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UNINTENDED EXCHANGE

The Interplay of Tourism, Identity, and Community Action in an Island Town

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In this paper, I examine the interaction of collective identity, community action, and tourism in the island town of Komiža, Croatia. I hypothesized that efforts to establish sustainable tourism development in Komiža would be influenced by the collective identity of residents. I found that tourism and collective identity act as a feedback loop, with identity influencing community efforts to develop sustainable tourism and vice versa. The findings suggest that in creating sustainable tourism models, we must avoid generalized efforts and instead work with communities to devise strategies that fit their individual needs and characteristics.

Keywords: collective identity, sustainable development, tourism, community action, ethnography

Introduction: Tourism and depopulation on the Croatian islands

Croatia is home to a booming tourism industry. As of 2012, 13.1% of the country's workforce is employed in tourism (Pavlić, Šuman Tolić, and Svilokos 2013: 219), and in 2018, tourism accounted for 20% of the country's total GDP, the largest in the European Union (Orsini and Ostojić 2018: 1). The industry is concentrated on the Adriatic coast, which is home to more than 1200 islands, islets, and reefs, 47 of which were inhabited as of 2011 (Klempić Bogadi and Podgorelec 2020: 95). On these populated islands, there are 200,000 beds – 26% of the country's total national capacity (Razović and Tomljenović 2015: 24). These islands rely on tourism revenue to power their economies (Zlatar Gamberožić and Tonković 2015: 88).

The history of tourism on the Croatian islands is complex. Some islands, such as Lošinj, Brijuni, and Hvar, developed tourism in the middle of the 19th century with the establishment of winter health resorts (Razović and Tomljenović 2015: 23). Other islands established tourist industries later, during the time of Yugoslavia. Unlike other communist nations, which did not permit citizens to leave their countries, Yugoslavia relaxed its borders in the 1960s and allowed citizens to travel out of the country. It also permitted outsiders to enter, and a seasonal migration of foreigners developed an unintended exchange that saw an influx of tourists into the country (Deliso 2020: 166; Doder 1978: xiii, 8). In the 1960s, tourism began to flourish

when economic policies encouraging growth were implemented and the standard of living increased. Between the 1960s and 1980s, the total capacity of tourist accommodations increased one-and-a-half times across the entire Croatian Adriatic (Razović and Tomljenović 2015: 19–24). When the Homeland War broke out in the 1990s, tourism came to a halt, but in the 2000s, it recovered and surpassed its pre-war high (Orsini and Ostojić 2018: 2).

Though tourism boomed, the island population declined throughout the 20th century. Across all Croatian islands in the year 1900, there were roughly 167,000 inhabitants, and by 2001, that number had dropped to 117,000 (Nejašmić and Mišetić 2006: 284). In the early 20th century, this decline was caused by emigration overseas due to a lack of economic opportunity brought on by agricultural blight and the downfall of sailing ships, industries that islanders had relied on for centuries (Škreblin, Šimičić and Sujoldžić 2002: 340). By the mid-20th century, natural birth rates had declined, and populations continued to decrease. This trend continues even today and has not been remedied by tourism, despite what census records would suggest. A study conducted on the island of Šibenik found that 30% of registered residents are not actually living there, instead registering empty homes as inhabited for economic benefits (Klempić Bogadi and Podgorelec 2020: 95).

While tourism provides economic opportunity for these islands, it also comes with costs. Globally, many rural communities find that tourism funnels meager wages into their hands while increasing the price of local goods and services (Bianchi and Stephenson 2014: 139; Comaroff and Comaroff 2009: 24; Crystal 1989: 159; Fletcher 2011: 455; Nuñez 1989: 274; Razović and Tomljenović 2015: 20; Smith 1989: 60). In their work *Ethnicity, Inc.*, John and Jean Comaroff note that locals in tourist economies largely hold low-paying jobs, and as a result communities find that this new form of profit only exacerbates their condition while favoring the already-wealthy (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009: 14–15). In the context of Croatia, which welcomes most tourists during the summer season, this is compounded by the fact that these low-paying jobs are seasonal. Roughly 45% of workers employed in the tourism industry are temporary workers – by far the highest in the EU (Orsini and Ostojić 2018: 3).

There is also a limit to how many tourists a place can support. When a destination's carrying capacity is breached, environmental degradation may become an issue if waste, traffic, construction, and energy consumption are not managed appropriately (Orsini and Ostojić 2018: 9; Razović and Tomljenović 2015: 20–21). Overdevelopment can also become a problem as destinations expand to accommodate more significant amounts of tourists, leading to reduced profits for business owners as supply outweighs demand (Zlatar Gamberožić and Tonković 2015: 93). Success in tourism can also be fleeting – the village of Povlja on the island of Brač was once a booming destination but now faces a declining number of visitors and economic stagnation (ibid.: 91).

