bottle of Thai whisky; but the incident might have easily ended in murder.

The arrival and growth of tourism on islands has in many instances led over time to attempts to strengthen the regulation and control by the national authorities, and the provision of greater safety for tourists from arbitrary local strongmen. But the local power structure often persevered beneath the veneer of law and order: thus, on another small popular island in Thailand, Koh Tao, the Thai police were unwilling (or unable) to investigate members of the dominant island families on the murder of two backpackers in 2014, and eventually accused a pair of hapless illegal Burmese workers, on flimsy evidence, for the act (Cohen, 2016); condemned to death, the pair was awaiting execution for some years, until their death penalty was converted into life imprisonment in 2020.

While island people and their culture might not be particularly attractive to tourists (Harrison and Pratt, 2015: 8), tourism has a socio-cultural impact on islanders: tourism was found to reduce social cohesion and decrease adherence to traditional customs (Kinseng *et al.*, 2018). The modification of island cultures to meet the alleged expectations of tourists has in many instances, as for example in the Caribbean. led to ‘fake performances for tourist revenue’, as ‘indigenous cultural... attributes are purposely corrupted for touristic entertainment value’ (Wong, 2015).

4. TURIZAM I RAZVOJ OTOKA

Otočne ekonomije, koje se često baziraju samo na ribarenju i poljoprivredi, doživjele su dramatičan pad ovih aktivnosti posljednjih godina zbog promjene globalnih ekonomskih trendova. U potrazi za poslom, mlade generacije sve su se više selile u gradove na kopnu ili u inozemstvo, a starije generacije ostale su ovisne o doznakama iz inozemstva (npr. Parry i McEllroy, 2009:14; Ribeiro, Pinto, Silva i Woosnam, 2017:524).

Stoga je turizam postao univerzalno rješenje za pokretanje gospodarstava malih otoka (Perry i McElroy, 2009:1-2) i osiguravanja radnih mjesta čime se smanjilo iseljavanje. Očekivalo se da će turizam zaposliti otočane, da će otočki poljoprivredni proizvodi hraniti turiste te da će otočani prodavati svoje rukotvorine stranim posjetiteljima. Obalna područja, „dosad simbolička i socijalno marginalna područja na kojima živi najsiromašnije stanovništvo“ (Picard, 2010:143) te često bezvrijedna za tradicionalnu ekonomiju, tako će se iznajmljivati ili prodavati po dobrim cijenama turističkim investitorima.

Turizam je zasigurno postao glavni faktor razvoja otočnih gospodarstava, a materijalne koristi koje je donio otočani općenito cijene (Harrison i Pratt, 2015:10). Dakako, očekivanja od turizma u većini su se slučajeva pokazala preoptimističnima: na nekim otocima, kao što je to na sada vrlo popularnim otocima Phuket i Koh Samui na Tajlandu, špekulanti s kopna su, očekujući izgradnju turističkih objekata, pokupovali terene uz obalu po niskim cijenama i tako ga otuđili od lokalnog stanovništva. Na komunikaciju između lokalnog gospodarstva i turizma utjecala je putanja razvoja turizma na otoku. U ranim fazama mali su turistički obrti često koristili lokalnu radnu snagu i poljoprivredne proizvode, ali s rastom turizma sve više strani poduzetnici i međunarodni hotelski lanci izgradili su vrlo luksuzne objekte, a veze s lokalnim gospodarstvom su oslabile. Dostupna lokalna radna snaga često se sma-

4. TOURISM AND ISLAND DEVELOPMENT

Island economies, often supporting a meagre existence based mostly on fishing and agriculture, experienced a critical decline in recent decades, due to changing global economic trends. Looking for work, the younger generation moved increasingly to mainland cities or abroad, while the elder generation depended on the emigrants' remittances (e.g. Parry and McEllroy, 2009:14; Ribeiro, Pinto, Silva and Woosnam, 2017:524).

