

# ISLANDERS' HETEROGENOUS TEMPORALITIES: THE CASE OF THE TOWN OF HVAR

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This paper revisits the cultural stereotype of a sharp binary division between “summer” and “winter” temporalities in an island town in Croatia (Hvar). It highlights the existence of parallel and competing temporalities that generate heterogeneous social and individual rhythms. The overarching rhythm of summer tourism, which divides the year into “summer” (roughly between May and October) and “winter” (roughly between November and April), conceals other temporalities, both in the sense of how locals perceive and organise their temporal rhythms and in the sense of how they experience them. The article discusses these heterogeneous temporalities and how they orchestrate the locals’ lives, how they criss-cross and relate to one another, and how they transition into one another. Attention is directed to individual meanings and preferences, experiences, and resistance to the overwhelming rule of the rhythm of tourism.

Keywords: anthropology of time, temporality, tourism, Mediterranean, town of Hvar

*It is in April 2022, in the middle of Holy Week, that I arrive by an almost empty fast ferry to the town of Hvar (on the island of Hvar). My first walk around the old town reveals its emptiness. In the area of town in which, according to the opinion of a local, only about a hundred people live in the winter season, there are barely any lights on anywhere and the bars, restaurants, and art galleries are closed. A middle-aged man that I come across informs me that there are only two restaurants that work and that a third one has just opened on the main square. A few days earlier, an Italian gelateria had re-opened. All the hotels in the western part of the town are closed; one is under reconstruction, and it does not seem that it will be finished before the summer season. The famous large beach bar that takes up a good portion of the rocky shore in the same area is being remade. I*

walk around wonderful hotel gardens and terraces, breathing in the scents and colours of spring. Along the way, I chat with hotel cooks, who have just been on a break before serving lunch and dinner to the construction workers that work for the biggest – and only – hotel chain in the town. The rocky beaches are empty; however, on the lee of the bath-house of Bonj that opened in 1927, a few brave bathers can be noticed. With a lady who lives in Hvar year-round, I go to an area to feed cats that otherwise would not survive the winter desertion of the place. There are only a few boats in the harbour. Nobody is sitting on the terrace of the only operating hotel. I inquire whether they will offer Easter brunch to outside guests, hoping that I will be able to enjoy the traditional food that characterises Easter celebrations all over Croatia. A kind receptionist answers that she does not know and that I should return to inquire another day. I find it quite odd that in the iconic locality of Croatian tourism a better restaurateurs' offer has not been organised on the eve of a major Spring fête and holiday, while tourists have already started arriving.

The first week of July 2022 offers a very different picture. I arrive by a fast ferry fully loaded with people who get off in Hvar. Economic activities are in full swing: hotels, cafés, bars, restaurants, shops and souvenir stalls, and art galleries are all open. For the first time during my visits to Hvar, I do not spot an otherwise very visible 16<sup>th</sup> century public well that stands on the main square. At first, I think this may be because it is surrounded by restaurant tables. Later, I learn that the well has been concealed in an art intervention as part of a series of artistic comments about tourism.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere in the town, along its narrow streets, restaurants and bars have put out their tables. I notice that they have used the steps that lead up to the fortress as improvised sitting areas. Every stone wall or area has been exploited for sitting and serving drinks. Due to the evening crowds, it takes time to walk along some streets. In front of bars/clubs there is a sort of receptionist/ animator who invites passers-by to consume. The hotels are open, except the two that are still under construction and, during my stay, one of them was getting ready to greet guests. I notice wooden benches for rent along the eastern and western shores, all looking the same. The prices seem to rise with the advancement of July and in correspondence with the benches' position – as one moves toward the western part of the town (where a famous beach club is located) the location is deemed more lucrative. The harbour is busy, at day and night, and the traffic of fast ferries is heavy, though they leave the harbour every half an hour or so. Boats that bring people on island tours or pub crawl tours arrive in the afternoon and evening and stay overnight. I have seen as many as five to seven such boats attached to each other in the harbour, in as many as two or three rows. Gaudy yachts are moored next to them. The harbour area is kind of the town's "waiting room" where people wait to get onto fast ferries during the day or onto boats to the nearby party islands at night.

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<sup>1</sup> With the support of the local museum, Museum of Hvar Heritage, and the municipality, local artists have intervened in the town's tissue commenting on the unbridled commercialisation of public spaces, individual greed, and the loss of quality of life caused by the development of mass tourism.

Tourism impacts the rhythms of everyday life in Hvar to such an extent that I could not avoid studying local temporalities as part of my research into urban futures in Hvar.<sup>2</sup> Without me asking, residents would comment on tourism and its seasonal effects on their everyday lives during each of my fieldwork stays. They would talk about living “in two extremes” and about the “depression” that takes over in winter. The proverbial bi-seasonal representation of life in Hvar and other coastal localities in Croatia, sharply divided between lively and busy “summer” (locally understood as extending roughly from May to the beginning of October) and inactive and dull “winter” (roughly from October/November to April) seemed an interesting temporal topic to delve into.

Popularised by local writers and journalists, it serves as a cultural stereotype, a widespread representation of life on the Adriatic coast as divided into only two distinct seasons. In his collection of essays about the Dalmatian coast,<sup>3</sup> Jurica Pavičić (2018: 250) asks what happens on islands and in small coastal places after summer when they “remain on their own” because the tourists have left and “the other of only two annual seasons – the long, weary, depressive winter” starts. “Winter, that in such places lasts for nine months, during which everything fades, boats become rare, tourists disappear, and only two or three shimmering lights twinkle on the waterfront in the evening” (ibid.; translation mine).

The binary opposition of “summer” and “winter” life also exists as a scholarly stereotype depicting the Mediterranean. In his classic study of the Mediterranean world in the age of Philip II, Fernand Braudel (1997) studied the seasonal variation of social behaviour. He demonstrated that the economic, social, and political life of Mediterranean societies in the 16<sup>th</sup> century was strongly influenced by the climatic seasons and differentiated into “summer” and “winter”. Another scholar of the same region, Jeremy Boissevain (1982), picked up on this theme and confirmed the existence of two distinct social seasons on the northern shore of the Mediterranean in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Rather than linking it to climate per se, he attributed the modern social seasonal binary to summer tourism.

I propose to revisit the representation of the sharp division between summer and winter temporalities. I argue that it is a cultural stereotype that simplifies social rhythms and temporal complexities as lived by locals on the one hand, and, on the other, does not take notice of the transitional phases between the two. It is beyond doubt that the rhythm of summer tourism structures life in the town in an all-encompassing way, permeating the minutiae of everyday life; as such, tourism in Hvar is a paradigmatic case of a *total social fact* (Mauss 1954 [1923–1924]) affecting economic activities, social and political relations, urban appearances, and the rhythms of the use of space and temporal periods, even the

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<sup>2</sup> This research has been carried out within the framework of the bilateral project *Urban Futures: Imagining and Activating Possibilities in Unsettled Times*, financed by the Croatian Research Agency (IPS-2020-01-7010) and the Slovenian Research Agency (J6-2578). Information about the project, research team, and activities can be found at [www.citymaking.eu](http://www.citymaking.eu).

