Acknowledgements

This publication is produced by Tracing Spaces Vienna based on the research project 'Holidays after the Fall: Urban and architectural transformation processes of South-East European leisure peripheries' (Urlaub nach dem Fall—Transformationsprozesse südosteuropäischer Freizeitperipherien) conducted at the Institute for Building Typology (Institut für Gebäudelehre), Faculty of Architecture, Graz University of Technology. Chair of the Institute: Prof. Hans Gangoly. Research team: Elke Beyer, Anke Hagemann, Maroje Mrduljaš, Norbert Mappes-Niediek, Michael Zinganel.

The editors would like to thank: Zoran Balog, Dafne Berc, Luchezar Boyadjiev, Todor Bulev, Antonia Dika, Ninoslav Dusper, Milena Filcheva, Michael Hieslmair, Kim Förster, Ana Jeinić, Dubravka Kisić, Torange Khonsari, Anne Kockelkorn, Peyo Kolev, David Liaudet, Liliya Lutskanova, Nikola Mihov, Vedran Mimica, Johannes Pointl, Emiliya Popova, Karin Taylor, Wolfgang Thaler, Saša Žanko, and Philipp Sperrle at jovis Verlag.

The project has been funded by the Amt der Steiermärkischen Landesregierung, Abteilung 9—Kultur, Österreichische Forschungsgesellschaft, Bundesministerium für Unterricht, Kunst und Kultur and ERSTE Stiftung.

ERSTE Stiftung

bm:uk Bundesministerium für Unterricht, Kunst und Kultur

Imprint

Cover photo: Boris Magaš
Photographic essays: Nikola Mihov and ccn-images Zagreb
Illustrations and maps: Kerstin Stramer, Anke Hagemann and Michael Hieslmayr
Translation and editing: Jill Denton
Copy-editing: Helen Carter
Graphic concept, layout and typesetting: Studio Katja Gretzinger (Gianni Fabris, Katja Gretzinger, Thomas Maier)
Type: Abbi Beta
Printing and binding: REMAprint Druck- und Verlagsges. m. b. H., Wien

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the internet at http://dnb.d-nb.de

jovis Verlag GmbH
Kurfürstenstraße 15/16
10785 Berlin
www.jovis.de

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ISBN 978-3-86859-226-9

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Thessaloniki

100 km

Introduction

Elke Beyer, Anke Hagemann
and Michael Zinganel

This book goes to print at a time when critical discussion about tourism development (and the sometimes reckless neglect, in recent years, of regulatory planning) is on the rise in Bulgaria and Croatia. Although their political paths and planning cultures have radically diverged in state socialist and capitalist contexts, the two countries now face the same issues: firstly, how best to develop and maintain their respective coastal regions, both as a vital economic resource and as a natural and cultural asset accessible to all and secondly, how to evaluate the (built) legacies of the state socialist era. Architects and historians are starting to once again appreciate the urban planning guidelines and modernist architectures established by the socialist states. Moreover, for many people the beach and the sea evoke strong memories of summertime leisure and freedom in more egalitarian times. The loss of, or threats to, these recreational spaces—the sell off of resources once 'owned by the people', or the permanent crises of the capitalist economy—therefore spark widespread discontent. In Bulgaria, a broad coalition of civic stakeholders and activists has been protesting for years against dubious tourism developments in protected environments, while architects such as Todor Bulev or Pavel Popov have openly voiced criticism of the architecture profession's complicity in over-exploitation of the coast.[1] In Croatia, architects and activists have deplored the non-regulated sprawl of private holiday homes and the intransparent rezoning of coastal areas following their privatization.

It must be emphasized that neither Bulgaria's nor Croatia's intensive development of a coastal region was ever an isolated local phenomenon; rather, it was closely bound up with transnational streams of tourists and investments. Just as holidays on the Black Sea coast

1 'Human beings love and cherish the sea because of what it is—planet Earth in the first person singular. This is why excessive building at the coast and the supersize of what has been built here is a crime. From a legal perspective, architects' complicity in this act is a crime, too. […] In the name of profit we stole the sea from the people and placed it at the disposal of business, allegedly for the good of the country.' Pavel Popov, 'The architecture of seaside resorts', *Abitare* (Sofia), 2012, no. 017 (Nov/Dec), pp. 72–85, quotes pp. 73–75.

consequence of further tourism industry growth, and advocating more effective regulatory and planning mechanisms.[13] As Maroje Mrduljaš and Michael Zinganel explain in their contributions to this volume, some people believe Croatia may count itself lucky, given that the interplay of various factors prevented its Adriatic coast being as disastrously disfigured by overdevelopment and architectural monstrosities as certain more investor-friendly regions of Spain, Bulgaria or Montenegro. To keep things that way, and to steer further development by implementing well-thought-out, sustainable architectural and urban planning concepts is certainly nothing less than crucial to Croatia's future as a tourism destination.

Synopsis

Thus, the focus of this volume is the initial construction and use of explicitly modern leisure resorts and hotels, as well as the various metamorphoses they have undergone in the intervening decades, from the planning processes initiated in the state socialist era through to post-socialist restructuring. The contributions compiled here address not only the many ways in which the resorts and individual structures have been physically restructured since the collapse of state socialism, or the new types of tourism architecture to be found in Bulgaria and Croatia since the deregulation of real estate; they deal also with economic change, which is to say, with revised models of mass tourism and the passage of ownership, investment and management into the hands of the respective countries' new elites.