Cultural impacts are harder to quantify but are also present. Residents in Bol, a town on the island of Brač, reported degradation of traditional activities, values,

and norms, perhaps due to the increasing dominance of commercial entertainment (ibid.: 93–94). In Stari Grad, a town on the island of Hvar, a survey found that residents viewed the social impact of tourism as mostly negative (Petrić and Pranić 2010: 92). For places reliant on tourism, these issues are highly problematic – as monoindustries, the economic performance of the tourism sector has a significant effect on overall economic and social conditions (Razović and Tomljenović 2015: 21). A booming tourist economy, then, may not always resolve the economic issues that necessitated its adoption in the first place (Pinilla, Ayuda and Saéz 2008: 17) and may result in others if not properly managed.

To combat these problems, some islands turn to the concept of sustainable tourism development (Marinković 2014: 168–169), which is the application of a sustainable development framework to tourism. It includes forms of tourism that meet the needs of tourists and host communities without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. Approaches emphasize that "sustainable tourism… should lead to the management of all resources in such a way that economic and social needs can be fulfilled while biological diversity, life systems, and cultural integrity can be maintained" (Zlatar Gamberožić and Tonković 2015: 85–86).

Tourism on Vis Island, Croatia

Vis, the island where this study takes place, is located 44 km off the coast of Split and is one of the outermost inhabited islands of the Croatian archipelago (Nejašmić and Mišetić 2006: 286). The first records of the island date back to antiquity, when it was inhabited by the Illyrians as early as 1000 BC (Vitart et al. 2006: 479). It was then subsumed by the Greeks, who introduced agriculture to the island. Slavic peoples came to the island in the 7th and 8th centuries, assimilating into the local population so that by the time the Venetians arrived in 1000 AD, the population was Slavonicized. In the early 19th century, Vis was annexed by Austria-Hungary. In the late 19th century, after the Wine Clause of 1891 and the vine disease phylloxera rendered viticulture unsustainable, it became economically dependent on the fishing industry (Klempić Bogadi and Podgorelec 2020: 91). After World War I, it was governed by the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes before coming under the control of Yugoslavia after World War II. By this time, its economy had become entirely dependent on the fishing and canning industry. It was also home to certain military operations of Yugoslavia (Škreblin, Šimičić and Sujoldžić 2002: 334). Presently, the island is part of the Republic of Croatia.

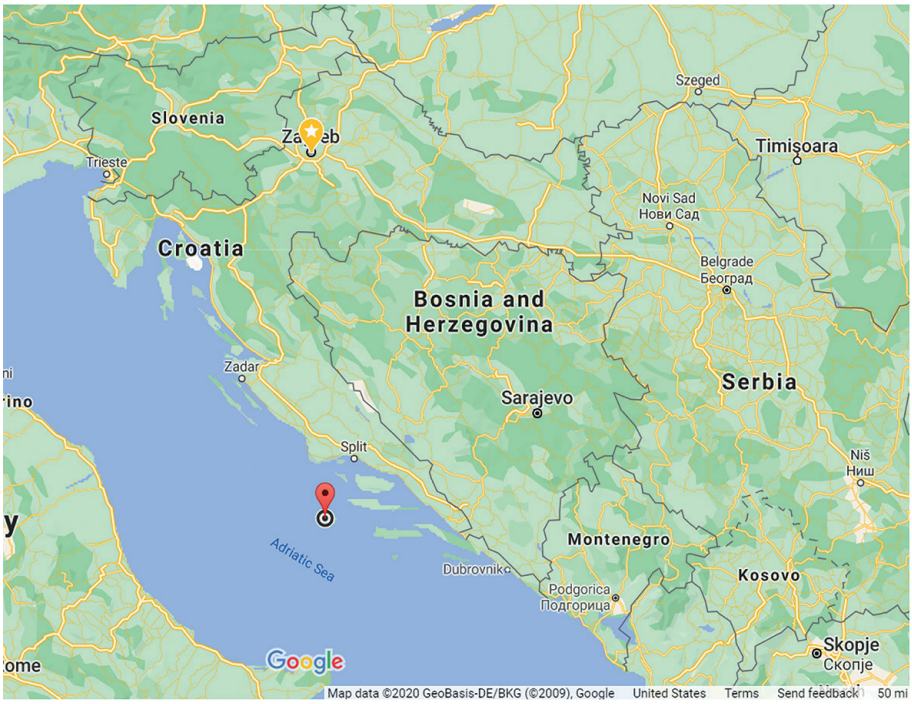

Figure 1. Map of Croatia. Vis is indicated by the red marker (Google 2020)

