

Cultural Planning and Participation as a Strategy for Revitalizing a Resort Town: A Case Study from Červar Porat, Croatia

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ABSTRACT Urban landscape is a complex phenomenon that is perpetually transforming and being reshaped in accordance with changes in lifestyles. The production of the built environment often reflects the lifestyles and everyday lives of the people that fill the space. In this paper, we analyse selected aspects of the transformation of a planned seaside resort that served as a summer destination with second homes during the second half of the 20th century. In the last two decades, there has been a visible transition towards a more permanent settlement, which has become part of the urban network and currently functions as a struggling residential suburb during the winter, while retaining its primary function as a resort during the summer. Červar Porat was the first planned resort town in Croatia and an elite seasonal settlement with a distinct micro-urban space developed using complex modernist urban planning. This paper focuses on the transformation of the settlement and presents the results of a bottom-up research project conducted to examine the cultural dynamic and aspirations of both permanent and temporary residents of Červar Porat. It aims to evaluate the level of success in regard to the transformation of the resort town from a temporary to a permanent settlement, and to explore the possibility of using regeneration based on cultural infrastructure as a key tool for achieving a vibrant micro-urban space in Červar Porat.

Key words: resort town, cultural planning, participation, permanent and temporary residents, second homes, community.

1. Introduction

Urban landscape is a complex phenomenon that is perpetually transforming and being reshaped in accordance with changes in lifestyles. One of the results of this transformational process is a vast amount of neglected and abandoned space, and deserted settlements, inside or on the edges of the urban core that serve as remnants of the past. The production of the built environment often reflects the lifestyles and everyday lives of the people that fill the space. However, changes in lifestyle in recent decades have been so rapid that we are now left with a built environment that must reinvent itself to meet new demands and reflect ever-changing daily life.

In this paper, we analyse selected aspects of the transformation of a planned seaside resort that served as a summer destination with second homes during the second half of the 20th century. In the last two decades, there has been a visible transition towards a more permanent settlement, which has become part of the urban network and currently functions as a struggling residential suburb during the winter, while retaining its primary function as a resort during the summer.

Bearing in mind the complexity of the revitalisation process, our focus is on cultural strategies and culturally led revitalisation plans, which are currently considered the 'go-to' recipe for rebuilding communities. In this paper, we investigate participation levels and increases in social and cultural capital in a changing settlement.

This article presents the results of a bottom-up research project conducted to examine the cultural dynamic and aspirations of both permanent and temporary residents of Červar Porat. This was the first planned resort town in Croatia and is an elite seasonal settlement with a distinct micro-urban space developed using complex modernist urban planning. Červar was a very successful project from the late sixties until the beginning of the nineties. This paper focuses on the transformation of the settlement. It aims to evaluate the level of success in regard to the transformation of the resort town from a temporary to a permanent settlement and to explore the possibility of using regeneration based on cultural infrastructure as a key tool for achieving a vibrant micro-urban space in Červar Porat.

2. Transformation of seaside resort towns in the 21st century

Any discussion on resort towns and the past and future development of such urban entities should begin by defining the concept of *resort town*. Different terminology such as *vacation town*, *resort town*, and *holiday town* is more or less used interchangeably among scholars from different disciplines (Selwood and Tonts, 2004; Sanders, 2000; Hall and Page, 2006; Dryburgh, 2010). Together with *second home*, *holiday home*, *vacation home*, *cottage* and a plethora of other names, the names of these towns

denote a special form of tourism, and a special form of dwelling. The connection between tourism and dwellings is explored through research on second homes as contemporary phenomena. In this paper, we analyse resort towns through the notion of second-home tourism.

In regard to the concept of *resort town*, the emphasis should be on *town* to separate the concept from the notion of a resort as comprising a hotel and a few villas. With no intention of underestimating the complexity of this phenomenon and the richness of the associated terminology, in this paper, we use the term *resort town* for pragmatic reasons. The main reason for using this term is to emphasise the dimensions of planning and function as the main features that differentiate a *resort town* from other types of similar settlements, as Pearce (1978) suggests. To elaborate, a *resort town* is defined by the fact that it is almost always the result of a planned project and that it has a specific spatial morphology that enables its main functions, namely leisure, rest, relaxation, and fun. The location of a resort town can vary, but those settlements are most often built in areas rich with natural amenities such as beaches, seaside areas, mountains, rivers, and forests. Consequently, from an urban planning point of view, *resort towns* are urban forms set in the natural landscape that often serve as a display of contemporary architectural achievements. From a sociological point of view, resort towns present an artificial urban environment that is the product of mass tourism and produce a specific lifestyle and culture. Furthermore, as Goodall (1978) suggests, resort towns represent a specific urban form that has two main characteristics: first, it is built for specific functions such as leisure and recreation and, second, it has no history and consequently no collective memory, which is unusual in the urban landscape (Rogić, 2006).

This research focuses on the *resort town* Červar Porat as a planned settlement with common resort facilities such as hotels and private accommodation, apartment blocks and villas, a recreation centre, dining facilities, and a marina, as well as a high number of second homes. The presence of second homes is commonly associated with *resort towns* built in socialist countries. Typically, the eruption of resort towns is positioned in the post-war period. This type of settlement is the result of a thriving (mass) touristic development, and a part of the *right to the holiday* movement, which connected leisure, vacation, and politics, as Furlough (1998) states. Nevertheless, the development of vacationing and the *culture of holidays* in the post-war period are connected to many economic and political policies, especially in Europe, and, consequently, to the rise of the social welfare state, in which leisure time is seen as a right and a necessity. One of the policies crucial for the rise of vacation culture was paid leave, which France introduced in the 1930s. During the next few decades, the notion of rest became a part of social policies in Western Europe, and in socialist countries (Furlough, 1998; Beyer, Hagemann and Zinganel, 2013). This resulted in the availability of vacations to many people and hence the traditional notion of vacationing as the privilege of only a few

elites gradually shifted to a mass phenomenon. As Furlough (1998:252) points out, 'tourism transformed from a regime of privilege to a regime of access'. Accordingly, the need for accommodation and amenities became an issue, as old vacation towns lacked the capacity to welcome so many people and the possible solutions were binary, but not mutually exclusive: build new settlements or expand the existing ones. In their work on vacation culture in socialist countries, Beyer et al. (2013) suggest that building new sites had multiple benefits from a political perspective: the built environment served first as a witness of planned and state-funded modernization programs and second as a tool for negotiating national identity, and international relations. Furthermore, new construction at that time was flourishing as the urban environment was becoming increasingly crowded.

