

New Cultural Tourists in a Southeastern European City: The Case of Split

**Inga Tomić-Koludrović
Mirko Petrić**

This article is based on selected results of an empirical survey of the tourists visiting the historical core of the city of Split (Croatia), carried out in the summer of 2005. Its aim is to serve as a stepping stone for a future, more detailed analysis of the profile of “new” cultural tourists visiting this particular and other comparable Southeastern European locations. The attractions that the city of Split has to offer can be considered to be indicative of the interests of a new type of tourist visiting the region. Therefore, the results of the survey, as well as our observations made in its course, should be generalizable to a degree, or at least considered to be useful in a wider context.

In essence, the article can be said to contain the elements for a definition of the profile of the “new” cultural tourists visiting the Southeastern European region. It is based on the results of the survey we have carried out, discussed in the context of views expressed in recent approaches to the study of cultural tourism. The article also contains information on the context in which the survey originated. Starting from the concrete example of Split, its final section presents an overview of the issues that arise in a policy discussion centering on the connection between tourism and the creative industries.

The context of research: creative cities, tourism, policy issues

The empirical survey of the tourists visiting the historic core of the city of Split was carried out as part of the UK SEE Forum, a two-year (2004-2006) British Council-funded program, one strand of which was devoted to the “creative industries”. The goal of the program was to take expertise in economic data collection (“mapping”) “from a UK region to a transitional economy” and also to “explore [...]

the infrastructure needs and barriers to development facing the creative industries” (British Council, 2005).¹

Within the overall framework of the “creative city” agenda, each individual participating Southeastern European city implemented a self-defined project. Some opted for awareness-raising events, some for networking efforts, some for mapping, and some for a strategy based on a combination of all these elements.² The team from the Croatian city of Split opted for a mapping exercise, trying to establish the grounds for the implementation of policies aimed at the development of creative industries, based on the available cultural resources of the city.

The question that needed to be answered was what approach to mapping should be taken, as well as what specific measures within it. Based on preliminary research, it was judged that the economic activity based on the UK Department of Culture, Media and Sports’ (DCMS) definition of creative industries was not of the size and intensity that would warrant mapping conceived of as hard economic data collection.³ Instead, an approach was taken that was closer to what is known as an “audit of cultural resources”.⁴

- 1 In a wider context, this particular program was part of the British Council’s “creative industries in transitional markets” focus, aimed at economies which have “moved beyond the development stage but [were] still unable to protect intellectual property rights in creative goods and services”. Within this framework, the pilot project for Latin America was developed in Colombia. The Baltic states were the first among the post-socialist countries to join the program in 2003, and the year 2004 saw its extension to the Southeastern European region. The program is now being extended to India and China.
- 2 Southeastern European participating in the project included Belgrade/Novi Sad (Serbia), Iasi (Romania), Plovdiv (Bulgaria), Podgorica (Montenegro), Prishtina (Kosovo), Skopje (Macedonia), Split (Croatia), Tirana (Albania), and Tuzla (Bosnia and Herzegovina).
- 3 The definition of the creative industries that the planned research departed from was the UK Department of Culture, Media and Sports one, specifying that “creative industries” include the sectors of advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film and video, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software and computer games, television and radio (DCMS, 2005). We are grateful for assistance in the preliminary research to “Puls” agency. While it would certainly be useful to perform a comprehensive survey of economic data related to creative industries production in the city of Split, it was felt that - at the present stage of development - the level of usefulness of such an action would not entirely match the financial resources needed to complete it.
- 4 Discussions led at the regional workshop on mapping methodology, organized by the Split team in June 2004 under the title “Mapping the Creative City”, helped us reach the decision on the mapping approach to be taken. We are grateful to all the participants, and especially to workshop leaders Dr. Calvin Taylor (University of Leeds) and Julie Seyler (“Creative Kernow”). Of particular usefulness to our effort was the discussion of the methodology of tourist surveys developed by Nottingham Trent University and used as part of the Cornwall mapping exercise.

In a policy context, such an approach was judged to be more appropriate as a basis for establishing a strategy that would be conducive to both urban regeneration and the development of creative industries in the city. Within this general framework, the question was on what specific area to focus the regenerating effort and the empirical research that was to provide data that could serve as its basis.

With limited resources available,⁵ we decided to focus primarily on one aspect of the creative industries supply chain. The aspect chosen was that of consumption. Within this aspect, we decided to concentrate our efforts on the survey of tourists, who were hypothesized to be one of the most promising groups of consumers of the existing and potential creative industries production in the city.

A group that was judged to be of special importance in this sense was that composed of a new type of tourists visiting the historic core of the city of Split. Namely, our preliminary observation suggested that a significant number of the tourists visiting this heritage area were interested in local culture in a way that differed from that typical of cultural tourists visiting the city in the late 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. This group was preliminarily identified as one that could serve as the engine not only of the economic aspects of the creative industries activity but also of the cultural development of the city.

Tourism Development Potential of Split in the Southeastern European Context

Before we present the profile and selected results of the survey we have carried out, we would like to provide a brief contextualization of the tourism development potential of the city of Split in its regional surroundings. Namely, in a wider context, the city of Split can be said to exhibit the traits that Elka Bakalova (2003) considers to be typical of the entire region she refers to as “Balkans”:⁶ it is a crossroads of different cultures and it is characterized by a wealth of cultural monuments.

- 5 The empirical survey, as well as the entire effort focused on the development of the creative industries in Croatia in 2005, was initially funded by the British Council. In the second phase of the project, the City of Split provided matching funding, reciprocating the funds allocated specifically for the empirical survey.
- 6 For the sake of accuracy, it should be said that the city of Split, as well as Croatia as a country, is positioned at the westernmost edge of what has been known in contemporary political and journalistic discourses as “Western Balkans”. In reality, in terms of its identity but also of the geographical realities, Croatia “represents a very complex [...] instance” of a country with “double, or even triple, regional identities” (Dragojević, 2001, 17). In the case of Croatia, this identity includes Central European, Mediterranean and Balkan components. In this light, the “Balkans” designation Bakalova is using seems somewhat reductionist. We have therefore, in the title and in the text of this article, used a more neutral designation “Southeastern Europe”. Namely, in the cases of Croatia in general and the city of Split in particular, the latter accommodates both the Balkans and other designations that are present in their contemporary cultural profiles.