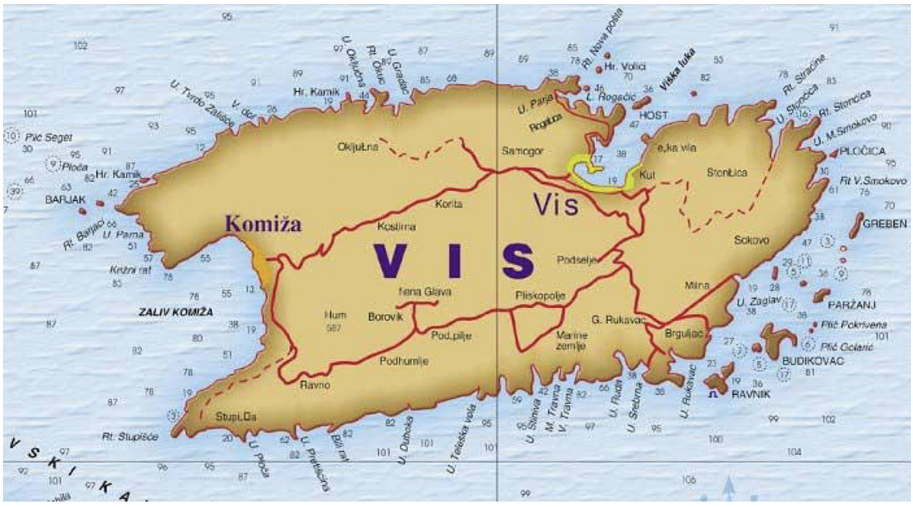

Figure 2. Map of Vis (Split.gg: Split Croatia Travel Guide 2022)

The island has a rather unusual relationship with tourism compared to other Dalmatian islands. Unlike its island neighbors, Vis was barred from welcoming guests for fifty years due to its designation as a military base for the Yugoslav army (Razović and Tomljenović 2015: 20). Despite such a strict existence, Vis maintained a sizable

number of residents. Though birth rates were declining due to factors previously outlined, the influx of military personnel kept population numbers constant. Non-military residents also had some – albeit few – work opportunities. Even before the establishment of Yugoslavia, Vis possessed a fishing and canning industry concentrated in Komiža (Božanić 2020: 201–202; Škreblin, Šimičić and Sujoldžić 2002: 334). At its height in the early 20th century, the island boasted a total of nine canning facilities, seven of which were in Komiža (Jovanović, Galić and Mackelworth 2010: 157). After World War II, only one remained, and by the 1970s, it employed approximately 270 people (Croatian Technical Encyclopedia 2019).

With the collapse of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s, the island was nearly abandoned. The Yugoslav military left in 1991, and canning operations, which had been declining for years, ceased (Škreblin, Šimičić and Sujoldžić 2002: 338). Without industry, residents were forced to move elsewhere for work, exacerbating depopulation. As such, the tourism industry was a much-welcomed panacea when Vis began to heal its wounds after the Homeland War of the 1990s (Klempić Bogadi and Podgorelec 2020: 94–95). No longer excluded from reaping the benefits that neighboring islands had enjoyed for decades, Vis was slowly modified as residents began to turn their properties into apartments, restaurants, and bars in the hope of attracting tourists (Škreblin, Šimičić and Sujoldžić 2002: 335). As of 2012, the island welcomes about 33,000 tourists annually, most of whom stay in residents' private homes (Razović and Tomljenović 2015: 26).

Today, many of the island's residents rely on tourism to get by (Skračić 2020: 126). Most are elderly property owners, but there are a small number of families and youth. Generally, the elderly rely on pensions supplemented with income from seasonal vacation rentals and revenue from agriculture (Klempić Bogadi and Podgorelec 2020: 99–105). Residents of working age are primarily employed in the service industry. According to a development report for the town of Vis (the largest on Vis Island) for 2016 – 2020, 16% of residents were employed in food preparation and serving, 15.5% in retail and trade, and 10% in agriculture, forestry, fishing and defense (Grad Vis 2016: 80–81). Many residents, then, have some part of their income connected to tourism.