Following the urban boom, *resort towns* were built for the sole purposes of rest and leisure, but with the previously stated political and economic goals in mind. Besides hotels and private accommodation that could be rented, *resort towns* often offered apartments for purchase. Owning a home in such a place opened the discussion of where the line lay between being a tourist and becoming a resident. Being a tourist suggests seeking new experiences, as Miletić (2011) defines it, while owning a second residence comes with a whole new set of socio-spatial relations such as place attachment, sense of community, multiple homes, and multiple identities. This positioned the *resort town* visitor in the delicate category between tourist and seasonal or lifestyle migrant. Hence, to supplement our definition using the context of second-home tourism: *resorts towns* are seasonal settlements where second-home tourism is the main development factor and one of the primary features that implies returning visitors. The distinct character of newly built resorts was simple and monofunctional, but the usage of such places gradually changed the character of these settlements, making them not so easy to define.

What happens when a resort town grows older? In the constant transformation process that has been changing contemporary everyday life in the last decades, history and collective memory are made ipso facto; people connect with place and with communities, creating something that resembles a more complex urban form. In his paper on the typology of settlements with high numbers of second homes, Rogić (2006) highlights the possibility that temporary users of *resort towns* become permanent residents. Further, Mišetić (2005) draws attention to the fact that shifting and overlapping of 'homes' can easily annul the well-established hierarchical relation between primary and secondary residence. Where does this leave *resort towns* in the 21st century? The shift from seasonal destination to more permanent settlement is a rather spontaneous process that changes the way of life of temporary residents, as well as newly established permanent communities.

3. Second homes in the context of resort towns

The concept of second homes has been well-known since ancient times, but it took quite some time to become a global and mass phenomenon. Since the beginning of urbanisation, there has been a notable tendency to escape cities as they become larger. The main outcomes of this tendency can be seen in the early development of suburbs, and in the growth of second-home tourism (Miletić, 2011). Both phenomena are connected to the urge to live closer to nature and the search for a slower and calmer lifestyle. However, the second home lies in the field of tourism and implies temporality and occasionality, and the notion of multiple homes where one develops a feeling of belonging and place attachment to the alternative settlement (Mišetić, 2005; Hall and Muller, 2004). There is a general consensus that the development of the second-home phenomena is connected to increased mobility and constant technological innovations, which consequently change the dimensions of everyday life by making it easier to shrink space and expand time. Contemporary society is not fixed in time and space. With the tendency toward flexible work hours and remote workplaces, the boundaries between work time and leisure time are being blurred and so is the notion of *home*. At the same time, there has been a shift in the understanding of the relationship between work and leisure, which is also important when discussing the transformation of *resort towns*. With the rise of physical mobility in the 20th century, grew the separation between home and work, as well as work and leisure, creating specific locations for dwelling, such as suburbs, and specific locations for leisure, such as *resort towns*. Currently, the boundaries between these concepts are fading, and flexible work hours and the possibility of working remotely are creating opportunities to use leisure space more often and in a more complex way. In a way, with the rise of technology, many people can once again occasionally work and live in the same space, which was the usual praxis until the Industrial Revolution. The difference is that today this is a matter of choice, not a basic need. This is an important cognition when discussing the growth of the second-home phenomena (Hall, Muller and Sarrinen, 2009).

Not so long ago, but before the rise of *networked society*, the phenomenon of second homes started to germinate, as vacation culture emerged. The motivation for owning a second home has changed across time as everyday life changed. Furthermore, the number and the social characteristics of the owners and users of second homes has changed. The location and type of second home depend on motivation, but as we shall see later, these factors also hinge on architectural and urban trends of the specific period (Walters, 2014). The main catalyst for the transformation of second-home settlements in contemporary urban networks is, as stated earlier, growing physical and non-physical mobility (Gospodini, 2001; Andriotis, 2003; Beyer, Hagemann and Zinganel, 2003; Rye, 2015). Traditional *resort towns* often face new outlooks that demand adjustments to daily lifestyles. Today, former *resort towns* can be visited more often and used for longer periods and can even become permanent settlements (Arnstberg and Bergstrom, 2007; Rogić, 2006). The latter outcome is possible with appropriate infra-

structure, which usually involves the '3 Rs of seaside renaissance', which, according to Smith (2004), are regeneration, revitalisation, and reinvention. The identity of resort towns is commonly connected to beautiful and serene natural locations, whereas permanent settlements have a greater likelihood of sustainable development if they are socially and culturally vital. This shift is precisely the task involved in the reinvention of resort towns: redefining the image of the community, and rebuilding a new identity that is connected to specific heritage and lifestyle issues. In settlements whose past and future development is based on various types of tourism, diversity of content is essential for the maintenance of a vital community for temporary residents, and this is especially the case for permanent residents (Duxbury and Campbell, 2011; Cuesta, Gilelespie and Lillis 2005). Tourism has always had a cultural dimension, albeit not the most obvious, but even exploring places and immersing oneself in different daily patterns is a notable form of socio-cultural experience. Leisure time usually implies rest and recreation, but the need for cultural stimulation has been part of the touristic experience since the beginning.