As regards cultural monuments, the city of Split very obviously qualifies for the second part of Bakalova's formula: its historic core is one of the 54 UNESCO-protected World Heritage sites in the region. The most important cultural attraction of the UNESCO-protected area and of the city in general is the Palace of Diocletian, erected by the Roman Emperor in the fourth century AD and highly valued by architectural and art historians exactly because of its culturally "mixed" character. Namely, while it is true that the remains of the original structure represent one of the best preserved late Roman villas, it is at the same time the place from which an eclectic city core has grown, featuring examples of various architectural styles extending from the medieval period to the present day.

As regards the diversity of cultural traditions found in the lived culture of the city, a trained eye can immediately recognize the elements of both Mediterranean and Dinaric (Balkan) cultural types in the behavior of the local population, in the inner city as well as on its outskirts. Somewhat less obviously, Central European culture has also left its imprint, perhaps more visible to outsiders in architectural styles of a number of buildings, general setup of cultural institutions (theaters, museums) and certain gastronomical details. But most importantly, Split is very much a "living" city, offering - just as the region - what Bakalova holds to be the combination highly attractive to contemporary cultural tourists: namely, both "high culture" and "atmosphere".

One should note, however, that there are other similarities between Split and many other cities in the region and that these similarities extend beyond the element of their attractiveness to cultural tourists: what Split also shares with these cities is the nature of its urban problems.

Just like in the case of many other historical cities in the region, the roots of its problems can be said to have striking spatial and visual indices: the city of Split is very visibly characterized by what can indeed be referred to as "split personality". On the one hand, it boasts a historic core that is inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List and a developed infrastructure of cultural institutions.⁷ On the other hand, this city core is surrounded by industrial districts and modern urban

7 In a city of 200 thousand inhabitants, the main institutional nodes in the cultural sector, funded predominantly by taxpayer's money, are the Croatian National Theatre with separate drama, opera and ballet ensembles, the Archaeological Museum, the Museum of Croatian Archeological Monuments, the Museum of the City of Split, the Meštrović Gallery, the Art Gallery, the Ethnography Museum, the Multimedia Cultural Centre, the Youth Theater and the Puppet Theater. In the period following the survey, a new institution was added to the list (Emanuel Vidović Gallery) and major investments were made to complete the construction of a major youth art center. Among the festivals, the main attractions are Split Summer Festival and International Festival of New Film and Video. A number of clubs exists, as well as educational institutions, such as the Art Academy with its visual arts and music education programs.

developments built in the post-World War II socialist era and in the period of post-socialist transition.

In spite of almost five-fold growth of the population in relation to the year 1945, the relatively small city core is still the generator of identity for the entire city, which has experienced trends of rapid urban decline on its outskirts. These trends were especially pronounced in the period of initial post-socialist transition, plagued by the problems brought about by the 1990s wars in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as by the continual decline of the industrial base of the city (established for the most part in the socialist times). In addition to this, in the period between 1997 and the present, the tourism development potential of the city and the quality of life of its citizens have been significantly reduced by poorly regulated construction of large apartment blocks in areas approaching ever nearer to the historical city core.

The problems the city is facing range from high unemployment to the inadaptability of newcomers from the rural areas to urban patterns of living. All these problems obviously cannot be solved by the development of any single field of activity, and certainly not only of the creative industries. But, from a policy point of view, it seemed to us that the city of Split could become a good example of culture-led regeneration, partly also based on the creative industries. It also seemed to us that tourism, as one of the city's rare industries with obvious development potential, should be given a role to play in the process.

Research hypothesis and survey description

Our general research hypothesis, based on preliminary observation, was that the city of Split is currently attractive to tourists whose interests and preferences are such that they could be willing to buy the products of the local creative industries.

To check this hypothesis we have carried out a street survey of the tourists visiting the historic city core of Split. The survey was carried out in regular intervals in July, August and September of 2005, in order to incorporate different parts of the tourist season. The number of respondents totaled 450 tourists (150 survey forms were completed for each of three periods). Interviewers were capable of conducting multilingual polling, and only one member of each visitor party was interviewed. The number of respondents was calculated on the basis of the total number of visitors in the corresponding periods in the preceding year, according to the data provided by the local tourist board.

It should be noted, however, that it is generally difficult in street surveys to avoid statistical bias by ensuring a random selection of respondents. Likewise, it was not possible to check the accuracy of the data by cross-referencing it to completely comparable surveys. Nevertheless, we consider the results of the survey to be

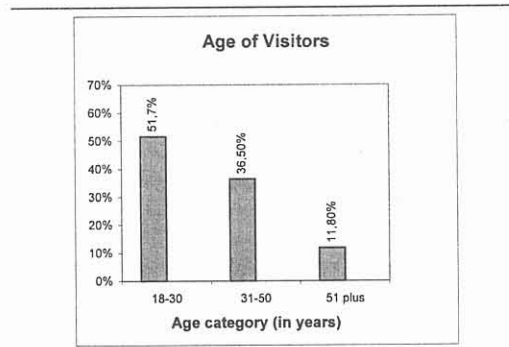
indicative to a certain degree. They should be viewed as a snapshot of possible trends which we feel to be worth following up in a policy context.

Socio-demographic profile and preferences of the visitors to the historic core of the city of Split

In the first section of the presentation of the results of our 2005 survey, we would like to present basic socio-demographic information on the profile of the surveyed visitors to the historic core of the city of Split. However, to facilitate a basic contextual interpretation, we would like to present some of our results side by side with information obtained by a large-scale survey of the visitors to Croatia, regularly carried out by the Institute for Tourism (Marušić et al, 2005).

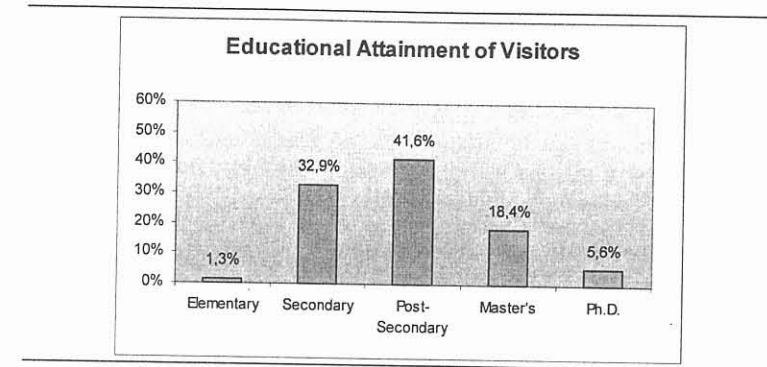
It should be noted, however, that the information on the basic profile of the tourists visiting Croatia was obtained by a 2004 survey and that it is not comparable in other important respects as well. Comparisons we are making below should therefore be taken as very rough approximations. Nevertheless, we have decided to present them, because they can be considered to perform a valuable orientation function.

