

TURISTIČKA GENTRIFIKACIJA: PREGLED LITERATURE I OSVRT NA KONTEKST HRVATSKE

TOURISM GENTRIFICATION: A LITERATURE REVIEW AND REFLECTIONS ON THE CROATIAN CONTEXT

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Prostorna struktura suvremenih gradova mijenja se velikom brzinom, a jedan od glavnih procesa koji tome pridonosi je gentrifikacija. Gentrifikaciju je prva opisala i objasnila Ruth Glass 1964. na primjeru radničke četvrti u Londonu. Danas je gentrifikacija planetarni fenomen, čiji su pojedinačni uzroci mnogobrojni. Smatra se da je logika djelovanja tržišta u prostoru inherentna kapitalističkom ekonomskom sustavu glavni pokretač gentrifikacije. Posljednjih se desetljeća gentrifikacija sve više povezuje s rastućom ulogom i značenjem turizma. Stoga se govori o pojavi turističke gentrifikacije. Razvoj turizma od kasnih 2000-ih negativno se odražava na lokalnu zajednicu stvarajući pritisak na tržište nekretnina i dugoročni najam, što posljedično dovodi do različitih oblika iseljavanja. Upravo su to glavne manifestacija turističke gentrifikacije. Cilj ovoga rada je na temelju pregleda i kritičkog prikaza stranih i domaćih empirijskih te preglednih istraživanja predstaviti razvoj i osnovna obilježja gentrifikacije i iz nje proizašle turističke gentrifikacije. Nadalje, glavni cilj je približiti koncept (turističke) gentrifikacije široj znanstvenoj zajednici u Hrvatskoj, jer je o njoj, iako je turizam važna grana ekonomije, objavljeno malo istraživanja.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: turistička gentrifikacija, gentrifikacija, turizam, „jaz u najamnini“, iseljavanje, Hrvatska

The spatial structure of modern cities is changing rapidly, and one of the most important processes contributing to this is gentrification. Gentrification was first described and explained by Ruth Glass in 1964 using the example of a working-class neighborhoods in London. Today, gentrification is a planetary phenomenon with numerous individual causes. It is assumed that the logic of market activities in space, which is inherent to the capitalist economic system, is the main driving force behind gentrification. In recent decades, gentrification has been increasingly associated with the growing role and significance of tourism. Therefore, the emergence of tourism gentrification is discussed. The development of tourism since the late 2000s has had a negative impact on the local community, exerting pressure on the real estate and long-term rental markets and leading to various forms of displacement. These are the main manifestations of tourism gentrification. The aim of this article is to present the development and basic characteristics of gentrification and the resulting tourist gentrification based on a review and critical presentation of foreign and domestic empirical and survey research. The main goal is to introduce the concept of (tourism) gentrification to the wider scientific community in Croatia, because although tourism is an important economic sector, little research has been published on it so far.

KEYWORDS: tourism gentrification, tourism, gentrification, rent gap theory, displacement, Croatia

UVOD

Prostorna struktura suvremenih gradova mijenja se velikom brzinom. Jedan od glavnih procesa koji pridonosi tome je gentrifikacija. Istraživanja gentrifikacije provode se od 1960-ih. Shvaćanje procesa gentrifikacije mijenja se s njegovim razvojem (Glass, 1964; Smith, 1979). Iako su pojedinačni uzroci mnogobrojni u različitim prostorno-vremenskim kontekstima, logika djelovanja tržišta u prostoru inherentna kapitalističkom ekonomskom sustavu glavni je pokretač gentrifikacije (Clark, 2004; Smith, 1996; 2002). Dosađnja istraživanja iznjedrila su široku teorijsku osnovu, među kojima se izdvaja teorija o „jazu u najamninama“ Neila Smitha (1979). Esencijalna posljedica djelovanja gentrifikacije su različiti oblici iseljavanja (Marcuse, 1985). Iz Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva, gdje je prvi put opisana (Glass, 1964), gentrifikacija se proširila po svim kontinentima postavši planetarni fenomen. U početku shvaćana uglavnom u kontekstu jaza rente, posljednjih desetljeća sve se više povezuje s rastućom ulogom i značenjem turizma te se govori o pojavi turističke gentrifikacije. Razvoj turizma od kasnih 2000-ih negativno se odražava na lokalnu zajednicu stvarajući pritisak na tržište nekretnina i dugoročni najam, što je posljedično dovelo do različitih oblika iseljavanja (Cocola-Gant, 2018). Upravo su to glavne manifestacije turističke gentrifikacije. Cilj ovoga rada je na temelju pregleda i kritičkog prikaza stranih i domaćih empirijskih te preglednih istraživanja predstaviti razvoj i osnovna obilježja gentrifikacije i iz nje proizašle turističke gentrifikacije. Nadalje, glavni cilj je približiti koncept (turističke) gentrifikacije široj znanstvenoj zajednici u Hrvatskoj, jer je o njoj, iako je turizam važna grana ekonomije, objavljeno malo istraživanja. Budući da turistička gentrifikacija obuhvaća širok spektar povezanih tema i vezana je uz mnoge primjere gradova u Europi i svijetu, ovaj se rad temelji na analizi istraživanja relevantnih autora (prema citatnim bazama) koji su istraživali ovaj proces te značajno pridonijeli oblikovanju koncepta i razvoju metodologije. Velik broj objavljenih istraživanja sužen je na ona koja opisuju i tumače uzroke i posljedice turističke gentrifikacije.

INTRODUCTION

The spatial structure of contemporary cities is changing rapidly. It is assumed that one of the most important processes contributing to this is gentrification. Research on gentrification has been around since the 1960s, and to date the understanding of the process has changed as much as the process itself (Glass, 1964; Smith, 1979). Although specific causes vary between different spatio-temporal contexts, the logic behind the operation of the market in space, inherent in the capitalist economic system, is widely regarded as the main driver of gentrification (Clark, 2004; Smith, 1996, 2002). Previous research provided a broad theoretical basis, among which Neil Smith's (1979) 'rent-gap theory' stands out. A major consequence of gentrification are various forms of displacement (Marcuse, 1985). Starting in the United Kingdom, where it was first described (Glass, 1964), gentrification spread across all continents and became a worldwide phenomenon. The development of tourism since the late 2000s has negatively impacted the local population and has put pressure on the real estate and long-term rental market, leading to various forms of displacement (Cocola-Gant, 2018). These are the main manifestations of tourism gentrification. The aim of this article is to present the development and basic characteristics of gentrification and the resulting tourism gentrification based on a review and critical presentation of foreign and domestic empirical and survey research. In addition, the main goal is to introduce the concept of (tourism) gentrification closer to the wider scientific community in Croatia, because although tourism is an important economic sector, little research has been published on it so far. Since tourism gentrification covers a wide range of related topics and refers to numerous examples of cities in Europe and the world, this paper is based on the analysis of research papers by relevant authors (according to citation databases) who have dealt with this process and contributed significantly to the design of the concept and the development of the methodology. From a large number of published studies, those that describe and interpret the causes and consequences of tourism gentrification were filtered out.

GENTRIFIKACIJA – RAZVOJ POJMA, UZROCI I POSLJEDICE

Gentrifikacija se kao pojam u znanstvenoj literaturi javlja 1964. u knjizi *London: Aspects of Change* britanske sociologinje Ruth Glass (Glass, 1964). Glass je opisala promjene u prostornoj strukturi Londona 1950-ih i 1960-ih, a pojmom „gentrifikacija“ (engl. *gentrification*; od *gentry* = gospoda, niže plemstvo) označila je transformaciju i revitalizaciju siromašnih dijelova grada, mahom naseljenih radničkom klasom u središnjim dijelovima grada, kupovinom tamošnjih nekretnina i stambenog prostora od stanovništva srednjeg i visokog dohotka koji potom izravno (i neizravno) oblikuju prostor prema svojim preferencijama (Glass, 1964). Također, primijetila je kako je zbog povećane potražnje za nekretninama stanovništva više platežne moći, u tim dijelovima grada došlo do skoka u cijenama nekretnina, što je posljedično negativno utjecalo na siromašnije lokalno stanovništvo koje se s obzirom na to da se više nije moglo financijski natjecati na tamošnjem tržištu, u velikoj mjeri iseljavalo s tog prostora (Glass, 1964).

Gentrifikacija je, od tada, vrlo brzo postala predmet istraživanja i rasprava unutar urbane geografije te je s vremenom postala shvaćana kao proces svojstven urbanom prostoru (Phillips, 2009). Takvo viđenje gentrifikacije odražava se i u stajalištu koje baštini Clark (2004) koji gentrifikaciju vidi kao rezultat logike na koji tržište djeluje u kapitalističkom gradu. No kako je s vremenom rastao interes znanstvenika za istraživanjem gentrifikacije, tako je postajalo sve jasnije kako definicija tog procesa ne može više biti ograničena isključivo na uske okvire koje joj je Glass, u kontekstu svojeg istraživanja, dodijelila. Prije svega, bilo je nužno da se ona odvoji od svoje prvobitne povezanosti s deindustrijalizacijom gradskih središta i iseljavanja radničke klase iz tih prostora (Butler, 2007; Slater, 2009). Gentrifikacija ne samo da je zabilježena i u drugim dijelovima grada, kao i u ruralnim područjima, nego je i izvjesno kako u tim područjima ima podjednako dugu povijest koliko i u gradskim središtima (Phillips, 2009). Gentrifikacija je s vremenom „otputovala“ izvan okvira gradskih središta u ruralna i suburbana područja (Lees, 2005). Atkinson (2012) tako gentrifikaciju definira kao proces

GENTRIFICATION - DEVELOPMENT OF THE TERM, CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

Gentrification as a term in scientific literature first appeared in 1964 in the book *London: Aspects of Change* by the British sociologist Ruth Glass (Glass, 1964). In her work, Glass described the changes in the spatial structure of London in the 1950s and 1960s and used the term ‘gentrification’ (from *gentry* = ‘gentlemen, lower nobility’) to describe the transformation and revitalization of poor, mostly working-class neighbourhoods in the inner city through the purchase of real estate by the middle- and high-income population who then directly (and indirectly) shape the space to their preferences (Glass, 1964). She also noted that due to the increased demand for real estate by the more affluent population, real estate prices in these parts of the city increased, which subsequently had a negative impact on the poorer local population who, no longer financially able to compete in the local market, largely moved out of the area (Glass, 1964).

Since then, gentrification has rapidly become the subject of research and debate within urban geography, and over time it has come to be understood as a process specific to urban space (Phillips, 2009). Such a perception of gentrification is also reflected in the view of Clark (2004), who sees gentrification as the result of the logic according to which the market functions in a capitalist city. However, as scholars’ interest in the study of gentrification grew over time, it became clear that the definition of this process could no longer be confined exclusively to the narrow framework Glass had assigned to it in her research. First of all, it was necessary to separate it from its original connection with the deindustrialization of inner cities and the displacement of the working class from these areas (Butler, 2007; Slater, 2009). Indeed, not only has gentrification been observed in other parts of the city and in rural areas, but it is also certain that it has as long a history in these areas as it does in inner cities (Phillips, 2009). It can also be said that over time, gentrification has ‘migrated’ beyond city centres into rural and suburban areas (Lees, 2015). Therefore, Atkinson (2012) defines gentrification

koji se odvija i u urbanim i u ruralnim naseljima, a odnosi se na migraciju dobrostojećih kućanstava u područja naseljena uglavnom siromašnijim stanovništvom i nižih cijena nekretnina.

Nadalje, Davidson i Lees (2005) drže kako gentrifikacija ne samo da se može pojaviti i u neurbanim prostornim kontekstima, već da je ona aktivan proces koji se mijenja s vremenom, dodatno potvrđujući tezu da se suvremena istraživanja gentrifikacije ne smiju previše oslanjati na definiciju koju je iznijela Glass prije sad već šest desetljeća. Proces gentrifikacije, koji se prvotno pojavio kao sporadična, neobična i lokalna anomalija na tržištu nekretnina nekih svjetskih metropola, izrastao je do 21. stoljeća u globalnu pojavu čija je generalizacija dovela gotovo do poistovjećivanja pojma s neoliberalnom urbanom politikom (Smith, 2002). Stoga, kako se čitav koncept gentrifikacije ne bi „urušio“ pod težinom vlastitih promjena, izdvojena su četiri ključna obilježja tog procesa, svojstvena bilo kojem prostorno-vremenskom kontekstu. To su:

- reinvesticija kapitala – ulaganje kapitala u nekretnine u zapuštenom stanju ili području
- „društvena nadogradnja“ – promjena socijalne topografije gentrificiranog područja, najčešće doseljavanjem bogatijeg i obrazovanijeg stanovništva
- promjene u krajoliku – fizionomsko-morfološke promjene u prostoru koje odražavaju ukus novih stanovnika
- iseljavanje stanovništva slabijih financijskih mogućnosti (Davidson & Lees, 2005).