4. Cultural strategies as a tool for seaside renaissance

Immersion in different cultural practices and everyday life experiences is one of the main motives for travelling. In fact, today, cultural tourism is the byword for all kinds of strategies and policies (Sidonia and Cristina, 2013). As Smith suggests (2003), the concept of cultural regeneration has recently replaced the concept of sustainability in the ongoing dialogue on urban and rural revitalisation. Furthermore, until the last few decades, cultural development and culture itself has been reserved for discussing urban space, as the concepts of culture and creativity were connected to urban lifestyles (Miles and Ebrey, 2017). As stated earlier, contemporary lifestyles are more fluid than a few decades ago and so is the way that people consume, experience, or produce culture and cultural industries. Although location still matters, it would be unfounded to perceive culture as strictly urban in the context of space. Due to the mobility and connectivity powered by new technologies, urban lifestyles are becoming mainstream, along with the culture. It is for this reason that cultural regeneration is gaining so much attention: culture in all of its forms, and there are so many, has become part of everyday life and accessible to more people. Participating in culture, nevertheless, is considered 'pivotal to the system of human rights' as access to culture is an important tool for the 'development of critical thinking', as well as 'contributing to reinforcing democratic citizenship and social cohesion' (Parliamentary Assembly, 2012).

In the last three decades, planning and transformation of the urban landscape would have been almost unimaginable without the implementation of developmental policies that aim to use culture as a tool for urban regeneration. This is especially visible in cities that are dependent on a specific industry (Garcia, 2004). When it comes to repositioning and branding cities on the global map, the shift towards culture is per-

ceived as the answer to deep changes that eroded as the result of globalization and new economies in which technology, creativity, human capital, and the ability to innovate play major roles (Mercer, 2006). This shift enabled culture to become a focal point in urban development and, at the same time, transformed culture from the traditional sphere of promoting arts and heritage to economic value of great potential (Garcia, 2004). However, the motives behind contemporary cultural policies are not only economic, because the spaces that encourage and nurture public and collective cultural activities have a long-term aesthetic, social, and symbolic influence on the function and identity of cities (Evans, 2001).

Different cultural activities and the spaces where culture is promoted have become key elements for rebuilding and presenting the image of the city and, consequently, for attracting tourists and boosting economic growth in large, urban agglomerations, as well as small and remote settlements (Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris, 2007). In the United States, public discussions and the beginning of developmental policies based on cultural development began in the late seventies and by the beginning of the millennium, many similar models of revitalisation were in place in cities such as Barcelona, Bilbao, Glasgow, Lyon, and Frankfurt and other European regional centres. Cities that have invested in different aspects and dimensions of cultural production—from architecture, design, festivals, and education to art projects—have succeeded in becoming models for not only culturally oriented urban regeneration, but also the successful, holistic transformation of the cities (Evans, 2001). These models became the formula used, more or less successfully, in many smaller European towns.

Academic discussions on the role of cultural strategies in developmental planning became a constant in the European context in the early nineties when a book of essays titled *Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration: The West European Experience* was published. Based on several examples from cities in England, Holland, Spain, Italy, and Germany, the essays analyse different ways of implementation and the effects of cultural policies on urban regeneration. The book discusses many questions and complex issues, such as defining culture and the priorities of cultural strategies to determine which and whose cultures to promote and the goals of promoting these cultures in public spaces.

Bianchini (1999) tackles these complex issues by confronting cultural planning that uses traditional cultural policies limited to a very narrow definition of culture as art. He suggests that culture should be perceived in a much broader sense—as the expression of identity through different material and non-material manifestations. Given the different approaches to defining culture, strategies that are the result of cultural policies have little in common with those that are based on cultural planning. The latter is significantly more difficult to implement due to the comprehensive nature of cultural planning and the more ambitious goals that are envisioned. The consequence of this

gap is visible in cultural strategies that treat culture as an instrument for economic growth instead of emphasising social and cultural development and the intrinsic value of culture in the urban regeneration process (Garcia, 2004).

In the last decade, culture has been perceived as an important and often integral part of regeneration strategies. Cultural planning is based on the priorities and needs of a community. After more or less successful implementation in cities, the same models are beginning to emerge in towns and villages. Rural areas and small towns are often affected by the consequences of globalization, and residents of many communities struggle to maintain their quality of life. Those challenges not only presuppose radical changes in the usage of resources and the structure of economic and social activities, but they also demand cooperation and inclusion as prerequisites for sustainable development (Rogers, 2003). Cultural activities are increasingly being perceived as key elements for the conceptualization, articulation, and implementation of developmental strategies in areas affected by problems such as depopulation, population aging, emigration of young people, limited economic options, and the lack of public services and social infrastructure. Recent research emphasise that in these circumstances, culture and art may play central roles as potential generators of tourism and could increase enterprise productivity and create possibilities for employment (Florida, 2002, Gibson, 2002). Promoting art, cultural activities, and cultural heritage could be a way to improve the quality of life and could act as a stepping-stone for the development of rural and other small communities (Duxbury and Campbell, 2011; Mills and Brown, 2004; Matrasso, 1997).

Interest in the development of rural communities and smaller towns and cities through cultural strategies is seen in the development of cultural policies, as well as academic discourses and analyses in various scientific disciplines. Generally, researchers try to understand the characteristics of culture and cultural evolution in rural and small communities, and the role of culture in the development and revitalisation of specific places that lack the size and characteristics of larger urban centres. Many studies being conducted are focused on public policies for developing precise strategies to attract investment in arts and culture that can help minimize the effect of the many challenges in those areas (Duxbury and Campbell, 2009).