Figure 1: Age of Visitors to Split



It is evident from the figure that the historic core of the city of Split is visited by tourists who are, on the whole, younger than the average visitors to Croatia. Although results of the Institute for Tourism's survey (Marušić et al, 2005) present different age categories, it can still be calculated from their set of data that a total percentage of visitors to Croatia under the age of 35 (42.4%) is smaller than the percentage of visitors to Split under 30 years of age (51.7%). Likewise, the percentage of the entire population of visitors to Split aged 51 and over (11.8%) is lower than the percentage of visitors to Croatia who are over 56 (14.2%).

Figure 2: Educational Attainment of Visitors to Split



Visitors to Split differ from those visiting Croatia in general not only in terms of their age structure, but also in terms of their educational profile. The most significant difference is at the highest educational level: almost a quarter (24%) of the visitors to Split are holders of Master's and PhD degrees, which is just under the percentage of the entire tourist population of Croatia with postsecondary (college and university) degrees and postgraduate (Master's and PhD) degrees combined (27.1%, according to Institute for Tourism's survey).

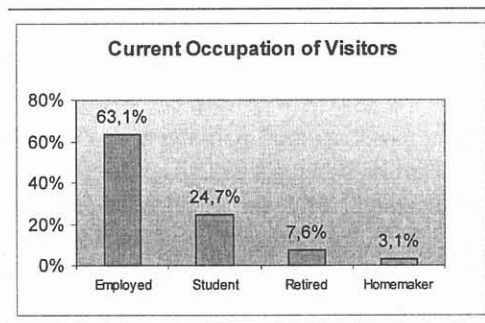
Table 1: Age and Educational Attainment of Visitors to Split

Level of Education	Age Category (in years)			Total
	18-30	31-50	51 plus	
Elementary	0,9%	1,8%	1,9%	1,3%
Secondary	37,2%	27,0%	34,0%	33,1%
Bachelor's	45,0%	39,9%	30,2%	41,4%
Master's	15,6%	20,2%	26,4%	18,6%
PhD	1,3%	10,4%	7,5%	5,4%
N	231	163	53	447

The table above, presenting the data on the age and educational attainment of visitors to Split, makes it clear that the largest percentage of visitors in the 18-30 age category are postsecondary (college and university) degree holders, as is also the case with the other two age categories (31-50 and 51 plus). The largest percentage of PhD degree holders is in the 31-50 age category and the largest number of Master's degree holders is in the 51 plus age category. The latter is, however, the only group in which there are more visitors with secondary than with postsecondary education.

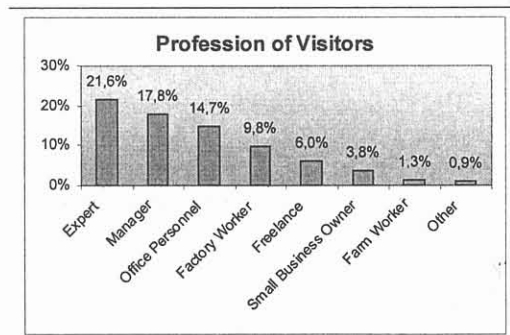
One should say, however, that in absolute terms, the largest number of visitors with secondary education is actually in the 18-30 age category. This should be attributed to the fact that a large number of visitors in this category are currently students in the institutions of higher learning. If not yet degree holders, the members of this group can be said to be in close contact with the world of college and university education, unlike the members of the two remaining groups with secondary education, whose educational attainment can in most cases be considered to be final. In other words, young visitors to Split are also well educated and their education frequently already goes well beyond the high-school level.

Figure 3: Current Occupation of Visitors to Split



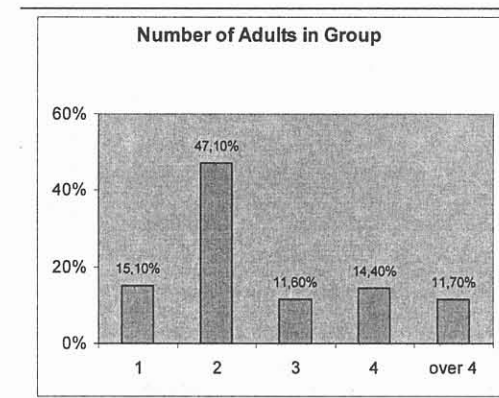
As evident from the figure above, in terms of the occupational structure, students make up almost a quarter (24.7%) of the total population of visitors to the historic core of the city of Split. The largest percentage of visitors is, however, in the group of employed people (63.1%), and there are also significantly smaller numbers of retired persons (7.6 %) and those who describe themselves as homemakers (only 3.1%).

Figure 4: Profession of Visitors to Split



Among those who are employed, the largest number is in the groups of “experts” (21.6%) and “managers” (17.8%), which - in addition to the data on the educational profile of the visitors to Split - also testifies to their higher educational and social status. Namely, these two categories of professions can be said to be perceived as more responsible and “creative” than other professions represented in the figure (except for the 6.0% of those described as freelance, i.e. those self-employed in the intellectual professions, who should be placed in the group of those perceived as “creative” beyond the average).

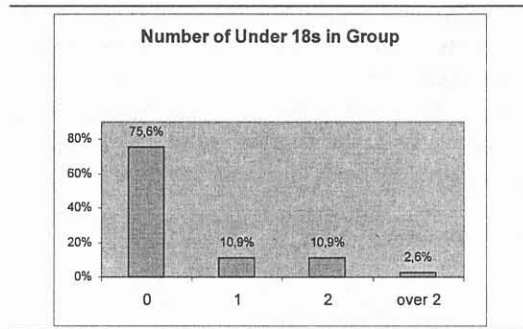
Figure 5: Number of Adults in Group



While the largest number of visitors to the historic core of the city of Split (47.1%) travels in groups made up of two persons, it is worth noticing that there is also a relatively large number of visitors who travel on their own (15.1%). This is significantly higher in relation to the Croatian average, which according to the Institute for Tourism’s survey (Marušić et al, 2005) is only 4.8%. It is also worth noticing that only 11.7% of visitors to Split travel in groups made up of more than four people.