This study takes place in Komiža, a town on the western side of Vis that possesses a modest but growing tourism industry (Razović and Tomljenović 2015: 20). Historically, Komiža was a somewhat populous town, and the highest recorded population was 4,948 in 1921 (Croatian Bureau of Statistics 2015). But a lack of economic opportunity spurred emigration, and today elderly residents outnumber children. In 2011, there were 1,397 year-round residents, with 240 being under the age of nineteen (Croatian Bureau of Statistics 2011).[1] Despite what the official number suggests, some residents in Komiža estimate that only 400 people live in the town year-round, as a number of property owners return only seasonally but list their permanent addresses in Komiža.

To combat environmental and cultural issues brought on by tourism, some residents are engaged in creating a sustainable development framework. They employ

1 Data for the city of Komiža in 1921 and 2011 according to the Croatian Bureau of Statistics. Note that data from 1921 information can only be accessed on the Croatian-language version of the website.

numerous strategies to accomplish this goal, from establishing NGOs to less formal efforts. In this paper, I examine these efforts as they appear in narratives to understand how residents' collective identity influences the development of sustainable tourism. I also examine how tourism and community action influence collective identity, again through a consideration of narratives. Fieldwork was conducted over six months, and I spent three months in Komiža in 2018 and three in 2019. I caught the end of the tourist season in September and the start of winter in November during both years. I relied primarily on participant observation to gather my data, and I conducted an estimated twenty-two interviews with residents and activists living in the town year-round. All people involved are permanent residents of Komiža, excluding one, who is a decades-long visitor to the island and is involved in local action groups. The ages of informants range from 20 to 64. Some work in agriculture (5), some in natural resources (2), some in tourism (10), and some hold odd jobs (5). If not directly employed in tourism, most have incomes in part connected to tourism. Snippets from some of those interviews are utilized in this work, with the rest of the data coming from conversations and interactions with informants.

Avenues of agency

In his discussion of community, Anthony P. Cohen (1985) suggests that a community is defined by a consensus of belief and intent among members (Cohen 1985: 12). It follows that community action can be defined as activities stemming from this consensus that community members undertake to reorganize local systems of power, strengthen autonomy, and increase the engagement of members (Bryant 1972: 10; Baum 2001: 1840–1841).[2] The identity of a community is an important influence on its relationship to community action, and to see how identity permeates the building of sustainable tourism, we must pay close attention to two aspects of community action: its forms and outcomes.

What delineates community action from other action is not dependent upon any rigid criteria but rather upon whether people in the community believe themselves to be engaging in it for the aforementioned purposes; nevertheless, we can describe the forms it takes via a simple framework. It encompasses institutionalized efforts – NGOs, non-profits, and participation in local government – as well as those that are more loosely defined and may not be recognizable as community action without paying attention to people's motivations. We will refer to these, respectively, as formal and informal actions. Along another axis, we have collective and individual actions. For clarity's sake, I define collective actions as efforts undertaken by two or more individuals working jointly. These actions usually occur in a formal context but can be informally carried out as well. In contrast, individual actions are those undertaken by singular actors on behalf of the community and almost entirely occur in an informal context.

2 This is my own definition that I based on Baum (2001) and Bryant (1972).

Outcomes are the renewable economic, social, and cultural benefits actors hope to achieve through community action, such as cultural preservation. The systems they put in place to achieve these goals, such as establishing an organization that provides cultural education to locals, are what I call "avenues of agency." I define these as systems constructed on behalf of the community that function to achieve the goals of community action. As the name suggests, I envision them as roads: infrastructure that gets residents from point A (dispossession) to point B (community autonomy, power, and protection). Crucially, they are intended for use by other community members. As such, an individual's construction of a vacation home for their own private use would not qualify, even if they were a community member. The establishment of a worker's union by a local, on the other hand, would qualify.

These forms and outcomes are where the intersection of collective identity with community action becomes most visible – members reference history and society in deciding how and to what extent they will act. Decisions to participate within or outside of local government (formally versus informally), to act singularly or with a group of like-minded individuals (collectively versus individually), to spearhead a community organization, or simply participate casually are all deliberate choices with reasons found in collective identity. The routes avenues of agency take are shaped by what issues residents feel are possible or worthwhile to invest in. The appearance of sustainable tourism development, then, is tightly tethered to residents' understanding of their collective self.