Osim navedenih obilježja, ključno za razumijevanje gentrifikacije su i uzroci pojave, koje je nerijetko teško utvrditi i predstavljaju kompleksan izazov (Hammel, 2009). Glass (1964) razlog pojavi procesa gentrifikacije u Londonu vidi u doseljavanju bogatijeg stanovništva, koje je prostor grada oblikovalo prema vlastitim preferencijama, što je imalo ključnu ulogu u neprestanom rastu cijena nekretnina. U takvim uvjetima nema područja unutar ili izvan grada koje u skorijoj budućnosti neće postati preskupo za život (Glass, 1964). Drugim riječima, smatrala je kako bi London uskoro mogao postati grad koji oslikava načelo opstanka (financijski) najjačih, odnosno onih koji si mogu

as a process that takes place in both urban and rural settlements and refers to the migration of affluent households to areas with low real estate prices, inhabited by households with lower incomes.

Furthermore, Davidson & Lees (2005) claim that gentrification not only occurs in non-urban spatial contexts, but that it is an active process that changes over time. This confirms the thesis that contemporary research on gentrification should not rely too heavily on the definition that Glass put forward six decades ago. The process of gentrification, which initially appeared as a sporadic, unusual and local anomaly in the real estate market of some world metropolises, developed into a global phenomenon in the 21st century, the generalization of which almost led to the identification of the term with neoliberal urban policy (Smith, 2002). To ensure that the entire concept of gentrification does not ‘collapse’ under the weight of its own changes, four key features of this process that are inherent to any spatio-temporal context have been singled out. Those are:

- Capital reinvestment – capital investment in real estate in a neglected state or area;
- ‘Social upgrading’ – a change in the social topography of a gentrified area, usually through the influx of a wealthier and better educated population;
- Changes in the landscape – physiognomic and morphological changes in the space that reflect the tastes of the new inhabitants;
- Displacement of the population with weaker financial resources (Davidson & Lees, 2005).

In addition to the characteristics mentioned above, the causes of the phenomenon, which are often difficult to determine and pose a complex challenge, are also key to understanding gentrification (Hammel, 2009). Glass (1964) saw the reason for the emergence of the gentrification process in London in the immigration of a wealthier population who shaped the space of the city according to their own preferences, which played a key role in the constant rise in property prices. Under these conditions, there was no area inside or outside the city where housing would not become too expensive in the near future (Glass, 1964). In other words, she believed that

priuštitu živjeti i raditi u njemu (Glass, 1964). Slično stajalište dijele Gray i Wyly (2020) koji smatraju kako je gentrifikaciju nužno promatrati kao manifestaciju rastućeg nadmetanja među pojedincima i društvenim skupinama, u ekonomskom i kulturološkom kontekstu, za blagodatima urbanog života. Odnose moći među društvenim klasama (dominacija – eksploatacija) Slater (2009) vidi kao izvor nejednakosti u gradovima, a gentrifikaciju kao njezinu prostornu ekspresiju.

Upravo je međupovezanost gentrifikacije i odnosa moći, ponajprije one ekonomske, nagnala američkoga geografa Neila Smitha da oblikuje teoriju „jaza u najamnini“ (engl. *Rent-gap theory*) radi tumačenja propadanja i ponovnog rasta određenih gradova (i dijelova grada) u Sjevernoj Americi 1970-ih (Lees i sur., 2008; Smith, 1979). Prema toj teoriji, gentrifikacija se javlja u područjima u kojima postoji disparitet između potencijalnog iznosa najamnine koja bi se mogla ostvariti na nekom zemljištu i stvarnog iznosa najamnine koji se ostvaruje trenutačnom namjenom zemljišta (tzv. „jaz u najamnini“) (Smith, 1979). Poput Glass, i Smith je gentrifikaciju vidio kao izravnu (i očekivanu) posljedicu nesputanog djelovanja kapitala na tržištu nekretnina (Smith, 1979). Uvriježeno objašnjenje pojave gentrifikacije dotad bilo je kako je ona posljedica promjena na strani potražnje, odnosno da se gentrifikacija javlja kao rezultat prilagodbe tržišta na promjene u (kulturološkim) preferencijama i/ili ekonomskim okolnostima na strani „potrošača“ urbanog prostora (stanovništva), poput veće isplativosti stanovanja u novouređenim zgradama u središtu grada (nasuprot izgradnji vlastite kuće izvan središta – suburbanoj okolini), blizina mjestu rada (shodno tomu, niži troškovi putovanja na posao) itd. (Smith, 1979). Svojom teorijom, Smith je ponudio marksističku kritiku kako neoliberalnim teorijama zemljišne rente toga doba, tako i „romantičnim“ prikazima preuređenja gradskog središta kao nusprodukta promjena u navikama i odabirima potrošača (Gray & Wyly, 2020). Osim teorijskog doprinosa o uzrocima gentrifikacije, Smithov rad značajan je utoliko što je i osporio tvrdnju da gentrifikacija mora uključivati doseljavanje bogatijeg stanovništva u gentrificirano područje, što uostalom Davidson i Lees (2005)

London could soon become a city that reflected the principle of survival of the (financially) fittest, that is, those who could afford to live and work there (Glass, 1964). Gray & Wyly (2020) take a similar view, arguing that gentrification must be seen as an expression of increasing competition between individuals and social groups in an economic and cultural context for the benefits of urban life. Slater (2009) sees the power relations between social classes (dominance - exploitation) as the source of inequality in cities and gentrification as its spatial expression.

It was the intertwining of gentrification and power relations, primarily economic power, that prompted the American geographer Neil Smith to formulate the ‘rent-gap theory’ to explain the decline and renewed growth of certain cities (and neighbourhoods) in North America during the 1970s (Lees et al., 2008; Smith, 1979). According to this theory, gentrification occurs in areas where there is a discrepancy between the potential rent that could be generated on a particular site and the actual rent that is being obtained based on its current use (the so-called ‘rent gap’) (Smith, 1979). Like Glass, Smith saw gentrification as a direct (and expected) consequence of the unbridled operation of capital in the real estate market (Smith, 1979). Until then, the prevailing explanation for the occurrence of gentrification was that it was driven by changes on the demand side, i.e. that gentrification occurs as a result of market adaptation to shifts in (cultural) preferences and/or economic circumstances on the side of ‘consumers’ of urban space (population), such as greater profitability of housing in newly refurbished buildings in the inner city (as opposed to building one’s own house outside the centre - suburban surroundings), proximity to the workplace (and consequently, lower commuting costs), etc. (Smith, 1979). With his theory, Smith offered a Marxist critique of both the neoliberal land rent theories of the time and the ‘romantic’ portrayals of urban centre redevelopment as a by-product of changing consumer habits and choices (Gray & Wyly, 2020). In addition to its theoretical contribution to understanding the causes of gentrification, Smith’s work is significant in challenging the claim that gentrification must necessarily be accompanied by wealthier populations moving into gentrified areas, which Davidson & Lees (2005) (decades later)

(desetljećima kasnije) i dalje vide kao jedan od ključnih elemenata koji obilježavaju taj proces. „Gentrifikacija je dio pokreta povratka gradu (engl. *back to the city movement*), ali ne ljudi, već kapitala“ (Smith, 1979, p. 547). S obzirom na to da je ulaganje u izgrađeni prostor jedan od vodećih mehanizama akumulacije kapitala, finansijski moćnije društvene skupine iskoristit će „jaz u najamninu“ kako bi na njemu kapitalizirale, istiskujući tako siromašnije, lokalno stanovništvo, a da pritom nužno ne potaknu doseljavanje (Smith, 1979). Stoga se na gentrifikaciju može gledati kao na „akumulaciju otuđivanjem“ (González-Pérez, 2019), proces ulaganja kapitala u izgrađeni prostor koje pogoduje zahtjevima dobrostojećih korisnika koji, usput, uzrokuje iseljavanje lokalnog siromašnijeg stanovništva (Cocola-Gant, 2016, Lees i sur., 2008).

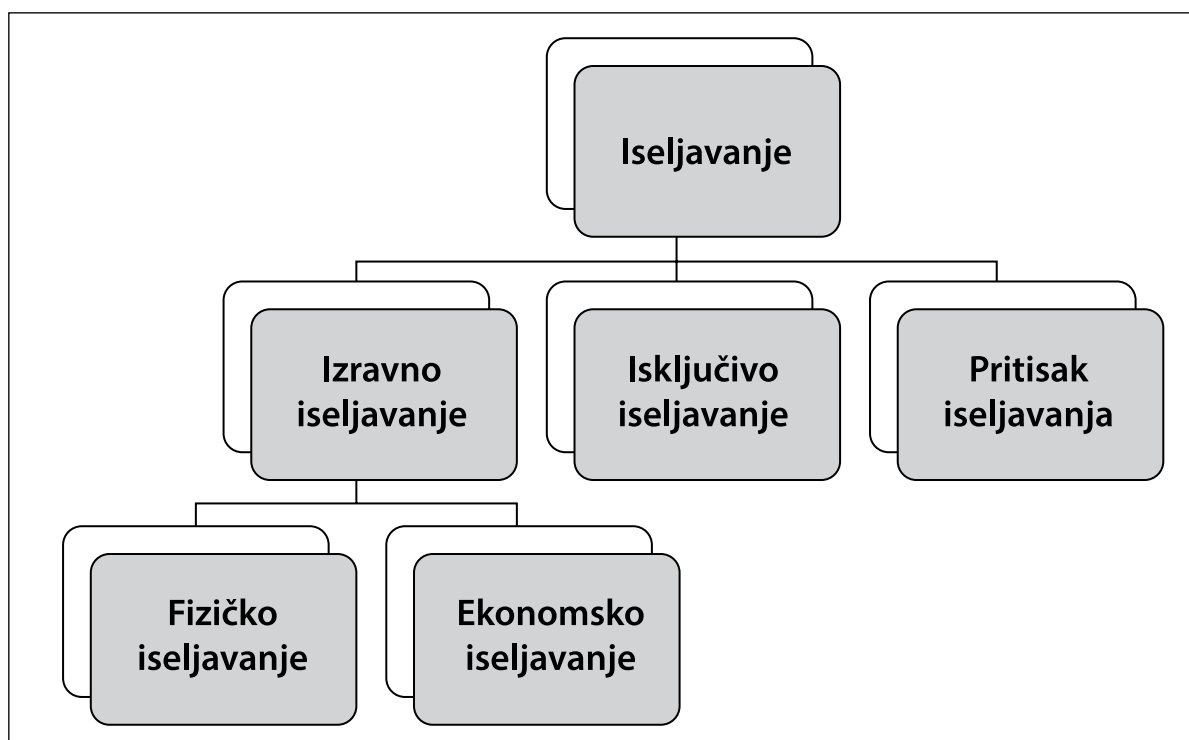
Prema Grier i Grier (1978), iseljavanje se, u kontekstu gentrifikacije, javlja kada je pojedino kućanstvo prisiljeno na preseljenje iz svojeg mjesta prebivališta zbog okolnosti koje utječu na njihovo stanovanje i njihovu neposrednu okolinu i koje su izvan njihove kontrole ili mogućnosti da ih spriječe, poput raskidanja ugovora o najmu ili podizanja najamnine stanodavca. Ipak, prema Marcuseu (1985), navedena definicija opisuje samo različite oblike izravnog iseljavanja (engl. *direct displacement*), odnosno iseljavanja nekog kućanstva iz stambene jedinice u kojoj trenutno stanuje, bilo fizičkim iseljavanjem (engl. *physical displacement*; najčešće se ostvaruje u obliku deložacije) ili podizanjem najamnine najmodavca iznad finansijskih mogućnosti najmoprimca (ekonomsko iseljavanje; engl. *economic displacement*). Kako bi upotpunio definiciju iseljavanja koju su iznijeli Grier i Grier (1978) te njome pokrio puni raspon nedobrovoljnih preseljenja vezanih uz pitanje stanovanja, Marcuse (1985) smatra da je u razmatranje nužno uvesti još dva povezana koncepta: isključivo iseljavanje (engl. *exclusionary displacement*) i pritisak iseljavanja (engl. *pressure of displacement*) (Sl.1.).