By way of introduction, Elke Beyer and Michael Zinganel present a survey of the origins and architectural history of mass tourism after World War II. The main part of the book is divided into two sections, one devoted to the Bulgarian Black Sea coast, the other to the Croatian Adriatic. In each section, an extensive overview of the region's development is followed by eight or nine case studies: accounts of the fate of individual hotels or resorts, illustrating the broad spectrum of physical and economic restructuring, from dereliction, to refurbishment or conversion. In the first section, Elke Beyer and Anke Hagemann discuss different phases of urban planning and architectural development in Bulgarian seaside resorts. In six chapters devoted to individual resorts, they demonstrate how radically both public images and architectural interpretations of Bulgaria's Black Sea coast—the 'tourist product'—have shifted from era to era, from the first centrally planned holiday resorts of the late 1950s through to the 1970s mass resorts, from different models of privatization to the consequences of 'boom and bust' construction on the Black Sea coast today. The second section on Croatian tourism architecture consists of three chapters with different thematic approaches: Michael Zinganel describes the transition from 'social tourism'—the 'ideologically sound' state-subsidized workers' holiday—to market-oriented, commercial mass tourism. Maroje Mrduljaš traces the planning history of socialist mass tourism resorts on the Croatian Adriatic. His contribution, in combination with a series of analytical drawings by Kerstin Stramer and Michael Zinganel, explores how different architectural typologies were used to integrate hotel buildings in the landscape, and how their specially commissioned modernist interiors fostered innovative design. Norbert Mappes-Niediek introduces the model of workers' self-management (which was widely adopted in Yugoslavia's tourism sector), analyzes the reasons for Croatia's very hesitant, complex and on-going privatization process, and shows how certain parties have attempted to gain a competitive edge.

Two photo series frame the analytical section of the book. It begins with a series from the archives of the Zagreb travel agency Turistkomerc, showing freshly built hotel architectures on the Croatian Adriatic in an early 1970s glam aesthetic; and it ends with 'Holidays after the Fall', a series by Bulgarian photographer Nikola Mihov, who took a trip through the Bulgarian Black Sea coast's overdeveloped holiday landscapes in late September 2012 and captured their low-season air of desertion for this book.

Igor Emili, Rijeka 1999; idem: *Zdravko Bregovac*, Rijeka 2008; idem: *Andrija Čičin-Šain*, Rijeka 2009. See also Vladimir Mattioni, *Jadranski projekti. Projekti južnog i gornjeg Jadrana 1967–1972*, Zagreb: Urbanistički institut Hrvatske, 2003.

12 Saša Randić and Idis Turato (eds), *In Between. A book on the Croatian coast, global processes, and how to live with them*, 10th International Venice Biennale, Rijeka: K.LJ.B., 2006; Saša Žanko (ed.), *Croatian Archipelago*, Berlage Institute Rotterdam, 2005, www.croatian-archipelago.com/index.html; Antonia Dika, *Von Soldaten und Touristen. Verlassene Militäranlagen auf den adriatischen Inseln*, Diploma, Technical University Vienna, 2008.

13 Luciano Basauri and Dafne Berc, *Tourism. Dispersion. Camouflage*, Stuttgart: Akademie Schloss Solitude, 2009; Pulska grupa (eds), *Grad post-kapitalizma*, Zagreb: Centar za anarhističke studije, 2010. See also the work of the architects Miranda Veljačić and Dinko Peračić, from platforma 9,81 and most recently the activist groups Srđ je naš in Dubrovnik and Za Marjan in Split, www.facebook.com/SrdjIsOursDubrovnik, www.facebook.com/InicijativaZaMarjan (both accessed 24 April 2013).

‘Beside the seaside...’
Architectures of a modern global longing

Michael Zinganel and Elke Beyer

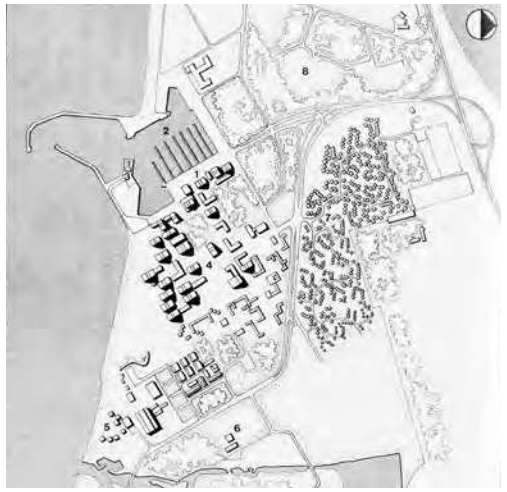
Tourism is unquestionably one of the world’s primary economic sectors. It shapes the working lives and living standards of travellers, the host countries travelled and the service providers encountered en route, and transforms every physical and cultural landscape that it touches. The tourism industry urbanizes target areas at the start of a season and leaves them high and dry, amid a clutter of built infrastructure, when the season ends. All this activity triggers enormous waves of transnational mobility and labour migration, as well as the transfer of money, materials, social attitudes and cultural traditions. Tourism all over the world is seen by many today as a glimmer of hope, as a substitute for employment opportunities decimated by de-industrialization and, often, as a last ditch attempt to benefit from prosperous people’s buying power.