<sup>3</sup> Dalmatia is a region along the Croatian Adriatic.

calendar of religious festivities. However, behind the alleged temporal duality lies “a multiplicity of perspectives, sensations and experiences” (Prca 2009: 6) by which the residents of Hvar live. This paper highlights the existence of parallel and competing temporalities, sometimes even of diametrically opposed local experiences and perceptions of “summer” and “winter” as well as the “grey” zones in between. They generate heterogeneous social rhythms or the “polyrhythmia” of everyday life (Lefebvre 2004 [1992]). The overarching rhythm of tourism conceals many temporalities, both in the sense of how locals perceive and organise their temporal rhythms and in the sense of how they experience them. How these heterogeneous temporalities orchestrate life in Hvar, how they criss-cross and relate to one another, are the topics that are discussed. In addition, attention is directed to the meanings attributed to them by individuals and to individual preferences, experiences, and resistance to the overwhelming rule of the rhythm of tourism.

The next section provides an overview of the relevant theoretical and regional (Mediterranean) studies of social rhythms. It also establishes a link to island studies since Hvar is a town on an island. The basic facts about contemporary tourism in Hvar are provided in the next section. This is followed by an ethnographic description, which is divided into several sub-sections, each dealing with a particular aspect of locals' heterogeneous – imagined or lived – temporalities. The final section summarises the findings.

## TEMPORAL RHYTHMS AND ISLANDS

The sociocultural construction of time is a dimension of social experience and practice. Time has entered anthropology since its early days, though it has “often been handmaiden to other anthropological frames and issues” (Munn 1992: 93). The theme first appeared in the studies of collective rhythmic activities. Marcel Mauss, a classical figure of French sociology and anthropology,<sup>4</sup> was interested in the “rhythms of collective life” (Zerubavel 1981) or calendric periodisations, which give time and social life its rhythmic form. In his book on schedules and calendars of social life, Eviatar Zerubavel (1981) states that “sociologists have identified various ‘social cycles’ – classic examples of which are the day, the week, and the year – that are responsible for the rhythmic structure of social life” (ibid.: 10). At about the same period in the French-speaking academic sphere, Henri Lefebvre (2004 [1992]) proposed a complex theory and method of “rhythmanalysis” – the analysis of the rhythmic aspects of everyday time. Lefebvre distinguished cyclical and linear rhythms: the cyclical repetitions generally originate in the cosmic, in nature (days, nights, seasons, the tides of the sea, months, years); the linear repetitions come from human activities, in particular from the movements of work, and are defined by the reproduction of the same

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<sup>4</sup> Mauss studied the impact of climatic seasonality on social rhythms of the Eskimos (Mauss and Beuchat 1968 [1904–1905]). He clearly established the existence of two different cycles in Eskimos' lives, two “social morphologies” that corresponded to climatic seasonal variation. The differences were quite astonishing due to the sharp contrast in the natural surroundings due to seasonal differences.

phenomenon at roughly similar intervals (Lefebvre 2004 [1992], Lefebvre and Régulier 2004 [1992]).

Scholars agree that the rhythms that govern social life are conventional. Even when they have a natural/biological or physiotemporal basis, humans' social rhythmicity is based "upon an entirely artificial regularity" (Zerubavel 1981: 11). Zerubavel argues that modernity has resulted in an increased detachment from "'organic and functional periodicity,' which is dictated by nature", replacing it with "'mechanical periodicity,' which is dictated by the schedule, the calendar, and the clock" (ibid.) Similarly, Lefebvre (2004 [1992]: 73) proposed that the everyday is the site of conflicts between "great indestructible rhythms and the processes imposed by the socio-economic organisation of production, consumption, circulation and habitat". The summer-winter periodicity discussed here is neither exclusively organic (natural, indestructible) nor mechanical (man-made, socio-economic); it is a mix of the two – of the sun and the sea and with summer as the most desired period for vacationing on the Mediterranean.

Fernand Braudel analysed the impact of climatic seasonal variation on social behaviour in the 16<sup>th</sup> century Mediterranean (Braudel 1997: 262–293). He depicted the supposedly startling contrast between social behaviour and life in the summer and winter seasons, which was caused by the climatic difference between the hot and dry summers (roughly from April to October) and the wet and stormy winter season (roughly from November to March). Though from a climatic perspective Braudel's characterisations of Mediterranean weather and its uniformity across the whole region may not hold,<sup>5</sup> he nevertheless associated it with two social seasons: "The climate of the Mediterranean sea, with its two sharply divided seasons, forces the Mediterranean body to live in two different phases that monotonously return every year, the Mediterranean winter, then summer and so forth" (ibid.: 262, translation mine). In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, winter weather brought life to a standstill: on the one hand, storms restricted travel and commerce, i.e., restricted communication and exchange (also conflict and war), while agriculture required minimal labour. On the other hand, it brought extreme hardship for the locals (severe cold, dwindling food and energy supplies). In social life, the consequences were rather positive: winter brought rest, peace, and intense local socialising. Jeremy Boissevain summarises Braudel's description of the winter season as the time of "consolidation, introspection, hardship and peace" (1982: 10). Summer reportedly presented a clear contrast: agricultural, fishing, maritime, and commercial activities resurfaced (as well as piracy and war); food supplies were abundant, patron saints honoured, and weddings celebrated. The weather allowed for lots of activities in public. In sum, summer was "a period of work, travel, celebration, and war, of activity and relaxed conversation" (ibid.: 11).

Boissevain sketched the differences between social seasons in the Mediterranean in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, four centuries after the age of Philip II discussed by

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<sup>5</sup> See articles on "Mediterranean climate" in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (<https://www.britannica.com/place/Europe/Climate#ref309414> [accessed 8 October 2022]).

Braudel. He found that the seasonal variation of behaviour is today “just as pronounced” as it was in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (ibid.: 14). The constraints of nature (climate) and their impact on social behaviour have been softened by new technologies (airplanes have replaced ships in long-distance travel; distances are mastered within a much shorter time; new sources of energy have reduced energy shortages, and so on). However, the seasonal contrast remains because new annual holidaying practices have turned the Mediterranean into a preferred holiday destination in summer (see also Löfgren 2009). The sunny, warm weather, the sea, sociability in public spaces, and images of an authentic Mediterranean setting attract tourists in summer as magnets and have made the differences in seasonal life and social behaviour more extreme, argues Boissevain. Therefore, summer in the Mediterranean still stands for activities, travel and exchange, and celebration, which also characterised it in the age of Philip II. In contrast, as in the past, “winter is still a period of standstill, of rest and peace”, concludes Boissevain (1982: 12-14). Rather than submitting Braudel’s bold thesis to a critical reappraisal, Boissevain reiterates the binary opposition between summer and winter life attributed to the Mediterranean and thus “risks aiding and abetting the perpetuation of cultural stereotypes” (Herzfeld 1984: 439) rather than dismantling them.