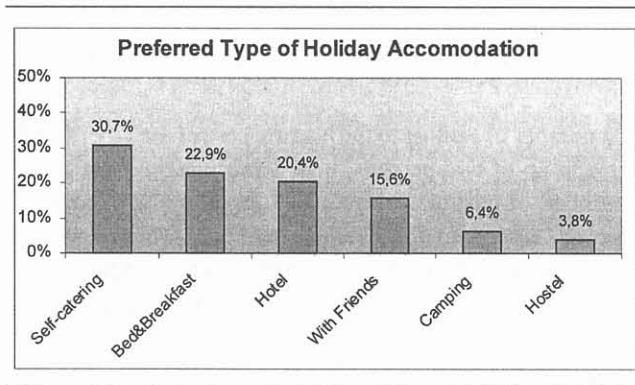
On the whole, visitors to the city of Split can be said to be more individualized than the Croatian average. This is also testified to by the data relating to the number of persons below the age of 18 (i.e. children and teenagers) in a group.

Figure 6: Number of Persons under 18 Years of Age in Group



While 75.6% of visitors to Split travel without small or teenage children, the Croatian average of visitors in this group is 57.1% (Marušić et al, 2005). Or, in other words, only 24.4% of visitors to Split travel with children, while the Croatian average for this group is 42.9%.

Figure 7: Preferred Type of Holiday Accommodation



Individualist tendencies are also evident in the preferences of the visitors to Split with regard to the type of accommodation chosen during their stay in the city. The largest percentage of visitors say their preferred type of accommodation is to stay in self-catered rented apartments or houses, or in what is known in Croatia as “private accommodation” (these are actually rented rooms in individual households, a sort of “bed and breakfast” type of accommodation, however not in the hotels, but actually in somebody’s home). If these two categories are combined, it is evident that a

significantly smaller number of the visitors to Split prefer to be accommodated in hotels (only 20%, compared to 53.6% of those staying in self-catered rented apartments/rooms and “private accommodation”). Camping and hostel accommodation are significantly less popular categories, while there is a somewhat larger percentage of those staying with friends (which actually goes to say that this is again accommodation in private households).

Table 2: Type of Accommodation and Age of Visitors

Accommodation	Age Category			Total
	18-30	31-50	51 plus	
Self-catering	32,2%	31,9%	20,8%	30,7%
Hotel	13,9%	23,9%	39,6%	20,6%
Bed & Breakfast	23,9%	23,9%	17,0%	23,1%
With Friends	17,0%	13,5%	13,2%	15,2%
Camping	5,7%	6,7%	9,4%	6,5%
Hostel	7,4%			3,8%
N	230	163	53	446

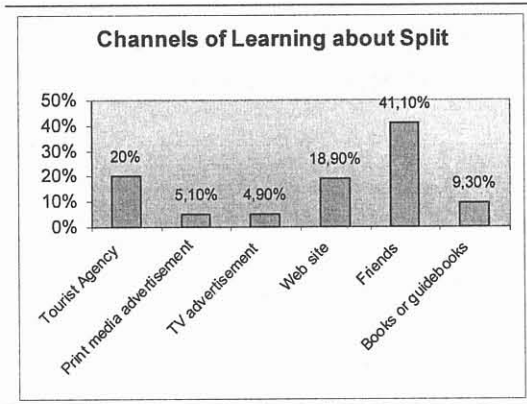
It is evident from the table that age categories up to 50 years of age prefer accommodation in self-catered apartments/rooms or “private accommodation”. The only group in which the percentage of those who prefer to be accommodated in hotels is significantly higher is that belonging to the age category of those over 51 years of age.

When discussing the preferences of visitors, it should be said, however, that hotel accommodation in Split is scarce⁸ and therefore priced above the average, especially for the level of quality it offers to the users. It remains to establish, in some future survey, whether younger and middle-aged visitors prefer “private accommodation” for convenience (i.e. because hotel accommodation is scarce and expensive), or because they would like to learn more about the local culture. Our survey cannot offer elements for any conclusive estimate of the situation, although interests in restaurants with local cuisine, shown in a different section of the survey, would seem to indicate

8 There are several reasons for this lack of hotel capacity. Due to legal problems, some of the larger hotels from the socialist period took a long time to privatize and have still not been refurbished. Some of the hotel capacities in need of refurbishing were worn down by the refugees accommodated in them during the 1990s wars in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Finally, due to unlawful manipulations of the urban planning documents, apartment buildings were constructed in a zone attractive for tourism development which could have and - according to urban planning documents - should have significantly increased the city’s hotel capacities.

that at least a part of the motivation to stay in “private accommodation” is the wish to experience the way local people live.

Figure 8: Channels of Learning about Split as a Tourist Destination



Responses to the question about how they learned about Split as a tourist destination also reveal interesting changes in comparison with the traditional perception of tourist information channels. Namely, the results of the survey indicate that the percentage of those who learned about Split as a destination on a website (18.9%) almost equals that of those who learned about it through a tourist agency (20%). The latter can be taken as one of the traditional channels of information for mass tourists, while the medium of the Web is obviously more compatible with the “new” profile of tourists visiting the city.

Likewise, the percentage of people who learned about the city by reading books or tourist guides (9.3%) is almost double the percentage of those who learned about it either through print (5.1%) or TV advertisements (4.9%). This can also be taken to indicate a more individualized profile of the visitors to Split.

However, by far the largest number of respondents (41.1%) learned about Split through friends. This can be taken to be an indicator of the significant importance of social networks in the process of deciding where to go and what to visit. Future surveys should provide material on the basis of which the character of these networks could be analysed in more detail. (It would be particularly useful to find out to what degree they relate primarily to offline and to what degree to online experiences, or to a mixture of both of these communication modes, as seems to be the trend with recent online communities of younger users.)⁹

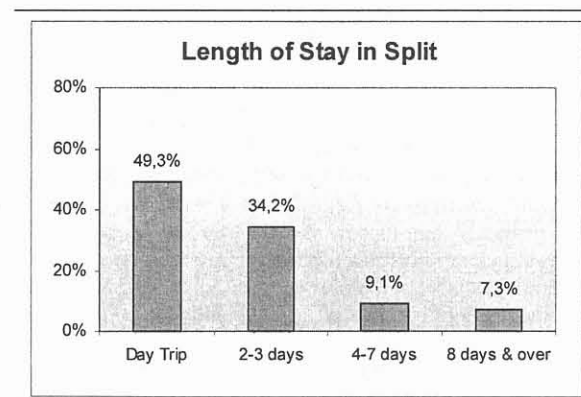
9 The trend has been described by Song (2005) and Bakardjieva (2005).

