City as a (touristic) product

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Resumen: Las zonas urbanas y los aspectos socioculturales de los procesos urbanos son elementos importantes del desarrollo del turismo cultural. Este artículo defiende un acercamiento multidisciplinar a la planificación urbana y destaca la importancia de la calidad de vida de los ciudadanos, la cual implica la calidad de la estancia de sus huéspedes. En la compleja tentativa de trazar el mapa de emplazamientos interesantes (teniendo en cuenta los diferentes modelos de tipologías de turista), se ha hecho énfasis en la estrategia que incluye la praxis del arte contemporáneo en relación con la antropología visual y cultural. A continuación, a través de la asociación de los conceptos antropológicos y los semióticos, los puntos de mayor relevancia que se han planteado son: coexistencia de los rasgos culturales más distintivos incluso en las unidades urbanas más pequeñas, los estudios de los indicios sociales y estéticos que representan esos rasgos culturales así como la producción de significado en la cooperacion entre amfitrión y de turista en la proyección de la ciudad como producto (turístico). Este artículo hace un uso amplio de los argumentos derivados de numerosos estudios de caso realizados en la zona urbana de la ciudad de Zagreb, capital de Croacia.

Palabras clave: Turismo cultural; Planificación urbana; Antropología visual y cultural

Abstract: Urban areas and socio-cultural aspects of urban processes are important subjects for development of Cultural Tourism. This article argues for multidisciplinary approach to urban planning, stresses the importance of quality of life of citizens, which implies the quality of staying of their guests. In complex attempt of mapping the sites of interest (while having in view different models of typologies of a tourist), emphasis has been put on strategy that involves the contemporary art-praxis connected to cultural and visual anthropology. In the continuance, through blending anthropological and semiotical concepts, the most important issues that have been raised are: coexistence of the most distinctive cultural features even in the smallest urban units, studies of social and aesthetic signs that represent those features and production of meaning in cooperation of host and tourist in projecting a city as a (touristic) product. The article extensively uses arguments derived from numerous case-studies of the urban area of the city of Zagreb, Croatian capital.

Keywords: Cultural Tourism; Urban Planning; Visual and Cultural Anthropology

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Introduction

Cultural diversity and cultural tourism are syntagmas that we lately hear more than frequently. Western societies are tending to take it for granted, forgetting how complex the perception of *other* could and/or should be. Cultural tourism brings us away from high-density places like beaches, and lead to the different form of high-density human settlements around the world. Settlements that perform what cultural tourism is mostly about: way of living that involves heritage as everchanging concept in the complex, but not necessarily troubled, contemporary society.

That brings us to the notion of Urban Tourism that this article is mostly about. Culture is a driving force for Urban Tourism, it is a main reason for a visitor to come to an area or site. Before I move to the next chapter, let me argue some factors that I found essential for understanding the tourist as, according to definition, a temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change (Boissevain, 1997). *Experience* and *change*, as the keywords of this definition, I will connect to the factors of perception (senses in general as the triggers that leading to the experience of a particular sites) and the perception of Other-ness. But re-reading Kant brought me to thinking that there must be one more element that tourists are looking for when abolishing daily routines, broadening the views of time and place and changing the rules that lead their lives back home. So besides experience of change and/or transformation, tourist is looking for *pleasure*. I hope I will make small shifts in the subject that was open in cognitive-normative model proposed by Cohen (1972, 1979) who sketched classification of tourists as Modern Pilgrims or Pleasure Hunters or, distinctively, Urry who *detected* that looking for pleasure was concentrated in working class while intelectuals and free-lancers searching for knowledge and experience (Urry 1993, 1998).

Also, search for causal explanation of changes in hosts and turists, subject which I reflect on in the next paragraphs, could apply on investigations on questions con-cerning *the generation of tourism* (Nash, 1996: 59) or production of content.

1) Pleasure is not only in leisure

"At the leisure time people can liberate individual and collective creative powers that will criticize or sustain social structural values" (Turner, 1989: 73). Propounding this is a relevant statement, inspires a lot of future content. However, let me consider Kant's pondering over senses first.

Kant (Kant, 1964) classified organic senses to more objective and more subjective: objective senses contribute to the cognition of the object more than they awake a conscience of affected organ while objective senses produce a concept of pleasure.

Before he introduces his investigation in pleasures of man, Kant claims that we should keep in mind the following principles:

a) non-violent principle that is described as: to think alone.

b) liberal principle: to imagine yourself on the place of the *other* (italics mine)

c) consequential principle: at any time think in consensus with oneself

He finds that the task of anthropology (which is the primary discipline supporting my discourse, ahead of sociology and communication) should be in finding examples for every principle. Let me consider his demand in the third chapter, while reflecting on the particular typology of tourist.

Kant makes the distinction of pleasure in form of sensual and pleasure in the form of intellectual. The first form of pleasure is created through senses (pleasure) while the second form is created through the power of imagining (taste).