Collective identity's influence on sustainable development

Ita and Karlo are the sole workers at Geopark Vis Archipelago, a non-profit organization positioned in the heart of the town. The two are young, thirty-something educated locals who were born in Komiža and moved back to their hometown after getting an education and work experience on the mainland. The pair established the Geopark to protect Komiža's natural environment and cultural heritage from becoming damaged by an increasing reliance on tourism. Both educated in the natural sciences, they feared that an increased amount of tourist traffic would cause irreversible damage to Komiža's ecosystem. They likewise believed tourism threatened culture and would force long-time residents out. But they were hesitant to turn to their local or national governments for aid, believing that a partnership with these entities could inhibit their efforts. Citing the prevalence of past projects conducted by the city and state that went against the will of many locals, such as the construction of luxury vacation homes and a landfill placed on top of the town's aquifer, they turned to the International Network of Geoparks to support their action. Designation as a Geopark was the perfect solution: the UNESCO-run organization offers ample funding and aims to protect both the natural environment and cultural heritage. An aspiring Geopark must possess a unique ecosystem and demonstrate current or historical cultural synergy with that nature. It also must have the capacity to promote

tourism after it is designated (UNESCO 2010). In 2018, after two years of hard work, they achieved international recognition and were officially included in the list of seventy Geoparks worldwide (Geopark Viški Arhipelag 2021).

Though the Geopark employs only the two of them, the organizers view their efforts as being on behalf of the community and have extended their network to residents. They partner with numerous local businesses, such as tour companies, retailers, and restaurants, to ensure that these enterprises avoid harming the environment and fellow producers. But in addition to this avenue, which generates community solidarity and profit through partnerships, Ita and Karlo are working to create others. They have begun placing informational signage throughout Komiža and a neighboring islet that details the history of local geological landmarks and sites of cultural significance. Aside from benefiting tourists, they consider these signs to be productive tools for educating residents about their history and environment. However, signage nor partnerships remedy the lack of economic opportunity year-round that propels depopulation, and Ita and Karlo intend to establish another avenue, a system of local economic production. This third avenue seeks to create economic independence by severing a reliance on the global system of production to yield maximum profits for current and future community members. When deciding the shape it will take, Ita scrutinizes current and traditional Komižan culture. Notice that these products and their production are constrained by what she understands to be ideal cultural products, what can be easily packaged and sold, what customers want, and what she believes the community can produce:

> She wants to get the community together through the Geopark to learn to produce. She thinks this could create jobs, and these products would be sold at the Geopark. Ideally, all of them would be handmade and made from sustainable, local materials, such as seagrass or rocks. She noted that a man already makes products from things, but she wants more people involved. She pointed out some of the products on display that she considered undesirable – they looked beautiful but were obviously factory-made tourist gimmicks that sell well because people want to take something home that says "Croatia" on it. She then led me to what she considered to be ideal local products. These were traditional Komižan products, like *rogač* [carob] powder, jam, and mandarin-peel dust for baking. The mandarin powder was made by taking the rind and drying it, and she told me to give her the rind from the mandarin I was currently eating. She said that for those products to sell, they must be in at least two languages and have an attractive label that names the ingredients, and that many people here do not understand that. Turning to a local man, she asked him, "What is a traditional Komižan product that can be sold here?" He shrugged and said he did not know.

The Geopark enterprise is a formal and collective example of community action. In Ita and Karlo's efforts, action is tied to conceptions of collective identity in three ways. The first lies in their choice to establish the Geopark avenue. Because they believe the local and national governments to be untrustworthy, they appeal to

an international organization instead. The second is their choice to put historical signs throughout the town, as they chose sites they considered culturally significant. Moreover, the signage is also an avenue of agency – a system they hope locals will use to learn about their heritage. The final tie is visible in the above excerpt when Ita imagines a system of production. Through the production of cultural products, which is itself an avenue because it engages local entrepreneurs, she considers her own identity critically when she envisions authentic Komižan products. Importantly, Ita and Karlo's efforts do not try to break residents from reliance on tourism because the tourist economy is not inherently the problem – the issue is that it does not direct enough profit into the community.

Individual efforts are harder to define but present. Antica is a thirty-year-old resident who was not born in Komiža but has Komižan heritage and moved to the town five years ago. She believes that the city of Komiža has insufficiently addressed waste disposal on the island. Though there are distinct trash and recycling bins around the town, she suspects that all refuse, regardless of the bin it is put in, is dumped in the same place: the landfill above the aquifer. The bins are for appearance's sake, "just for tourists," as another informant put it. Upset and frustrated by the city's alleged deception and environmental disregard, she acts to address an issue she feels has been neglected by the agencies set up for that purpose. She attempts to reduce the amount of trash at her workplace and in her personal surroundings:

> Her reasoning was that it may be an ongoing battle, but it was important to do. Antica said she took action at work, labeling trash cans for recycling and putting up a sign near the straws that reads: "Think! Do you really need a straw?" She said the straw one was quite effective, but the trash one tourists struggle with and still often throw things in the wrong bin. She said it didn't even matter here; it all goes to the same place anyway, but her work was important, and her coworkers liked it. We then talked about recycling and trash as global problems. She expressed that any effort was futile. "It's all corrupt anyway." Instead, she does what she can, like picking up trash on the highway.