The first reassessments of anthropological studies of the Mediterranean took place forty years ago. Scholars criticised their predecessors for orientalising treatments of the region as a uniform cultural area and for offering an ahistorical and overly homogenised depiction of the Mediterranean cultural unit that emphasised essentialised features, such as honour and shame, virginity, hospitality, the private and public spheres, patron-client relationship, and so on. In an excellent summary of these discussions, Dionigi Albera and Anton Blok have moved away from *a priori* assumptions of a Mediterranean cultural area and have proposed to conceptualise the Mediterranean “as a field of ethnological study – as a historical formation, as a historically-constituted unit” (Albera and Blok 2001: 17). The solution, they suggest, lies in avoiding the definition of the Mediterranean as “an object of study”; they rather refer to it as a “unit of analysis in terms of which we have to phrase our questions and in terms of which we have to answer them” (ibid.: 20). In this vein, I propose to revisit seasonality as a cultural stereotype of the Mediterranean (though a much less exploited one than others) by analysing it in a particular Mediterranean place, the town of Hvar on the eponymous island.

A Google search for recent studies of Mediterranean seasonalities in the anthropological literature has not yielded results. However, I have come across a few studies from other disciplines, all dealing with Croatia. One is a study of global tourism seasonality that is interested in the implications of tourism’s seasonality from an economic and environmental point of view (Corluca 2019). In her master’s thesis in sociology, Klara Šimunović (2022) analysed the quality of life of young people on the island of Hvar. Some of the questions in her research design provide data about young people’s perceptions of the seasonal rhythms of life caused by contemporary tourism. The young people confirmed the general perception of island life as being determined by tourist seasonality.

The research that is closest to the topic discussed here is an ethnomusicological study by Joško Čaleta (2009). The author found that the seasonal tourist rhythm even impacts the local musical practice on an island. He was “taken aback by the markedly ‘double’ life of the little community in Bol on the island of Brač. In the summer period, it functions as any other popular tourist (Mediterranean, global) destination, while in winter, it lives as a standalone island community with all the musical and traditional symbols of a typical (Dalmatian) locality” (Čaleta 2009: 25, translation mine). The author reveals a collision between the “local” and the “touristic-global”, also interpreting it as a sharp difference between the private (winter) and the public (summer) musical practices. The author has pinpointed an important social rhythm in Bol that can also be found on the island of Hvar. However, there are several gaps in his analysis. Firstly, the author presumes that a single rhythm – that of tourism – governs all social (musical) life. Secondly, he has framed the variations in the social rhythm in binary terms that confront two sharply opposed musical seasons and assumed a homogeneous response from the community to each season. My analysis pays attention to coexisting/parallel and competing social rhythms and residents’ polysemic experiences of them and meanings attributed to them.

Finally, I wish to mention another article, itself a pioneering study in the sociology of time in the Croatian context. Moreover, it is a study of islanders’ capacities to reflect on climate change. It deals with the experience of time lapse and the possible consequences of anticipated climatic change on the local communities on the Cres and Lošinj archipelago (Karajić and Čaldarović 1994). Starting from the assumption that island communities can be at “least partially viewed as less differentiated societies” (sic!) because they live “in spatial, social, but in their own way also temporal isolation” (ibid.: 64), the authors conclude that the islanders conceive of time “primarily as cyclical, expressed through the dichotomy ‘before-after’, and ‘now-not-now’” (ibid.) and conceptualise the social and physical environment as “fixed, unchangeable, ‘eternal’ (climate)” (ibid.: 65, translations mine) and therefore, especially if they come from smaller island communities, cannot estimate the extent and impact of climate change.

Island studies has moved beyond ideas about the alleged isolation and lack of differentiation and complexity of islands that the aforementioned article espouses. Speaking of the 16<sup>th</sup> century Mediterranean, Fernand Braudel claimed that islands’ isolation is a “relative truth”: when they are found outside the range of maritime life, the sea separates them from the rest of the world more than any other environment; but when they become involved with the outside world, they are much less separated from it than some mountains with an impervious pass (1997: 156). The author further states that there exist other rather severely isolated worlds that are not surrounded by the sea (ibid.: 164). If that was true for the 16<sup>th</sup> century Mediterranean, it is not surprising that it is even more true today. Braudel’s opinion reverberates in a recent article by two renown nissologists, Godfrey Baldacchino and Nenad Starc (2021). The authors argue that island isolation “has undergone an interesting *volte face* in recent decades” (ibid.: 5). Technological innovations have lessened the “‘handicap’ associated with island living in the 21<sup>st</sup> century” (ibid.: 4):

telemedicine, energy supplies like solar panels and wind turbines, desalination plants, and broadband and internet services have made the island's physical isolation and hardships disappear. Rather than avoided, islands are sought by many contemporaries. The authors argue that islands' "isolation, along with their distinctiveness and separateness, are the product of specific materialisations of complex spatial and temporal inter-relations in a particular (island) locale, rendered possible by the engirdling and entangling sea" (ibid.: 6). Islands' isolation is thus *socially made* rather than naturally given: "islandness does not determine, but contours and conditions physical and social events" (Baldacchino 2004: 278, comp. Hay 2006).

Island studies that "have come of age" (Baldacchino 2004) insist that islands be studied "on their own terms" (Baldacchino 2008) in *both* their material (physical) and realistic dimensions *as well as* their metaphorical and imaginary connotations (Baldacchino 2013). Imaginary constructions are often imposed on islands from the outside, by those who are not islanders themselves (Hay 2006; Baldacchino 2008; Cohen 2017), or maybe also by those who left the island for the mainland (Piškor 2009). They convey two myths: of "the perfectly natural disposition of islands as tourist destinations; and the assumption that such a disposition, being natural, is millenary and timeless" (Baldacchino 2013: 15). Though islands are externally objectified as millennial tourist paradises that primarily offer the sun and sea, in reality they may be confronted with a myriad of social, demographic, and natural problems (Baldacchino 2008). To these observations, one may add that the contemporary tourist practices point to another myth of Mediterranean islands (and coasts) – as exclusively summer tourist destinations. Summer tourism in the Mediterranean is not "millenary and timeless" but a temporally defined practice that was shaped after World War Two (Löfgren 2009).

Understanding "the reality of islands and how it is for islands and islanders in the times that are here and that are emerging" (Hay 2006: 30) and the islanders' on their own terms (Baldacchino 2008) shapes my approach to the social rhythms/temporalities in Hvar. Coupled with a phenomenological methodology (Hay 2006), it focuses on locals' experiences of social rhythms and how they imbue them with meaning, manage and trick them, or flow with them. It allows for an unfolding of the heterogeneous meanings and experiences by which Hvar residents live their town's temporalities.