He argues for human need to recollect or restore itself (*collectio animi*) which is condition that enables one to work *again*. Interruption working processes is connected to the state of relaxation (*remisio*) while work is connected to the state of tension (*intensio*). Exactly at the point which divides those two states is point of maximum of sensing, but – it can lead to senseless condition as well. For many people, unfortunately, holiday becomes exactly that senseless state: state of tension was so intense that disables *collectio animi.*

Therefore I argue that is impossible to observe needs that a tourist has during the periods of relaxation without the knowledge of the period of tension. World of work is not separated from the world of leisure, although the spatial and environmental organisation speaks for it. There is an obvious need for introduction of relaxing environments in tensed environments, as there is an emerging need for introduction of some structures of working environments in the segments that are *strictly* reserved for leisure. Besides the need to relax, people obviously need creative techniques that will help them to re-define the pleasure in work. Therefore, planning should involve re-definitions of contents in space and time on macro and micro level. The need to study the relationship between tourism and home behavior was introduced in the 80s and it is appropriate to acquire more facts about home society that generates the tourist's needs (Nash, 1996: 60, 61). The idea that there is 'no clear line of demarcation between work and leisure' (Nash, 1996: 62) is, obviously, not a great news. However, in the space that has a certain identity or authentical quality, that identity and quality have rarely been emphasized by stressing the demarcation line. Exactly, the opposite. Free-floating signifiers that produce content are easily released on that demarcation line. Or better, in liminal spaces where demarcation is not clearly marked.

2)   Perception of Other-ness

"If it is incontestable that the prejudice of superiority is an obstacle in the road to knowledge, we must also admit that the prejudice of equality is still greater one, for it consist in identifying the other purely and simply with one's own "ego-ideal" (or with oneself)" (Todorov, 1984: 165) Although at the first glance Todorov's subject (conquest, collonial and postcollonial worlds) being in a greater distance to my subject, he argues for an interesting typology of relations (Illustration 1.), which I will apply, with some alterations, in chapter 4, while discussing host and guest cooperation in the production of the meaning of *any* site.
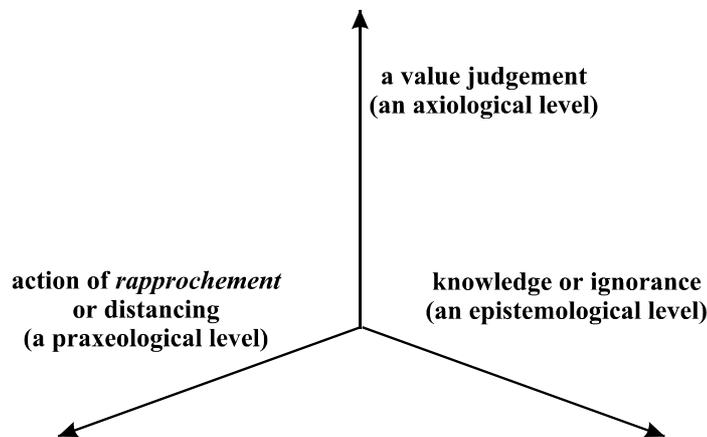

**a value judgement
(an axiological level)**

**action of *rapprochement*
or distancing
(a praxeological level)**

**knowledge or ignorance
(an epistemological level)**

Illustration 1.

When syntagma cultural tourism was uttered for the first time, no doubt that one of the connotative meanings (if not denotative, which seems plausible enough) was: quest for knowledge. Knowledge of other cultural patterns than the pattern of oneself. Today, talking too often of *European* we forget how complex are the identities of that old

Europe (how else would be possible that in the most European schools history is taught aiming to divide nations on very sharp liminoids, while on the other hand unifying has been widely spoken). Exactly with cultural tourism, European societies have the chance to dip in their own cultures, and then aknowledge, learn about and try to understand the cultural patterns of *other* societies. And here is where marketing cultural tourism becomes marketing of that quest of knowledge and therefore – not just important, but I would say – crucial for sustainability of the most fragile regions. Today, it is not a question of getting people to *one* destination, but to diversify destinations and expand the needs of tourists far beyond the need for place that is amalgam of a supermarket and a hotel room, in order to avoid the high-density crowding that we cannot evaluate as sustainable. And where is the better place to start expanding contents than in urban communities where quotidian form of living is high-density form *par excellance* (with all its urban, sociological, sociopsychological, economical, ecological and anthropological implications)?

According to Todorov (Todorov, 1984), con/quest, love and knowledge are autonomous and, in a sense, elementary forms of conduct. I would dare to say that the interest of contemporary tourist integrates these three forms of conduct in the search for new experiences, change and pleasure.

City as a Product

In this chapter I would like to argue for the new approach in evaluating, structuralising and planning of high-density urban areas which is seemingly very often subject of public debates. Still, sociocultural aspects of urban processes are not a welcomed issue among urbanists and planners.