Tourism therefore appeared as a panacea to drive the small island economies (Perry and McElroy, 2009:1-2) and provide jobs, thus reducing out-migration. It was expected that the tourist industry would offer employment to the islanders, that island farm products would provide food for the tourists, and that islanders would sell their craft products to the foreign visitors. Beachland, 'hitherto symbolically and socially marginal spaces, occupied by the poorest population' (Picard, 2010:143), and often of little value in the traditional economy, would be rented or sold at good prices to tourism developers.

Tourism certainly became a crucial factor in the development of island economies, and the material benefits brought by tourism are generally appreciated by islanders (Harrison and Pratt, 2015:10). However, the expectations from tourism proved in most instances over-optimistic: On some islands, such as the presently highly popular Thai islands of Phuket and Koh Samui, mainland speculators have bought up beachland at cheap prices, in anticipation of tourism development, alienating it from the locals. The interface between the local economy and tourism was affected by the trajectory of tourist development on islands. At the early stages, small-scale tourist establishments tended to draw upon local manpower resources and food products. As the tourist industry expanded, however, and bigger and more luxurious facilities were established by outside entrepreneurs and international hotel chains, its links with the local

trala nedovoljno kvalificiranom za poslove u turizmu, tako da je obećanje stvaranja radnih mjesta, koja osiguravaju sigurne prihode, zapravo često spalo na ponudu slabo plaćenih sezonskih honorarnih poslova za otočane (Reis, 2016:4; vidi isto Harrison i Pratt, 2015 o Pacifiku i Wong, 2015 o Karipskim otocima). Kvalificirana radna snaga i viši administrativni službenici uglavnom dolaze s kopna ili iz međunarodnih turističkih kompanija.

Turistička poduzeća u početku su kupovala neke lokalne proizvode, kao npr. ribu i druge morske plodove, ali ti nisu uvijek odgovarali ukusima turista. S njihovim razvojem, a naročito dolaskom međunarodnih hotelskih lanaca, zbog često nestalne kvalitete lokalnih proizvoda, turizam se okrenuo uvozu od standardiziranih visokokvalitetnih dobavljača industrije hrane (Harrison i Pratt 2015: 13) čak i kad su lokalni proizvodi, poput ribe, bili dostupni. I tako su s vremenom veze između otočne poljoprivrede i turizma oslabile (Harrison i Pratt, 2015:12).

Otočne kulture uglavnom nisu bile turistički „obilježene“ pa su stoga turisti bili nezainteresirani za otočne zanatske proizvode, a umjesto lokalnih zanatskih proizvoda, trgovine suvenira su sve više nudile luksuznu uvezenu robu. Razvojem enklava masovnog turizma (Edensor, 2008; Minca 2000), koji funkcioniraju kao samodostatni baloni u kojima se sve potrebe turista ispunjavaju, virtualno odvajanje otočnog turizma od lokalnog gospodarstva i društva je dovršeno.

Bitna posljedica ove dinamike je u tome da se koristi razvoja turizma na otocima često slijevaju u ruke stranih interesnih skupina umjesto stanovnika otoka (Wong, 2015), čak i kad je turizam često imao pogubne posljedice za okoliš otoka i destabilizirajuće učinke na otočne zajednice. Turizam, kao osnovni izvor dohotka također povećava ovisnost otoka o vanjskim ekonomskim i političkim silama (Weaver, 2017). Mali otoci, naročito SIDS (Singh, 2008), koji nemaju

economy increasingly weakened. The available local labor force was in many instances thought unsuitable for employment in all but unskilled tourism jobs, so that the promise of the creation of income-stabilizing work in the industry, in reality often ended in the provision of low paying, seasonal, and part-time employment to islanders (Reis, 2016:4; see also Harrison and Pratt, 2015 on the Pacific and Wong, 2015 on the Caribbean islands). Skilled employees and higher-level administrative staff were mostly drawn from the mainland or the international tourist industry.