Table 3: Channels of Learning about Split and Age of Visitors

Channel	Age Category			Total
	18-30	31-50	51 plus	
Tourist Agency	15,3%	22,8%	34,0%	20,3%
Print media advertisement	4,4%	6,8%	3,8%	5,2%
TV advertisement	4,8%	4,9%	5,7%	5,0%
Web site	21,8%	14,8%	20,8%	19,1%
Friends	44,5%	40,1%	28,3%	41,0%
Book or guidebook	9,2%	10,5%	7,5%	9,5%
N	229	162	53	444

The table relating the channels of learning about Split to the age of the visitors reveals that the youngest visitors are least likely and visitors aged 51 plus most likely to learn about the city through a tourist agency. Visitors aged 51 plus are at the same time significantly less likely to learn about the city through friends than the other two age groups. Future surveys should determine whether this happens because of the increasing social isolation that more advanced age can bring, or because of the more traditional way of treatment of the tourist product. It is also interesting to note that visitors aged 51 plus tend to learn about Split from websites nearly in the same percentage as the members of the youngest age group (20.8% compared with 21.8% in the 18-30 age category). At the same time, they are least likely among all the age categories to learn about the city from books and tourist guides.

Figure 9: Length of Stay in Split



It is evident from the diagram that the largest numbers of visitors to Split are day-trippers or transit passengers. This type of tourist is visiting the city while based for a length of time at a different location (either nearby islands or mainland locations as far from Split as Dubrovnik), or while passing through it on their way to other destinations. (Some are also spending several hours on the mainland as part of the itinerary of organized cruise trips.) Using Baywater's classification (1993), a large number of visitors belonging to these two groups of tourists can be described as "culturally attracted", i.e. those visiting cultural attractions because they happen to be in the area.¹⁰

However, the next largest group of visitors are spending 2-3 days in Split, which roughly matches the European average (2.4 days) for city visits. Split has traditionally been perceived as a center of transit or day trip visits, but the quoted figure indicates that it is moving toward a profile of a city worth a visit in its own right.

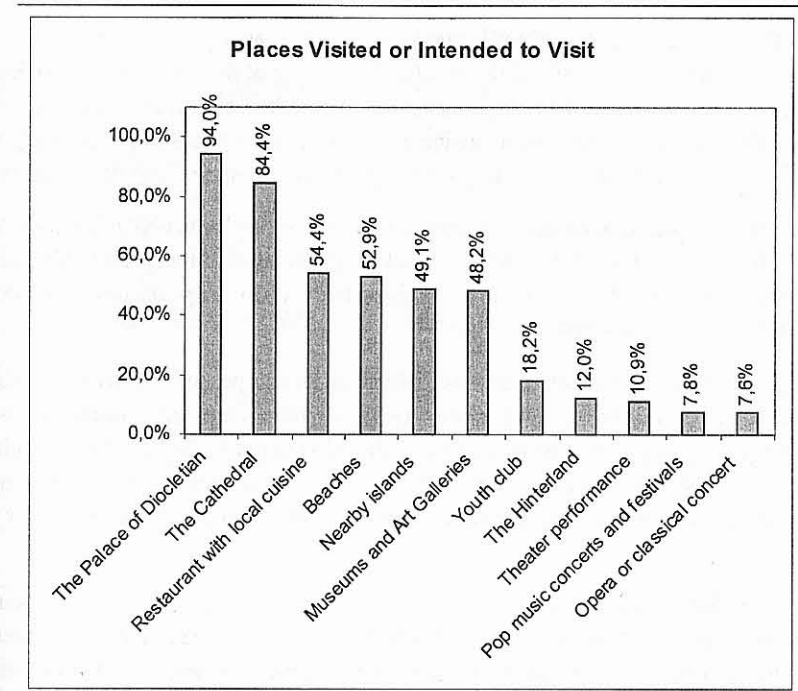
The groups of tourists staying in Split for 4-7 or over 8 days are relatively small.

Cultural interest of visitors to Split

In order to determine a basic profile of cultural interests of visitors to Split, we can make use of the results of the section of the survey in which respondents were asked to identify the places and cultural attractions they have visited or intend to visit during their stay in Split.

¹⁰ Baywater (1993) distinguishes between "culturally motivated", "culturally inspired" and "culturally attracted" tourists. The interests of all these groups are defined as primarily focused on internationally renowned cultural and heritage sites, and outward differences between them expressed in terms of the length of stay and disposable income. "Culturally motivated" tourists are described by Baywater as a small but commercially desirable market segment of generally high-income visitors who tend to spend several nights at a destination. In terms of inner motivation, this is a group genuinely interested in the content of the cultural program available at a place (e.g. visitors to the Salzburg Music Festival). Some members of the "culturally inspired" group could also be described as "culturally motivated", but they generally tend to spend shorter periods of time at a major, internationally renowned cultural destination. Likewise, they are not likely to return to the same destination twice, stay in one place for longer, or visit minor destinations instead. Finally, "culturally attracted" tourists are representatives of a major day-trip market visiting cultural attractions or attending cultural events because they happen to be in the area.

Figure 10: Places Visited or Intended to Visit during the Stay in Split



It is evident that the large majority of visitors to Split get to visit the Palace of Diocletian and the Cathedral of St. Domnio (which is actually a part of the Palace, i.e. the former Diocletian's Mausoleum converted into a Catholic cathedral). It should be noted, however, that this does not automatically mean that all of these visitors are primarily interested in heritage tourism.

On the contrary, Figure 12 makes it clear that "history and heritage" actually rank only fourth on the list of motivations to visit the city. However, in spite of a possibly different motivation to visit, once in Split the majority of visitors report to have seen or will see the Palace of Diocletian and the Cathedral.

This can be explained by the world class status of the palace, as well as the fact that it is a part of the historic city core which is a living place. As such, it is attractive to visitors for its mixture of everyday life features and heritage elements, even if they are at first not aware of the historical importance of the site. Likewise, because the Palace of Diocletian is actually a part of the everyday city scene, visitors feel they have

visited it even if they have not bought the tickets to enter the very few sites within it for which entry is charged.

In this respect, the city of Split proves to be ideal as a place where visitors can experience the everyday life of the local culture while at the same time enjoying the “documentary” aspects of heritage structures of the highest order.¹¹ The fact that a visit to the restaurants with local cuisine and atmosphere ranks so high on the list can be taken to indicate interest in the products perceived as specific to the location.