In the case of Zagreb, Croatia, there is a web site that should provide the insight into the General Urbanistic Plan for the citizens. However, the plan is not on display. In the meantime, the struggle on local level for every inch of the available

space has been raising constantly. I will discuss the approach to the urban planning that is contributed by art historian, social anthropologist and architect. The meaning of that exposure is to claim for right of these disciplines to take a greater part in, first and foremost, *evaluating* the existing structures in space and the quality of living, then *healing* of many urban tissues, structurising and classifying existing demands of citizens and their guests and, *finally*, urban planning. Urban planning is not a task that is exclusively a ground for action for politicians and architects. And, contemporary societies have to face it – public space is a playground were politicians exercise the power. Recent construction of the highways to the seaside that was used as the one of the three main arguments (next to the increasing living standard and joining European Community) in Croatian election campaignes clearly put on display the importance of construction in public space in construction of public opinion (and implicating the *vice versa* condition). That problem is common to the whole world. The reasons are complex and one should examine the origines of public constructions to the greater extent to put forward only some consequences of that tragic bond that links politics and construction which undermines the quality of living of the citizens and their guests. In the continuance, I will keep my focus on three approaches to the city as relevant to the subject of Urban Tourism:

1) art-historian's approach
2) social anthropologist's approach
3) architect's approach

In evaluating structures and quality of living, structurising and classifying demands as well planning, these approaches are equally important. Maybe in the process that significates *concrete enactment in space* the role of the architect becomes crucial. Which not implies a crucifix for the environment, if possible.

All the approaches that I report on in the next paragraphs of this chapter are connected to case studies of Zagreb, Croatian capital.

1) Art historian's approach

Walking through Zagreb represents an exceptional example of walking through a dual city. Paraphrasing art historian Zeljka Corak (Corak, 1994) it represents then a possibility to decode the link between Mediterranean and the North, the passage in relation to the Sun and in the relation to the Fog.

Zagreb is so-called typical middle-European city, comparable as much to Wien as to Graz in South Austria or even Freiburg and Tuebingen in South Gemany. It is the capital of Croatia and explicable pride of the Croatian nation and therefore performatively synoptic example for it, tending to re-code the sense of the nation. Zagreb is comparable even to Prague which is, next to London and Paris, the real medieval polis. But comparable to Seville as well, which was (not to the same extent as Zagreb though and definitely not in a same way), affiliated to the Habsburg's dominion. In the medieval time that particular Zagreb had its *Vicum Latinorum* and its German Street. The legend says that the city gained its name - Zagreb - after an event when a young maid wanted to reach out for water at the spot where today city's main square finds its place. The place was dry at that moment, so the knight, who happened to be passing by, said to her: "Zagrebi!" (which is imperative form of the verb *scratch*). That happened in 9th century. *Vicum Latinorum* and German Street came soon after.

Later, the whole identity of the Middle European city was derived from those two *international* streets. In the 19th century historicistic imprint was sealed by the neogothic cathedral placed at the one side of the medieval acropolis. The cathedral was built by mostly and widely questioned German architect Herman Bollé, who, no question about it, contributed with his uncomparable work while co-creating the European identity of the city of Zagreb. These still, and maybe forever, dominant historicistic values of the city were created by Bollé and numerous German architects. We should not forget that exactly the historicism, refering to already created and established values, presents itself as the period of architectural meta-language and as such demands intensive engagement not only of capacities of the senses but also of intellectual capacities of the participants in a given communicative situation.

However, the highly developed situation does not necessarily imply low level of opportunities of participation (of the visitor, e.f.) - on the contrary. On the other side, that highly developed situation certainly implies rigorous demand on *specialist fragmentation* of that situation from those who want to control it.

In her book "Zagreb - the written space", dr. Zeljka Corak (Corak, 1994) commits her writing not only to conjugation of visible towards invisible but to the activation of the invisible in constant production of the city. She confronts the reader with the not-fictitious life in a world which is not capable of creating ornament - as a possible contemplative detail of the whole. As the art historian she argues for lines of roofs, their relationships with sky and in her own, very poetical way, in a speech span between description and performative elements of that poetical discourse, she moves from descriptive sentence to PLEA. And who can deny Barthes: "*La ou tu es tendre, tu dis ton pluriel*".

Exactly that plea, argumented with numerous examples of how would be possible to effectively increase the quality of living in the city and give chances to hosts and guests to increase the possibilities of participation in the production of meaning, has not been listen to by those who want to control that quality – urban planners. Refusal to listen to a plea resulted with uprooting of the whole parts of the city, arbitrarily occasional 'shavings' of the facades and entrances, numerous traffic clusters, tension, poor housing in so called residential areas, etc. Not to mention,

paraphrasing Corak (Corak, 1994), that the posibility of an individual to give to the community a notice about his/her/its existence is exactly in that dialectic zone between public and private space, inner and outer space. That dialectic zone, in the case of Zagreb, is minimal, almost denied.

2) Social anthropologist's approach

In the introduction of her book 'Streets of my town' social and political anthropologist Dunja Rihtman-Augustin (Rihtman-Augustin, 2000) announces 'fragmental, in a way personal description of the Croatian culture in the turbulent, last decade of the twentieth century'. (Rihtman-Augustin, 2000:7, translation mine). She problematizes rituals through which political identities are shaped, concreting history through symbols that inscenate quotidian situations.