Isključivo iseljavanje nastaje kada promjene u određenim okolnostima ne dopuštaju nekom kućanstvu da se useli u neku stambenu jedinicu. Drugim riječima, kada se na nekoj lokaciji u određenom razdoblju okolnosti što se tiče stanovanja,

still see as one of the key elements of this process. ‘Gentrification is a back to the city movement, but of capital rather than people’ (Smith, 1979, p. 547). Given that investment in the built environment is one of the main mechanisms of capital accumulation, more financially powerful social groups will exploit the ‘rent gap’ to capitalize on it, displacing the poorer, local population without necessarily inducing their immigration (Smith, 1979). Given that investment in built space is one of the main mechanisms of capital accumulation, more financially powerful social groups will use the ‘rent gap’ to capitalize on it, displacing the poorer, local population, without necessarily encouraging immigration (Smith, 1979). Therefore, gentrification can be seen as ‘accumulation by dispossession’ (González-Pérez, 2019), a process of capital investment into the built environment that caters to the demands of wealthy users and, over time, causes the displacement of the poorer local population (Cocola-Gant, 2016; Lees et al., 2008).

According to Grier & Grier (1978), displacement in the context of gentrification occurs when an individual household is forced to leave their place of residence due to circumstances affecting their home and immediate environment, which is beyond their control or ability to prevent, such as the lease termination or a rent increase imposed by the landlord. However, according to Marcuse (1985), the above definition describes only various forms of direct displacement, i.e. the displacement of a household from the housing unit they currently occupy, either through physical displacement (usually in the form of a forced eviction) or through rent increases by the landlord above the tenant’s financial means (economic displacement). In order to complete the definition of displacement presented by Grier & Grier (1978) and thus encompass the full range of involuntary resettlement related to housing, Marcuse (1985) therefore argues that it is necessary to include two additional related concepts in the analysis - exclusionary displacement and pressure of displacement (Fig. 1).

Exclusionary displacement occurs when changes in certain circumstances prevent a household from moving into a housing unit. In other words, if housing conditions in a particular location during a certain period of time, whether buying or renting



SLIKA 1. Oblici iseljavanja koji nastaju zbog gentrifikacije prema Marcuseu (1985)

FIGURE 1 Forms of displacement caused by gentrification according to Marcuse (1985)

Izvor / Source: Marcuse (1985)

bilo da se radi o kupovini ili o najmu nekretnosti, toliko promijene u odnosu na šire područje da onemogućuju doseljavanje kućanstava koja bi, u drukčijim okolnostima, ondje živjela, tada je riječ o isključivom iseljavanju (Marcuse, 1985). Takav se oblik iseljavanja uslijed procesa gentrifikacije najčešće javlja zbog rasta cijena nekretnosti ili najamnina do razina iznad mogućnosti stanovništva nižih i srednjih prihoda, ili zbog nedostatka dostupnih stambenih jedinica na tržištu zbog promjena u načinu korištenja prostora.

Nadalje, iseljavanje u područjima u kojima je proces gentrifikacije u tijeku pogađa i kućanstva izvan onih koja se u nekom trenutku iseljavaju. „Kada neka obitelj počne uviđati da joj se okolina drastično promijenila, da im se prijatelji iseljavaju, da se trgovine koje posjećuju zatvaraju i da se na njihovu mjestu otvaraju nove za drugu klijentelu, da promjene u uslugama od javnog interesa čine njihovo mjesto stanovanja sve manje i manje pogodnim za život, tada je već pritisak iseljavanja u poodmakloj fazi. Ono postaje pitanje vremena. Obitelji koje žive u takvim okolnostima preseliti će se prvom prilikom, radije nego da čekaju neizbježno; bilo kako bilo, oni su već iseljeni“ (Marcuse, 1985, p. 207).

property, change to such an extent, when compared to the wider area, that households, which under different circumstances would live there, are unable to do so, it can be regarded as exclusionary displacement (Marcuse, 1985). This form of displacement, as a result of gentrification, usually occurs due to increases in real estate prices or rents to levels that are unaffordable for the low- and middle-income population, or due to a lack of available housing units on the market as a result of changes in the use of space. Furthermore, in areas undergoing the process of gentrification, displacement also affects households other than those that are being displaced at the given time. ‘When a family sees the neighbourhood around it changing dramatically, when their friends are leaving the neighbourhood, when the stores they patronize are liquidating and new stores for other clientele are taking their places, and when changes in public facilities, in transportation patterns, and in support services all clearly are making the area less and less livable, then the pressure of displacement already is severe. Its actuality is only a matter of time. Families living under these circumstances may move as soon as they can, rather than wait for the inevitable; nonetheless they are displaced.’ (Marcuse, 1985, p. 207).

TURISTIČKA GENTRIFIKACIJA

Mnogobrojni autori smatraju kako turizam može biti uzrok iseljavanja stanovništva ugrožavanjem njihovih prava da se „zadrži u mjestu“ (engl. *the right to stay put*) (Cocola-Gant, 2018; García-Herrera i sur., 2007; Gladstone & Préau, 2008; Gotham, 2005), izravno aludirajući na istoimeni esej Chestera Hartmana iz 1984. (Hartman, 1984/2002; Newman & Wyly, 2006) koji se, pritom, načelno nadovezuje na koncept „prava na grad“ (engl. *the right to the city*) francuskog filozofa Henrija Lefebvrea s kraja 1960-ih (Diaz-Parra & Jover, 2020; Gil & Sequera, 2018; Lefebvre, 1968; Mínguez i sur., 2019; Torkington & Ribeiro, 2020). Polazišna točka oba koncepta je ideja da uređenjem urbanog prostora ne smije upravljati tržište, već građani koji u njemu žive. Prema Hartmanu, neoliberalne politike deregulacije tržišta nekretnina, zajedno s intervencijama u prostoru, poput projekata uređenja pod pokroviteljstvom lokalnih vlasti, vođene kapitalističkim načelom ostvarivanja što većeg profita, ugrožavaju pravo građana da se zadrže u mjestu stanovanja (Hartman, 2002). Dakle, ne mogu ostvariti ni Lefebvreovo pravo na (vlastiti) grad s obzirom na to da se stambena politika ne oblikuje prema potrebama građana već prema potrebama kapitala i tržišta. No ostaje pitanje na koji to način turizam ugrožava navedena prava.

Gotham (2005) vidi turizam kao globalizirani proces koji povezuje egzogene sile multinacionalnih korporacija i tokova kapitala s lokalnom moći stanovništva, elita i potrošača. Drugim riječima, turizam se na lokalnoj razini ostvaruje ulaganjem globalnih aktera iz uslužnog sektora u razvoj lokalne kulture, proizvoda i mjesta potrošnje, sve radi privlačenja posjetitelja (Gotham, 2005; Gravari-Barbas & Guinand, 2020). Gotham je stoga u znanstvenu literaturu uveo pojam „turističke gentrifikacije“ da bi istaknuo ulogu državnih politika u poticanju kako razvoja turizma tako istovremeno i gentrifikacije, kao i ulogu koju velike korporativne tvrtke imaju u preoblikovanju gradskog prostora u mjesta namijenjena isključivo zabavi i potrošnji posjetitelja. Nadalje, Gotham smatra kako uzajamno djelovanje tokova kapitala na tržištu nekretnina

TOURISM GENTRIFICATION

Numerous authors consider tourism as a cause of population displacement by jeopardizing their ‘right to stay put’ (Cocola-Gant, 2018; García-Herrera et al., 2007; Gladstone & Préau, 2008; Gotham, 2005), alluding directly to the eponymous 1984 essay by Chester Hartman (Hartman, 2002; Newman & Wyly, 2006), which in principle builds on French philosopher Henri Lefebvre’s concept of the ‘right to the city’ from the late 1960s (Diaz-Parra & Jover, 2020; Gil & Sequera, 2018; Lefebvre, 1968; Mínguez et al., 2019; Torkington & Ribeiro, 2020). Both concepts stem from the idea that the design (and planning) of urban space should not be controlled by market forces, but by the citizens who live in it. According to Hartman, neoliberal policies of real estate market deregulation combined with interventions in space, such as development projects under the auspices of local authorities guided by the capitalist principle of maximizing profit, threatens the right of citizens to remain in their place of residence (Hartman, 2002). Therefore, they cannot even realize Lefebvre’s right to a city (of their own), since housing policies are shaped not by their needs but by those of capital and the market. Nevertheless, the question persists as to what extent tourism threatens the above-mentioned rights.

Gotham (2005) sees tourism as a globalized process that combines the external forces of multinational companies and capital flows with the local power of residents, elites and consumers. In other words, tourism is realized at the local level through investments by global actors from the service sector in the development of local culture, products and places of consumption, all aimed at attracting visitors (Gotham, 2005; Gravari-Barbas & Guinand, 2020). For this reason, Gotham introduced the term ‘tourism gentrification’ into academic literature to emphasize the role of public policies in simultaneously promoting the development of both tourism and gentrification, as well as the role large corporations play in transforming urban space into places dedicated exclusively to entertainment and the consumption of visitors. Furthermore, he regards that the interplay of capital flows in the real estate market and the

i usmjerenost gospodarskog razvoja turizmu na potpuniji način opisuje proces gentrifikacije od dotadašnjih tumačenja tog procesa, koja su pretpostavljala promjene u potražnji ili u ponudi. Na temelju istraživanja provedenog u *Vieux Carreu*, turistificiranom predjelu New Orleansa, razbio je (kako tvrdi) „mit“ o gentrifikaciji kao posljedici reakcije kapitala na promjene u željama potrošača. Naprotiv, ukus i želje potrošača proizvode i plasiraju moćni kapitalisti kojima je prije svega u interesu ulaganjem u izgrađeni prostor izvući najviši mogući profit (Gotham, 2005). Shodno tomu, Gothamov rad i uvođenje koncepta turističke gentrifikacije u znanstvenu raspravu predstavljali su svojevrsnu prekretnicu u poimanju procesa gentrifikacije. Vezu između pojave gentrifikacije i iseljavanja stanovništva s jedne strane i rastućeg turističkog sektora s druge strane uz istaknutu ulogu državnih i lokalnih vlasti utvrdili su i García-Herrera i suradnici (2007) u španjolskom gradu Santa Cruz de Tenerife. Njihovo istraživanje pokazalo je kako su odluke lokalnih vlasti o rušenju velikih dijelova nekih gradskih okruga 1960-ih i 1970-ih popraćene iseljavanjem lokalnih žitelja uglavnom radničke klase, pa potom ulaganja u izgradnju komercijalnih sadržaja 1990-ih dovele do pojave gentrifikacije u tim dijelovima grada, uz imućnije stanovništvo i investitore u turistički sektor kao vodeće gentrifikatore (García-Herrera i sur., 2007). Povezanost projekata preuređenja gradskog prostora i razvoj turizma s pojavom gentrifikacije utvrđeno je i u Bilbao u regiji Baskija na sjeveru Španjolske (Vicario & Martínez-Monje, 2003).