The research material has been gathered during ethnographic fieldwork<sup>6</sup> with methods and techniques such as observation and participation in the social life of the community;

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<sup>6</sup> Ethnographic fieldwork in Hvar was carried out in four one-week visits in April/May 2021, and in April, July, and October 2022. I did fieldwork alone and, at one time, with my colleagues Valentina Gulin Zrnić and Marina Blagaić Bergman. In addition, my colleagues stayed in Hvar in January 2022. While I did not visit the town in winter in the strict sense (December–February), my colleagues who did have shared their observations with me. Indeed, it would have been better had I not been constrained by the time available for fieldwork. I tried to make up for this omission by regularly following local social networks and maintaining contact with my interlocutors online. Finally, I wish to underline that the "winter" I refer to in the article is not climatic winter, but the socially constructed winter perceived by locals to last from October/November to April/May, the months in which I did visit Hvar three times.



informal encounters and casual conversations/chatting with residents from all walks of life (young and elderly people, retirees and the work-active population, locals and outsiders of different kinds – returnees from abroad, settlers from elsewhere in Croatia or from abroad, seasonal and permanent residents and employees...); semi-structured interviews with locals, be they restaurateurs, owners of private accommodation, sellers of local agro-produce and/or bathing equipment at stalls, gallery owners and artists, employees of the municipality or the municipal communal firms, candidates for mayor in the 2021 elections, employees of the local tourist board and museum, activists in the non-governmental scene, tourist guides, a priest, a doctor... Individuals and Hvar-related groups engaged in electronic social networks have also provided lots of information on the town life and its predominant economic activity, tourism. I have been following them regularly since February 2022. Social networks offer a platform on which extremely critical positions are taken by locals. They reveal the complexity of tourism-generated seasonality's impacts on everyday life while making individuals' opinions public and available to the local community. My own Urban Futures blogs published on the project's webpage<sup>7</sup> intrigued locals and provoked their lively comments. These comments have been taken into account in my analysis.

## CONTEMPORARY TOURISM IN HVAR

Tourism in Hvar is a phenomenon of *longue durée*; more than a century and a half has passed since its start. It has gone through various phases, each marked by a different calendrical temporality. Tourism started developing as medicinal winter tourism (in the 19<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries), went through a phase of balancing out winter and summer tourism (1960s and 1970s), and ended as a singularly summer phenomenon (since the 1980s) (Perinić Lewis 2017). Each of these phases had a different impact on the residents' lives. Here I discuss only the effects of the last phase of predominantly summer tourism that lasts from May to October.

In order to understand its impact, the basic facts about contemporary tourism need to be mentioned. In the 1980s, tourism and the accompanying services pushed aside primary economic activities (agriculture, fishing) in Hvar. Tourism has become the main economic activity in which “almost everybody takes part directly or indirectly” (*Razvojna strategija turizma grada Hvara 2030*. 2019). After a halt in development in the first half of the 1990s (during and after the Croatian war for independence), the recovery started at the turn of the new century. Two trends are visible: on the one hand, the local hotel chain (its accommodation capacities are only 20 per cent of the entire capacities in the town) focuses on a clientele with a higher purchasing power and high expectations (so-called *elite tourism*). On the other hand, new actors on the local scene introduce “after beach”

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<sup>7</sup> <https://www.citymaking.eu/rezultati/> (accessed 8 October 2022).

bars and night clubs, which have become promoters of a new type of tourism, so-called *party-tourism*. A new company, the Nautical Center, has for its part initiated the development of *nautical tourism* in Hvar (ibid.).

Two documents provide information about tourism's state of the art in the town of Hvar – *Razvojna strategija turizma grada Hvara 2030*. (2019) and *Strategija razvoja grada do 2020*. (2016).<sup>8</sup> Neither of these documents analyses tourism in Hvar by type. Instead, they give information on its structural characteristics, which indirectly allow one to infer the different types of tourism but not the proportions of each type. The town's tourism is characterised by a pronounced summer seasonality (60 and 90 per cent of tourists come in July–August and June–September respectively)<sup>9</sup> and a huge number of visitors and overnight stays, considering the smallness of the town (it has some 3,500 inhabitants<sup>10</sup> and, in pre-pandemic years, had around 200,000 registered visitors and around 700,000 overnight stays) (*Razvojna strategija turizma grada Hvara 2030*. 2019). An average tourist's stay in the town is measured in a few days. That number has been on a downward slope for decades: from 11.4 days (1970) to 4.9 (2000) and most recently 3.6 (2017) (*Strategija razvoja grada Hvara do 2020*. 2016; *Razvojna strategija turizma grada Hvara 2030*. 2019). The town's strategic development document attributes this decline to global trends and to “an unplanned development of tourism in the town” (*Strategija razvoja grada Hvara do 2020*. 2016: 135, translation mine). My interlocutors have been lamenting the steady decline of *family tourism*, which used to mean visitors would stay for lengthier periods (allegedly up to two or three weeks). They have also confirmed the rising importance of *mass and party tourism* that are characterised by a quick replacement of tourists. The latter is made obvious by the average number of days a visitor stays in the town. The most recent tourist strategy has actually identified “young party-makers” as “the bearers of the new tourist postcard of Hvar” (*Razvojna strategija turizma grada Hvara 2030*. 2019). This is confirmed by visitors' age groups: about 30 per cent are 25–34 years old (ibid.) The development of nautical tourism (sailing boats, yachts, small cruising ships, daily excursion boats from the mainland) and the rise in the number of fast ferry connections with the mainland in the summer season (up to 28 in summer 2022) have also contributed to visitors' speedy substitution and the low number of days spent per tourist in the town.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> The town has not yet announced its developmental strategy for the next five years.

<sup>9</sup> Data for 2017 (*Razvojna strategija turizma grada Hvara 2030*. 2019).

<sup>10</sup> The latest population census found that only 3,527 people are permanent, year-round residents in the town (*Popis stanovništva, kućanstava i stanova 2021.-prvi rezultati, tablica 2*). This is a significant decline of about 700 persons in comparison with the 2011 census. My interlocutors warn that even this number may be over-estimated. Not only do many people leave the town in winter (see below), but many have fictive residency in the town and most of the year they live in their primary home somewhere on the mainland.

<sup>11</sup> The town of Hvar is the most prominent tourist destination on the island. Tourism in nearby localities (Jelsa and Stari Grad) has different characteristics (e.g., the length of average stay, proportion of domestic and international visitors, type of visitors, etc.), while the easternmost locality (Sućuraj), in spite of its quicker connection with the mainland, is much less developed. The reasons thereof are complex and not relevant for my topic. However, it is worth mentioning that although it is located on the island of Hvar, the town of

Tourism in Hvar has another important trait: 70 per cent of accommodation capacities are owned by individuals and small companies. In other words, small private businesses – about a thousand altogether – form the backbone of Hvar tourism (*Razvojna strategija turizma grada Hvara 2030*. 2019). In addition to these, there are more than sixty restaurants and buffets, about thirty cafés, six nightclubs, ten tourist agencies and twenty local tourist guides, about eighty boat transporters.... It is thus not surprising that this spread-out net of primary and secondary tourist services includes almost the entire population of Hvar (*ibid.*). With some exceptions, the services only work in the tourist season and are closed the rest of the year (see introductory vignettes).