The first part of the book is the most interesting to my subject because it tackles, as its title says, 'Space: concreting history'. Concreting history in the names of the streets as well the position of historical monuments or different influences on the change of the names and positions are result of dominating political discourse (in the case of Croatia, major changes happened after 1945., and after 1991.). While Rihtman-Augustin is developing Azaryah's hypothesis about how the names of the streets could represent urban narration, she postulates her own definition of city space in the neologism - *a r c h i t e x t u re* : ' It is not just architecture that defines our urban and historical environment. Next to the architecture, there is also existing presence of *architexture*, or a sum of urban architecture and of the text that signifies the architecture.' (Rihtman-Augustin, 2000: 51, translation and italics mine). Furthermore, 'In the urban landscape streets' names, monuments and memorial signs contribute to the semiotical presence of dominating ideology because they give to the urban architexture a very specific symbolical content.' An inspiring example of artistic intervention into that symbolical content is discussed in the next chapter (case study of artistic work Female Guide through Zagreb).

In the second chapter of the first part of the book, Rihtman-Augustin disscuses the monument on the Zagreb's main city square which gain the status of what Smith defines as *mythomoteur* - a place, person or object that cumulates, usually politically constructed, myths. It is interesting that this monument, originating from 1866, initiated fierce antagonism during the socialism era as well every other object that carried the mark of historicism. That particular monument, interesting enough, took the role of touristic symbol, being printed on a tourist guide from 1913. The monument was removed after the second world war, during the night so that nobody sees, and was repositioned in 1991.on the same ground where it was in 1866.

Now, it is again a very often cited symbol of Zagreb Tourist Board. (Illustration 2).

Illustration 2. *Banner from the site of Zagreb Tourist Board & Convention Bureau.* SOURCE: *http://www.zagreb-touristinfo.hr/info.php?file=solo&id=234*

Could it be that the mentality has not change and that people who are creating image of Zagreb still think that one should put forward the warrior's glory?

In this chapter I would just like to say a few more words about the second part of the Rihtman's book which deals with time and holidays. The managing of rhythms of the year has become a very interesting subject lately, since the traffic clusters have been multiplicating and even sky has been overbooked. Rihtman argues the metamorphosis of socialistic holidays as the phenomena representing dechristi-anisation of folk-culture in the era of so-cialism while the period of re-christianisation has not been examined yet.

3) Architect's approach

"*A quality of the city's organization and the city's tourism are mutually inter-related and linked. High level of the city's organization is a precondition for many other higher level types of tourism sup-ply. The city's organization in respect to its functional and aesthetic criteria may be described, analyzed and explained by using specifing indicators*" (Kritovac, 1992: 148)

Clasification of indicators that Kri-tovac propounds is appropriated for ob-serving of real situation and conditions:

1. descriptive notional features of a city
2. the city's visual identity
3. a general degree of the city's mu-nicipal organization
4. organization of locations and build-ings used in intercity and interna-tional traffic
5. organization of routes of transit traffic
6. organization of locations and build-ings whereby manifestations take place
7. organization of places for accom-modation, tourist's lodgings and places of importance for relations with tourists
8. organization of zones and directions of tourism itinerary
9. indicators relating to the history of the city

This classification of selected indicators has been subjected to the general evaluation process of stating a level of organization in the city of Zagreb. However, it can be applied for similar evaluation processes in other cities as well. Kritovac's emphasis (Kritovac, 1992) is on chosen indicators in use for primary status (condition) description.

For the specific case study of Zagreb, Kritovac (Kritovac, 1992) gives information e.f. that there was a certain progression in the city's organization in 1991. and 1992. (in the rest of the country this was the most terrible war period).

In his conclusion, Kritovac propounds a special psycho-social research with the aim of explaining the tolerance of the city's goverment and the citizens in respect to the exposed places with emphasized tourism importance, but 'which are below any permissible level of municipal and aesthetic value' (Kritovac, 1992: 162). The situation in Zagreb he describes as paradoxal, and although he states that many problems 'can be dealt through regular municipal routine projects along with a basic interest of the citizens concerned' (Kritovac, 1992: 162), I think that the answer would be in the previously suggested psycho-social research which could reveal the level of that 'basic interest' of the citizens and the city's goverment.

Applying the Tools of Visual Anthropol-ogy – Mapping the Sites of Interest

In the next paragraphs I will mainly discuss artistic praxis connected to the city of Zagreb, concretely I will reflect on following projects:

1. Urban Festival 2003, art festival that deals with new artistic urban praxis, discussing one, for our subject, interest-ing project that emerged there:
- "Zg – tracking" (authors Barbara Blasin, Ana Grbac, Igor Mirković)
- "On my tram stop" (author Ana Husman)
2. "Females guide through Zagreb" (authors Barbara Blasin and Igor Mirk-ović, presented in Gallery Nova in 2003.)