No lokalne i/ili državne vlasti ne moraju nužno imati istaknutu ulogu u pojavi turističke gentrifikacije. Primjerice, Füller i Michel (2014) u istraživanju provedenom u Kreuzbergu (Berlin) o vezi „novog urbanog turizma“, oblika turizma koji privlači posjetitelje u potrazi za autentičnim iskustvima gradskih sredina uz prepoznate turističke atrakcije, i pojave gentrifikacije tvrde kako razvoju turizma, a potom i promjenama u prostoru, nije prethodio nikakav oblik intervencija ili strateškog planiranja lokalnih ili državnih vlasti. Umjesto toga, navode autori, do pojave turističke gentrifikacije u Kreuzbergu, dijelu Berlina koji do početka 2010-ih nije smatran značaj-

tourism-oriented economic development provides a more comprehensive explanation of the process of gentrification than its previous interpretations, which assumed changes either on the demand side or on the production side. Based on research conducted in the Vieux Carre, a tourist neighbourhood of New Orleans, he debunked (as he claims) the ‘myth’ of gentrification as a result of capital’s reaction to changing consumer preferences. On the contrary, consumer tastes and desires are produced and marketed by powerful capitalists whose main interest is maximizing profit through investment in the built environment (Gotham, 2005). As such, Gotham’s work and the introduction of the concept of tourism gentrification into the academic debate represented something of a turning point in the understanding of the gentrification process itself. The connection between the occurrence of gentrification and population displacement on one hand, and the growing tourism sector on the other, along with a prominent role of state and local authorities, was also established by García-Herrera et al. (2007) in the Spanish city of Santa Cruz de Tenerife. Their research showed that local authorities’ decisions to demolish large parts of some neighbourhoods in the 1960s and 1970s, accompanied by the displacement of mostly working-class residents, and followed by investment in the construction of commercial facilities in the 1990s led to the emergence of gentrification in these neighbourhoods, with the wealthier population and investors from the tourism sector being the leading gentrifiers (García-Herrera et al., 2007). The link between urban regeneration projects, tourism development and the occurrence of gentrification has also been observed in Bilbao in the Basque region of northern Spain (Vicario & Martínez-Monje, 2003).

However, local and/or state authorities do not necessarily play a prominent role in the emergence of tourism gentrification. For example, Füller and Michel (2014), in a study conducted in Kreuzberg (Berlin) on the relationship between ‘new urban tourism,’ a form of tourism that attracts visitors seeking authentic experiences in urban areas beyond already recognized tourist attractions, and the phenomenon of gentrification, note that the development of tourism and subsequent spatial

nijom turističkom destinacijom u gradu, došlo je zbog povećanja potražnje za novim urbanim turizmom i sve veće atraktivnosti ulaganja u nekretnine. Tako je razmjerno velik dio stambenog fonda u Kreuzbergu pretvoren u objekte sekundarnog stanovanja, koji su potom iznajmljivani za potrebe turizma.

Füller i Michel (2014) zaključuju kako do turističke gentrifikacije u nekom području ne mora doći isključivo proizvodnjom lokalne potrošnje velikih korporativnih i administrativnih „igrača“, već da se njezina pojava može izazvati i mimo njihova utjecaja.

TURISTIČKA GENTRIFIKACIJA U „PETOM VALU“

Budući da je turistička gentrifikacija jedan od oblika gentrifikacije, i ona je aktivan proces koji se s vremenom mijenjao te je reagirao na promjene u ekonomskim i društvenim okolnostima unutar određenog prostorno-vremenskog konteksta u kojem se razvija. Hackworth i Smith (2001) govore o „tri vala gentrifikacije“. Razdjelnice između valova su financijske krize druge polovice 20. stoljeća te političke i ekonomske promjene proizašle iz njih. Treći val gentrifikacije, čiji je „okidač“ bio slom burze 1987. (*Crni ponedjeljak*) te na čije se postavke oslonila Gothamova „turistička gentrifikacija“, obilježila je znatno veća uključenost države (posebice lokalnih vlasti) i velikih kompanija u proizvodnju gentrifikacije, koja se počela pojavljivati i na mjestima gdje je dotad nije bilo (Hackworth & Smith, 2001).

Lees i suradnici (2008) ističu financijalizaciju stanovanja kao ključno obilježje gentrifikacije 21. stoljeća i u tome prepoznaju „četvrti val gentrifikacije“. Na njihove nalaze nadovezao se Aalbers (2019) uvodeći „peti val gentrifikacije“, proizašao iz posljedica globalne financijske krize s kraja 2000-ih. Upravo je globalna financijska kriza bila izvor promjena u društvenim, ekonomskim i političkim okolnostima koje su drastično utjecale na daljnji tijek razvoja turističke gentrifikacije zbog promjena u uzrocima njezine pojave i manifestacije u prostoru te poticanja njezine daljnje ekspanzije u gentrificiranim područjima i

changes were not preceded by any form of intervention or strategic planning by local or state authorities. Instead, the authors conclude that the emergence of tourism gentrification in Kreuzberg, a part of Berlin that was not considered a major tourist destination in the city until the early 2010s, is due to the rising demand for new urban tourism and the increasing attractiveness of real estate investment. Consequently, a substantial proportion of the housing stock in Kreuzberg was converted into second homes, which were then rented out for tourism purposes.

Füller & Michel (2014) made it clear through their research that tourism gentrification in an area does not have to occur exclusively through the production of local consumption by large corporate and administrative ‘players,’ but rather that its emergence can be triggered regardless of their influence.

TOURISM GENTRIFICATION IN THE ‘FIFTH WAVE’

As tourism gentrification is essentially a form of gentrification, it is also an active process that has changed over time, responding to changes in economic and social circumstances in the specific spatial and temporal contexts within which it develops. Hackworth & Smith (2001) therefore speak of ‘three waves of gentrification’. The dividing lines between the waves are the financial crises of the second half of the 20th century and the resulting political and economic changes. The third wave of gentrification, triggered by the 1987 stock market crash (‘Black Monday’), which laid the groundwork for Gotham’s concept of ‘tourism gentrification,’ was characterized by a significantly greater involvement of the state (especially local authorities) and large corporations in the production of gentrification, which began to appear in places where it had not previously existed (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). Lees et al. (2008) highlight the financialization of housing as a central feature of 21st-century gentrification, identifying it as the ‘fourth wave of gentrification’. Aalbers (2019) followed on from their findings and introduced the ‘fifth wave of gentrification,’ which resulted from

u onima koja još nisu bila.

U najteže pogođenim europskim državama krizom, mahom državama Južne Europe (Grčka, Portugal, Španjolska, Italija itd.), vladine nametnute mjere štednje utrle su put opsežnom restrukturiranju stambenog fonda (Amore i sur., 2020; Katsinas, 2021). Primjerice, u Grčkoj je, kao dio programa ekonomske prilagodbe, uveden porez na nekretnine s ciljem povećanja javnih prihoda države (Katsinas, 2021). S obzirom na to da je tim porezom breme obveze otplaćivanja javnog duga dijelom preneseno s države na građane, za mnoge je, posebice one u nepovoljnijoj financijskoj situaciji, vlasništvo nad nekretninom postalo teret koji nisu mogli podnijeti (Balampanidis i sur., 2019; Katsinas, 2021). Posljedično tomu, velik broj građana odlučio se na prodaju nekretnine unatoč niskim tržišnim cijenama. Te nekretnine odlazile su uglavnom u ruke dobrostojećim pojedincima koji su si jedini (zbog gospodarske krize) takvu investiciju mogli priuštiti (Katsinas, 2021). „Otuđenje“ urbanog prostora akumulacijom nekretnina od bogatijeg stanovništva zamijećeno je i u Portugalu (Amore i sur., 2020; Estevens i sur., 2023; Sequera & Nofre, 2019) te Španjolskoj (González-Pérez, 2019; Vives-Miró & Rullan, 2017), ali kao posljedica implementacije neoliberalnih politika, poput mjera deregulacije i liberalizacije tržišta nekretnina te ukidanja ograničenja na visinu najamnina. Aalbers (2019) kao bitan čimbenik „petog vala“ gentrifikacije ističe i sve jače uključivanje korporacija i transnacionalnih elita na tržišta nekretnina diljem svijeta, dodatno intenzivirajući „financijalizaciju“ stanovanja i potičući pojavu gentrifikacije na mjestima na kojima ona nije bila vjerojatna u uvjetima prije krize.

Ipak, kada je riječ isključivo o turističkoj gentrifikaciji, ključan čimbenik mutacije ovoga procesa u „petom valu“ pojava je *Airbnb* i drugih sličnih digitalnih platformi ekonomije dijeljenja (Aalbers, 2019). Mnogi autori takve platforme vide kao instrument koji pospješuje i potiče investicije u stambeni sektor (Aalbers, 2019; Cocola-Gant i sur., 2021; Katsinas, 2021; Yrigoy, 2017) te koji pridonosi daljnjoj „financijalizaciji“ stanovanja (Alexandri & Janoschka, 2020; Gris-dale, 2019; Lestegás i sur., 2019). Njihovim po-

the consequences of the global financial crisis of the late 2000s. It was the very reason for the global financial crisis, along with the changes in social, economic and political conditions it inflicted, that drastically affected the further trajectory of tourism gentrification, as the causes of its emergence and manifestation in space altered and its further spread in gentrified areas and those that were not was incited.

In European countries most severely impacted by the crisis, especially those in Southern Europe (Greece, Portugal, Spain, Italy, etc.), the austerity measures imposed by governments paved the way for a major restructuring of the housing stock (Amore et al., 2020; Katsinas, 2021). In Greece, for example, a real estate tax was introduced as part of the economic adjustment program to increase public revenues for the state (Katsinas, 2021). As the burden of public debt repayment was partially transferred from the state to the citizens, for many, especially those in a less favourable financial situation, owning property became an encumbrance they could not bear (Balampanidis et al., 2019; Katsinas, 2021). As a result, many citizens decided to sell their properties despite low market prices, with many of these properties eventually coming into the hands of wealthy individuals who (amidst the economic crisis) were among the very few who could afford such an investment (Katsinas, 2021). The dispossession of urban space through the accumulation of real estate by the wealthier population has also been observed in Portugal (Amore et al., 2020; Estevens et al., 2023; Sequera & Nofre, 2020) and Spain (González-Pérez, 2019; Vives-Miró & Rullan, 2017), but as a consequence of the implementation of neoliberal policies, such as measures to deregulate and liberalize the real estate market and the removal of rent caps. Aalbers (2019) points out that the increasing involvement of corporations and transnational elites in real estate markets around the world is an important factor in the ‘fifth wave’ of gentrification as well, as it further exacerbates the financialization of housing and induces the emergence of gentrification in places where it was not likely to occur before the crisis.

However, if we are talking exclusively about tourism gentrification, the key factor in the mu-

sredstvom otvorili su se novi, učinkovitiji i profitabilniji načini povezivanja turističke ponude (smještaja) i potražnje (turista), kao i mogućnost lokalnim pružateljima turističkog smještaja da se probiju na globalno tržište te dopru do potrošača spremnih platiti više za njihove usluge (Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2021; Grisdale, 2019). Visoka potencijalna dobit od takve vrste iznajmljivanja, kao i veća fleksibilnost kod prodaje nekretnine čine ulaganje u stambeni prostor u područjima gdje je razvijen (ili se razvija) turizam iznimno atraktivnim lokalnim i globalnim investitorima (Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2021), što dovodi do „profesionalizacije“ ponude turističkog smještaja (Cocola-Gant i sur., 2021; Gil & Sequera, 2018; Katsinas, 2021).

Gil i Sequera (2018) navode kako ponudom *Airbnba* u Madridu vladaju profesionalni ekonomski akteri (agencije za nekretnine, specijalizirane tvrtke i dr.) čije se aktivnosti svode na povlačenje dijela stambenog fonda s tržišta dugoročnog najma kako bi se one, putem *Airbnba*, prenamijenile za kratkoročni najam. U Alfami, u središtu Lisabona, lokalni stanovnici pružaju samo 1 % ukupne ponude smještaja na *Airbnbu*, dok ostatkom upravljaju razni investitori i specijalizirane agencije, kao i stanodavci koji su svoje nekretnine povukli iz dugoročnog najma te ga prenamijenili za kratkoročni (Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2021). „Profesionalizacija“ *Airbnbu* bila je predmet istraživanja u San Sebastianu (Aguado-Moralejo & del Campo-Echeverria, 2020), Solunu (Katsinas, 2021) i u Torontu (Grisdale, 2019), gdje su također uočeni obrasci prenamjene stambenog fonda usporedivi s onima u Madridu i Lisabonu. Može se reći, stoga, kako *Airbnb*, umjesto da otvori mogućnost „običnim“ ljudima da sudjeluju u lokalnom turizmu iznajmljujući dio kuće ili stana koje već posjeduju, što je ujedno i temeljna premisa platforme, baš naprotiv, dovodi do sve veće eksproprijacije tržišta kratkoročnog najma, nauštrb lokalne zajednice koja trpi negativne posljedice turističke gentrifikacije (Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2021).