The aforementioned developmental strategies as well as a sociological analysis acknowledge that Hvar is an example of “free (random) tourism development” and mass tourism (Zlatar Gamberožić 2021: 3). Such development implies unplanned and excessive tourism expansion without a vision, strategy, or planning. It results in exceeding the limits of the locality’s carrying capacity and is considered unacceptable and harmful (*ibid.*). Zlatar Gamberožić analyses how tourism’s current trends in Hvar fit into the ecological, economic, and socio-cultural dimensions of long-term sustainability;<sup>12</sup> in contrast, I discuss the short-term effects of summer tourism in Hvar on locals’ seasonal rhythms.

As the main economic activity in Hvar that engages “almost everyone”, tourism acts as a *total social fact* in the town. It pervades all aspects of life in the town and of its inhabitants, from the most evident economic features to the least visible religious aspects. The immediate socio-temporal effects are visible in the rhythms of work and socialising, the use of public space (both in terms of its unavailability and changes in its temporal usage), alternative places for locals’ meetings, and out-migration from the town in summer or winter (depending on age, working status, financial capital). Furthermore, tourism impacts the perceptions of these two periods of the year, and it interferes with the rhythm of annual festivities.

## ETHNOGRAPHY OF ISLANDERS’ TEMPORALITIES

### WORK, DAILY RHYTHMS, PUBLIC SPACES

During the tourist season, locals, most of whom are themselves employed in the tourist sector, work extremely long hours. During the season’s peak in July and August these may

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Hvar pursues its own tourism strategy without coordinating it with the other island localities. In this and other communal aspects where the whole island’s agency would be needed, the town of Hvar acts as if it were an island on an island. Ingeborg Matečić and Ana Perinić Lewis (2018) have suggested that the promotion of tourism in the town of Hvar should be founded on common interests and in cooperation with the other localities by taking into account the whole island.

<sup>12</sup> Compare Ivona Orlić’s article (2007) on the effects of mass tourism on local inhabitants in the area of Poreč (Istria) in the period of socialism.

stretch up to 16 hours a day. In July, it is practically impossible to arrange for a meeting with people from the hospitality sector. In order to have a chat (or just to greet them if I already know them) I would drop into their pastry or other specialty shop to get something. Depending on the time of day, even a short exchange is sometimes not possible. One of my interlocutors, who had ample time to spend with me in April, was not even responding to my messages. I finally met him one day by sheer chance, around 11p.m., when he was on his way home after having closed his parlour. Although he was visibly tired and could not wait to get home, we chatted for about half an hour. Some interlocutors whom I had interviewed on other occasions in Spring when they were preparing their shops for the tourist season were not at all to be seen in July. I guess they were busy looking after their business somewhere on the beach or in a bar. Available for a meeting were retirees and those who work in the municipality and/or do not work in the tourism sector. Even the town employees were busier than usual, managing cultural events, coordinating nautical activities in the harbour, or dealing with an unforeseen problem in the functioning of the town.

Locals' daily and nightly rhythms change in the tourist season. That change can only partly be attributed to weather conditions. Mostly it occurs due to the lack of available time during the "season", as locals call the busy touristy months of the year. Whilst before and after the season, in the period which is referred to as "winter", locals can be seen in the morning taking care of various errands (going to a shop, the post-office, or the city municipality, seeing a doctor, going to school, etc.) and in the early afternoon chatting on the main square or in a café, during the tourist season, their rhythms change. There is no more time to take a leisurely coffee or a stroll. Some people do not even go into the centre (provided that another family member is available to accomplish a necessary errand for them). The town is empty in the morning, while during late afternoon, evening, and night it gets crowded – with visitors and not locals. This is a very different sight than the one in January, April, or October when, on a chilly evening, the streets are completely deserted. In contrast, in July, one has to inch through small side streets in the old town occupied by restaurant and café tables while the promenade on the *Fabrika* shore is too narrow for all the passers-by.

The use of public space and local sociability habits also differ during the tourist season. To avoid tourist crowds, some people use different routes to walk or to bicycle to work. The large central *piazza*, the epitome of Mediterranean social life, is partly lost to restaurants. As mentioned in the introduction, the town's iconic heritage object, the public well, is practically invisible since restaurant tables completely surround it. That huge open space, the largest in Dalmatia (4.500 m<sup>2</sup>), which in the winter season is used by kids playing and grown-ups chatting and sitting around on the steps leading to the well and the stone seats of the former grain warehouse and in front of the church, is arrogated in the tourist season by restaurateurs by at least one third or more.<sup>13</sup> Still, some locals hang around, especially women after mass while children may play soccer in one corner. Children can also be

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<sup>13</sup> The municipality issues permits to restaurateurs to use the space in front of their establishments, which means it is complicit in the usurpation of public space.

seen selling seashells or painted pebbles to visitors. Some interlocutors claim that in the summer season they do not allow their children to play in the streets or on the *piazza*, especially not late at night because too many people are walking around.

In early October, as tourist pressure subsides and the number of visitors significantly drops, the contrasts (in workload, use of time and space) that oppose the peak tourist season to the winter months are mitigated. Life noticeably takes on a different rhythm, both in terms of work and the use of time and space. Locals work less and are closing their establishments. They find more time to indulge in swimming, sunbathing, and sociability in public spaces. “We finally live for ourselves”, commented an interlocutor. Lots of public events are staged by the municipality, the municipal library and reading room, the tourist board, and local associations. The calendar is marked by the festivity of Saint Stephen, whose day is also celebrated as the Day of the Municipality (see below). When I was in Hvar, an encounter with a well-known Croatian writer, followed by an art historian's lecture on local votive churches and paintings, and an exhibition of traditional Adriatic boats took place all on the same day. All the events were well attended, mostly by locals (and where the language of the event was not an issue, by tourists). The next day the tasting of Hvar wines and a roundtable on wine tourism were organised and the day after the Tourist Board staged an event with two lectures on sustainable tourism. The latter event was well attended by locals interested in the effects of tourism on their town. Finally, the local NGO *Platforma* announced the “Serum Festival”, a three-day-long event with lots of content aimed “most of all at local inhabitants”.

## LOCAL RESPONSES TO THE TOURIST SEASON

Local agency in response to the tourist season varies. People who have the means or opportunity to do so and are not engaged in tourism leave the town. Some have second homes off the island, on the mainland or elsewhere; some move to their cottage in the nearby fields and rarely visit the town. Some can afford to rent an apartment elsewhere.<sup>14</sup>

Some residents employed in the tourist sector make an effort to find some time for summer activities. Some go for an early morning swim before they begin their daily chores. A group of women with a heavy workload due to tourism does not give up on having their morning coffee together on the main square. Some people keep away from the tourist hustle, as already mentioned. They create alternative spaces of summer life for themselves and their children. For example, they go to a café<sup>15</sup> in the very centre of the

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<sup>14</sup> This may turn out to be cheaper than renting an apartment in Hvar in the tourist season. In any case, all-year tenants usually get kicked out as soon as the tourist season picks up since the apartment owner can earn more renting by the day.