3. "z:/ kult", Zagreb's cultural guide on CD-ROM (author and designer Dalibor Martinis in cooperation with AIM&Omnimedia), project financed by Zagreb Tourist Office and produced and presented in 2003.

1) Urban Festival

"Urban festival is the project with basic tendency to infiltrate artistic activity into urban life, intensify the communication between the inhabitants and the wide range of the things that we denominate as infrastructural...Urban Festival 2003 was dealing with following:

The city is a process of co-existence and co-functioning of the incalculable multitude of ad hoc collectives and calculable multitude of institutionalised collectives. Ad hoc collectives are... (self) generated communities, while one of their important characteristics is instability, or momentary stability. Ad hoc collectives are omnipossible processes..."

(Catalogue of Urban festival, 2003.)

- Urban Festival 2003, project "Zg – tracking"

(authors Barbara Blasin, Ana Grbac, Igor Mirković)

This project is about art and investigation – work-in-progress that utilises different scientific methods and scientific praxis in order to achieve the knowledge of specific habits and customs of the inhabitants of Zagreb. It puts under the magnifying glass the habits of visiting cultural and public events or the habits of going out. The city of Zagreb is denominated as a specific cultural and social field within which investigation took place. The authors put out questionnaires through which they acquired knowledge of the frequency of going out as well of places and venues visited.

The research was made through investigating on the sample of 150 citizens of Zagreb: the fact that came out from this sample was rather astonishing – the total everage of staying in the bar, restaurant, caffe-house or similar of that sample population is 10,97 hours everyday and 11,68 hours every weekend. According to

that sample, people go to the bar, restaurant or similar 2,5 times daily.

Considering other forms of going out, the most popular are concerts and then exhibition opennings and theatre opening nights. People in Zagreb seem to choose to go out with friends rather than business associates. The sample indicator included questioning 150 people and was created through random choice.

This project is in a way the authors' critique of some scientific methods such as statistics. For the purpose of my subject it was an interesting illustration of some behavioural patterns of the citizens of Zagreb which could be extended to a scientific research on specific cultural and social field of any city.

- Urban Festival 2003, "On my tram stop" (author Ana Husman)

"Is it possible to consider a hotel room, but every hotel room, your home? Waiting that we spend much time on, spaces in which we spend that time – and how we use it. Tram stops, airports, hotels and gas stations...every of these examples could transform from public to private..." (Catalogue of Urban festival, 2003.)

I reflect on this project simply because I found it really inspiring at one specific moment. I realised that a demand for more content in those waiting spaces really exist.

Very nice example could be the airport in Rome, where many people would like to do something in-between-flights that is not eating or shopping. One possibility is: cinema lounge. Whether those would be showrooms showing diamonds of Italian cinema like work of Antonioni, de Sica or Fellini, or production of uknown young authors, or even (in my opinion) worse option such as Hollywood A production, it could be a great success.

2) "Female Guide through Zagreb", (authors Barbara Blasin and Igor Mirković, presented in gallery Nova in 2003.)

This project shows how archives could be source of very interesting material and how people in charge for organisation of events or producing contents for diverse touristic population need exactly the kind of curiosity that these artists promoted.

On the many levels this project re-stages 'the "ethnographic as art" ' (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, 1998: 235)

The project, through using a lot of archive sources, revealed a story of six women of whom each one found its special place in history of feministic movement in Croatia. However, it goes even much more beyond this: the biographical content triggered very interesting social, anthropological and historical context which was presented in the gallery Nova. Afterwards, artists organised the signing of petitions demanding from a city mayor to take in consideration possibility of marking Female Guide through Zagreb with memorials on the houses and institutions which these exceptional women were attached to during their lifetime. Such memorials on the houses and institutions could be points of departures for alternative touristic routes. It is an excellent proposition for change in *architexture* and creating a new path for conquest in conviviality and knowledge. The project was supported by printing art postcards with additional educational value bonus (illustration 3).

Illustration 3. Art postcard representing quotidian dimension of life and work of Marija Jambrišak, the woman who held a speech demanding equal rights to labour and equal fees for women in Zagreb in 1871.(SOURCE: Gallery Nova Archives).

3) "z:/ kult", Zagreb's cultural guide on CD-ROM

(author and designer Dalibor Martinis in cooperation with AIM&Omnimedia), project financed by Zagreb Touristic Office and produced in 2003.

In the next paragraphs I will briefly reflect on introduction printed on the cover of the CD-ROM and on composition and interface of this product.

Here is what it says on the cover of this well designed CD-ROM edition:

"Z:/ kult is a Zagreb's cultural guide that could, in many ways, be compared to a journey through both historical and contemporary events, a journey similar to the one undertaken every day by each resident of Zagreb. This culture is most evident in the efforts the city's inhabitants have made througout the history to create a place where they can live together.The numerous buildings and urban units are proof of this. Furthermore, this culture has been visible in the number of events, projects, performances and institutions that have provided content to the rather symbolic framework of city life. This guide is one possible interpretation of Zagreb's city culture and its identity throughout history up to the present."