Upravo iz tog razloga mnogobrojni autori (Balampanidis i sur., 2019; López-Gay i sur., 2019; Mermet, 2021; Roelofsen, 2018; Schor, 2017; Yrigoy, 2016; 2017) ističu i ulogu koju *Airbnb*

tation of this process within the ‘fifth wave’ is the emergence of Airbnb and similar digital platforms of the sharing economy (Aalbers, 2019). Numerous authors see such platforms as instruments that stimulate and channel investment in the housing sector (Aalbers, 2019; Cocola-Gant et al., 2021; Katsinas, 2021; Yrigoy, 2017), thereby contributing to the further financialization of housing (Alexandri & Janoschka, 2020; Grisdale, 2019; Lestegás et al., 2019). These platforms have opened up new, more efficient and more profitable ways of linking tourism supply (accommodation) and demand (tourists). In addition, they allow local tourism accommodation providers to enter the global market and reach consumers who are willing to pay more for their services (Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2021; Grisdale, 2019). The high potential profit from this type of rental, as well as the greater flexibility when selling the property, makes investing in housing in areas where tourism is developed (or developing) extremely attractive both to local and global investors (Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2021), leading to a professionalization of the supply of tourist accommodation (Cocola-Gant et al., 2021; Gil & Sequera, 2018; Katsinas, 2021).

Gil & Sequera (2018) note that the Airbnb offer in Madrid is dominated by professional economic actors (real estate agencies, specialized companies, etc.) whose activities essentially consist of withdrawing part of the housing stock from the long-term rental market in order to convert it for short-term rental through Airbnb. In Alfama, Lisbon’s historic centre, locals provide only 1% of the total offer of accommodation on Airbnb, while the remainder is managed by various investors and specialized agencies, as well as landlords who have withdrawn their properties from the long-term rentals market and repurposed them for short-term rental (Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2021). The professionalization of Airbnb has been the subject of research in San Sebastian (Aguado-Moralejo & del Campo-Echeverria, 2020), Thessaloniki (Katsinas, 2021) and in Toronto (Grisdale, 2019), where the patterns of transformation of the housing stock are comparable to those in Madrid and Lisbon. It can therefore be said that Airbnb, instead of presenting ‘ordinary’ people with the possibility to participate in local tourism by renting out part of the house

poprima u kontekstu postojećih socioekonomskih diferencijacija u urbanom prostoru. Istraživanjem o vlasničkoj strukturi jedinica oglašavanih putem *Airbnb* u Reykjaviku, Mermet (2021) je pokazala kako *Airbnb* s jedne strane pruža najbogatijim kućanstvima novu priliku da povećaju svoj već pozamašni kapital, dok s druge strane isključuje najranjivije skupine stanovništva od sudjelovanja na tom tržištu, kao što im i otežava pronalazak stambenog prostora za život svojim utjecajem na cijene nekretnina. Do zaključka da financijski stabilnija i obrazovanija kućanstva u nerazmjerno većoj mjeri koriste *Airbnb* da bi povećali svoje bogatstvo dolaze i Schor (2017) te Balampanidis i suradnici (2019). Nadalje, Roelofsen (2018) navodi kako je velik dio ponude turističkog smještaja putem *Airbnb* u Sofiji (Bugarska) smješten u već gentrificiranom, „elitnim“ dijelovima grada, produbljujući tako postojeće obrasce socioekonomske diferencijacije u gradu. Slične nalaze odnosa *Airbnb* i prostorne strukture grada iznose López-Gay i suradnici (2019) u istraživanju Ciudad de México i São Paula.

Upliv kapitala na tržišta nekretnina diljem svijeta različitih lokalnih i globalnih investitora radi kapitalizacije nad stambenim prostorom pružanjem turističkog smještaja posredstvom *Airbnb* i sličnih digitalnih platformi vodeći je uzrok pojave turističke gentifikacije u suvremeno doba. Prije svega, zbog mnogobrojnih prednosti koje kratkoročno turističko iznajmljivanje posjeduje u odnosu na dugoročni najam namijenjen uglavnom lokalnom stanovništvu, ponajprije zbog znatno veće ekonomske isplativosti (Jaremen i sur., 2020), u mnogim je gradovima i turističkim područjima diljem svijeta u posljednjih deset do petnaest godina zabilježeno povlačenje dijela stambenog fonda s tržišta dugoročnog najma te njegova prenamjena u turistički smještaj. Osim u spomenutim istraživanjima u Madridu (Gil & Sequera, 2018) i u Lisabonu (Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2021), opisana je prenamjena uočena i u drugim gradovima Južne Europe, kao što su Atena (Balampanidis i sur., 2019; Gourzis i sur., 2019), Sevilla (Jover-Báez & Berranquero-Díaz, 2020), Venecija (Salerno & Russo, 2020), Santa Cruz de Tenerife (Hübscher i sur., 2020) i Pal-

or apartment they already own, which is also the fundamental premise of the platform itself, on the contrary leads to an increasing expropriation of the short-term market, to the detriment of the local community which suffers the negative consequences of tourism gentrification (Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2021). It is precisely for this reason that numerous authors (Balampanidis et al., 2019; López-Gay et al., 2019; Mermet, 2021; Roelofsen, 2018; Schor, 2017; Yrigoy, 2016, 2017) emphasize the role that Airbnb plays in the context of existing socio-economic differentiations in urban areas. Mermet (2021) showed in a study of the ownership structure of apartments advertised via Airbnb in Reykjavik that on one hand Airbnb offers the wealthiest households a new opportunity to increase their already considerable capital, while on the other hand it excludes the most vulnerable groups from participating in this market, as it is also difficult for them to find an apartment due to its influence on real estate prices. Schor (2017) and Balampanidis et al. (2019) also conclude that more financially stable and educated households use Airbnb to a disproportionately greater extent to increase their wealth. Furthermore, Roelofsen (2018) writes that much of the offer of tourist accommodation via Airbnb in Sofia (Bulgaria) is located in the already gentrified, 'elite' parts of the city, deepening pre-existing patterns of socio-economic differentiation in the city. Similar findings on the relationship between Airbnb and the spatial structure of the city are presented by López-Gay et al. (2019) in the study on Ciudad de México and São Paulo.

The influx of capital into real estate markets around the world by various local and global investors with the aim of exploiting housing by providing tourist accommodation through Airbnb and similar digital platforms is the main cause of tourism gentrification in the modern era. Due to the numerous advantages that short-term tourist rentals have compared to long-term rentals mainly intended for the local population, primarily due to the significantly higher economic profitability (Jaremen et al., 2020), the last 10-15 years have seen the withdrawal of part of the housing stock from the long-term rental market and its conversion into tourist accommodation in many cities

ma de Mallorca (González-Pérez, 2019; Yrigoy, 2016) te u drugim dijelovima svijeta (Toronto: Grisdale, 2019, Budimpešta: Olt i sur., 2019; Salzburg: Smigiel i sur., 2020).

S povlačenjem stambenih jedinica s tržišta dugoročnog najma dolazi i do smanjenja ponude za njima, što posljedično dovodi i do porasta cijena najamnina (Balampanidis i sur., 2019; González-Morales i sur., 2021; Rodríguez-Pérez de Arenaza i sur., 2019; Urrestazu Capellán i sur., 2020; Yrigoy, 2016; 2017;). González-Morales i suradnici (2021) ispitali su i potvrdili hipotezu da rast broja turističkih smještajnih jedinica na nekom području značajno utječe na visinu najamnina na lokalnom tržištu dugoročnog najma, koristeći se podacima iz pedeset pokrajina Španjolske – rezultate o međuodnosu dviju varijabli interpretiraju kao posljedicu djelovanja turističke gentifikacije. Do sličnih zaključaka došli su i García-Ayllon (2018) usporedbom utjecaja turističkog smještaja oglašavanog putem *Airbnba* na tržištu u Madridu, Barceloni i Palmi de Mallorci te Rodríguez-Pérez de Arenaza i suradnici (2019) u gradovima Andaluzije. Na razini pojedinačnih gradova, u Španjolskoj je međuodnos turističkog smještaja i tržišta dugoročnog najma bio predmet istraživanja u Barceloni (Crespi-Vallbona & Mascarilla-Miró, 2018; Richards i sur., 2020), Seville (Jover-Báez & Berranquero-Díaz, 2020), San Sebastianu (Aguado-Moralejo & del Campo-Echeverria, 2020), Palmi de Mallorci (Yrigoy, 2016), Las Palmasu (Domínguez-Mujica i sur., 2021) i Toledu (Larraz & García-Gómez, 2020). Osim u Španjolskoj, usporediv utjecaj turističkog smještaja na podizanje visine najamnina utvrđen je i u gradovima u drugim državama Južne Europe – Lisabonu (Lestegás, 2019; Lestegás i sur., 2019; Mendes, 2021), Ateni (Balampanidis i sur., 2019; Gourzis i sur., 2019; Maloutas i sur., 2020), Solunu (Katsinas, 2021) i Veneciji (Bertocchi & Ferri, 2021).

Osim podizanja visine najamnina, povlačenje stambenih jedinica s tržišta dugoročnog najma zbog prenamjene u turističke svrhe nerijetko prati i rastući broj deložacija te, u skladu s tim, i pojava izravnog (fizičkog) iseljavanja. González-Pérez (2019) ustanovio je korelaciju između rastućeg broja turističkih smještajnih jedinica

and tourist areas around the world. In addition to the aforementioned studies in Madrid (Gil & Sequera, 2018) and Lisbon (Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2021), the conversion was also described in other southern European cities, such as Athens (Balampanidis et al., 2019; Gourzis et al., 2019), Seville (Jover-Báez & Berranquero-Díaz, 2020), Venice (Salerno & Russo, 2020), Santa Cruz de Tenerife (Hübscher et al., 2020) and Palma de Mallorca (Yrigoy, 2016; González-Pérez, 2019), as well as in other parts of the world (Toronto: Grisdale, 2019, Budapest: Olt et al., 2019; Salzburg: Smigiel et al., 2020).

The withdrawal of apartments from the long-term rental market is also accompanied by a reduction in supply, which leads to an increase in rental prices (Balampanidis et al., 2019; González-Morales et al., 2021; Rodríguez-Pérez de Arenaza et al., 2019; Urrestazu Capellán et al., 2020; Yrigoy, 2016, 2017). González-Morales et al. (2021) investigated and confirmed the hypothesis that the growth in the number of tourist accommodation units in an area significantly affects rent levels in the local long-term rental market by using data from 50 provinces in Spain - they interpret the results obtained on the relationship between the two variables as knock-on effects of tourism gentrification. García-Ayllon (2018) came to similar conclusions by comparing the impact of tourist accommodation advertised via Airbnb on the market in Madrid, Barcelona and Palma de Mallorca, and Rodríguez-Pérez de Arenaza et al. (2019) in Andalusian cities. At the level of individual cities in Spain, the correlation between tourist accommodation and the long-term rental market was examined in Barcelona (Crespi-Vallbona & Mascarilla-Miró, 2018; Richards et al., 2020), Seville (Jover-Báez & Berranquero-Díaz, 2020), San Sebastian (Aguado-Moralejo & del Campo-Echeverria, 2020), Palma de Mallorca (Yrigoy, 2016), Las Palmas (Domínguez-Mujica et al., 2021) and Toledo (Larraz & García-Gómez, 2020). In addition to Spain, a comparable influence of tourist accommodation on the increase in rents was also found in cities in other southern European countries - in Lisbon (Lestegás, 2019; Lestegás et al., 2019; Mendes, 2021), Athens (Balampanidis et al., 2019; Gourzis et al., 2019; Maloutas et al.,

i slučajeva deložacija u povijesnoj jezgri Palma de Mallorce, a međuodnos tih dviju pojava objašnjava djelovanjem procesa turističke gentrifikacije. Nastavno na to istraživanje, González-Pérez i suradnici (2020) analizirali su pojavu izravnog iseljavanja zbog deložacija na području čitave gradske regije, zaključivši kako je ono u Palmi „esencijalni sastojak logike procesa akumulacije implementiranog kroz financijalizaciju stanovanja“ (González-Pérez i sur., 2020, p. 9). Deložacija kao posljedica prenamjene stambenog prostora u turističke svrhe istraživana je i u gradu Santa Cruz de Tenerife (García-Hernández i sur., 2020) te Lisabonu (Mendes, 2021).