Modern seaside tourism and the production of space

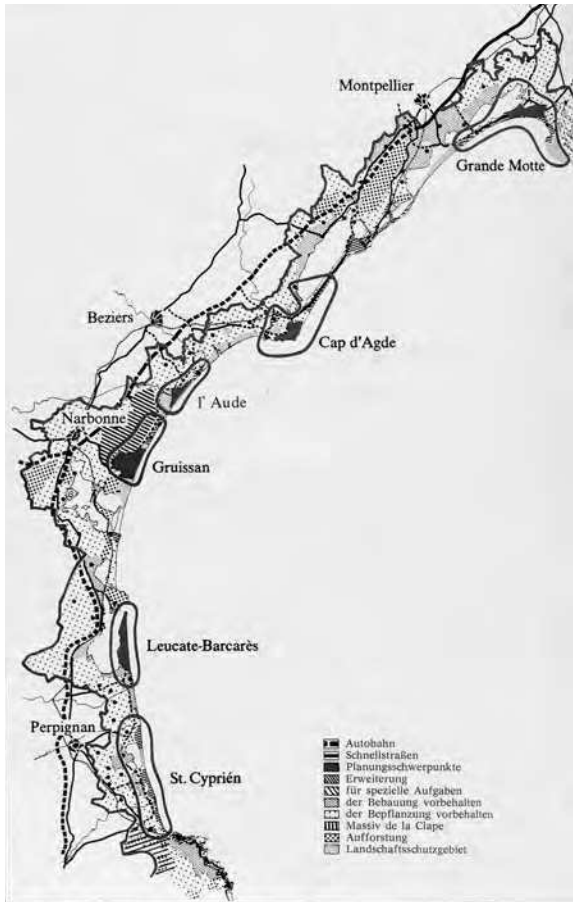
Historically, tourism’s economic benefits have seemed most promising in countries with access to the sea—for, in the enthused writings of bourgeois elites, this singularly attractive resource has been transformed over the last few centuries from a potentially menacing natural force into an aesthetic source of sublime grandeur or, at least, into a portent of health. In the nineteenth century, a sojourn by the sea was believed to be curative; by the early twentieth century the beach was synonymous with glamour and healthy living[1] and, ever since, a multisensual experience of the seaside has evidently been central to most people’s dream of ‘getting away from it all’. This makes it a genuinely modern phenomenon, claims ethnologist Orvar Löfgren: ‘The modernist cult of simplicity and

1 It was only after the first modern Olympic Games in Athens, in 1896, that aquatic sports became so popular as to cause a shift from the hitherto, commended winter sojourn in a mild climate to a summertime holiday by the sea. Peter Jordan and Milena Peršić (eds), *Österreich und der Tourismus von Opatija (Abbazia) vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg und zur Mitte der 1990er Jahre*, Frankfurt / Main: Peter Lang, 1998, p. 298.

Enjoying the beach in front of the pyramid-shaped holiday apartment complexes of La Grande Motte. Photo: Robert D. Loevy (Colorado College) 1976.



Urban scheme for La Grande Motte, one of the resort towns created from scratch in Languedoc-Roussillon, chief architect: Jean Balladur, 1964–, as featured in *Arkitekten*, 1972, no. 25, p. 524.



Regional development scheme for the launch of five new seaside resorts for 100,000 people each, along the 180 km coastline in Languedoc-Roussillon, France, director: Pierre Racine, chief urban planner: George Candilis, 1963–. Facsimile from *Bauwelt*, 1972, no. 30/31, p. 1162.

33 Christian Noack, 'Coping with the Tourist: Planned and "Wild" Mass Tourism on the Soviet Black Sea Coast', in Gorsuch and Koenker 2006, pp. 281–304.

The parallels between the seaside architecture and urbanism of state socialist and capitalist countries in the post-war era gives us an opportunity to consider in retrospect whether, or to what extent, the state control of tourism development was a specifically socialist ambition or a sign of a more general modern, Fordist trend: the economic exploitation both of leisure time and undeveloped land. A commitment to rational planning and predominantly modern architecture was not a prerogative only of state socialist regimes, for examples of centrally planned large-scale tourism development schemes abound also in the capitalist West; yet the Eastern bloc was certainly better placed to give uncompromised expression to it, in the framework of a planned economy. Conversely, while Western Europe was purveying its own versions of 'social tourism', most state socialist countries were making allowance for private property, private holiday homes, private lets and (whatever the official line on the matter) also for 'wild tourism', as Christian Noack, in particular, has shown.[33] Planners and the tourism industry in both political blocs did everything they possibly could to control both the exploding numbers of tourists and the extent of construction activity—not least so the state could take its own cut of the latest economic boom.

A closer look at the post-war history of tourism architecture thus allows us not only to track the distinctions presumed to exist between East and West but also to appreciate how permeable the two blocs' borders were, how similarly their planners and tourists regarded their respective spaces and paces of leisure, and how the dream of 'getting away from it all'—despite very real differences in each political system—ultimately took shape in remarkably similar heterotopia, namely those that served to control the pursuit of leisure. For, from the viewpoint of the powers-that-be, holiday resorts were conceived (and still are today) in such a way that both the control of leisure and indoctrination with hegemonic ideology are assured. From the viewpoint of the guests subject to such control and indoctrination, however, resorts generally represent territory that is just waiting to be appropriated by any individual pleasure-seeker, in ways highly likely to culminate in carnivalesque excess; with the result that many a worker returns from a holiday in a worse physical condition than when s/he set off.