<sup>15</sup> In Croatia, a “café” is a place where, in addition to coffee and tea, all kinds of drinks, alcoholic and non-alcoholic, are available.

town, which is placed on a terrace and visible only when one goes up the staircase. With excellent views over the main *piazza* and difficult to be discovered by visitors, this is a popular summer venue among locals where I would meet them for a chat.

Opportunities for creating social spaces for locals are organised by the municipality, the municipal library, and/or local NGOs. One beloved local space is the long-lasting Hvar Summer Festival. Since its establishment in 1961, it offers a series of musical events and performances aimed at locals and visitors. In some periods, it lasted almost six months, between April and mid-October. When a new organisational team took over a few years ago, the festival started promoting national and local music and other productions, among others also amateurs. Its duration has been reduced to the period between the end of June and mid-September.<sup>16</sup> The concert by a Croatian flute quartet at the beginning of July 2022 that I visited was, however, not very well attended.

In contrast, another event held a few days earlier attracted many locals. *Creative Dir* is a traditional manifestation that invites local arts and crafts producers from all over the island to present their products. As stated by the organisers, the already mentioned local NGO *Platforma*, the aim is to contribute to “a richer touristic offer” and to preserve “the well-known Hvar ‘dir’”.<sup>17</sup> The quiet, decent background music, the cheapest drinks in town, and the informal atmosphere attracted quite a few people, mostly locals, as far as I could judge.

The two-day Lavender Festival held in mid-July (2022) in a nearby village in the hinterland (part of the municipality of Hvar) is another well-attended event. With its rich programme that includes book presentations and poetry reading, expert lectures on aromatic and medicinal herbs, workshops, the lavender harvest, gastronomic delights, and the sale of lavender and rosemary products, the festival is primarily aimed at engaging locals.<sup>18</sup> Its significance goes beyond providing communal summer spaces. The festival aims to bring back life to the abandoned village, albeit on a temporary basis, and help revive the once widespread and lucrative cultivation of aromatic plants (lavender and rosemary).<sup>19</sup> The cultivation of lavender was almost completely abandoned in the 1980s, when the tourist industry repressed other economic activities. Since the lavender harvest usually begins at the end of June/beginning of July, it could successfully be included in the touristic offer, but it still attracts lots of locals.

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<sup>16</sup> <https://hvarsummerfestival.hr/en/about-us/> (accessed 28 September 2022).

<sup>17</sup> In the local dialect, *dir* means a stroll.

<sup>18</sup> I was unable to personally attend the festival. The information presented here comes from the organiser's web page (<http://www.pjover.com/grobajske-institucije/festival-levande/>) and Facebook posts by locals and organisers (accessed 28 September 2022).

<sup>19</sup> The agricultural revival is still sporadic and unsystematic. There was much talk about it during the two tourist seasons (2020, 2021) when tourism came to a standstill due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Some locals are aware of the necessity of creating alternative sources of income and developing tourism sustainably, which will be tied to agricultural production.

## WINTER RATHER THAN SUMMER AS THE PREFERRED SEASON?

Not everybody can take part in the aforementioned activities in July and August. Those who work in the tourist industry, which is the majority of the town's inhabitants, may have no time to attend them. A gentleman who has been a vociferous critic of the excesses of the tourist season, himself a retired restaurant owner, hit the nail on the head by remarking, "If we compress all-year-long activities into summer, it follows that in *summer we do not live but work*. The time when we could and would want to live is what we call winter" (translation and emphasis mine).<sup>20</sup>

Residents, both those who work long hours and those who object to the effects of tourism, clearly prefer the winter season and are eagerly waiting for *parvi desetega* or 1 October when the tourist season more or less finishes and "peace" (quote from an interlocutor) returns to their town. For them the problematic season in Hvar is not winter but summer, which brings excessive working hours, higher prices, and crowds of tourists. This fits into Boissevain's thoughts about other parts of the Mediterranean. Unlike Mediterranean societies in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, "winter now provides release from summer", suggests Boissevain (1982: 14).

Not all locals share a preference for winter over summer; it is dependent on age group, family status, financial capital, and/or personal interests. Persons in the middle-age groups, with families and/or children, say that Hvar is the ideal location for family life and the lives of children in winter. Children can play outside of the home on the town's streets and *piazas*, enjoying freedom of movement in the open air. When the town is reduced to its local demographic measure in winter, they claim, the quality of life is excellent. Activities are not lacking, explains a middle-aged interlocutor, a returnee from abroad: "We are not bored in winter; I ride my bicycle or go hiking and fishing with the kids." A young man confirms this opinion, almost with the same words: "You only need to have various interests and hobbies. We are not bored in winter." A woman who works seasonally in a restaurant in addition to renting out apartments loves winter activities – hiking, fishing, and picking asparagus. A young, single woman, who works all year round, maintains that, due to the development of telecommunications, she does not feel isolated anymore in the winter months. A secondary school teacher also does not find winter boring. However, he still complains about the isolation that it brings. The feeling of isolation arises as a consequence of the small number of fast ferries to the mainland, which may not navigate during stormy weather. This becomes a problem when it is viewed in the context of the limited medical care that is available on the island.

A man that was reading a book in his backyard on a chilly April evening commented that he enjoyed the winter peace. However, he thought that there are not enough activities for secondary school children. The town does not have a sports hall, billiards, a swimming

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<sup>20</sup> A comment by Ivan Buzolic on my Facebook post, 5 August 2022.

pool, table football, or a place for young people to meet indoors. The opinion about the lack of winter activities for youth was repeated by several interlocutors.<sup>21</sup> A woman, herself a restaurateur, commented in a Facebook post:

I was always wondering and asking, what are they looking forward to? Dead coastal towns, everything closed. Nowhere to go and have dinner with friends, no movies, theatre, or concerts. Our towns turn in ghost towns from November till April. Nothing really to look forward to. Going from one extreme to another. No wonder everyone is leaving our island cities in the off season. The silence and peace are too much.<sup>22</sup>

Such reasoning is widespread among the younger population and is shared by some seniors. An elderly man, a former restaurant owner, argues the same thing and comments that a “desert” reigns in winter, especially with regard to young persons.<sup>23</sup> In contrast, another interlocutor is more critical of today’s youth, blaming them for a lack of ideas about what to do in winter. With nostalgia, he has retorted that children knew how to play in his youth and never felt bored.

## WINTER MOBILITIES

Those who do not like the half-empty town and the perceived lack of activities (sport, culture, entertainment) in winter and, thanks to a huge summer income generated by tourism, can afford to travel, leave the town in winter. Depending on individual preferences, interests, and what desirable other worlds are imagined, winter outmigration destinations differ. Some people spend a good portion of winter in the Croatian capital, Zagreb. Some spend time in big European cities or travel to far-away Asian, North and South American, or Near Eastern destinations. Some choose to go on a retreat, others to busy urban areas in the north or south of Europe. Winter mobilities are practised by young and middle-aged persons, who work only seasonally and whose family circumstances allow them to leave (no school-aged children).