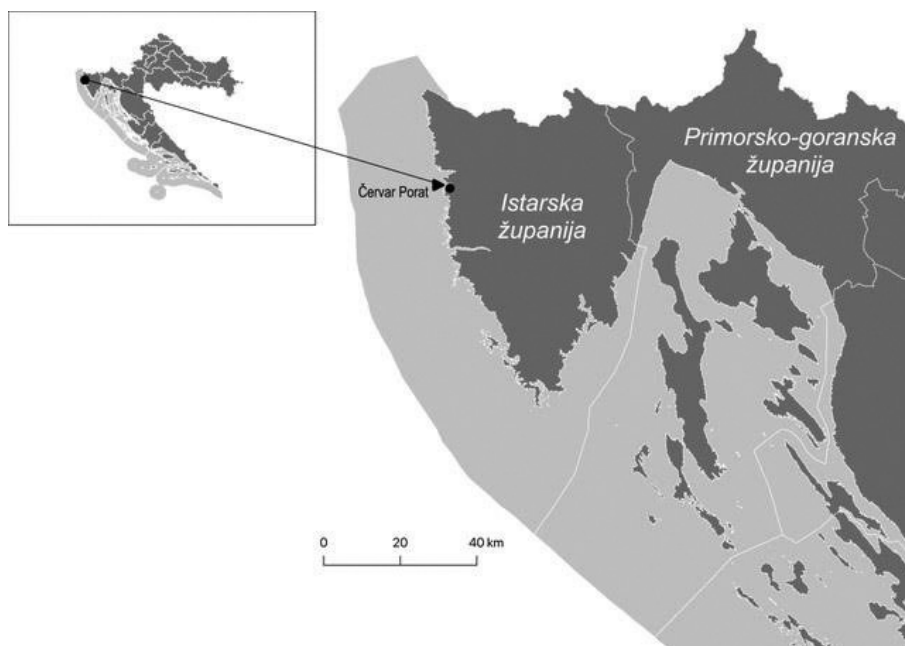
One of the most common challenges is the lack of social capital. Aging of the population and depopulation are constant almost everywhere beyond large urban centres. These processes represent the biggest obstacle for development. Bearing in mind that social capital is based on human potential and is considered to be the key element of sustainable development, it becomes highly obvious why rural areas and small settlements struggle with contemporary developmental demands. Putnam emphasises that 'social capital is not a substitute for effective public policy but rather a prerequisite for it and in part a consequence of it' (Putnam, 1993). Numerous types of engage-

ment and high levels of community participation in all sectors, including culture, are prerequisites for the revitalisation and improvement of the quality of life in small settlements (Dubinsky and Nelson, 2004).

5. Case study of the resort town of Červar Porat

This paper studies the revitalisation process of a coastal settlement in Croatia with the following characteristics: First, the location is a planned vacation town in Croatia that is an elite seasonal settlement with a distinct micro-urban space developed using complex modernist urban planning. Second, the settlement of Červar Porat was reputed as a very successful development project from the late sixties until the beginning of the nineties. However, the next two decades were shaped by the rapid deterioration of physical, as well as social aspects of the settlement.

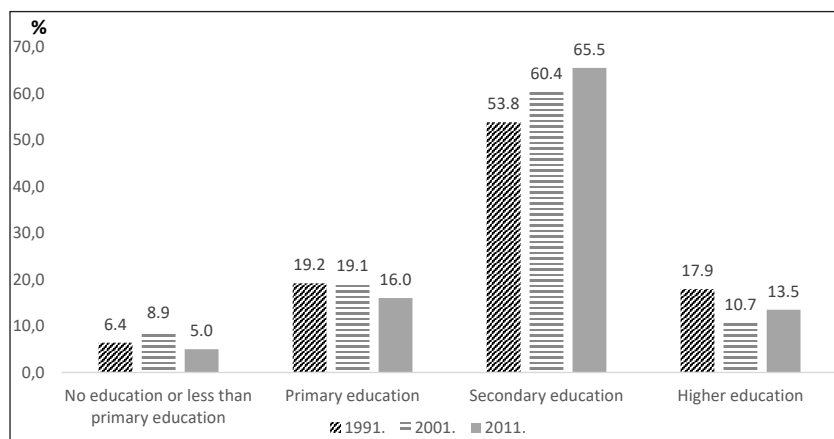
Figure 1.
Location of Červar Porat in Croatia



During the last decade of the 20th century, Červar Porat experienced dramatic changes in the number and composition of residents due to the immigration of refugees from war zones in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to the 1991 census and 2001 census, the town had 102 permanent residents in 1991, which increased to 593 by 2001. The most recent census in 2011 reported that 527 people reside in Červar Porat. It is clear that most residents moved to the settlement during the war period in the nineties. Furthermore, migration statistics show that the largest share

of immigrants during this period were from Bosnia (50.8% of all immigrants). This process has changed the social dynamic of the settlement and will determine its future development. For this paper, it is important to pay attention to the education levels of the new population. The trends are visible in the graph in Figure 2. The share of those with lower education is rising, while the share of those with higher education is dropping. These categories were partially balanced in the 2011 census, but the number of residents with higher education did not reach the level from 1991. This transformation, together with the growing number of residents, suggests the need for a lifestyle change.

Figure 2.
Population by education level in 1991, 2001 and 2011.