The very truth is in the last sentence: z:/kult is just 'one possible representation', but it is very good example of how it could be done. Naturally, not everybody will agree with the selection of themes included or the way that those themes are presented, but it is a great invitation for more and the better.

The content of this CD-ROM edition is divided in 14 sections: 1. *About Zagreb*, 2. *Guide*, 3. *Timeline*, 4. *The City and its Constructors*, 5. *Places and Sounds*, 6. *Celebrities*, 7. *Audio / Video Zagreb*, 8. *Personal View,* 9. *Made in Zagreb*, 10. *Cultural Events*, 11. *Surroundings*, 12. *Other Zagreb*, 13. *Zagreb in the Dark*, 14. *Underground*.

About Zagreb section gives introduction through some characteristic images and leads you to the rest of the content. Section *Guide* gives an overview of clubs and restaurants, media, music, books stores, festival and events, administration, museum and galleries, cinema and film, university, faculties and academies, cultural organsations and centers. If one clicks on the subsection *cultural organsations and centers* one will find a marked spot on the city's map (an image made from airplaine, the one like urbanists use, represents the map of the city). The marked spot leads to one of foreign cultural centers in the town such as e.f.: Italian Cultural Institute, Austrian Cultural Institute, British Council, French Cultural Center, and Goethe Institute. Unfortunately, one cannot find any information about domestic cultural centers, which are many, and some have interesting programmes. Section *Timeline* gives an insight to the past and present graphically presented on the timeline divided to the periodical subsections. Graphically well organised, cited events signify not just some important historical events of Zagreb's history but also gives some interesting data about global cultural scene (e.f. the first Croatian documentary 'Durmitor', made by ethnologist Gusic, or BBC's experimental channel broadcasting the first drama programme in the world). Section *Places and Sounds* includes a lot of video documentation of different art performances but also presents the video documentation from the protests in support of very popular Radio 101 or Trade Union's protests. Section *Celebrities* promotes Croatian celebrities from political, cultural and scientifical scene. Section *Audio/Video Zagreb* is the real treasure which includes excerpts from the best Croatian films (including the excerpt from Oscar-winning " The

Surrogate"), documentary clips about performance art scene, documentary clips about artistic happenings, Croatian writers, video documentary from the concerts of e.f. Antonio Janigro or Rolling Stones, video documentary from the openning of the exhibition of Andy Warhol or even video footage of bombing of Zagreb in 1991. Section *The City and its Constructors* gives an insight to the architectural features of Zagreb, including the first rate photography documentation. Section *Personal View* leads, per click of mouse, to photography and visual aesthetics closer to social anthropology, presenting quality of life (or lack of it) in some of Zagreb's urban quotidian routine. Section *Made in Zagreb* presents the most celebrated innovations, events, architexture, industrial design and worldwide known artistic projects labeled Made in Zagreb because Zagreb being their inspiring or starting point. Section *Cultural Events* presents video and photo documentation from traditional cultural events such as Contemporary Dance Week or Music Biennale. Section *Surroundings* leads a visitor virtually to the Zagreb's attractive borrough. Section *Other Zagreb* gives some insiders' views, reflecting not just on feministic scene, gay pride events, anti-museum bizzare triangle, non govermental organisations, but introducing the visitor to the individual characters that are proud representatives of the heart and soul of the urban scene. Section *Zagreb in the night*, with the help of a spot-light that follows a mouse, reveals some nightlife spots. Section *Underground*, bluntly paraphrasing Duchamp's pisoar, gives the insider's information such as: 'the open spaces in the center of the city are completely neglected' or ' The village of Jakusevec near Zagreb gave its name to the largest city's rubbish dump.'

The best work is done exactly in the presenting the city through various documentation modes: clips and video documentary excerpts or even film excerpts. Presenting celebrated personalities and events in that documentary mode gives exceptional value to this product; it becomes interesting as much to the hosts as to the guests.

This CD-ROM edition presents an eclatant example of how to apply the tools of Visual Anthropology in both of its essential dimensions: methodological dimension of annotation and observation and analytical dimension that refers to symbolical production by individuals and societies (e.f. cinema, TV etc.). The whole product is very etnographic because denotates cultural dominants, it contains information about one city (which as a capital, as mentioned before, has a tendency to decode in its existence a sense of the whole nation) and its people in its present and past, serving the spectator with the images of that past in concord with the technical conditions of those periods. It also mapps the sites of interest on a very demanding level: individualised and informative. By involving the individual people and their biographical *data*, even their portraits in everyday situations, it creates also a very personalised, emotional dimension of the space which it speaks about.

Touristic Viewpoints

There is an old saying that everybody would like to travel but nobody would like to be a tourist. According to Croatian Agency Hina, in the year 2003, 66% of tourists that visited Croatia did that in their own organisation, in other words - as individuals. It speaks for 'creativity of tourist activity (improvisation), which produces "variety" acts on the celebrative approach towards the society' (Savelli, 1999).