Uz deložacije, prenamjena stambenog fonda u turističke svrhe potencijalno može dovesti i do pojave drugih oblika iseljavanja, ponajprije utjecajem na tržište nekretnina i dugoročnog najma te na priuštivost stanovanja (Balampanidis i sur., 2019; Cocola-Gant i sur., 2021; de la Calle Vaquero, 2019; Urrestarazu Capellán i sur., 2020). U gotičkoj četvrti (*El Gótic*) u Barceloni značajan dio stanovništva bio je primoran napustiti svoje dotadašnje mjesto stanovanja zbog previsoke najamnine, dok su oni koji su odlučili ostati bili suočeni s opadanjem životnog standarda (Cocola-Gant, 2016). Osim u gotičkoj četvrti, u Barceloni su usporedivi obrasci iseljavanja uočeni i u Ciutat Velli (Richards i sur., 2020; Zaar & Pontes da Fonseca, 2019) te Sant Antoniju (López-Gay i sur., 2022). U Ateni je ubrzana prenamjena stambenog prostora također dovela do skoka cijena na tržištu nekretnina i dugoročnog najma (Maloutas i sur., 2020), iseljavanja dijela stanovništva te do preobrazbe određenih rezidencijalnih dijelova grada u prostore namijenjene ponajprije turizmu (Balampanidis i sur., 2019). Sličan je slučaj i Alfame u Lisabonu, nekoć zapuštene povijesne jezgre grada koja je, uslijed razvoja turizma, u vrlo kratkom razdoblju doživjela revitalizaciju popraćenu eskalacijom cijena nekretnina i najamnina te iseljavanjem stanovništva (Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2021; Lestegás, 2019; Madeira i sur., 2021; Sequera & Nofre, 2019). S poteškoćama u pronalaženju priuštivog stanovanja suočavaju se i stanovnici Venecije (Bertocchi & Ferri, 2021; Zanini, 2017), Soluna (Katsinas, 2021) te Ibize (González-Pérez

2020), Thessaloniki (Katsinas, 2021) and Venice (Bertocchi & Ferri, 2021).

In addition to rising rents, the withdrawal of housing from the long-term rental market due to conversion for tourism purposes is often accompanied by a growing number of evictions and, accordingly, the occurrence of direct displacement. González-Pérez (2019) found a link between the growing number of tourist accommodations and cases of evictions in the historic centre of Palma de Mallorca and explains the relationship between these two phenomena through the effect of the tourism gentrification process. Following on from the aforementioned study, González-Pérez et al. (2020) analysed the phenomenon of direct displacement due to forced evictions in the entire city region and concluded that in Palma it is ‘an integral part of the logic of the accumulation process implemented through the financialization of housing’ (González-Pérez et al., 2020). Forced evictions as a result of the conversion of housing for tourism purposes were also studied in Santa Cruz de Tenerife (García-Hernández et al., 2020) and Lisbon (Mendes, 2021).

In addition to forced evictions, the conversion of housing stock for tourism purposes can potentially lead to other forms of displacement, mainly through the impact on the real estate market and long-term rentals, as well as on the affordability of housing (Balampanidis et al., 2019; Cocola-Gant et al., 2021; de la Calle Vaquero, 2019; Urrestarazu Capellán et al., 2020). In the Gothic Quarter (*El Gótic*) in Barcelona, a significant proportion of the population was forced to leave their previous place of residence due to excessive rents, while those who chose to stay were faced with a decline in living standard (Cocola-Gant, 2016). In addition to the Gothic Quarter, comparable patterns of displacement were observed in Barcelona in Ciutat Vella (Richards et al., 2020; Zaar & Pontes da Fonseca, 2019) and Sant Antoni (López-Gay et al., 2022). In Athens, the accelerated conversion of housing also led to a sharp rise in prices on the real estate market and long-term rents (Maloutas et al., 2020), the displacement of part of the population and the conversion of certain residential areas of the city into areas primarily intended for tourism (Balampanidis et al.,

& Novo-Malvárez, 2022). Nedostupnost priuštivog stanovanja zbog turističke gentrifikacije i posljedično iseljavanje nisu obilježja jedinstvena isključivo gradovima Južne Europe, već su zabilježena i u drugim dijelovima svijeta. Hübscher i Borst (2023) utvrdili su vezu broja i gustoće turističkih smještajnih jedinica oglašavanih putem *Airbnba* te nedostatka priuštivog stambenog prostora u Münchenu. Olt i suradnici (2019) navode kako su zbog intenzivne prenamjene stambenog fonda cijene nekretnina u nekim dijelovima Budimpešte u samo nekoliko godina narasle i do 40 %, uzrokujući iseljavanje dijela lokalnog stanovništva. Izvan Europe, slučajevi pojave iseljavanja uzrokovani turističkom gentrifikacijom opisani su u Kanadi (Grisdale, 2019), Novom Zelandu (Ryan & Ma, 2020), Turskoj (Uzgören & Türkün, 2018), Japanu (Kato & Takizawa, 2022; Tanaka i sur., 2023), Južnoj Africi (Donaldson, 2018) i Ekvadoru (Cabrera-Jara, 2019).

Bitno je naglasiti kako se dio autora ne slaže s tim da se slučajevi iseljavanja lokalnog stanovništva poput opisanih pripisuju djelovanju turističke gentrifikacije (čije postojanje kao koncepta također ne smatraju opravdanim), već „turistifikacije“. Marenzana i suradnici (2024) nastojali su razjasniti sličnosti i razlike između spomenuta dva koncepta. Unatoč mnogim sličnostima, ponajprije u vidu iseljavanja lokalnog stanovništva i dolaska novih (stalnih ili privremenih) žitelja višeg ekonomskog statusa, rasta cijena i troškova života, privlačenja investicija i preobrazbe prostora kojim on postupno gubi svoja karakteristična obilježja, utvrđene su ključne razlike zbog kojih se ta dva procesa moraju nužno razdvojiti (Marenzana i sur., 2024). Dok gentrifikaciju opisuju kao proces koji podrazumijeva transformaciju demografske strukture, poslovnih subjekata i javnih prostora određenih dijelova grada kao posljedicu doseljavanja bogatijeg stanovništva, proces turistifikacije definiran je kao proces preobrazbe dijela ili dijelova grada u „turističke enklave“ prožete turističkim atrakcijama i zabavnim sadržajima (Marenzana i sur., 2024). Nadalje, Jover i Díaz-Parra (2019), iako priznaju da bi koncept turističke gentrifikacije mogao podrazumijevati zamjenu lokalnog stanovništva turistima/posjetiteljima, jer se oni na

2019). A similar case is Alfama in Lisbon, the once neglected historic core of the city, which experienced a revitalization in a very short time due to the development of tourism, accompanied by the escalation of real estate prices and rents and the displacement of the population (Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2021; Lestegás, 2019; Madeira et al., 2021; Sequera & Nofre, 2020). Residents of Venice (Bertocchi & Ferri, 2021; Zanini, 2017), Thessaloniki (Katsinas, 2021) and Ibiza (González-Pérez & Novo-Malvárez, 2022) are also struggling to find affordable housing. The lack of affordable housing as a result of tourism gentrification and the resulting displacement can be observed not only in the cities of southern Europe, but also in other parts of the world. Hübscher & Borst (2023) established a link between the number and density of tourist accommodation units advertised via Airbnb and the lack of affordable housing in Munich. Olt et al. (2019) note that as a result of the intensive conversion of housing stock, property prices in some parts of Budapest have risen by up to 40 % in just a few years, resulting in the displacement of part of the local population (Olt et al., 2019). Outside Europe, cases of displacement due to tourism gentrification have been described in Canada (Grisdale, 2019), New Zealand (Ryan & Ma, 2020), Turkey (Uzgören & Türkün, 2018), Japan (Kato & Takizawa, 2022; Tanaka et al., 2023), South Africa (Donaldson, 2018) and Ecuador (Cabrera-Jara, 2019).

It is important to emphasize that some authors disagree with linking cases of local population displacement, such as those described, to tourism gentrification (a concept whose existence they also deem unjustified), instead viewing them as consequences of “touristification”. Marenzana et al. (2024) attempted to clarify the similarities and differences between the two concepts. Despite numerous similarities, particularly in terms of the displacement of the local population by the arrival of new (permanent or temporary) residents with higher economic status, the increase in prices and the cost of living, the attraction of investment and the transformation of the space, that gradually loses its characteristic features, key differences were identified that make it necessary to distinguish the two processes (Marenzana et al., 2024).

taj određeni prostor ne doseljavaju dugoročno, smatraju da pojam „turistifikacije“ bolje opisuje navedene procese od turističke gentrifikacije. Njihovo istraživanje provedeno u Sevilli pokazalo je da su procesi turistifikacije i gentrifikacije, iako blisko povezani te se prostorno preklapaju, ipak međusobno razlučivi. Slično mišljenje dijele i Sequera & Nofre (2018) koji smatraju da iako se turistifikacija i gentrifikacija mogu pojaviti u nekom prostoru istodobno, dva su različita procesa koja iziskuju drukčiji teorijski i metodološki pristup pri istraživanju. Turistifikacija uključuje transformaciju urbanog prostora, neovisno radi li se o nekoj radničkoj četvrti ili o već gentrificiranom dijelu grada, u prostore namijenjene potrošnji turista/posjetitelja te kao takva uzrokuje jedinstvene društvene, prostorne i ekonomske promjene, različite od onih koje se javljaju kao posljedica procesa gentrifikacije (Sequera & Nofre, 2018).

TURISTIČKA GENTRIFIKACIJA U HRVATSKOJ?

Turističkoj gentrifikaciji osobito su podložni gradovi i područja koja pripadaju ekonomijama periferije (npr. dijelovi Sredozemlja) i u kojima je turizam ključan čimbenik razvoja (Cocola-Gant, 2018). Razlog tomu leži u razlici između kupovne moći srednjih slojeva stanovništva razvijenih ekonomija i one u ekonomijama periferije, koja je nedovoljna da potakne proces „klasične“ gentrifikacije i zatvara „jazove u najamninama“ koji se pojavljuju (Cocola-Gant, 2018). Stoga, radi maksimizacije dobiti iz izgrađenog prostora, nedostatak lokalne potražnje nadomješta se potražnjom za turističkim smještajem, tržište nekretnina i dugoročnog najma „odvaja“ se od financijskih mogućnosti i potreba lokalne zajednice, što otvara mogućnost pojave gentrifikacije (Cocola-Gant, 2018). Drugim riječima, „klasične“ gentrifikatore zamjenjuju posjetitelji (turisti) kao potrošači mjesta“ (Cocola-Gant, 2018, p. 285). Nadalje, važno je istaknuti i nezanemarljivu ulogu koju lokalne i državne vlasti prečesto imaju u poticanju pojave turističke gentrifikacije u ekonomijama periferije ulaganjem u razvoj tu-

While gentrification is described as a process involving the transformation of the demographics, commercial structures and public spaces of certain neighbourhoods as a result of the influx of a more affluent population, touristification is defined as the process of transforming a part or parts of the city into ‘tourist enclaves’ proliferated by entertainment and tourist attractions (Marenzana et al., 2024). Furthermore, although Jover & Díaz-Parra (2020) concede that the term tourism gentrification could imply the displacement of the local population by tourists/visitors, as their stay in the area is temporary and not long-term, they believe that the term ‘touristification’ better describes the processes mentioned than tourism gentrification. Their research in Seville showed that the processes of touristification and gentrification, although closely linked and spatially overlapping, are nevertheless distinct. Sequera & Nofre (2018) hold a similar opinion, arguing that although touristification and gentrification can occur simultaneously in a given area, they are two different processes that require a different theoretical and methodological research approach. Touristification involves the transformation of urban space, whether it is a working-class neighbourhood or an already gentrified one, into spaces intended for the consumption of tourists/visitors, and as such causes unique social, spatial and economic changes that are different from those that occur as a consequence of the gentrification process (Sequera & Nofre, 2018).