Antica's effort is an informal and individual example of community action. She creates avenues of agency by establishing a system of refuse management (labels on trash cans) and waste reduction (the sign on the straws) motivated by her reverence for Komiža's unique ecosystem. Like the Geopark, she acts with the community in mind and intends for her efforts to be utilized by others. In her references to corruption and the government, we see how collective identity influences her actions – she does not believe she has the capacity to change the city's system and therefore confines her avenues to what she believes she can.

Many residents share this distrust of government and a belief in their inability to change it. The following excerpt is from a lecture given by two informants, Kristian and Marko. Kristian is an informant in his forties who lives on the island year-round but has no Komižan heritage. He founded and runs a Komižan NGO dedicated to protecting the local environment and culture. He works primarily in agriculture but

often holds various jobs. The second informant, Marko, is a Croatian-born professor in his fifties with no Komižan heritage who lives abroad but is a long-time visitor to the island. He is also a member of Kristian's NGO.

The pair spoke to Marko's class of foreign art students visiting Komiža and Vis Island for a field exercise. In the lecture, they described the NGO and the organization's goals, which were to prevent environmental damage from tourism and remedy the mental health issues caused by island isolation. When discussing the NGO's founding, Kristian explained that he shied away from local and national governments and instead favored support and funding from the international community. He explained that "the Croatian government doesn't care, and the local government doesn't care. The worst problem is a bad government." Referencing the collapse of Yugoslavia and the subsequent Homeland War, Marko elaborated:

> Before the collapse, property in Yugoslavia was owned by the people and workers, not the state. After Tito died, in the 80s and 90s, drugs and war swept society, and it all became corrupt. Decision-making was reduced to the ten wealthiest families. The new democratic government took over industrial facilities that were the property of the workers, and they did this across Croatia. They then gave these lands to the 200-300 wealthiest families. And it still happens. It was the "first criminal offense," the original sin. Social property was declared state property. The problem with the new government can be seen in regard to the teaching of foreign languages. Despite Zagreb having one of the best foreign language schools for Russian, the tourism sector only wants to fund languages relevant to tourism, such as German, Italian, and French. The decision was protested by teachers, workers, students, and professors. But it didn't matter. What could be done? And it is not specific to tourism… These 200 wealthy families took Yugoslav property in Croatia and then sold them to investors since they didn't know how to run them. This is where [local properties] factor in, being sold to the South African investor.

As members of an NGO, the pair represent a formal and collective example of community action. Collective identity becomes visible in their explanation for establishing the NGO. Because of the corruption during the breakup of Yugoslavia, they conclude that local and national governments are not trustworthy. Past corruption is tied to the present, and the pair decide it is unwise to rely on local and national institutions to combat tourism-related problems.

Collective identity, particularly distrust in local and national governments, influences how all these residents take action to build sustainable development frameworks. In each excerpt, residents believe avenues of agency developed on the grassroots and international levels have the potential to be effective because they subvert state bodies. In the Geopark excerpt, residents look to Komižan identity to determine what products and landmarks best represent themselves. Collective identity helps delineate the boundary where effective efforts turn into ineffective efforts, where individual effort is warranted over collective, where formal avenues are favored over informal, and what cultural components best represent the collective self.

Community action and tourism as qualifiers of identity

In his book, *Real Black: Adventures in Racial Sincerity*, John L. Jackson explores qualifiers of belonging in Harlem, New York, a neighborhood experiencing rapid gentrification. In examining whom people consider true Harlemites, he notes that some residents no longer base community membership on external factors, such as birthright or race, but instead on feelings and attitudes toward Harlem. He uses the term "sincerity" to describe membership based on feelings. Qualifiers of sincerity prioritize the internal feelings of residents and base community membership on a person's commitment to the community's well-being. Jackson argues that privileging a subject's unseen, dynamic interior is functional – based on a kind of ownership outside capitalist terms. It allows members to distinguish "between those who explain their relationship to the community in purely materialistic, market-based terms and those who justify their presence as a function of race-based social community and commitment" (Jackson 2005: 18–51).