Focusing on cultural attractions featured on the list of places visited or intended to visit, one notes that visits to museums and art galleries also rank relatively high, in contrast with other cultural events, ranging from visits to youth clubs to theater performances and concerts.

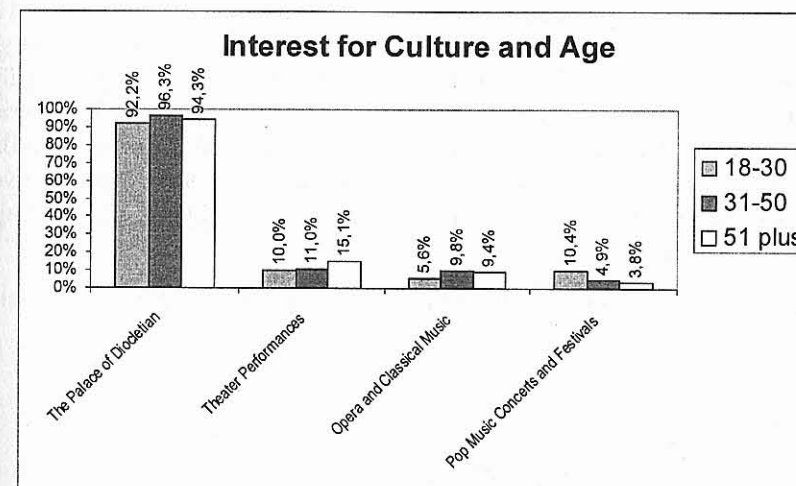
Higher interest for museum and art gallery visits can perhaps be partly explained by the nature of the (brief) visits to the city. As we have seen, the majority of visitors to Split are day-trippers, which means that they do not get to stay until the evening to experience clubbing, theater or concerts. With those who stay longer, the reason for not participating in the type of events mentioned above could be their lack or poor quality.

It is evident that interest in culture exists, perhaps also in other types of culture from those implied by the responses on what the visitors have seen so far or intend to see. While this should be determined by some future survey, observations of the pollsters suggest that in the one we have carried out, respondents indicated - as hypothesized above - that the quality of cultural monuments in the city core of Split met their expectations, while their interests in other types of cultural events were not met.

As regards various types of interest for culture, it is interesting to comment on the figure showing them in relation to the age of visitors.

¹¹ The use of the term “documentary” to describe aspects of heritage with material existence is obviously making use of Williams’s terminology, coined in his attempt to present a “social” definition of culture, in addition to the previously dominant “ideal” and “documentary” ones (Williams, 1961). Based on the long-term observation of visitors to Split, one could actually argue that their interests have recently shifted from predominantly “documentary” towards a “social” definition of culture. In other words, not only cultural monuments conceived of as material documents of artistic practices are nowadays considered to be a tourist attraction of its city core. The same can increasingly be said of culture conceived of as everyday life, in accordance with Williams (1989 [1958]).

Figure 11: Interest for Culture and Age of Visitors to Split



While visitors from all age categories show almost uniformly high interest for visiting the Palace of Diocletian, there is some variation as to the interest in other types of cultural attractions the city has to offer. As could be expected, the interest for pop music concerts is almost double in the youth population to that expressed by the members of the other two age categories (31-50, 51 plus). On the other hand, while the interest shown for opera performances is at the same level in the latter two categories, it is less developed with young visitors. In the case of theater performances, those in the age category 51 plus are significantly more interested than the members of both 18-30 and 31-50 age categories.

Survey results not presented in the figures and tables included in this article suggest that the income of those interested in theater, as a form of elite culture, is above the average: almost a quarter of those interested is in the group making € 4000-5000 a month, and 15% is in the group making € 5000 plus.

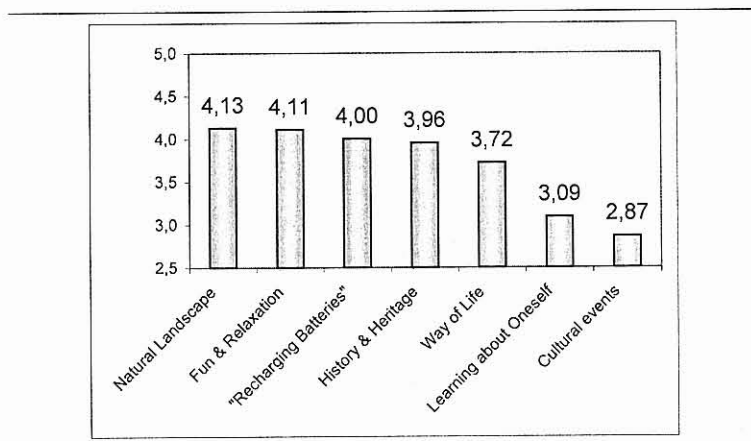
Profiles of motivations to visit the historic core of the city of Split

We move to the next level of complexity in the discussion of profiles of visitors to the historic core of Split if we take into account their motivations to visit. Namely, this variable adds a projective component of identity, far more complex than simple

accounts of the basic socio-demographic data and of basic preferences in organizing one's stay at a destination.

In the attempt to find out what influenced the choices of tourists to visit the city of Split, we asked them to mark on the scale from 1 to 5 (with 1 denoting the least decisive and 5 the most decisive element) how important was interest in history and heritage (i.e. the wish to visit cultural monuments), the wish to take part in cultural events (art shows, theater and music performances, festivals), and to experience nature (beaches, the Adriatic sea, river streams and mountains in the hinterland). We also included items covering the motivation to learn about the way people live, as well as those relating to having fun and relaxing, "recharging batteries", and finally to learning about oneself.

Figure 12: Motivations to Visit Split (Mean of 1 to 5 Point Scale)

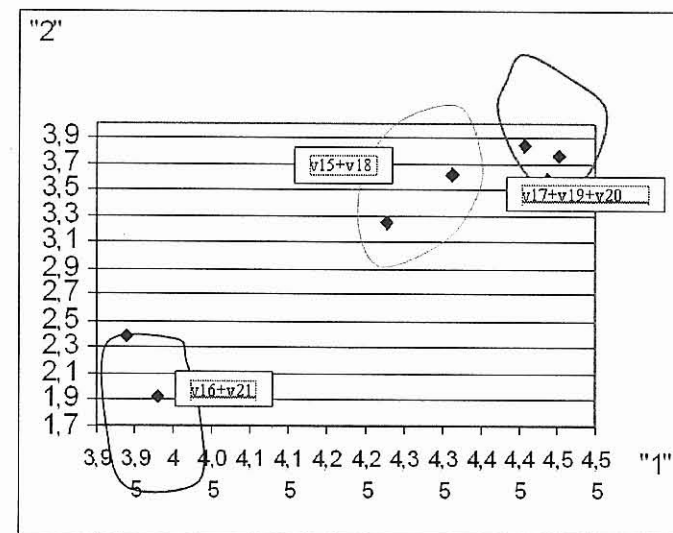


Diagrams in Figure 12, which represent the mean of the 1 to 5 point scale, suggest the following order of motivations: the most prominent one concerns the motivation to experience "natural landscapes", followed by the wishes to enjoy "fun and relaxation" and "recharge batteries". These motivations are followed, in a descending order, by those relating to learning about "history and heritage" and "way of life", and finally to "learning about oneself" and attending "cultural events".