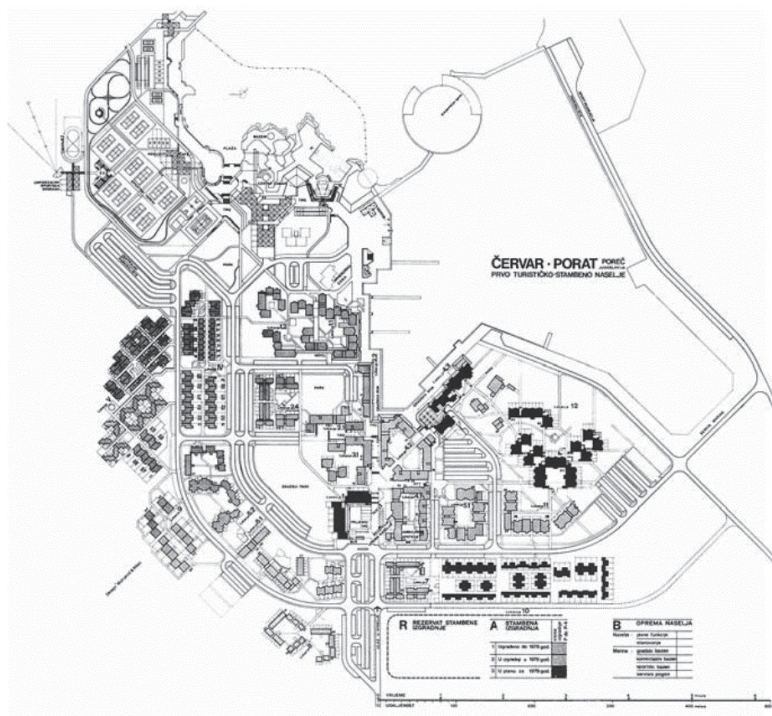


Concurrently, housing shifts emerged on the market, and the second-home settlement transformed into a permanent-home settlement. This transformation brought new demands to everyday life in the settlement that ultimately increased the quality of life for permanent residents.

Červar Porat is a planned settlement that covers 60 ha of seaside landscape. All the details of the settlement were thought-out: First, the purpose of the settlement is defined as a residential resort with a seasonal character and housing types tailored to fit the main purpose of leisure and rest during the summer season. Second, the street layout was carefully planned so the beach is accessible as quickly as possible on foot. Third, details such as house number signs, urban equipment, and greenery were designed to be coordinated and aligned with each other. Today, we would call this total branding. Housing options are diverse and include terraced housing, semi-detached houses, single-family houses, and apartment buildings, but all share the same colours and types of windows, doors, fences, and shutters. This urban concept is preserved in contemporary Červar Porat, although there are visible architectural interventions done by individual residents.

Figure 3.

Urbanistic design of the Červar Porat settlement (Haničar-Buljan, 2008)



There is a total of 2,160 housing units, of which 1,937 are temporary housing and 223 are permanent dwellings (DZS, 2011). Besides housing units, Červar Porat had a 700-bed hotel that welcomed guests from the early 1970s to the late 1980s. After 20 years of neglect and decay, the hotel was demolished in the spring of 2018, with a park planned for the location. During the building phase in the 1970s, valuable archaeological remains from the Roman period were found, including a ceramics complex and an olive oil refinery. These discoveries set the groundwork for the development of cultural tourism, which was never fully realized.

Soon after the construction was completed, the settlement began to operate as planned and became a very popular, even elite resort town where well-off residents of Yugoslavia spent their summer vacations. The sudden change brought by the war in the early 1990s marked the end of Červar Porat's popularity. Many houses and apartments, and the hotel, were used to accommodate refugees from all over Croatia. Most of the refugees left by the late 1990s, and the settlement was left neglected and unkempt while the hotel was vandalized and almost completely destroyed. In addition to its visible decay in the 1990s, the settlement was affected by yet another transformation; it gained permanent residents. The number of residents slowly rose and the resort town was transformed into a permanent settlement, serving as a suburb of Poreč.

Today, Červar Porat has 527 permanent residents in 223 housing units, which makes it the third-largest neighbourhood in Poreč (after Poreč and Vrsar). The transition from resort town to permanent settlement has presented a challenge for the local community, and the local government and management, who are making efforts to revitalise the settlement in accordance with its new usage pattern.

From a macro perspective, the key issue in Červar Porat is unresolved ownership of many properties, which complicates and consequently disables possible solutions for many infrastructural issues and development plans. The priority is to attract more permanent residents, which can strengthen the position of Červar Porat as a functional neighbourhood of Poreč. Although the number of residents has increased, there remains a great discrepancy between seasons, as well as the problem of fictitious residents, which could affect official data on the number of residents.

The oscillating number of residents causes infrastructural issues such as problems with sewage and waste management and parking during the summer. The consequences overflow into other seasons, making everyday life complicated. This is compounded by the lack of social infrastructure such as a school, kindergarten, infirmary, pharmacy, supermarket, and cultural events.

Further, Červar Porat is in need of a comprehensive renewal to maintain the specific urbanism that is part of its modernist heritage. The fact that Červar Porat is preserved in more or less its original form, without almost no illegal or unregulated construction, will be a great benefit for future development. However, as the number of residents rises and tourism thrives, there are signs of uncoordinated renewal that could damage the peculiar design of the settlement.

The local community consists of permanent and temporary residents that usually cooperate well, but, according to our respondents, there is some conflict between the groups. However, the local community is active and, in the last decade, has been working on improving everyday life in Červar Porat. Projects such as the beach and promenade renewal and cultural manifestations such as a summer festival of literature have resulted from recent activity in the local community.

6. Methodology

The results presented in this paper are part of the second homes and social sustainability of local communities project in Croatia. This research incorporates mixed methods: The qualitative part consisted of 13 semi-structured interviews with different actors (permanent and temporary residents, local entrepreneurs, local politicians, and members of community administration), and the quantitative part consisted of a survey involving 306 respondents, comprised of 135 permanent and 171 tempo-

rary residents. The quantitative part of the research was conducted on a probabilistic multi-stage sample. Following an approval from the Ethics Committee at the Ivo Pilar Institute, the qualitative part of the research was conducted in October 2016 and the field survey was organized during April and May 2017.