Sun, Sea, Sand… and Architecture.
How Bulgaria's Black Sea coast was turned into a tourist product

Elke Beyer and Anke Hagemann

In the mid 1950s, the socialist People's Republic of Bulgaria decided to develop its natural resources of sun, sea and sand on the Black Sea coast as an all-round, neatly packaged tourist product, and to market it to domestic and international holidaymakers. Over the next two decades, the construction of entire new bathing resorts provided architects and urban planners with unprecedented opportunities to experiment. The Black Sea coast became a testing ground for the renewal of resolutely modern design, beyond the neo-classicist dictates of the Stalinist era, and the resorts that sprang up there showcased the very latest in contemporary Bulgarian architecture.[1] A US-American travel guide published in 1968 enthusiastically declared, 'What the Bulgarians have done and are doing with their 250-mile stretch of Black Sea coast is one of the phenomena of the international tourist industry. […] The Bulgarians have created pleasure resorts that, despite the hundreds of thousands jamming them in season, are miraculously devoid of a honky-tonk quality. They have paid considerable attention to the need for shady spaces, for parks and gardens, for a variety of places to eat, drink, and amuse oneself, for sightseeing tours—inexpensive and well-organized—to both immediate and distant points, for rapid transport (direct flights to the coast from abroad, for example) and at least to as great an extent as possible, for pleasant, efficient service.'[2] Development of the coast for millions of holidaymakers laid the foundations for an economic sector that was vital to Bulgaria under state socialism, and has remained so under capitalism.[3] Despite a slump in the 1990s, the Black Sea coast resorts are now once again popular and affordable 'summer getaway'

1 Interview with Todor Bulev, Professor of Urban Planning and former Vice-President of the Bulgarian Chamber of Architects, and Liliya Lutskanova, lecturer in Urban Planning at Varna Free University, 24 August 2010, Varna. See also Todor Bulev, 'Architektur in Bulgarien von 1944 bis heute. Etappen einer Entwicklung', in Adolph Stiller (ed.), *Bulgarien. Architektonische Fragmente*, Salzburg: Pustet, 2007, pp. 90–141.

2 Robert S. Kane, *Eastern Europe A to Z. Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia—and the Soviet Union*, New York: Doubleday, 1968, pp. 55 / 56.

3 According to a spokesman for the Bulgarian Ministry of the Economy, Energy and Tourism, tourism in 2009 accounted for 10.5 percent of Bulgaria's

Early 1960s postcard of Hotel Tintyava in Sunny Beach, architect: Liliya Stoynova, 1960.

An ad in the Bulgarian journal *Arhitektura* in 1961, inviting foreign tourists to book a holiday with the state tourism agency, Balkantourist.

Sunny Beach hotels featured on a poster promoting the work of the central state institute for architecture and urban planning, Glavproekt, 1965.

12 Ghodsee 2005, pp. 84–88.

13 Karin Taylor, *From Trips to Modernity to Holidays in Nostalgia—Tourism History in Eastern and Southeastern Europe*, Tensions of Europe / Inventing Europe Working Paper Nr. WP_2011_01, March 2011, p. 20; Karin Taylor, *Let's Twist Again: Youth and Leisure in Socialist Bulgaria*, Vienna and Berlin: LIT, 2006, p. 111.

14 While, in 1960, circa 250,000 foreigners travelled in Bulgaria, their number increased circa tenfold by the year 1970, to 2.5 million, and doubled once again by 1980, to over 5 million. Hatschikjan 1990, p. 391.

15 Kasatschka / Marinov 2003.

16 Marin Bachvarov, 'Die schwierige Übergangsphase des bulgarischen Tourismus', *Südosteuropa-Studien*, 2000, vol. 66, pp. 89–102, here p. 93.

beach tourism was a valuable asset—and conveniently ignored the fact that exploiting this 'product' for profit was not entirely compatible with socialist economics. Strengthening cultural and economic ties with other socialist countries in Europe was one major incentive; another was the prospect of extracting much-needed hard currency from the pockets of tourists from capitalist countries.[12] The tourist product could be purchased and consumed as a completely organized package, but was available also to independent travellers in more flexible formats. A great deal of private accommodation was licenced too, to supplement provision by the state.[13] In the intervening decades, millions of guests have flocked to the country to enjoy the tourist product—and they have rapidly 'urbanized' the coast, in effect, for a few months each summer season.[14] In the 1960s and 70s, the holiday resorts and the range of services and attractions on offer were expanded and organized with ever greater professionalism. Which architectural formats underpinned this development and how they turned the holiday resorts into an internationally acclaimed showcase of Bulgarian architecture is discussed in the second section, with a particular focus on the Golden Sands resort and the Congress of the International Union of Architects held in Varna in 1972.

This gradual differentiation and upgrade of the tourist product steadily boosted visitor numbers until the mid 1980s. After 1989, they dropped significantly, for the tourism sector was confronted with the abrupt end of Bulgaria's established rapport with other Comecon countries and the uncertainties prompted by political and economic upheaval.[15] In the twenty-four years since then, organizational structures and property relations have changed in many regards, and so have vested interests in marketing the tourist product. In the course of privatization, state-owned tourism facilities were broken down into 130 smaller companies.[16] Hotels in the larger resorts were generally sold off individually. Following several years of stagnation and halting privatization, an investment and construction boom set in at the turn of the millennium, and radically altered the face of holiday resorts and tourism architecture. TUI, Neckermann, ITS, and other global players in the tourism industry, gained enormous influence over the design and pricing of the tourist product. Bulgaria's Black Sea coast was touted as a cheap destination, both to package-deal tourists and prospective

Patterns of prefab façades in Albena, at the time of construction and forty years later.