TOURISM GENTRIFICATION IN CROATIA?

Cities and areas that belong to peripheral economies (e.g., parts of the Mediterranean) and where tourism is an important development factor are particularly susceptible to tourism gentrification (Cocola-Gant, 2018). The reason for this lies in the difference between the purchasing power of the middle classes of the population in the developed economies and that in the peripheral economies, which is not sufficient to initiate the process of ‘classic’ gentrification and close the resulting ‘rent gaps’ (Cocola-Gant, 2018). Thus, in order to maximize profits from built space, the lack of local

rizma, ponajprije zato što u takvim područjima on predstavlja jedan od najjednostavnijih načina privlačenja kapitala i potrošnje (Cocola-Gant, 2018). Navedena je činjenica osobito relevantna bila u kontekstu globalne financijske krize krajem 2000-ih kada su mnogi gradovi i države, poput onih u Južnoj Europi, pribjegli razvoju turizma kao temelju strategije oporavka i brzog izlaska iz krize (Amore i sur., 2020; Cocola-Gant, 2018; Estevens i sur., 2023; Marques Pereira, 2020).

Kao dio Sredozemlja i kao jedna od gospodarski slabije razvijenih članica Europske unije, ali vodeća prema udjelu prihoda od turizma u ukupnom BDP-u i broju turističkih noćenja u odnosu na broj stanovnika (EUROSTAT, 2023), Hrvatska se svojim obilježjima nalaže kao ogledan primjer prostora pogodnog za pojavu turističke gentrifikacije. Unatoč tome, za razliku od drugih država Južne Europe poput Španjolske, Portugala ili Grčke, gdje se proces turističke gentrifikacije kao predmet istraživanja etablirao posljednjeg desetljeća u znanstvenim krugovima, čemu svjedoči i razmjerno velik broj radova iz tih država predstavljenih kroz ovaj članak, u Hrvatskoj je interes za proučavanjem ovoga procesa, makar u vidu utvrđivanja konceptualne veze između razvoja turizma, promjena u načinu korištenja stambenog prostora i iseljavanja stanovništva, dosad gotovo u potpunosti izostao, uz rijetke, ali vrijedne iznimke.

Bobić i Akhavan (2022) proučavale su proces turističke gentrifikacije u Dubrovniku u sklopu istraživanja međudnosa prostornog planiranja i razvoja turizma u gradovima suočenim s prenapučenosti s ciljem identifikacije izvorišta problema uzrokovanih turizmom radi oblikovanja okvira politika usmjerenim potrebama lokalne zajednice (studija slučaja obuhvatila je i gradove Veneciju i Kotor). Njihovo je istraživanje pokazalo kako zbog sve opsežnije prenamjene stambenog fonda u turističke smještajne jedinice s jedne strane te rastućih cijena nekretnina i najamnina s druge strane, razvoj turizma negativno utječe na dostupnost i priuštivost stanovanja u Dubrovniku te, u svojem sadašnjem obliku, uzrokuje iseljavanje stanovništva. Klempić Bogadi i suradnici (2018) ističu međudjelovanje procesa gentrifikacije i „apartmanizacije“ te

demand is replaced by the demand for tourist accommodation, the real estate and long-term rental market is ‘separated’ from the financial possibilities and needs of the local community, opening up the possibility of gentrification (Cocola-Gant, 2018). In other words, ‘the classic gentrifiers are replaced by visitors (tourists) as consumers of places’ (Cocola-Gant, 2018). Furthermore, it is important to emphasize the non-negligible role that local and state authorities too often play in promoting tourism gentrification in peripheral economies by investing in tourism development, mainly for the reason that it is one of the easiest ways to attract capital and consumption (Cocola-Gant, 2018). This fact was particularly important in the context of the global financial crisis at the end of the 2000s, when many cities and countries, e.g., in southern Europe, relied on the development of tourism as the basis for a recovery strategy and a quick way out of the crisis (Amore et al., 2020; Cocola-Gant, 2018; Estevens et al., 2023; Marques Pereira, 2020).

As part of the Mediterranean region and as one of economically less developed members of the European Union, but a leader in terms of the share of tourism revenue in total GDP and the number of tourists overnight stays in relation to the number of inhabitants (EUROSTAT, 2023), Croatia stands out with its characteristics as an illustrative example of an area suitable for the emergence of tourism gentrification. In contrast to other southern European countries such as Spain, Portugal or Greece, where the process of tourism gentrification has established itself as a subject of research in academia over the last ten years, as shown by the relatively large number of papers from these countries presented in this article, the interest in the study of this process, at least in the form of establishing a conceptual link between the development of tourism, the changing use of housing and displacement, has been almost completely absent in Croatia, with a few but noteworthy exceptions.

Bobić & Akhavan (2022) examined the process of tourism gentrification in Dubrovnik as part of research on the relationship between spatial planning and tourism development in cities facing overcrowding, with the aim of identifying the source of the problems caused by tourism in order

povećanje cijena nekretnina u povijesnoj jezgri Dubrovnika kao neke od čimbenika negativnih demografskih kretanja u tom dijelu grada, ponajprije zbog poticanja tamošnjeg stanovništva na prodaju vlastitih nekretnina i seljenje „izvan zidina starog grada“. Nadalje, KaturiĆ i suradnici (2021) vide nekontrolirani razvoj turizma u Dubrovniku kao čimbenik promjena socioekonomskih obilježja povijesne jezgre te kao uzrok pojave gentrifikacije. Kao njezinu posljedicu, među ostalim, navode marginalizaciju lokalnog stanovništva, posebice mladih, izazvanu previsokim najamninama zbog kojih napuštaju centar grada. Kunst (2017) također izdvaja stalan rast broja turista i cijena nekretnina kao uzrok pojave gentrifikacije u povijesnoj jezgri Dubrovnika, no nju smatra problematičnom ne u smislu negativnog utjecaja na lokalno stanovništvo, već na turističko-promidžbenu sliku grada. Zaključci koje iznose KaturiĆ i suradnici (2021) temelje se na drugom istraživanju, onom Panayiotopoulos i Pisano (2019), u kojem je problematiziran prekomjerni turizam u Dubrovniku. Iako ne spominju izričito pojam turističke gentrifikacije, autori u svojem radu prepoznaju i opisuju određene aspekte tog procesa u povijesnoj jezgri Dubrovnika, poput prisvajanja urbanog prostora od turizma, čineći ga tako nepriuštivim lokalnom stanovništvu, kao i prenamjenu mnogobrojnih stambenih jedinica prethodno namijenjenih dugoročnom najmu (uglavnom studentima) u turističke smještajne jedinice, zbog čega su studenti sada primorani smještaj tražiti na periferiji grada. Abbasian i suradnici (2020) se u istraživanju o prekomjernom turizmu u Dubrovniku također dotiču iseljavanja lokalnog stanovništva, ali tek marginalno, u kontekstu problema uzrokovanog turistifikacijom prostora na temelju rezultata intervjua provedenog u sklopu istraživanja.

Osim u Dubrovniku, u Hrvatskoj su vezu između sve intenzivnije prenamjene stambenog fonda u svrhu turističkog iznajmljivanja i negativnih demografskih trendova kroz koncepte turističke gentrifikacije istražili Kesar i suradnici (2015), na primjeru Gornjeg i Donjeg grada u Zagrebu. Iako se njihovo istraživanje sastojalo isključivo od statističke analize podataka o stanovništvu i stambenim jedinicama, njihov je znan-

to design a policy framework that is focused on the needs of the local community (the case study also included the cities of Venice and Kotor). Their research showed that the development of tourism has a negative impact on the availability and affordability of housing in Dubrovnik due to the ever-increasing conversion of housing stock into tourist accommodation units on the one hand and rising property prices and rents on the other, and in its current form is causing the population to move out. Klempić Bogadi et al. (2018) highlight the interplay between the processes of gentrification and apartmentization, and the increase in real estate prices in the historic core of Dubrovnik as some of the factors of negative demographic development in this part of the city, which is primarily due to the encouragement of the local population to sell their properties and move ‘outside the walls of the old city.’ In addition, KaturiĆ et al. (2021) see the uncontrolled development of tourism in Dubrovnik as a factor in changing the socio-economic characteristics of the historic core and as a cause of gentrification. One of the consequences they emphasize is the marginalization of the local population, especially young people, due to excessively high rents that cause them to leave the city centre. Kunst (2017) also identifies the constant growth in the number of tourists and real estate prices as a cause of gentrification in the historic core of Dubrovnik, but considers this to be problematic not in terms of the negative impact on the local population, but on the city’s tourist advertising image. The conclusions presented by KaturiĆ et al. (2021) are based on another study, that of Panayiotopoulos & Pisano (2019), in which excessive tourism in Dubrovnik is problematized. Although they do not explicitly mention the term tourism gentrification, the authors recognize and describe in their work certain aspects of this process in the historical core of Dubrovnik, such as the appropriation of urban space by tourism, making it unaffordable for the local population, and the conversion of numerous housing units previously intended for long-term rental (mainly for students) into tourist accommodation, which is why students are now forced to look for accommodation on the outskirts of the city. In their study on overtourism in Dubrovnik, Abbasian et

stveni doprinos u kontekstu Hrvatske znakovit utoliko što su među prvima (ako ne i prvi) u znanstvenu raspravu uveli pojam turističke gentrifikacije. Nužno je spomenuti istraživanje Stojčić i suradnici (2024), kojemu je cilj bio ispitati utjecaj jedinica za kratkoročni (turistički) najam na lokalne zajednice upravnih gradova i općina u Hrvatskoj, točnije na obilježja i obrasce migracija pojedinaca u tim područjima. Pokazali su kako turističke smještajne jedinice, iako nisu jedina ili najsnažnija determinanta, općenito imaju negativan utjecaj na iseljavanje stanovništva u Hrvatskoj, ali i da se njihov utjecaj razlikuje ovisno o intenzitetu turizma u nekom području (Stojčić i sur., 2024).

Nadalje, rasprava o turističkoj gentrifikaciji i razvoju turizma, kao uzroku iseljavanja u Hrvatskoj, nepotpuna je bez utvrđivanja utjecaja turizma na pitanje stanovanja. Međuodnos turizma i tržišta nekretnina na razini upravnih gradova i općina Hrvatske ispitali su Mikulić i suradnici (2021). Njihovo je istraživanje pokazalo kako turistička aktivnost općenito negativno utječe na priuštivost stanovanja u Hrvatskoj, a kao obilježje turizma s najsnažnijim utjecajem na cijene nekretnina izdvojena je sezonalnost. Rezultate autori objašnjavaju činjenicom kako je obilježje velikog dijela sredina s izraženom sezonalnosti turizma i visok udio privatnih smještaja u ukupnoj ponudi turističkog smještaja, nauštrb hotelskog i drugih oblika kolektivnog smještaja koji u pravilu mogu uzdržavati potrebe turizma i izvan (ljetne) sezone. Drugim riječima, visoka sezonalnost turizma uglavnom podrazumijeva i visok udio privatnih smještaja, što u skladu s tim podrazumijeva i ekstrakciju zarade od turizma iz stambenog prostora, a potencijalna zarada od turizma podiže cijene na lokalnom tržištu nekretnina. Uz Mikulić i suradnici (2021), do usporedivih zaključaka o međuodnosu turizma i cijena na tržištu nekretnina dolaze i Rašić i suradnici (2024) te Šimek i suradnici (2022).

S obzirom na predstavljeno, javlja se pitanje: Može li se govoriti o postojanju turističke gentrifikacije u Hrvatskoj? Prije svega, istraživanja u Dubrovniku i njegovoj povijesnoj jezgri naslućuju prisutnost nekih pojava u kojima se može prepoznati djelovanje tog procesa, poput prenamje-

al. (2020) also address the displacement of the local population, but only marginally, in the context of the problem caused by tourism in the area, based on the results of the interviews conducted as part of the research. In Croatia, in addition to Dubrovnik, Kesar et al. (2015) examined the connection between the increasingly intensive conversion of housing stock for tourist rentals and negative demographic trends through the concepts of tourism gentrification using the example of Gornji grad (*upper town*) and Donji grad (*lower town*) in Zagreb. Although their research consisted solely of statistical analysis of data on population and housing units, their scientific contribution in the context of Croatia is significant in that they were among the first (if not the first) to introduce the concept of tourism gentrification into the academic debate. It is necessary to mention the research by Stojčić et al. (2024), which aimed to investigate the impact of short-term (tourist) rental units on the local communities of administrative cities and municipalities in Croatia, more specifically on the characteristics and migration patterns of people in these areas. They showed that tourist accommodation units, although not the only or strongest determinant, generally have a negative impact on population out-migration in Croatia, but also that their impact varies depending on the intensity of tourism in an area (Stojčić et al. 2024).