The aforementioned former restaurant owner characterises these travels as “a status symbol”. Based on conversations with individuals who take part in winter mobilities I would suggest that it is a more complex phenomenon. The winter mobilities of some residents are not only the result of their seasonal work activities and financial means, nor only an issue of status. They also reflect a global mobility trend typical of the better-off middle and upper socio-economic classes of society. Like other citizens of the world, the Hvar locals take part in global mobilities. In winter, they choose the destinations in which they

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<sup>21</sup> Similar data were obtained by Šimunović (2022) in her research on the youth on the island.

<sup>22</sup> Originally in English. A comment by Đurđa Bracanović on my Facebook post, 5 August 2022.

<sup>23</sup> In his opinion, islands lack “quality in the winter social life” because of the “corrupted local powers that be” who allow the outflow of summer profits. This is an interesting point, critical of local politics, but not relevant for the argument in this paper.



will enjoy the warm climate, rest, and gain strength to prepare for the next demanding summer work season, or simply find activities that are lacking in their little island town. An interlocutor has affirmed that traveling for him means “opening up windows to different worlds and ideas”.

These winter mobilities are in sharp contrast to those of some retired/senior persons who exile themselves from the tourist influx in summer but spend winters in Hvar. The direction of locals' arrivals and departures from the town, and their stays in it, is a function of age (younger/middle-aged vs. senior persons), activity (retiree vs. seasonally employed), and other circumstances (the availability of a second home elsewhere vs. renting a place elsewhere). It is the locals' seasonal mobility, in both directions but at different periods of the year, that contributes to the fluctuations in the number of permanent residents in the town and makes it difficult to establish who is and who is not a permanent inhabitant. It also contributes to people experiencing the town differently in different seasons, i.e., not knowing exactly what goes on in the season when they do not live there (but still talking as if they know).

## RHYTHM OF TOURISM VS. RHYTHM OF RELIGIOUS FESTIVITIES

Unlike in other Mediterranean regions, where summer allegedly stimulates religious activities and calendrical festivals in the service of tourism (Boissevain 1982), the opposite appears to happen in Hvar. In a public referendum held in 2005, the inhabitants of Hvar voted that the titular saint of their cathedral, Saint Stephen, who is celebrated on 2 August (at the peak of the tourist season), be celebrated on 2 October (that is, toward the end of the tourist season when the number of tourists has significantly dropped). The same date is also marked as the Day of the Municipality. I am told that the motive of this change is the lack of time and the huge physical (and psychological) effort that locals put into running the tourist industry in the town. The locals have decided to accommodate the requirements of the rhythm of tourism and give it priority over the rhythm of religious festivities; in a way, they have tricked the rhythm of festivities.<sup>24</sup> According to an interlocutor, that day “has never had a meaning for local religious persons”. The lack of emotional attachment to the saint, who is considered the cathedral's rather than the residents' patron-saint, has reportedly helped them reach a decision to move the festivity. Thus, tourism and its rhythms permeate not only all aspects of everyday secular life but they also impact other rhythms in the town, not sparing even the once dominant communal rhythm of all, that of religious festivities.

On other occasions, the rhythm of festivities may be given precedence over the rhythm of tourism. As in other Mediterranean towns, church festivities carried out in public spaces

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<sup>24</sup> On time-tricking, see Ringel (2016).

(Lefebvre and Régulier 2004 [1992]: 94–95) remain strong in Hvar. The church rites and popular religiosity during Holy Week and at Easter (that I had the opportunity to witness in 2022) are such occasions of public display. The Holy Week rites have their peak in the evening procession on Good Friday.<sup>25</sup> The emptiness and desertion that the town conveyed earlier in the day and the previous days (see the introductory vignette) disappeared in the evening on Good Friday when believers and other participants in the procession filled up the main *piazza*. As the ceremonial procession was proceeding, and the fraternities<sup>26</sup> rhythmic chanting filled the night with mystery, people, young and old, were descending from nearby streets to the square to join in or to watch. It seemed as if the inhabitants, almost invisible until then, surfaced from somewhere and came to the square.

The whole town breathed with the rhythm of festivities on this and subsequent days. Interlocutors acknowledged that this is a very important annual event. On Easter morning, cafés on the main square were open after the mass and immediately after they closed and re-opened in the afternoon. Restaurants opened only in the afternoon/evening to answer to the quest of tourists searching for an Easter meal. Construction work was interrupted, and workers got two days off; hotel cooks employed cooking for them also managed to get a free day. In honour of the biggest liturgical feast of the Christian calendar, everything was at a standstill as the locals took part in family celebrations. It seemed as if they did not care about the start of the tourist season.

The Holy Week and Easter festivities coincide with the last period of local rhythms of life, before the town gets inundated by tourists. The following important religious feast is that of Saint Prosper, who is celebrated on 10 May. This is the saint whom the locals consider as their patron saint. Like Easter, it falls in Spring, at the onset of the tourist season, when visitors are still not as numerous as in the summer months proper. Both festivities engage many local believers and many religious and lay events are organised by the church and the municipality around that date. In addition to being important liturgical dates, both have a community-making character. It can be argued that they appear to offer the last chance for the community to come together before the summer season takes off and interferes with the everyday rhythm of life.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Different localities on the island are well known for their Holy Week processions. The most famous procession involves six villages in the central part of the island. The one held in the town of Hvar is less known and mostly engages locals, who come to the town from elsewhere on this occasion and on the Easter holidays.

<sup>26</sup> Two fraternities or associations of believers are active in the town.

<sup>27</sup> The anonymous reviewer has suggested that the community-making character of Easter may be more important than its religious aspect. I cannot say to what extent one or the other meaning of these festivities is more important. What is obvious, however, is that both meanings are interrelated and feed one another.

## CONCLUSIONS

The article has revisited one of the cultural stereotypes attributed to the Mediterranean by early scholars of the region and popularised by local essayists in Croatia. Both the scholarly literature and the local popular texts assert that everyday life on the Mediterranean unfolds in two distinct phases – the summer and the winter phases – which cyclically substitute each other each year and shape the annual social rhythms of the residents. The reportedly sharp division between life in the two seasons is attributed to summer tourism, which is a seasonal phenomenon usually condensed between June and September and peaking in July and August. My analysis has pointed out the semantic and experiential complexities of the seasonality stereotype that render it an inadequate representation of local temporalities and social rhythms. On the one hand, the article is a contribution to the critique of orientalising and essentialising representations of Mediterranean realities. On the other, it is an attempt at ethnographically dismantling the prevalent uniform representation or stereotype of seasonal temporalities caused by summer tourism in a particular locality. The latter may inspire re-appraisals of seasonality caused by summer tourism elsewhere in the Mediterranean.