Tourist establishments at first purchased some local products, such as fish and other sea-food, but local agricultural products did not always suit the tourists' tastes. With the rise of the level of establishments, and particularly the arrival of international hotel chains, the often inconsistent quality of local products made the tourist industry turn away from them, and purchase imported, standardized, high-quality supplies from the food industry (Harrison and Pratt 2015: 13), even where local products, such as fish, were available. Hence, the linkages between island agriculture and tourism weakened over time (Harrison and Pratt, 2015:12).

Island cultures were mostly not touristically 'marked' and hence tourists showed little interest in islanders' craft products; rather than local crafts, gift shops and high-couture outlets increasingly offered luxurious international ware to the arriving vacationers. With the emergence of mass-tourist enclaves (Edensor, 2008; Minca 2000), that operate as self-contained bubbles, within which all the tourists' needs are provided, the virtual separation of the island tourist industry from the local economy and society was completed.

A significant consequence of this dynamics is that the benefits of tourism development on islands often flow into the hands of outside interests, rather than the islands' residents (Wong, 2015), even as tourism has often deleterious consequences for the islands' environments, and destabilizing effects

puno resursa i čiji je razvoj otežan njihovom malom veličinom (a time je ‘turizam postao kraljeznica njihovog gospodarstva’ [Pratt, 2015:148]), često se smatraju naročito ranjivima u tom pogledu. Dakako, istraživanja su pokazala da SIDS obično postignu iznenađujuću otpornost, prilagodljivost i ekonomsku, socijalnu i političku snagu kao suprotnost njihovoj ranjivosti i otvorene puteve održivog razvoja turizma (Scheyvens i Momsen, 2008).

5. TURIZAM I PROMJENE OKOLIŠA

Okolišu malih otoka u mnogim dijelovima svijeta prijete dvije međusobno povezane opasnosti: prirodne klimatske promjene (Harrison i Pratt, 2015:16) i katastrofe te one prouzročene ljudskim djelovanjem, naročito razvojem turizma. Dok katastrofe i klimatske promjene nisu posljedica turizma, njegovi su utjecaji na malim otocima ozbiljni. Posebno su SIDS „često naročito podložne podizanju razine mora (zbog klimatskih promjena) zbog svojih dugih obala u odnosu na unutrašnjost i zbog velikih nizinskih područja“ (Belle i Bramwell, 2005:33; vidi isto Reis, 2016:4). Osjetljivi okoliš malih otoka posebno ugrožava velika izgradnja turističkih objekata koji su „glavni uzrok erozije plaža, zamuljivanja laguna i oštećenja grebena“ (Scheyvens i Momsen, 2008:494). Turistički projekti često razaraju prirodne barijere, kao npr. obalne dine i vegetaciju te time pogoršavaju destruktivne učinke prirodnih katastrofa poput tsunamija u Južnoj i Jugoistočnoj Aziji 2004 (Cohen, 2011). Snažan razvoj turizma može imati i sveobuhvatan utjecaj na okoliš malog otoka pa je „na Karibima ekspanzija turizma prouzročila izravno ili neizravno deforestaciju i eroziju gorskih

on island societies. Tourism as the principal source of benefits also increases an island’s dependency on outside economic and political forces (Weaver, 2017). Small islands, especially the SIDS (Singh, 2008), which are poor in resources and whose development is hampered by their small scale (and hence ‘tourism has become the backbone of their economy’ [Pratt, 2015:148]), are generally considered to be particularly vulnerable in this respect. However, research has shown that SIDS tend to develop a surprising resilience, adaptability and economic, social and political strengths, which counter their vulnerability and open paths to sustainable tourism development (Scheyvens and Momsen, 2008).