The qualitative methodology was implemented to learn the specifics of the settlement and, most of all, understand the local everyday dynamic that was important for the research. The protocol was made in accordance with the semi-structured type of interview, and consisted of basic demographic data such as age, sex, employment, place of residence and type of connection to Črvar Porat. Furthermore, interviews consisted of four main themes: development of the settlement, current issues and problems in the settlement, the local community dynamic, and future development and prospects. An in-depth analysis identified the need to explore possibilities for the cultural development of the settlement, in addition to the earlier stated issues. Many interviewed actors recognized the importance of the development of everyday life, and the settlement's touristic potential. The results from the qualitative part of the research were used as the base for developing the questionnaire.

The questionnaire included several questions regarding cultural habits and needs: participation in cultural events, preferred cultural events, and the importance of planned cultural projects in the community. The analysis was performed using descriptive statistics, and statistical significance was tested using the analysis of variance (ANOVA) test. The frequency of participation in cultural events, cultural habits, and attitudes about cultural projects were analysed in relation to age group, gender, average monthly income, and education level.

Table 1.
Socio-demographic characteristics of the sample

		Temporary residents	Permanent residents
Sex	Male	51.5%	51.9%
	Female	48.5%	48.1%
Age	18-39	22.8%	34.3%
	40-64	53.3%	47.8%
	65+	24.0%	17.9%
Education	Primary education	3.5%	5.3%
	Secondary education	38.6%	68.4%
	Higher education	57.9%	26.3%

7. Results and discussion

The analysis in this paper is based on expected differences between temporary and permanent residents due to the specific local community dynamic that is produced in the *resort town*. Bearing in mind the dynamics between permanent and temporary residents, the main question is how to find the most appropriate framework for the revitalisation of the local community. Thereby, the emphasis is on the integrational potential of cultural praxis in its broadest sense.

In the analysed interviews, all interviewees mentioned social and cultural infrastructure as the main drawback of the transformation of Červar Porat. Although social infrastructure is the focus of everyday life, the main potential for the future development of Červar Porat is seen in cultural projects, which can serve as a catalyst for boosting tourism and can attract future permanent residents.

The future development of Červar Porat should be focused on tourism, mainly cultural and family-friendly activities along with nautical and sports tourism, which are aspects of tradition. One of the interviewees, a permanent resident, said: ‘The focus should be on tourism. Cultural tourism, because we have Roman excavations. We should design good cultural projects that connect it with nature through bike and vine routes. The focus should be on connecting the settlement with other town neighbourhoods, not isolating it. The revitalisation is perceived as a need and a necessity, not an option, and it has “potential and value on the national level”’. The president of a local non-governmental organisation (NGO) said: *“As the first planned resort town in Croatia with valuable archaeological excavations, the settlement has the potential to become a very specific heritage spot. If we could develop projects that can boost year-round tourism and create more jobs for young people, this would attract permanent residents.”* At the time of the interviews, two large projects had applied for funding. The first project is Arena, an architectural multifunctional building that can be used as a cinema, theatre, gallery, research centre, and a festival stage, and the second project is the Amfora Workshops area, where the focus is on learning about ancient crafts in Červar Porat during the Roman period. A temporary resident involved in the local NGO emphasised: *‘The aspects for potential development are primarily those that are already there—the location, sea, beach, Roman excavations, history, and legends. From these primary aspects, we must develop contemporary potential’.*

The quantitative analysis is based on questions about personal participation in cultural events and related issues that revolve around the future cultural development of the resort town. In the first set of questions, we attempted to establish the importance of planned cultural projects among other developmental plans. As previously stated, cultural regeneration is part of the contemporary urban rhetoric and serves as the go-to solution in many policies. Nevertheless, as Kennel (2011) states, there is a tradition of popular cultural activities in resort towns, so regeneration based on cultural events

is not so ground-breaking. The key tipping point in Červar Porat is the fact that this resort town is challenged by the transformation that was not planned as everything else in the settlement was. As a result, Červar Porat must not merely regenerate, but actually create its everyday life from scratch.

The results indicate that natural conditions such as the climate and nature, together with the tranquillity of the settlement, are perceived as key factors of the settlements' attractiveness. The 16 dimensions evaluated on the Likert type scale, from 1 (not attractive at all) to 5 (very attractive), clearly show that cultural and entertainment events ($M=1.78$ for temporary residents and $M=1.99$ for permanent residents) together with cultural and historical attractions ($M= 2.33$ both groups) are not considered important factors in the overall attractiveness of the settlement.

Nevertheless, the three Ss (sun, sea, and sand) have proven insufficient to sustain a liveable environment, even if they are the main attractions. Many temporary residents have been coming to Červar for decades: 22% have spent their holidays in Červar Porat since the settlement was built 40 years ago, and 33.5% have been vacationing there for 20 to 30 years, which means that more than half of the temporary residents witnessed the rise and decline of Červar Porat. This explains why most of the temporary residents are unsatisfied with the development of the settlement. The focal problem in contemporary Červar Porat, according to both groups of respondents, but more so for temporary residents (73.6%), is the technical infrastructure and maintenance (unregulated parking, waste management, old sewage system, the decay of buildings). On the other hand, more than a third of permanent residents (36.6%) stressed problems with the social infrastructure (schools, shops, pharmacies, healthcare facilities, post office) and the overall lack of cultural and entertainment infrastructure that could provide a more meaningful everyday life in the neighbourhood.