Cluster analysis, whose graphical representations are provided below, provided an additional view on the motivations of tourists visiting Split.

		Cluster		
		1	2	3
v21n	Learning about Oneself	2,3	2,6	4,0
v16n	Cultural Events	1,7	2,4	4,1
V15n	History and Heritage	3,5	3,9	4,4
V18n	Way of Life	3,5	3,0	4,3
V19n	Fun and Relaxation	4,6	2,8	4,5
V20n	"Recharging Batteries"	4,5	2,5	4,5
V17n	Natural Landscape	4,4	3,2	4,4

Figure 13: Motivations to Visit Split (Cluster Analysis)



The results of cluster analysis indicate that motivations of tourists visiting Split group into three clusters. We have decided to describe the first one, with clustered motivations to "learn more about oneself" and attend "cultural events", as "contemplation and culture" cluster. The second cluster relates to the motivation to learn about "history and heritage" and experience the "way of life" of people living at the destination. We have termed this cluster "heritage/experiential", to emphasize the

difference that the wish to experience the “way of life” of people creates in relation to the traditional sightseeing tours focusing on the artistic and “documentary” aspects of cultural monuments. We had noticed the shift from heritage to experiential tourism in the period before the survey was carried out (Petrić, 2004), and the results of cluster analysis of motivations of the tourist can be said to confirm our observation. Finally, the third cluster encompasses motivations to have “fun and relaxation”, “recharge batteries” and enjoy “natural landscapes”. We have termed this cluster “relaxation/nature”, to emphasize the influence of natural landscapes which generally figure prominently in the decisions of tourists to visit Croatia, in addition to the general motivations to relax and have fun.¹² Also we have chosen to use the term “relaxation” which partly overlaps with the semantic scopes of the more specific “having fun” and “recharging batteries”.

Conclusions and policy recommendations

Based on the results of the survey we have carried out, we are in a position to draw certain conclusions regarding the type of cultural interests of the visitors to the historic core of the city of Split. Likewise, we are in position to assess the importance of motivations related to culture in their choice of Split as a destination worth visiting. Finally, if our insights are discussed with respect to the urban and development problems specific to the location (Split), we are also in position to make certain policy recommendations that could improve not only the profile of the city’s tourist industry but also its cultural production.

In general, one can say that the visitors to the historic city core of Split are younger, more individualist and more educated than the average tourists visiting Croatia. The most pronounced motivations to visit Split are roughly equivalent to those of the visitors to Croatia in general, and relate to “relaxation” and “nature”. Nevertheless, cultural motivations are also present, and some of them are almost as highly placed as the “relaxation/nature” ones.

Among the cultural motivations, it is easy to see that those relating to “heritage” and the wish to experience the “way of life” of people figure more prominently than those relating to “cultural events” in the more traditional sense of the word. We consider this “heritage/experiential” cluster of motivations to be particularly important. In the city of Split, it is visibly more prominently represented than that relating to more traditional “contemplation and culture” cluster. But we also consider it important because our observations in other selected locations indicate that characteristics associated with it seem to be the distinguishing mark of the “new” cultural tourists in the wider region as well.

¹² According to Marušić et al (2005), the primary motivations of tourists to visit Croatia are relaxation, having fun, new experiences, and the country’s natural beauties.

Namely, while in the context of mass tourism, visits to arts and heritage sites were conceived of as a complement to what Taiti (quoted in Praderio and La Paz, 2006) describes as “basic destination and products (e.g. seaside)”, recent years have seen a movement of even more targeted cultural tourism beyond the traditional “arts and heritage” descriptions of its content (Smith, 2003: 37). As Richards (2001: 7) suggests, the notion of cultural tourism now covers “not just the consumption of the cultural products of the past, but also of contemporary culture or the way of life of a people or a region”.

It is easy to see that the historic city core of Split, given its characteristics described above, is a scene perfectly connecting both elements of Richards’s definition. It offers world-class cultural products of the past and at the same time an immediate insight into the way of life of people in the location. As we have said before, the appeal of the city of Split’s central cultural attraction, the Palace of Diocletian, lies exactly in the fact that it preserved its character of a living place up to this day.

With this in mind, our first policy recommendation regards the urban planning balance of various functions of the city core of Split. Urban planners and city authorities should preserve the “mixed” character of this zone, which is consistent with the eclectic character of the “documentary” aspects of its heritage structures. Heeding not only the needs of the “new” cultural tourists visiting the area, but also and primarily those of the local population, one should disregard recent proposals to make the area “more commercial” by replacing the apartments and local shops with “more exclusive” restaurants and commercial establishments selling high-end products.¹³

Furthermore, one should say that keeping the city core attractive to the “new” cultural tourists (“heritage/experiential” cluster), is in the interest of preserving its cultural character. Namely, visitors with pronounced motivations from this cluster - using again Taiti’s classification (quoted in Praderio and La Paz, 2006) - can be described as “evolved” tourists, interested primarily in experiences. These are the tourists whose needs and sophistication, according to Taiti, transcend not only those of the “mass” tourists, but also those of the “pretentious” tourists (interested in the “territory” and its “typical product”), or those of the “specialized” tourists (who demand “total leisure” and “evolved service”).

¹³ There have been no official documents advocating such views, but in the period after 2005 they have been repeatedly expressed in interviews with the prominent members of an important coalition partner in the City Council (the list of local entrepreneurs called “Lista Velog mista”), granted to the local newspaper *Slobodna Dalmacija*. In the preceding period (more precisely, in December 2002), the City Council even adopted plans for commercial building of structures that would have changed the character of important locations in the city core but these plans were suspended in view of the public outcry that ensued.