Hotel Dobrotitsa, architects: Nikolay Nenov, Rayna Shopova, 1969/70.

Hotel Dorostor, architects: Nikolay Nenov, Todorka Popova, 1969/70.

Hotel Laguna, architects: Nikolay Nenov, Kosto Kostov, 1969/70. Photo: Nikola Mihov 2012.

Hotel Laguna. Photo: Nikola Mihov 2012.

Albena 1997: Privatization of a pre-fab icon

Today, Albena, with its trademark step pyramid structures, is regarded as the most successful example of adaptation to what Bulgarians laconically refer to as 'the changes'—both economically and in terms of its overall physical planning.[52] This is due to the particular form of privatization it underwent: after 1989, the resort remained a single entity under centralized management and in the hands of the same people who had run it previously. Comprehensive and far-sighted planning built on what the management considered to be positive features of the original urban master plan for the resort. Albena thus maintained its strong, established profile, with regard to its architecture, its urban planning features and the quality of its tourist product. Here, we consider the exceptional case of this resort against the broader backdrop of tourism development since the collapse of state socialism and the privatization of holiday resorts in the 1990s.

Albena is the third largest and the youngest of the major coastal resorts. From its completion in the 1970s through to its privatization in 1997, the location barely changed. Most of its original buildings and facilities are still in good shape today. Planning and construction of the resort began at the end of the 1960s, on a sweeping stretch of sandy white beach around 10 km north of Golden Sands. Under the aegis of architect Nikolay Nenov, the entire resort was designed as a single functional entity, in a uniform style. Besides hotel buildings, chalet parks and camping sites, the master plan proposed five restaurants, a bar-cabaret, a casino, a shopping centre, leisure areas, and an all-year-round health centre. By the mid 1970s, the resort had around 14,000 beds and its construction was largely complete.[53]

Albena is composed of four main zones with diverse accommodation types and functions. A central hotel zone, set in elaborately landscaped grounds, contains striking, step pyramid hotel blocks, with a Y or L-shaped ground plan and staggered terraces. The hotels are clustered with restaurants in a way such as to half-enclose green courtyards, some of which are now used for swimming pools or activity programs. A zone with six shorefront hotels, all of them relatively high, and more steeply staggered structures, is situated at the southern limit of the central hotel zone. The so-called 'park zone' with its simpler hotel buildings and several chalet parks, is located at a higher level, some

52 Neshkov 2010; Hristov 2010; Ghodsee 2005, p. 133.

53 'Konkursen proekt No. 6: Kurorten kompleks Albena', *Arhitektura*, 1967, no. 4/5, pp. 33–35; Ivan Rahnev, 'Albena —Prekrasna i vdahnovena tvorba na savremennata balgarska arhitektura', *Arhitektura*, 1971, no. 1, pp. 4–18.

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52 Neshkov 2010; Hristov 2010; Ghodsee 2005, p. 133.

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Owing to this lack of investment, existing infrastructures such as sewerage and wastewater treatment systems, designed initially to serve a maximum of 30,000 holidaymakers, are now severely overstretched in the high season. In July 2010, a complete power cut lasted almost two days, leading some guests to pack up and demand reimbursement.[72] Every last patch of land in Sunny Beach is now commercialized, so there is a dearth of public spaces, pedestrian routes, and public parks and gardens, while access roads and car parks appear to have sprung up ad hoc. The once-broad promenades through the resort are lined with sales and amusements stands, bars and restaurants, and are consequently overcrowded. In 2010, the Minister of the Interior, Tsvetan Tsvetanov, promised to take action and tear down 750 illegally erected structures, primarily sales stands and food outlets. He also claimed the Sunny Beach plc would soon tackle noise, petty theft, prostitution and other problems in the resort.[73] The press was at least able to report, in summer 2011, that fifteen buildings had been demolished on the northern beach, that measures had been taken to restore public order, that a power plant was under construction, and that plans to build a wastewater purification station were being considered.[74] Yet hotel and restaurant owners' dissatisfaction with the Sunny Beach plc was unabated: in June 2011, they blocked important access roads in protest against illegitimately levied high fees for the use of public infrastructures, and demanded that community infrastructure, roads in particular, be handed back to the local authority and run in the public interest. In August 2012, the Bulgarian Union of Private Hotel Owners threatened even to take legal action against the Sunny Beach plc (and the Nessebar local authority) and thus finally force them to improve public infrastructure.[75]

Today, the tourist product that Sunny Beach stands for is very much the cheap, all-inclusive deal for binge-drinking, non-stop party people: generally those who are barely out of their teens. Even though most of its hotels have been upgraded and meet the standard requirements of West European tour operators, Bulgaria still offers the best 'summer getaway' package deals. Besides cheap hotels, the cost of eating out or drinking is minimal. In downtown Sunny

72 Ivan Dikov, 'The European Tijuana, i.e. Bulgaria's Sunny Beach: Tequila, Sex, Marijuana... But No Electricity', Sofia: Novinite.com, 15 August 2010, www.novinite.com/view_news.php?id=119205 (accessed 8 October 2012).