However, the results indicate that permanent and temporary residents are more interested in the development of social and technical infrastructure, than in cultural projects. It is expected that basic elements of social structure are priorities for residents, but comparing projects from different sectors is likely to conceal the real need for cultural projects. Establishing a good functional social infrastructure with a school and kindergarten and a selection of sports is seen as key for attracting young permanent residents who can build their everyday life in Červar Porat. Therefore, for a more reliable analysis, specific cultural projects should be evaluated separately, as an autonomous part of development.

Approximately half of the respondents supported the selected cultural projects such as the literature festival and competition for the best short story, as well as the construction of a multifunctional arena for cultural events and workshops for making amphorae. They recognized the importance of cultural projects for the development of the

settlement, regardless of the percentage of respondents supporting the projects. It can be concluded that the most important cultural project is the workshop, supported by 57.9% of permanent and 66.4% of temporary residents. These data indicate there is a significant number of citizens in the local community who, despite the need for basic socio-economic infrastructure, also recognize the importance of cultural activities for the development of the settlement.

Table 2.

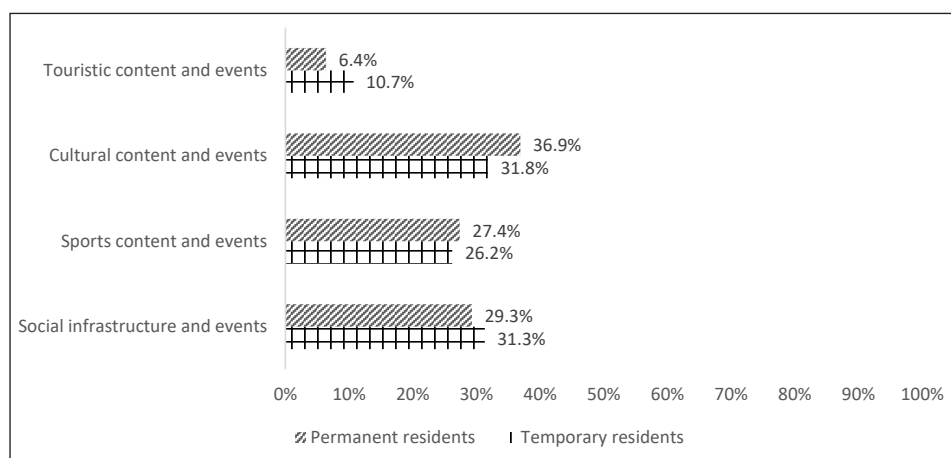
Importance of planned projects for Červar Porat (% of respondents supporting the project or positively evaluating the proposal)

	Permanent residents	Temporary residents
Literature festival	45.5%	51.2%
Competition for the best short story	49.2%	51.6%
Building the multifunctional arena	56.3%	56.2%
Workshop for making amphorae	57.9%	66.4%

Nevertheless, when asked about what is lacking in Červar Porat, both groups of respondents agreed that social and cultural infrastructure was missing. Permanent residents were a bit more interested in cultural and sports events, with an emphasis on the winter period, when Červar Porat has a very limited socio-cultural scene.

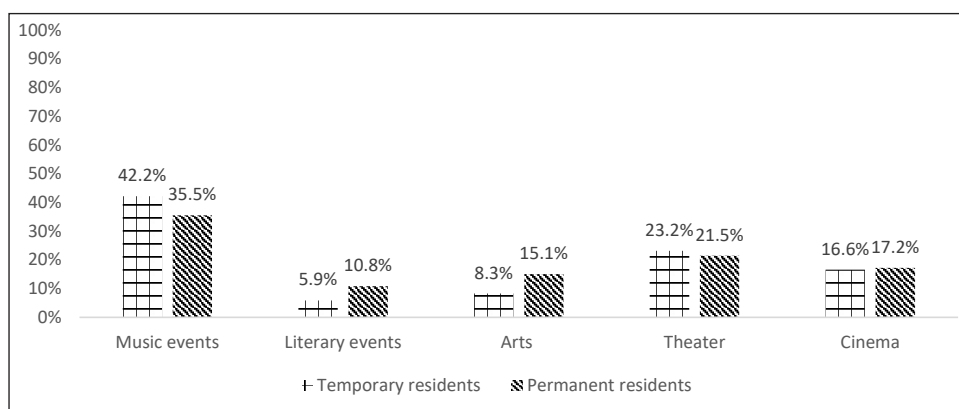
Figure 4.

What are the most important facilities, activities, and services lacking in Červar Porat?



The results concerning preferred cultural and entertainment events identified the need for more (and more frequent) music events and activities, especially in the case of temporary residents (Figure 5). There was an additional open-ended question to explore different types of activities, and the results were in accordance with the closed-ended question shown in Figure 5. Permanent residents stated that they would like to see more festivals and workshops, and more entertainment facilities such as disco or beach club events. For both groups of respondents, the least-preferred cultural events were literary evenings and art shows.

Figure 5.
What kind of cultural activities do you prefer?



Participation in cultural activities was based largely on reading for 66.7% of permanent, and 78.9% of temporary residents. More than two-thirds of temporary residents attended music events (69%), whereas 70.8% of permanent residents attended music events. For both groups of respondents, other cultural activities included attending theatre performances. Temporary residents visited art shows and galleries somewhat more often than permanent residents, who were more active regarding library visits and going to the cinema. It was somewhat expected that temporary residents would have more time for cultural activities in general, because they are vacationing.