5. TOURISM AND ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE

The environment of small islands in many parts of the world is under two inter-related kinds of threats: natural threats from climate change (Harrison and Pratt, 2015:16) and natural disasters, and man-made threats, particularly from tourism development. While disasters and climate change are not caused by tourism, tourism has environmental effects that aggravate their impacts on small islands. SIDS, in particular are ‘often especially susceptible to sea-level rise (due to climate change) because they have long coastlines relative to land area and because large proportions of their land area are low lying’ (Belle and Bramwell, 2005:33; see also Reis, 2016:4). The small islands’ sensitive environment is thus particularly vulnerable to large-scale tourism construction, which is a ‘major cause of beach erosion, siltation of lagoons and reef damage’ (Scheyvens and Momsen, 2008:494). Tourism projects often destroy natural barriers, such as coastal dunes and vegetation, thereby aggravating the destructive effects of natural disasters, such as the 2004 tsunami in South and South East Asia (Cohen, 2011). Intensive tourism development may have an all-embracing im-

šuma zbog gradnje apartmana i cesta, kao i gubitka plaža, onečišćenja laguna i oštećenja grebena zbog vađenja pijeska, jaružanja i sidrenja brodova“ (McEnroy, 2003:231).

Nekontrolirana penetracija turizma imala je razorne učinke na osjetljive okoliše nekih od najpopularnijih otoka koji su u zadnje vrijeme potakli nacionalne vlasti na krajnju mjeru privremenog zatvaranja prema turizmu: otok Baracay na Filipinima bio je zatvoren šest mjeseci „zbog bojazni da je nekad idilično ljetovalište s plažama bijelog pijeska postalo ‘septička jama’ zbog zagađenja odbačenim smećem“ (*Channel News Asia*, 2018), a plaža Maya u skupini otoka Phi Phi na jugu Tajlanda zatvorena je na neodređeno vrijeme kako bi se oštećeni pomorski ekosustav, posebno koraljni greben, oporavio od uništenja prouzročenog svakodnevnim dolascima izletnika iz obližnjih ljetovališta (Wipatayotin, 2018a i 2018b). Pretjerani turizam, kao nedavno uočeni fenomen (Singh, 2018), imao je pogubne učinke na neke od najpopularnijih otočkih destinacija. Ironija je u tome što je sadašnja zdravstvena kriza prouzročena pandemijom COVID-19 dala priliku za neplanirani predah i oporavak otočnih okoliša.

6. ZAKLJUČCI

Glavna misao ovog kratkog pregleda jest dvoznačna priroda otočnog turizma: oskudni resursima otoci su pozdravili dolazak turizma kao obećavajućeg puta u razvoj, ali su istovremeno doživjeli neželjene i bremenite ekonomske, društvene, kulturne i ekološke posljedice, postajući sve više ovisni o međunarodnim igračima i ekonomskim silama nad kojima nisu imali nikakvu kontrolu, mada su neki, posebice SIDS, stvorili rastuću otpornost i otpor.

Iako ovaj članak daje opće konture dinamike otočnog turizma, našu pozornost ne bi trebao odvratiti od konkretne raznoliko-

pact on a small island's ecology; thus, 'In the Caribbean, tourism expansion has directly or indirectly caused deforestation and erosion of upland forests from condominium development and road works, as well as beach loss, lagoon pollution and reef damage from sand mining, dredging and boat anchoring' (McEnroy, 2003:231).

Uncontrolled touristic penetration has had destructive effects on the sensitive environments of some of the most popular islands, recently causing some national authorities to take the extreme step of their temporary closure to tourism: Baracay island in the Philippines has been closed for six months 'over concerns that the once idyllic white-sand resort has become a "cesspool" tainted by dumped garbage' (*Channel News Asia*, 2018), and Maya Bay in the Phi Phi island group in southern Thailand has been closed indefinitely to allow its damaged maritime ecosystem, and especially its coral reef, to recover from destruction caused by daily boatloads of vacationers from neighboring resorts (Wipatayotin, 2018a and 2018b). Overtourism, a recently noted phenomenon (Singh, 2018), has deleterious effects on some of the most popular island destinations. Ironically, the present COVID-19 health crisis gave an unintended respite for island environments to recover.