Furthermore, the discussion about tourism gentrification and the development of tourism as a cause of emigration in Croatia is incomplete without examining the impact of tourism on housing. The relationship between tourism and the real estate market at the level of administrative cities and municipalities in Croatia was examined by Mikulić et al. (2021). Their research showed that tourism activity in general has a negative impact on housing affordability in Croatia, and seasonality was identified as the feature of tourism that has the strongest influence on real estate prices. The authors explain the results with the fact that a large part of the areas with pronounced seasonality of tourism is characterized by a high proportion of private in the total supply of tourist accommodation, at the expense of hotels and other forms of shared accommodation, which can usually meet the needs of tourism even outside the (summer)

ne stambenog prostora u turističke smještajne jedinice, nepriuštivosti stanovanja zbog rastućih cijena nekretnina i najamnina (Bobić & Akhavan, 2022; Katuri i sur., 2021) te iseljavanja stanovništva kao posljedice. Unatoč tome, osim istraživanja Kesar i suradnici (2015) u središtu Zagreba, potraga za procesom turističke gentrifikacije u gradskom (i izvangradskom) prostoru Hrvatske „zapela“ je pred dubrovačkim zidinama.

ZAKLJUČAK

Gentrifikacija značajno pridonosi promjenama u prostornoj strukturi grada. Glavnim okidačem smatraju se mijene, usponi i padovi, (globalne) ekonomije u drugoj polovici 20. i početkom 21. stoljeća. Prema Smithu (1979), gentrifikacija se javlja kao posljedica otvaranja „jaza u najamnini“, razlike između zarade koja se ostvaruje od trenutnog načina korištenja prostora i maksimalne potencijalne zarade koja bi se mogla ostvariti njegovom prenamjenom.

Kako bi se bolje razumjeli uzroci i posljedice razvoja turizma, početkom 2000-ih uveden je koncept turističke gentrifikacije. Pojam je u znanstvenoj literaturi prvi upotrijebio Gotham (2005) kako bi opisao ulogu koju državne i lokalne vlasti te korporacije imaju u oblikovanju gradskog prostora u mjesta potrošnje namijenjene turistima. U slučaju turističke gentrifikacije, razvoj turizma u nekom području i rastuća potražnja za turističkim smještajem stvaraju okolnosti u kojima potencijalna zarada od turističkog iznajmljivanja postaje ključni čimbenik otvaranja „jaza u najamnini“, potičući tako ulaganja u prostor i prenamjenu za turizam, bilo da se radi o prenamjeni postojećeg stambenog fonda ili izgradnji novih objekata na dotad neiskorištenim česticama zemljišta. Unatoč tome, promjene u društvenim, ekonomskim i političkim okolnostima proizašle iz globalne financijske krize krajem 2000-ih drastično su utjecale na daljnji tijek razvoja turističke gentrifikacije, pa se tako ona odmaknula od prvotne Gothamove definicije te poprima nova obilježja, svojstvena „petom valu gentrifikacije“ (Aalbers, 2019).

season. In other words, the high seasonality of tourism usually implies a high share of private accommodation, which accordingly means that the income from tourism is diverted from housing and the potential income from it drives up prices on the local real estate market. In addition to Mikulić et al. (2021), Rašić et al. (2024) and Šimek et al. (2022) reached similar conclusions about the relationship between tourism and real estate market prices.

In view of what was outlined here, the question arises as to whether one can speak of tourism gentrification in Croatia. First of all, research in Dubrovnik and its historical core indicates the presence of some phenomena in which the effects of this process can be recognized, such as the conversion of housing into tourist accommodation units, the unaffordability of housing due to rising real estate prices and rents, and the emigration of the population as a result. However, apart from the research by Kesar et al. (2015) in the centre of Zagreb, one could say that the search for the process of tourism gentrification in the urban (and non-urban) area of Croatia has ‘stuck’ outside the walls of Dubrovnik.

CONCLUSION

Gentrification contributes significantly to changes in the spatial structure of the city. The most important triggers are the changes in the (global) economy in the second half of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century. According to Smith (1979), gentrification is the consequence of the opening of the ‘rent gap,’ the difference between the profit made by the current use of space and the maximum potential profit that could be made by transforming it.

In order to better understand the causes and consequences of tourism development, the concept of tourism gentrification was introduced in the early 2000s. The term was first used in the academic literature by Gotham (2005) to describe the role that state and local governments and corporations play in shaping urban space into places of consumption for tourists. In the case of tourism gentrification, the development of tourism in an area and

Upravo je „peti val“ turističke gentrifikacije zahvatio velik broj gradova diljem svijeta. Kao njezino ključno obilježje ističu su digitalne platforme ekonomije dijeljenja, u prvom redu *Airbnb*, koji postaju vodeći čimbenik pojave, širenja i intenzifikacije. Mnogobrojna istraživanja potvrdila su da je turistička gentrifikacija pospješila prenamjenu stambenog fonda, potaknula „financijalizaciju“ stanovanja, produbila postojeće obrasce socioekonomske nejednakosti i diferencijaciju gradskog prostora te potaknula pojavu različitih oblika iseljavanja.

Iako se Hrvatska određenim svojim obilježjima nalaže kao ogledan primjer prostora pogodnog za pojavu turističke gentrifikacije, istraživanja o tome u domaćoj znanstvenoj literaturi, izuzev rijetkim, ali vrijednim izuzecima, gotovo da i ne postoje. Stoga je cilj ovoga rada bio i taj da se pregledom literature pridonese, obogati, ali prije svega potakne rasprava o turističkoj gentrifikaciji u Hrvatskoj, približi znanstvenoj zajednici te da ovaj rad posluži kao svojevrsni zamašnjak za buduća istraživanja.

Stoga se kao poticaj postavljaju mnoga istraživačka pitanja. Mogu li se procesi usporedivi onima u Dubrovniku identificirati i u drugim većim gradovima primorske Hrvatske, poput Splita, Zadra i Pule? Ili u manjim gradovima, poput Rovinja i Opatije, gdje turizam predstavlja okosnicu razvoja? Nadalje, turizam je u Hrvatskoj dosegno visok stupanj razvoja i u drugim prostornim kontekstima, od manjih priobalnih naselja do ruralnih područja udaljenijih od mora. Može li doći do procesa turističke gentrifikacije i u takvim prostorima, odnosno izvan gradova? Istraživanja provedena na razini jedinica lokalne samouprave na prostoru čitave Hrvatske o utjecaju turizma na tržište nekretnina (Mikulić i sur., 2021; Rašić i sur., 2024; Šimek i sur., 2022) i migracije (Stojčić i sur., 2024) idu u prilog stajalištu da je opravdano pretpostaviti postojanje procesa turističke gentrifikacije i u drugim dijelovima Hrvatske.

U skladu s tim, otvaraju se i pitanja: Kako se proces turističke gentrifikacije razlikuje među tim prostorima? Koji čimbenici uvjetuju, potiču i utječu na pojavu i manifestaciju turističke gentrifikacije u Hrvatskoj? Kakva je i kolika uloga lokalnih i/ili državnih vlasti u proizvodnji turističke

the growing demand for tourist accommodation create circumstances in which the potential revenue from tourist rentals becomes a key factor in opening up the ‘rent gap,’ thus encouraging investment in land and conversions for tourism, be it the conversion of existing housing stock or the construction of new buildings on previously unused land. Nonetheless, the changing social, economic and political circumstances following the global financial crisis of the late 2000s have drastically influenced the further course of tourism gentrification, moving away from the original definition of Gotham and taking on new characteristics typical of the ‘fifth wave of gentrification’ (Aalbers, 2019).

It is the ‘fifth wave’ of tourism gentrification that has gripped a large number of cities around the world. Its main feature are the digital platforms of the sharing economy, led by Airbnb, which are becoming a leading factor in its emergence, spread and intensification. Numerous studies have confirmed that tourism gentrification has accelerated the reallocation of housing stock, promoted the financialization of housing, deepened existing patterns of socio-economic inequality and differentiation of urban space, and facilitated the emergence of various forms of displacement.

Although Croatia is a prime example of an area suitable for the emergence of tourism gentrification due to its particular characteristics, there is practically no research on this topic in the domestic academic literature, with a few noteworthy exceptions. Therefore, the aim of this paper was not only to enrich and contribute to the discussion on tourism gentrification in general, but to actually instigate one in Croatia by bringing this concept closer to the domestic scientific community, to which this paper could potentially serve as a fly-wheel for future research.

Therefore, many research questions are formulated as suggestions. Can processes comparable to those in Dubrovnik also be observed in other large cities on the Croatian coast such as Split, Zadar and Pula? Or in smaller towns such as Rovinj and Opatija, where tourism constitutes the backbone of economic development? Furthermore, tourism in Croatia has also reached a high level of development in other spatial contexts, from smaller coastal settlements to rural areas further away from

gentrifikacije? Postoje li neka obilježja turističke gentrifikacije koja su jedinstvena i svojstvena isključivo Hrvatskoj?

S obzirom na predstavljeno, može se smatrati opravdanim zaključak kako na prostoru Hrvatske „leži“ gotovo pa neiscrpan potencijal za istraživanjem turističke gentrifikacije, čineći tako podzastupljenost ove teme u domaćoj znanstvenoj literaturi utoliko začuđujućom i proturječnom. U kontekstu negativnih demografskih kretanja koja odmicanjem vremena zahvaćaju sve veći dio Hrvatske i pretvaraju se u obilježje svojstveno hrvatskoj suvremenoj realnosti, u područjima u kojima je turizam zauzeo te nastavlja zauzimati sve dominantniju ulogu u oblikovanju prostora, koncept turističke gentrifikacije nalaže se kao koristan teorijski okvir za proučavanje i tumačenje prostornih promjena. Kako bi se, u konačnici, to i postiglo, prvi korak bio bi približiti koncept turističke gentrifikacije široj znanstvenoj zajednici, što je, među ostalim, bio cilj ovoga preglednog rada.

Autorski doprinosi: T. M.: istraživanje i pregled literature, konceptualizacija rada, pisanje izvornog rada, priprema završne verzije

V. P.: pisanje - dijelovi izvornog rada (sažetak, uvod), priprema završne verzije, pregled cjelovitog rada, validacija, nadzor

Sukob interesa: Autori izjavljuju da nema sukoba interesa.

the sea. Can the process of tourism gentrification also take place in such areas, i.e., outside the cities? Research conducted at the level of local self-government units throughout Croatia on the impact of tourism on the real estate market (Mikulić et al., 2021; Rašić et al., 2024; Šimek et al., 2022) and migration (Stojčić et al., 2024) supports the view that it is justified to assume the existence of the tourism gentrification process in other parts of Croatia as well.

Accordingly, further questions arise. How does the process of tourism gentrification differ between these areas? What factors determine, induce and affect the occurrence and development of tourism gentrification in Croatia? What role do local and/or state authorities have in tourism gentrification and to what extent? Are there characteristics of tourism gentrification that are unique and unparalleled in Croatia?

In light of what has been presented here, it is fair to say that Croatia offers an almost inexhaustible potential for the research of tourism gentrification. This makes the underrepresentation of this topic in the domestic academic literature all the more astonishing and contradictory. Against the backdrop of negative demographic trends that are affecting an increasingly large part of Croatia over time and are becoming a characteristic feature of today's Croatian reality, in areas where tourism has assumed and continues to assume an increasingly dominant role in shaping space, the concept of tourism gentrification is needed as a useful theoretical framework for the study and interpretation of spatial changes. In order to eventually achieve this, the first step would be to introduce the concept of tourism gentrification to the wider academic community, which was one of the aims of this review paper.

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V. P.: writing parts of the original draft (abstract, introduction), preparation of the final version, overall review of the manuscript, validation, supervision

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