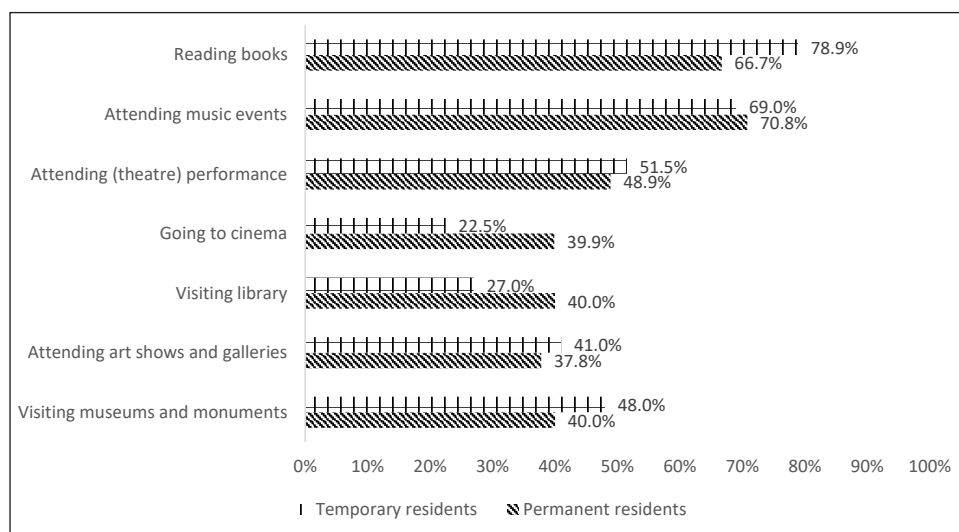
Nevertheless, besides the frequencies we tested, we also sought to determine if there were any between-group and within-group differences for the two groups of respondents given the basic socio-demographic characteristics of sex, age, and education level. The data were subjected to ANOVA testing to determine potential statistically significant differences. The results indicate that there are more within-group differences among temporary residents than among permanent residents, whereas no significant difference was found between the groups.

In the case of temporary residents, there was a significant difference among age groups regarding the frequency of attending music events. The analysis identified that mid-

dle-aged respondents attended music events more often than other age groups. Further, reading books, the only activity in the questionnaire that is not dependent on a specific space, is an activity in which 78.9% of respondents indicated their often or daily engagement. However, there is a statistically significant difference ($p < 0.01$) between men and women, with the latter reading significantly more often. Reading books was also more frequent among respondents with a higher education level in the temporary resident group.

Figure 6.

Do you engage in specific cultural activities in Červar Porat? (% of 'yes' answers)



8. Conclusion

This article presents the results of a research on the transformation of a resort town from a temporary, seasonal settlement to a permanently inhabited neighbourhood. Emphasising cultural participation and cultural activities is once again seen as a potentially successful model for the revitalisation that can bring benefits to the local community.

Vitality and liveability are development goals for all kinds of settlements and small towns whose earlier primary functions were rest and relaxation, but are now facing the transition to a full-time settlement. This transition often brings new challenges such as attracting new residents and developing new business opportunities, and cultural development could be a catalyst for such changes.

Červar Porat, which is primarily a resort town in Croatia, lacks the traditional everyday life in which various functions of participation are intertwined. There is an emphasis

on the shortage of social content, including cultural activities, which would provide residents with the basis for improving their quality of life and offer various possibilities for personal integration into the wider community. The research results indicate a deficit of cultural events and activities in Červar Porat, but there is no obvious interest in various kinds of cultural content. Both groups of respondents participate in cultural activities. The level of cultural participation in Červar Porat is comparable with the level of cultural participation on the national scale (Pilar's Barometer, 2016). These results indicate the discrepancy between the supply of and the need for cultural events. This, in turn, identifies the necessity for the revision and adaptation of existing cultural activities and consideration of new forms of cultural participation as an integral part of the revitalisation strategy of the settlement.

Today, there is no doubt that lifestyle changes, the impact of new technologies, the affirmation of sustainable development values, and other influences have positioned the local community in a new way. Therefore, the local community has become an important actor responsible for development. One of the goals of sustainable planning and management is to activate the resources of the local population. As previously indicated, many studies have confirmed this. On this trace, this case study examined and confirmed the potential of the cultural sector to strengthen the human and social capital of the settlement of Červar Porat and, consequently, the possibility of its successful restoration.

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Kulturno planiranje i participacija kao strategija za revitalizaciju turističko-stambenog naselja: Studija slučaja Červar Porata

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Sažetak

U ovom radu analiziramo odabrane aspekte transformacije planiranog turističko-stambenog naselja koje je funkcioniralo kao povremeno (ljetno) odmaralište u drugoj polovici 20. stoljeća. U posljednja dva desetljeća naselje se vidljivo transformiralo iz naselja za povremeno stanovanje u naselje za stalno stanovanje koje je dio šire urbane mreže. U zimskim mjesecima naselje se bori s uspostavom svakodnevnog života, dok u ljetnim mjesecima i dalje zadržava svoju funkciju ljetnog odmarališta. Červar Porat je prvo planirano turističko stambeno naselje u Hrvatskoj koje je građeno kao elitno naselje sa specifičnim mikro-urbanim prostorom koje se temelji na kompleksnom modernističkom urbanom planiranju.

U ovom radu fokus je na transformaciji naselja iz naselja za povremeno stanovanje u naselje za stalno stanovanje. Rezultati prezentirani u radu dio su *bottom-up* istraživačkog projekta čiji je cilj istražiti kulturnu dinamiku i kulturne aspiracije povremenih i stalnih stanovnika Červar Porata. Cilj rada je analizirati i evaluirati razinu uspjeha transformacije turističko stambenoga naselja u permanentno naselje i istražiti mogućnosti regeneracije temeljene na kulturnim strategijama i infrastrukturi kao ključnim alatima za postizanje vibrantnog mikro-urbanog prostora u Červar Poratu.

Ključne riječi: turističko-stambeno naselje, kulturno planiranje, participacija, povremeni i stalni stanovnici, vikendice, zajednica.