In this chapter I would like to argue for the theory that there is an existing need
1.   to know more about the state of tension of the tourist in order to plan the state of relaxation
2.   to integrate relaxing environments in working areals
3.   to involve techniques that will help in redefinition of pleasure in work and/or play when designing, creating and planning leisure activities

I think that we have two crucial words here: creativity and participation. Also I would depart for a while from the notion of the city and use the notion of urbanicity as broader concept.

The research *Complexity as a Tourist attraction: The Touristic Coastal Area of Emilia-Romagna* (Savelli, 1999) presented various holiday models which I will use to support my theory:

The strongest model is the model is social membership when 'holiday becomes the occasion to enter into contact with the changing and evolving " frontier" of society, in order to evaluate it from an internale perspective'. (Savelli, 1999: 8) This model points also to ' a sort of expansion, full of symbolic values, of the ordinary life'. (Savelli, 1999: 9)

First I would like to put forward the possibility to separate *ordinary* from *quotidian*, because that is like a distinction tourist/traveller: most of us have *ordinary* lifes, but, who likes it? Easily activated and coexistent with quotidian life - that kind of holiday includes all the Kant's principles (Kant, 1964) which I utilised to introduce the concept of pleasure through restoring of oneself (*collectio animi*): non-violent principle (one thinks alone), liberal principle (one finds him/herself comfortable with other people's notions as well in them) and consequential principle (one represents consequent way of thinking).

The second model is the model of escape, where 'private security is considered with contempt' and 'where there is a higher concentration of people it is easier to enjoy oneself ' (Savelli, 1999: 10). This model shows the lack of consequential principle: seems to be that there is no qualitative approach towards *collectio animi* or restoring oneself. Also, contempt of security shows the non-presence of the non-violent principle.

The third model is environment, the representative of which feels invited ' to move across the territory, in order to recover an expanded dimension of the own memory, personality and, finally... sphere of activity'. (Savelli, 1999: 11) This model, as well the first one, seems to content all the principles which lead to *collectio animi*.

The fourth model is the one of discovery, where holiday is 'considered as a moment in which the individual faces an uncontrolled flux of unpredictable experiences, which have not been planned before.' (Savelli, 1999: 12) Also, 'the area of travel destination must not be repeated'. This model includes all three principles for successful restoring, however, signals for such a strong urge for change and new experiences pose a big question mark on the other segment of life, so called ordinary, or rather quotidian.

The fifth model, the one of authenticity, speaks for interest in 'inter–subjective communication' (Savelli, 1999: 13). It is an explicite example for quest for knowledge of other forms of conviviality. It includes the principles for successful *collectio animi*.

Even further than the model of discovery, not to mention the model of escape, the sixth model – security, which is conceptualised 'upon a specific idyllic logic' (Savelli, 1999: 13) signals a mode of quotidian life that gives rare opportunity to consider principles like the liberal principle mentioned above, where one finds him/herself comfortable while facing the other-ness and confronting the multitudeness of various forms of conviviality.

The seventh model, self-affirmation, where the holiday should stand for 'the most important period of the year' where one 'gets out completely out of ordinary life conditions' (Savelli, 1999: 14), again implies a moral question of responsibility in having a knowledge of the fact that self-affirmation exists only within 'the desire of surpassing the limit of everyday habits'.

The eighth model, alienation, does not disdain the non-violent principle. However, the degree of separating oneself from 'local realities and the relationship system which characterizes them' (Savelli, 1999: 15) even from 'everything and everyone' signals an inner scream for *collectio animi*. The oppression of quotidian life could be unsupportable and the period of relaxation too less for a healing process and enabling one to develop individual forms of conviviality in existing conditions.

The model like demonstrative consumption, the ninth model, in which the holiday is perceived as 'an opportunity... of thinking about everyday life' and where 'the collocation in the imagined social-cultural hierarchy is constantly redefined' (Savelli, 1999: 15), urge to confirm the contact with the beauty, the culture and the prestige, at the first glance, does not compromise any of the principles that lead to *collectio animi*. However, it poses the problem of what the prestige could be, as contoured according to an imagined socio-cultural hierarchy and translated to or projected on a fragile area.

Unlike demonstrative consumption, the tenth model of demonstrative experience ocurres in conjunction with the 'idea of a lasting and impacting exeprience' (Savelli, 1999: 16) perfectly planned and completely different from the notion of quotidian. It could imply the perfect restoring of oneself through amazing experience, but it could also imply a complete disappointment which develops tension again.

The eleventh model, the one of elective affinities, means joining to 'an organized travel group... also benefiting from the service of a tourist travel agency' (Savelli, 1999: 17), implies the high level of selective models which are disposed by travel agencies. The notion of interrupting a quotidian ordinarity is put forward so that consequential principle seems to be excluded.

The exclusion of consequential principle is even more errected in the twelfth model, interruption of routine life, and the most errected 'monuments' that represent that menace of routine that should be interrupted, are apartment and a supermarket. The need 'to change the rhythm of ordinary life within controlled, organized and peaceful framework' (Savelli, 1999: 17) shows the presence of non-violent principle but possibilities of acquiring the knowledge of other forms of conviviality are questionable.