In this section, I examine qualifiers of sincerity in Komiža to illustrate how community action and tourism become incorporated into a collective identity. This process occurs in part and is visible in the functioning of avenues of agency, as these are the spaces where identity and action most visibly collide. The outcomes of this collision – the qualifiers themselves – are seen in the narratives Komižans tell about group membership.

To illustrate how this process plays out, it is most important to return to avenues of agency. Recall Ita and Karlo's avenue of signage, which placed informational plaques around town to mark geological and cultural sites of significance. Various sites included a Roman spring, a now-defunct fish cannery, churches, and wells:

Figure 3. Image of a Geopark sign on Biševo, a neighboring islet part of the city of Komiža (Photo by author)

Collective identity becomes realigned by community action through the sign itself (MacLeod 2013: 77–79; Matečić and Perinić Lewis 2018: 160). Marked with the Geopark logo and a description of the cultural feature it signifies, the sign calls tourism and identity into the mind of the viewer. This blends tourism, community action, and traditional forms of cultural identity in one symbol (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009: 6–21). Its logo embodies tourism and the role the organization plays within it, and its content evokes identity. What is impressed on the viewer's mind is not only cultural identity but cultural identity *and* community action situated in relation to the tourist economy. These considerations then become incorporated into a collective identity.

Another avenue is a system of discounts exclusively for residents. It is informal and collective – there are no signs that display "tourist prices" alongside "local prices" – but a wide range of retailers practice it. This system functions in a particularly active way, attempting to counteract the economic inequality within the tourist economy. In theory, it levels the playing field between residents and wealthy tourists, allowing each group of people to have access to a service that otherwise one of them would be excluded from. I witnessed it firsthand when ordering food from a restaurant with an informant, a local in her mid-thirties who has lived in Komiža for five years. She emphasized that I was not allowed to either place or pick up the order, explaining that businesses charge locals less than tourists. She said that this system "made sense, even if it wasn't fair because locals can't pay and tourists can."

Action and identity collide in the imagination of the evaluator and customer in the span of one transaction. In deciding who is worthy of the discount, the evaluator decides who is a local and who is not. He also considers two things. The first is the aim of the system: to make the cost of living cheaper for locals and remedy depopulation. The second is the status of the customer and the qualifiers of membership he possesses. The evaluator is confronted by wider issues present in the community, how these are being addressed via the avenue, and how the customer fits into the identity framework. Then the judgment is passed and the discount is either applied or not, solidifying the status of the customer in the minds of both parties. The customer is likewise confronted by these considerations upon receiving the verdict. When the customer and judge are not alone (e.g., the customer is part of a group), the judgment becomes public performance and spreads the evaluation. Interactions like these give us clues as to how sincerity-based qualifiers of identity and community action are produced.

The following narratives illustrate Komižans' use of sincerity qualifiers. One story was told to me and another informant, a male resident born in Komiža, while relaxing at his apartment. The storyteller, Zora, was a woman in her late thirties with no Komižan heritage who moved to the island a decade ago and lived there year-round. She was dating a local man and considered herself a local. She was also employed seasonally in tourism. The three of us were talking about tourists that we had seen a week prior who had drunkenly urinated on the front wall of a neighboring house. This led Zora to talk about how outsiders were usually disrespectful and

rude. She told a story about a Croatian man, Dinko, from outside of Vis who had bought a large amount of property on the island and was trying to develop it but faced obstacles:

> Dinko decided that he wanted to haul shipping containers to the property. Zora said, "Why would you ever want to bring shipping containers to the island? They're metal and you'll never get them off." I asked what the other locals thought about the container plan. She said the majority were opposed. One older lady went every day to protest the containers. Dinko was set on doing it despite locals' protests. He was supposedly stopped by the expense of bringing the containers to the island, not the locals' wishes. This led Zora to talk more about Dinko. She said she had heard a story about when he went to Vis town to meet a seller and buy the property. He had decided to wear a full business suit, complete with dress shoes and a tie. The table erupted in laughter and Zora continued, "Imagine you wear a business suit to this type of thing! Here, on this little island in the middle of the sea!" She went on to say that in his shoes he was tripping and slipping on the dirt roads and gravel. This led her to mention another out-of-towner who came and bought local property. She did not mention him by name, but said he bought a large undeveloped plot of land. He also had plans to build a house, but when he had learned the cost of hauling all the materials and laborers to the island, he realized it would be too expensive and decided against it. Instead, he settled on building a house of "sticks" [endemic materials] using whatever was already on the island to construct his house. She did not make fun of this man like she made fun of Dinko.