73 'Bulgarian Govt to Demolish Hundreds of Hotels in Sunny Beach', Sofia: Journey.bg, 23 July 2010, http://en.journey.bg/news/?news=6391 (accessed 8 October 2012).

74 See, e.g.: 'Illegal Buildings Demolished at Top Bulgarian Beach Resort', Sofia: Novinite.com, 9 August 2011, www.novinite.com/view_news.php?id=130960; 'Foreign Diplomats Demand Order at Bulgaria's Top Beach Resort', Sofia: Novinite.com, 10 June 2011, www.novinite.com/newsletter/print.php?id=129138; 'Electric Power Station Launched in Bulgarian Beach Resort', Sofia: Novinite.com, 25 June 2011, www.novinite.com/view_news.php?id=129616; 'Bulgarian Cabinet Mulls Coastal Sewage Bill', Sofia: Novinite.com, 8 August 2011, www.novinite.com/view_news.php?id=130931 (all accessed 8 October 2012).

75 'Bulgarian Hotel Owners to Sue Sunny Beach Company, Nessebar Municipality', Sofia: Novinite.com, 10 August 2012, www.novinite.com/view_news.php?id=142182 (accessed 8 October 2012).

Large-scale beachfront hotels built in Sunny Beach in the early 2000s. Photos: Nikola Mihov 2012.

Hotel Helena Resort.

Hotel Majestic.

Hotel Victoria Palace.

Hotel Kontinental: an inner street between two guestroom wings, 1972.

The Bar Orient, adjoining the Hotel Kontinental complex, architect: Nikola Nikolov, 1969.

choice of down-to-earth materials lends the building interesting haptic qualities and a mellow ambiance. The building's scale emphasizes human dimensions, and their layout creates shaded courtyards: cool oases of calm that serve as semi-public access routes and recreation zones. Cobbled paths and numerous cypress trees likewise evoke the atmosphere of traditional Bulgarian monasteries.

By 2002, however, the poor quality of the original building materials could no longer be overlooked: the hotel was in urgent need of an upgrade. Vladislav Nikolov, the original architect's son, took on the modernization scheme and thereby committed to preserving as much as possible of his father's architectural design. Certain compromises were required of him nonetheless: the exposed brickwork showed signs of extreme deterioration and was therefore plastered over, whereby the visual immediacy of untreated materials ceded to a conspicuous colour concept. As the guestrooms had to be extended to meet current

From ‘Social Tourism’ to a Mass Market Consumer Paradise. On the democratization and commodification of seaside tourism in Croatia

Michael Zinganel

Tourism is vital to Croatia’s economy today, for the sector accounts for 25 percent of the GDP. After years of war and a long-drawn-out, non-transparent privatization process, Croatia is fighting to re-establish itself as a leading leisure periphery for the European middle-class —and, even more ambitiously, for upper class and nouveau riche tourists from all over the globe. But only a few new facilities have been realized over the last twenty or thirty years. Most of the infrastructure now in use—especially the big, quality hotels and resorts of the late 1960s and early 70s—was built as part of the socialist modernization drive launched under Tito after WWII.

Croatia numbered among the six member states of the Socialist Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) founded in 1945: an agglomeration of regions that had been dominated for centuries by very disparate multinational empires. Most significantly, the SFRY represented a singular hybrid solution at the time, for it chose to tread the middle ground between the political and economic blocs of East and West. ‘Socialist Yugoslavia blurred the black and white picture of the Cold War world. From its sudden break from the Soviet orbit in 1948 until the fall of the Berlin Wall four decades later, it was an oddity wedged between the ideologically opposed Eastern and Western blocs that found a middle ground between them’; and hence, argues architecture historian Vladimir Kulić, architects and planners also blurred the lines between established categories of modernism.[1]

1 Vladimir Kulić, ‘East? West? Or Both? Foreign perceptions of architecture in Socialist Yugoslavia’, *Journal of Architecture*, 2009, vol. 14, no. 1., pp. 129–147. See also Vladimir Kulić, Maroje Mrduljaš and Wolfgang Thaler, *Modernism In-between. The Mediatory Architectures of Socialist Yugoslavia*, Berlin: Jovis 2012; Saša Randić and Idis Turato (eds), *In Between. A Book on the Croatian Coast, Global Processes, and How To Live With Them*, 10th International Venice Biennale, Rijeka: K.L.J.B., 2006.

'Come and see the truth!' (President Tito, 1955)

Tourism in Tito's Yugoslavia, as well as in certain other countries was welcomed as a motor of modernization: a means to transform what had hitherto been a primarily agricultural society. The widespread belief that land and property belong to all and that everyone should have the right of access to the sea was arguably specifically socialist but the most distinctive feature of the Yugoslav economy was the 'socialized company', which is to say, any place of production under workers' self-management. First established in the early 1950s, this economic model was then expanded step-by-step and adapted also for use by major tourism operators as well as by the planning and construction companies that designed and built their facilities.