The thirtheenth model, transgression, which exists in 'denial of any common sense, any accepted convention or *cliché*.' (Savelli, 1999: 18) but stays for 'local cultural resources, identified with monu-

ments and artistic works' is at the same time a denial and arguing for *collectio animi*. It presents a kind of fragile possibility of restoring and translating back to the routine without a necessity to put a medical leave in between.

Having these models in veiw, how to build touristic viewpoints? I argue for a simple solution:

holiday cannot be a promise of different and better life. It is like putting the system on its 'boiling point'. Instead of conceptualising 'escapology' I argue for creating and planning more liminal spaces where the borders that separate work from leisure are carefully blurred. Contemporary art promotes many opportunities for integration of such liminal spaces in concepts of urbanicity. Very often, in urban inner cities what is interesting for inhabitants is interesting for their guests as well. Content that activates the power to restore oneself and recreate the willingness to work and/or play (or to travel more, if that is the case) is in motivational factors as well in that in-between-state of tension and relaxation, or the state of increasing sensitiviness.

The role of contemporary art in contemporary society is to sensitize it for various aesthetic and social phenomena, to restore its senses for enjoyment in work and play. As exemplified in Chapter 2, it can be integrated in:

1)   research on existing structures of work and leisure, in/compatible structures of demand and offer, conceptualising and re-structuring a purpose of various spatial models

2)   complementing existing *architexture* in order to develop and improve existing forms of conviviality through re-inventing contents and creating new meanings

3)   analysis of the posibility of different media in creating of the *imaginario* for tourists (having in mind all the principles of sustainable development when projecting images of and *on* territory) and acquiring the knowledge of *imaginario* that is produced by tourists (extending the powerful structure of word-of-mouth marketing)

However, taxonomy of touristic experiences is a difficult task to acomplish. As Dann (Dann, 1981) points out: 'What actually constitutes motivation to travel? Is it the conclusion of the researcher or the explanation of the tourist?' (Dann, 1981: 209) Dann also argues that 'tourists may not wish to reflect on real travel motives' even '...may be unable to reflect on real travel motives', also '...may not wish to express real travel motives' or '...may not be able to express real travel motives'. The very important point is that 'Failure to recognize the subjectivity of motivation may be aggravated by methodological tendencies towards overoperationalization and quantification.' (Dann, 1981: 211)

Even Cohen (Cohen, 1979: 39) argues that '...there is no point in searching for *the* conceptualization of the tourist. Rather, a pluralistic and even eclectic research strategy is advocated'. This polyfocality of research when investigating motivation, having in mind Weber's definition of motivation as 'a complex of subjective *meaning* which seems to the actor himself and to the observer an *adequate* ground for the conduct in question" (Weber, 1968: 11), could lead to multidisciplinary perspective in production of meaning.

Motivation, in that sense, is conceived as auto-definition and meaning in the each particular individual, which is not pre-conceived, but rather created at the very spot of interaction that takes place in production of meaning. Therefore I argue for polyfocal approach to interdisciplinary micro-motivational studies that will give, even if just in rough lines, ideas about the needs of modern man, and possibly track the creative strategies of enabling 'a quest for the restoration of equilibrium' (Crompton in Dann, 1981: 199) or, using Kant's term, *collectio animi* (Kant, 1964)

Society and culture, and above all institutions that represent them as systems carried the role of a builder of sign systems. To which extent the role of individual should be emphasized?

Conclusion and Reflections

The investigation in tourism should serve not just when planning leisure environments but also working environments. The knowledge that we acquire about individual and the society while investigating the characteristics of leisure activities should produce signals for improvement in both sections, leisure and work. The liminal areas of those two life fragments could or even should expand, while creating more creative environments that allow participation of each individual to a greater extent. It is obvious that too many people give signals that their quotidian life disables their capability for *collectio animi*, even showing violent attitudes toward oneself and environment. Those signals are not to be disregarded.

Knowledge implies responsibility - towards the humanity and environment. Now, that is only question of pursuing strategies that will reflect even more profoundly on urbanicity and human life and give it a chance, even from time to time, to restore itself.

Studies in tourism should carry in mind that work is becoming scarce and that one should take in account the idealistic framework were tourism will no longer be an escape from daily routine but a quest for means of human enrichment (Krippendorf, 1986). According to some estimations in the year 2010 not only 1 *billion* of displacements will be registered, but also 1 of eleven employments could be derived directly from tourism (Martín de la Rosa refering to Smyth and Brent in; *in Pasos, Revista de Turismo y Patrimonio Cultural, Vol. 1 Nr. 1 pags. 51-63, 2003*). Now we are facing society where the leisure is not to be 'a superstructural counterpart of a dynamic proper to the economy.' (Sahlins in Nash, 1996: 64) but where the leisure *should become* dynamic *proper* to the economy.

It is not just about counting all the possible blessings of those numbers but also to perceive and diminish at least some negative consequences.

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