Zora's story suggests that community membership is granted to those who are judged to have acted in accordance with Komižan values and in such a way that protects local autonomy. While not explicitly linked – Zora does not say that Dinko violated community rules and therefore does not get to be a local – her disparate reactions to two similar situations suggests that the men's acceptance into the community is directly related to whether they respect it. Dinko, having acted selfishly and sought to profit off the island to the detriment of community members, is criticized and denied his claim to localness. Though the second man is also stopped by cost, he resorts to building a house of sticks and is praised.

Qualifiers of sincerity can be more explicit. The following excerpt is from a conversation I had with Oliver, a local man of about sixty years old who was born and raised in Komiža. He is a self-employed farmer who sells some of his crops to local business owners, which they use to make tourist products. He stakes his claim to membership based on his love for the town and his perception of himself as a caretaker:

> I saw Oliver sitting at the back corner of the cafe bar and went over to him. We chatted about the almond harvest in California ("Though they produce a lot, they are tasteless and dry!") and the fires. A silence followed, and Oliver brought up the music festival in Komiža that had just concluded. He began to tell us a story. He grew a bit angrier throughout its telling. During the festival

> he had a relative visit from out of the country. He wanted to take them to visit a beautiful local beach, and so he decided on the one where the music festival was being held in the evenings. But when they arrived, they could not enter the beach. The music festival's ticket counter was stationed at the entrance, and the employee refused to let them in without a ticket. Oliver was visibly angry now. He said he told the employee that he only wanted to go for five minutes to let his cousin see the beach. The employee refused. Shouting, Oliver reenacted his reply: "I am a Komižan! I live here all year, every year, and I take care of this place every day!" They did not get to see the beach.

Oliver's claim to ownership is based in sincere terms ("I am a Komižan… I take care of this place every day!"). Importantly, he was born and raised in Komiža and very easily could have used other qualifiers – he has birthright and long-standing blood ties– but did not. He prioritizes his role as a caretaker, positioning his identity squarely within the realm of community action: he is the person acting to preserve his home and therefore has a right to the place.

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to shed light on the interplay of tourism, community action, and collective identity. It demonstrates that the relationship between tourism, the combative efforts taken against it, and the communities that enact them is circular in motion, with the forms that community action takes emerging out of the identity of communities and subsequently reshaping it. When choosing how to act, residents reference history and conceptions of the collective self, which influence their decisions to act formally or informally and individually or collectively. These considerations also shape the goals of action and the strategies that residents devise to accomplish them, the latter of which I call "avenues of agency." Activists will devise avenues and curtail their efforts based on what they believe best represents themselves or is achievable.

These efforts subsequently lead to new conceptions of collective identity that incorporate tourism and community action. Community membership is no longer based solely on external, authenticating factors, but on an individual's commitment to community values, otherwise known as sincerity. Avenues of agency operate in the spaces where this blending occurs and is most visible.

What this suggests is that the unfolding of tourism will be as varied as the places it affects Tourism development, sustainable or otherwise, is informed by activists' conceptions of the collective self. To understand tourism and sustainable development, we cannot rely solely on theoretical perspectives. In our efforts to imagine sustainable models of tourism, it is necessary to avoid generalized efforts and instead work with communities to devise models that fit their individual needs and characteristics. These models must address concerns expressed by the community and incorporate aspects of culture that they find valuable. Tourism and the action people take against it may very well be informed by theory – and rightfully so – but

we risk eclipsing the nuances of development when we try to explain it in pragmatic and detached terms, economic or otherwise. If we hope to grasp the lived experience of people amid these processes and devise effective solutions, we must pay utmost attention to the communities themselves.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Nenamjerna razmjena. Međudjelovanje turizma, identiteta i djelovanja zajednice u gradu na otoku

U ovom se radu ispituje međudjelovanje kolektivnog identiteta, djelovanja zajednice i turizma u otočnom gradu Komiži u Hrvatskoj. Pretpostavka je da će na razvoj održivog turizma u Komiži utjecati kolektivni identitet stanovnika. Utvrđeno je da turizam i kolektivni identitet djeluju u povratnoj sprezi, pri čemu identitet utječe na djelovanje zajednice čiji je cilj razvitak održivog turizma i obrnuto. Rezultati sugeriraju da u stvaranju modela održivog turizma moramo izbjegavati uopćene mjere i umjesto toga raditi sa zajednicama na osmišljavanju strategija koje odgovaraju njihovim pojedinačnim potrebama i svojstvima.

Ključne riječi: kolektivni identitet, održivi razvoj, turizam, djelovanje zajednice, etnografija