Taiti places the “evolved” tourists into the highest (“phase 4”) bracket of his classification. In the historic city core of Split the “experiences” they are seeking obviously relate to what this area has to offer nowadays: an “authentic” mixture of world-class heritage structures and life of the local population. It would therefore seem logical to conclude what we have suggested above: that preserving the attractiveness of the city core of Split to “evolved” tourists would be in the interest of this unique location, which is highly valued and very considerably approached by them.

In contrast with that, it can be said that the orientation to mass tourist exploitation (in present-day context largely relating to cruise ship visitors) would have devastating consequences for the current “mixed” but highly attractive equilibrium of functions of the area. The same goes for the attempt to change its present character in the direction of a more “elite” one. Unfortunately, both of these adverse trends are on the rise: the number of cruise visitors is growing,¹⁴ and the plans to convert the city core into an “elite” destination have already been mentioned.

It is understandable that the local authorities want to increase the tourist-generated income, but they would be well-advised to try to do it in a different way. Our opinion is that this can be achieved by increasing the quality of products on offer, especially those produced by the local creative industries. Namely, the products of these industries are catering to the interests of the tourists without putting in danger the cultural character of the city. There have been highly successful precedents in this regard, relating to designing quality packaging for the local food products or designing interactive postcards.¹⁵

Development possibilities connected with tourism exist in practically every field of the creative industries development. However, what most immediately comes to mind - given the interests and expectations of the polled tourists - is web content development, as well as development of activities related to the expressed wish of the younger tourists for more clubbing and pop music attractions.

It should be emphasized again: what all these activities have in common is that they are not putting into danger the physical structures in the city core. Nor are they changing the functions that this most important area performs nowadays, not only for

14 The increase in the number of cruise visitors to Split is the highest among the “new entries” to cruise traffic in the Adriatic, and is most steadily growing, as evident from the graphic representation in Moschona (2006, slide 17). In addition to this, the construction of new port capacities for reception of cruise traffic has been repeatedly advocated by urban planners (Tomić-Koludrović and Petrić, 2006a).

15 These products are not only highly commercially successful, but have been received with great interest at international creative industries conferences (Petrić, 2006; Tomić-Koludrović and Petrić 2006b). Quality design of the packaging, in addition to the quality of the basic food products, has enabled the Split company SMS not only to sell on location, but also to export to health food shops in North America. The company Gideon, on the other hand, has based its success on the exploitation of intellectual property, with their patent on interactive postcards and development of mobile phone content.

those living within it, but for the entire city as well. As we have said before, the city core in general and the Palace of Diocletian in particular are still the most important generators of identity of the entire population of Split.

Creative industries development would, in essence, not only exploit the cultural resources of the city, but would also contribute to them, not only by helping increase the tourist income and advertise the qualities of the city. It would also have important consequences for the cultural production. But its potential contribution to preserving the cultural character of the city core cannot be overstressed.

In a wider context, one could even speak about an interesting reversal: the notion of “creative industries”, frequently connected with the “commercial” side of cultural production, would in this case actually help preserve the “authenticity” of a culturally highly charged location.

Another obvious contribution to overall urban regeneration of Split would be the role creative industries were also expected to play in their original British context: many of the possible creative industries development activities involve young people, who are on the whole a disadvantaged population in the case of Split as well.

With regard to a more traditional notion of cultural tourism, one should say that there also exist possibilities for its development. However, the feasibility and potential effects of this development should be carefully considered.

The results of our survey indicate that the population of visitors aged 51 plus is interested in elite culture, such as theater and opera performances. Furthermore, survey results indicate that those interested in theater have a disposable income above the average and prefer to stay in hotels. This could indeed be considered as a basis for attracting what in Baywater’s classification (1993) are seen as “culturally motivated” tourists, i.e. those who tend to spend several nights at a destination and represent a commercially highly interesting group.

One should bear in mind, however, that the development of cultural programs sophisticated and internationalized enough to attract such an audience is a costly and laborious process with highly uncertain outcomes. At any rate, the current infrastructure of local cultural institutions is certainly not up to the task, as evidenced by the cultural events it organizes, largely neglected by foreign visitors.¹⁶

16 So far, this claim can only be substantiated by the reports occasionally made in the local daily *Slobodna Dalmacija* on the number of tickets sold by the local museums, and observation at the theater and opera performances of the Split Summer Festival. From the report published on November 26, 2005 in the *Slobodna Dalmacija* daily, we have learned that the number of tickets sold by the most successful local museum (Museum of the City of Split) was 9 864, while in the same period there were 51 637 tickets sold for entry into the underground structures of the Palace of Diocletian. It should also be kept in mind that the City Museum is also perceived by the visitors as a heritage site, or at any rate a place where visitors can learn about heritage, and not as a cultural institution offering contemporary cultural programs. For such contemporary art events in the sphere of high culture, interest from foreign visitors can be said to be even smaller.

What is more dangerous than this, however, is that a higher concentration of those representing "elite" cultural interests could lead to a softer and more sophisticated - but nevertheless detrimental - version of "elite" tourism in the city core. We have already advised strongly against such a development.

In short, the interests and the general profile of "new" cultural tourists can be said to be much more advantageous to the cause of preserving the character of the central tourist area of Split as a living place with "mixed" functions. Theater, opera, as well as development of various "niche" festivals and cultural events certainly cannot harm it, but their character and the locations of performances in the city core should be carefully planned.¹⁷ As a rule of thumb, the content developed should in the first place be intended for and provoke an interest of the local population: experience has shown that only events and activities of that profile also elicit interest from the "evolved" tourists.

In conclusion, it can be said that the policy recommendations we have made are in essence consistent with what the group of experts of the Council of Europe suggested for the overall development of Croatia based on its cultural resources. The document they produced (Landry, 1998) also emphasized the connection with tourism and the need to both capitalize on and preserve the local specificities in the process of economic development. Almost ten years later, one could say that at least a part of the Croatian tourism industry is on the verge of taking the advice offered in the quoted document seriously. We certainly recommend that this should be followed in the case of the city of Split.

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¹⁷ The city core of Split certainly does not belong to the type of the city trying to develop a small-scale, "niche" product connected with local culture for lack of more impressive cultural attractions, as Jenkins and Jones (2002) suggest some Welsh cities do. But a "niche" festival called the International Festival of New Film and Video, built on the local tradition of avant-garde film-making, has proved to be successful in attracting some foreign visitors who could be described as "evolved" tourists. Even more importantly, such events can be judged to be beneficial to the city culture in that they continue some of the prominent local traditions.

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