Several conclusions can be drawn from the analysis. Firstly, since tourism has become practically the only economic activity in Hvar, tourist rhythms permeate all aspects of everyday life. Residents are aware of tourism's effects on their everyday life and divide their lives into life in the tourist season and outside of it. Contemporary tourism has a pronounced seasonal character. Since a few decades ago, it has become almost exclusively a summer phenomenon, which, thanks to the excellent geographic location of the island, extends beyond the climatic summer from May to the end of September or beginning of October. So, rather than lasting for the three summer months, the tourist season in Hvar lasts almost five months, albeit with a varied intensity, with peaks in July and August. Its pressure, especially in the peak period, defines local daily and seasonal rhythms at the social and individual levels.

The second finding is that tourism affects various residents differently, as well as their experiences and perceptions of local time and space. Some work long hours in summer and do not work at all in winter. Some work the whole year round. Their use of local space differs accordingly. In addition, tourism causes the residents' diverse mobilities. They are a function of the type of employment (seasonal vs. non-seasonal, touristic vs. non-touristic), working status (active vs. retired population), age (young vs. other age groups), family status (with vs. without family/children), and financial means. Some leave the locality in summer (in various forms), some in winter. These various spatio-temporalities mean that not all residents have the experience of both seasons in the town. In other words, there is no uniform experience of seasons in the town. The end result is the creation of dynamic and heterogeneous social rhythms that are individually lived.

The summer out-migration may appear as a counter-intuitive mobility from a mainland perspective of yearning for the warm summer by the Mediterranean. The history of sum-

mer mobilities by renaissance elites suggests something else: summer was the period in which all better-off classes exiled themselves from overly hot Mediterranean towns (Braudel 1997: 278). This was – and obviously still is for some – true for Hvar. The fact that the Austrian nobility and bourgeoisie preferred to stay in Hvar in winter rather than in summer also invites us to revisit the present popular notion of what constitutes an appealing summer retreat. The Mediterranean tourism of the past occurred in winter rather than in summer (Löfgren 2009). This confirms that there is nothing natural in the objectification of islands – one can also add coastal areas – as naturally summer touristic paradises (Baldacchino 2008, 2013). Nor is there anything natural in limiting tourism only to the five or six months of warm weather.

Winter out-migration by young people engaged in the tourist sector is another local phenomenon. It reflects their financial means and the seasonal character of their employment and lack of local winter activities, but it is also part and parcel of global mobilities practised by better-off social classes. As the destinations of their winter mobilities, Hvar residents choose those that enable them to enjoy summer weather elsewhere (something they cannot do at home since they work long hours) and/or those that give them the experience of big European or American cities that they cannot have on either their island or elsewhere in Croatia.

Another conclusion can also be drawn: in addition to the different experiences of the seasons, locals attach differential meanings to the two seasons. Some favour the summer over winter, some winter over the summer season. The latter preference can be attributed to the excessive tourism in the town that disrupts the usual rhythms and prevents locals from taking advantage of leisurely summer activities themselves. So, it appears that indeed for some “winter is the period during which Mediterranean societies repair the ravages of summer. Many people take months to recover from the summer work frenzy, from the tidal wave of visitors, from the exhausting demands of pleasure. As the wave recedes, traditional social rhythms are re-established” (Boissevain 1982: 14). Others, as we have seen, re-establish themselves outside of the town, in other destinations. The seasonal rhythmicity of life persists in Hvar and may be even more extreme than before, but there is a major reversal in perceptions of the two seasons. Winter may even be the quintessence of Mediterranean life and culture, Braudel notwithstanding, suggests Boissevain. However, this may not be so for everybody, as the Hvar example shows.

The analysis has also pointed out that in addition to the temporality of tourism, local temporalities have another source – the rhythm of festivities. Their relation is rather complex. They dominate, accommodate, or trick each other, depending on the time of year. At the beginning of the tourist season, in Spring, the Holy Week and Easter rites take precedence over the start of the tourist season. This is why locals neglect the tourists who already start coming in April, and, like myself, expect that they be hosted. Locals are remarkable in their refusal to deal with tourists while they are engaged in the most important liturgical event of the Roman Catholic calendar. At this juncture, the rhythm of tourism is subjugated to the rhythm of festivities.

On the other hand, at its peak, tourism dominates the rhythm of religious festivities, and a public referendum was activated to legitimise the deferral of the feast of the titular saint of the town's cathedral from August (peak) to October (end of the tourist season). In this instance, the rhythm of festivities accommodates the rhythm of tourism. At the beginning of the season, the opposite is true. In both instances local agency is the decisive factor in defining which of the two takes priority. By prioritising the rhythm of festivities at the beginning of the tourist season, the (informal, diffuse) local agency determines when the season should start. By subjugating a festivity to the rhythm of tourism in the peak season, the local agency (formalised in a referendum) marks the approximate end of the season. The interplay of the two rhythms has a paradoxical end effect: the all-pervasive tourism season, that total social fact in the town's life, ends up being engirdled by the rhythm of festivities. This may confirm a classical anthropological insight that the cultural notion of time is derivative from festivities (Edmund Leach, quoted in Zerubavel 1981).

Finally, by identifying a “third” season between the winter and summer seasons the analysis underlines the dismantling of the seasonal stereotype. When the tourist numbers subside, the local individual and social rhythms return to normal. However, not everybody perceives this, so strong is the discourse about living in two extremes among the locals themselves. The locals seem to have internalised it themselves, though their own experiences and practices of the polyrhythmic temporalities by which they live and the rich and varied underlying meanings that they attribute to the summer and winter seasons deny it. If inhabitants do share a meaning, it is the notion that insularity is more marked in winter, mainly in relation to weak connections to the mainland and their dependence on the weather. In other respects, the townspeople differ quite remarkably in their attitudes to and experiences of the two seasons. This may lead to a conclusion that temporalities are constructed individually and escape social determinism.

Paraphrasing Predrag Matvejević's witty statement that the “Mediterranean is not just geography” (1987: 19), I may end by saying that “Mediterranean winter and summer are not just climate”. They are the meanings that people imbue them with and the choices they make concerning how to live with and in them.

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## HETEROGENE TEMPORALNOSTI OTOČANA: PRIMJER GRADA HVARA

U članku se preispituje oštra binarna podjela između "ljetne" i "zimske" temporalnosti u jednom mediteranskom gradiću, Hvaru. Uočene su paralelne i sukobljene temporalnosti, koje stvaraju heterogene društvene i individualne ritmove svakodnevnoga života. Dominantni ritam ljetnog turizma, koji dijeli godinu na "ljetno" (otprilike između svibnja i listopada) i "zimno" (otprilike između studenoga i travnja), prikriva mnoštvo temporalnosti, i u smislu u kojemu lokalni stanovnici percipiraju i organiziraju temporalne ritmove i u smislu kako ih prakticiraju. Članak razmatra te heterogene temporalnosti i kako one upravljaju životima lokalnoga stanovništva, kako se prelamaju i odnose jedne prema drugima, kako prelaze jedna u drugu. Pažnja se posvećuje individualnim značenjima i sklonostima, iskustvima i otporima stanovnika dominaciji ritma turizma.

Ključne riječi: antropologija vremena, temporalnost, turizam, Mediteran, grad Hvar