6. CONCLUSIONS

The principal point which emerges from this brief review is the ambivalent nature of island tourism: resource-poor islands have welcomed tourism as a promising avenue to development, but they also suffered its undesired and problematic economic, social, cultural and environmental consequences, and experienced a growing dependence on international players and economic forces, over which they have little control, though some, especially the SIDS, engendered growing resilience and resistance to it.

This review offered a general outline of the dynamics of island tourism; however,

sti otočnog svijeta i otočnog turizma koje se ističu u monografskim istraživanjima. Otočni turizam široko je istražen, na što upućuje ovaj pregled, ali on ima dvije osnovne slabosti: istraživanja su neujednačena i slabo integrirana u širi kontekst.

Dok su neke teme, kao što su mentalne slike otoka i ekspanzija turizma, privukle značajnu pozornost u literaturi, druge su ostale neobrađene. Možda je najuočljiviji propust izučavanje promjena u otočnim zajednicama koje prate razvoj turizma. Drugi problem, bar do aktualne pandemije, je proučavanje pretjeranog turizma u najpopularnijim otočnim destinacijama kojima, vrlo vjerojatno, čim se situacija smiri prijeti ljubav nasmrta.

Istraživanja otočnog turizma, kao što sam i ranije istaknuo (Cohen, 2017), premalo su se bavile pojavom otočnih studija ('nissologijom') kao novom interdisciplinarnom specijalizacijom koja se bavi nekim od prevladavajućih pogleda na otoke, kao što je njihova percepcija udaljenih, omeđenih i izoliranih entiteta (Gillis, 2014). Turizam bi trebalo istraživati holistički u okviru konceptualnih procesa promjena na otocima i njihove integracije u kontinentalni dio, kao i u okviru globalnih, ekonomskih, društvenih i političkih struktura, a upravo tome teže otočne studije. Proučavanja otočnog turizma gotovo su se isključivo bavila turistima na odmoru na otocima. Time su propustile ulogu i posljedice drugih oblika turizma koji utječu na otoke, a to su posebice jedrenje, krstarenja i ekoturizam. Koncept 'aqapelaga', koji je predložio Hayward (2012), mogao bi pomoći stvaranju uključivog pogleda na pomorski turizam. Ovim, ali i drugim inovativnim pristupima, mogao bi se razviti integrirani studij otočnog turizma i glavne suvremene teorije otoka i turizma.

this should not distract our attention from the great concrete diversity of the island world and of island tourism, brought out in monographic studies. Island tourism has been extensively researched, as indicated by this review; however, its study suffers from two principal weaknesses: it is uneven, and ill-integrated with broader contexts.

While some topics, such as island imaginary and tourism expansion, have gained considerable attention in the literature, others have been neglected. Perhaps the most glaring omission is the study of changes in island societies, accompanying tourism development. Another issue, at least until the recent pandemic, is the need for the study of overtourism on the most popular island destinations, which have been under threat, and might well again become so once the pandemic is overcome, to be loved to death.

Island tourism studies, as I have pointed out before (Cohen, 2017), took little notice of the emergence of island studies ('nissology') as a new interdisciplinary specialty, which tackles some of the prevalent stereotypical views of islands, such as their perception as remote, bounded and isolated entities (Gillis, 2014). Tourism ought to be researched within a holistic conceptual framework of processes of change on islands, and of their integration into mainland and global, economic, social and political structures, aspired by island studies. Island tourism researchers have almost exclusively studied tourists vacationing on islands. They have thereby missed the role and consequences of other kinds of tourism affecting islands, especially yachting, cruising and special interest nature tourism. The concept of 'aquapelago', proposed by Hayward (2012), might be of assistance in evolving an inclusive view of maritime tourism. This, and other innovative approaches, might help integrate the study of island tourism into the mainstream of contemporary theorizing on both, islands and tourism.

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