The symbolic role of tourism was likewise of major importance in Tito's Yugoslavia: large, strikingly designed modernist hotel complexes were flagships of tourism, a perfect means to showcase the success of 'Third Way' policies and radical internationalism. Yugoslavia faced fierce criticism from the Eastern bloc after its rift with Stalin in 1948 yet, in the eyes of much of the West at the time, it was still a bit of a mystery: a communist country that was unable to count on Soviet support until the mid 1950s. Neither Yugoslavia's pioneering role as a co-founder of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM, 1961) nor its conviction that it ranked among the international political avant-garde was compatible with locking up its citizens in a ghetto, like states behind the Iron Curtain did. As the historian Igor Tchoukarine notes, 'The international mobility of its own population and the visa-free entry of visitors from the greatest possible range of foreign countries was intended to prove that criticism from abroad was mere fiction and far removed from reality'.[2] Major modern tourism operations were therefore conceived as cosmopolitan meeting points where the success of Tito's Third Way policies could be clearly communicated, both to domestic and international publics.[3]

The aim of this book therefore, is to inquire firstly, whether or to what extent the socio-spatial solutions developed under these particular conditions for the 'in-between' form[4] of international mass tourism were distinct from those elsewhere; and, secondly, whether or to what extent it proved possible to steer the post-socialist transformation of ex-Yugoslavia

2 Igor Tchoukarine, 'The Yugoslav Road to International Tourism', in Hannes Grandits and Karin Taylor (eds), *Yugoslavia's Sunny Side. A History of Tourism in Socialism (1950s to 1980s)*, Budapest and New York: Central European UP, 2010, pp. 107–138, here p. 114.

3 In planning terms, three UN-funded major integral development schemes for the Adriatic coast—the Jadranski projekti drafted between 1967 and 1972, in parallel to the most intensive phase of construction for tourism purposes—represent the climax of internationalism in Croatia. Vladimir Mattioni, *Jadranski projekti. Projekti južnog i gornjeg Jadrana 1967–1972*, Zagreb: Urbanistički institut Hrvatske, 2003.

4 As coined in the title of the publication by Kulić, Mrduljaš and Thaler, 2012.

Corresponding with the location and function, the architect Julije De Luca used a broad diversity of architectural styles.

The Hotel Neptun, adapted to the historical town centre of Poreč, 1968–70.

The Apartments Pical, a village in a pine forest, 1968-70.

Entrance to Hotel Rubin in Brulo resort in Poreč, 1970.

The Hotel Kristal, a dramatic orchestration of exposed concrete and natural stone, drawing on the architectural languages of Structuralism and the regional vernacular, 1970.

dominant element within a broader context—in order both to enhance their expressiveness and to preclude invasive clusters of dominant architectural forms. Hence their persuasive or exciting appeal owes much to the contrast and tension between them and their setting.[19]

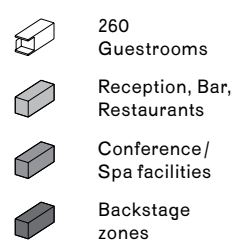
Unlike the vertical and/or cube-like constructions, the pavilion-like agglomerations strive for a more intense interaction between architecture and nature. These urban planning schemes include terraces, promenades, public infrastructure and landscaping, in order to take full advantage of the local vegetation. In more dense compositions, such ensembles form grids of a density comparable with historical town cores (Matija Salaj: Hotel Rivijera, Makarska, 1966). From its earliest days, the pavilion morphology explored such issues as how to configure public space yet maintain a careful equilibrium and sensitivity to environmental scale.

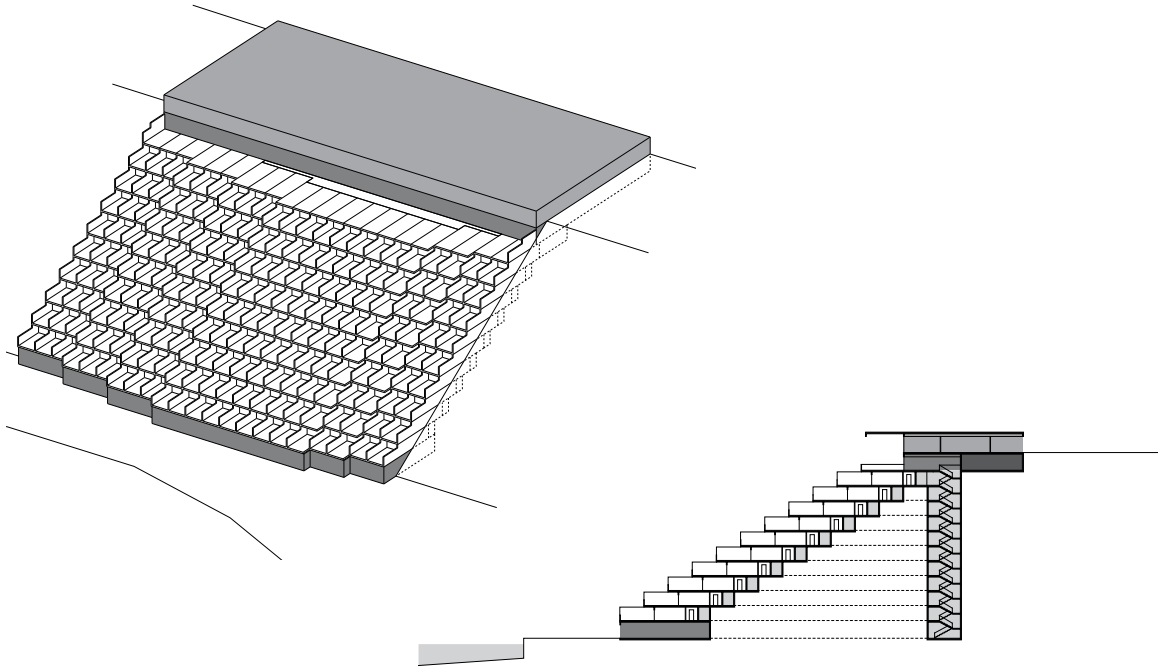
In the late 1960s, there was a rapid acceleration in exploration of diverse typological patterns based primarily on the structuralist principle of fragmenting volume into more 'individualized' dwelling unit-cells, and of using these in turn as the primary construction components for architectural and town planning complexes (Ante Rožić: Hotel Berulia, Brela, 1971; Zdravko Bregovac, Ivan Filipčić: Hotel Barbara, Borik-Zadar, 1970). [→ 1, 3] There were several reasons for this: conceptually and aesthetically speaking, what was felt at the time was the influence of various international movements and attempts to move urban structures, and especially dwelling structures, towards more diversified configurations. Pragmatically speaking, Structuralism was an efficient response to the increasing demand for accommodation capacity, without getting into structures that were excessively large. Owing to topographical variations, different approaches were developed for the horizontal sites of the northern Adriatic and the steep cliffs of the south. The hotels in Istria were articulated as clearly differentiated 'objects', whose wings extended into the landscape (Ivan Bartolić, Miroslav Begović: Hotel Eden, Rovinj, 1969–72; Julije De Luca: Hotel Kristal, Poreč, 1967–70). [→ 157, 242] Large, urbanized tourist territories were created by constructing strings of hotels interspersed with open spaces for various social activities. The hotels in central and southern Dalmatia make particularly successful use of the topography, in that they relate organically to the landscape through large-scale terraced formations. In certain instances, this was achieved by combining a number of parallel ribbons of nature and landscape (Lovro Perković:

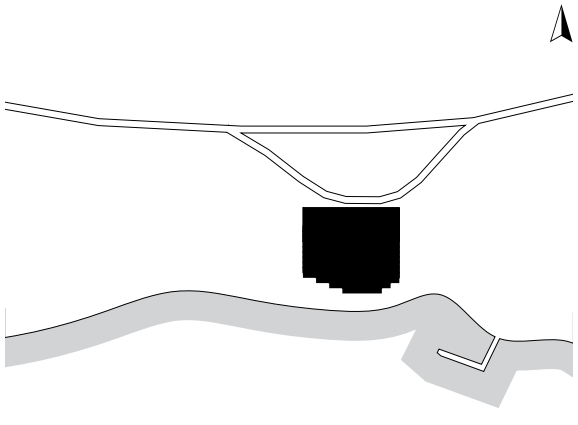
19 The influential art critic and historian Milan Prelog wrote in 1972 about the Hotel Neptun near Dubrovnik: 'This high building situated at an exposed part of the peninsula imposed itself on the spacious landscape. Its presence is justified only by commercial demands. This example of misuse of the landscape as a sort of "raw material" for the tourist industry unfortunately quickly found its followers', in Milan Prelog, *Prostor —vrijeme*, Zagreb: Grafički zavod Hrvatske, 1991.

Terraced Structures

Hotel Libertas in Dubrovnik
Architects: Andrija Čičin-Šain, Žarko Vincek, 1974







presently not so much slumbering as writhing in agony, has still to attain pre-war productivity levels and following EU accession in July 2013, will be obliged to close down unprofitable docks. For Croatians make their money from tourism, on the whole, and spend it on imports.

There is no shortage of princes who would like to awaken Sleeping Beauty with a kiss. Yet for want of scythes, sickles and shears, none of them is prepared to clear the brambles that have sprung up around her over the last twenty years. There is nonetheless a great deal of activity in the wilderness around Sleeping Beauty: since 2006, the number of visitors to Croatia has regularly exceeded pre-war figures. Yet the Adriatic still only makes a fraction of what it might. Around 40 percent of tourist beds are in private properties: a European record. This is also a cause for complaint, however, and has been at least since the 1980s,[2] because a 'Room To Let' sign is practically synonymous with tax evasion. Yet although the tax office is out of pocket, no political party wants to address the problem and thereby risk the wrath of the many people who let rooms. The season is short, in any case; even for hotels it lasts only two months. For the few guests who arrive outside of July and August, there is little on offer. Günter Ihlau, a manager with TUI and Director of the German Travel Association's Foreign Department, believes tourist infrastructure is inadequate: there are neither congress centres and theme parks enough, nor opportunities for sports, hiking and sightseeing, except perhaps in the niche sector aimed at adventurers, who are in any case more interested in exploring remote 'virgin' destinations. Large sections of the coast and certainly the islands cannot be reached easily, and a short, off-season break is therefore generally out of the question.[3]

But it is investors with an interest in remedying these ills that are most conspicuous by their absence on the Adriatic coast. The state has neither the know-how nor (given all else it has to do), the resources to tackle tourism infrastructure. One major achievement of public spending in recent years (despite considerable controversy regarding the award of tenders) was the new Zagreb–Rijeka–Split motorway, now being extended southwards to Dubrovnik. Yet even in richer countries, construction of a shorefront promenade, a golf course or a local airport requires the commitment of private investors and it is they, ultimately, who profit most from such ventures. To understand why there are so few private investors in Croatia, one must take a look at the country's history.

2 See Karin Taylor, 'Fishing for tourists. Tourism and Household Enterprise in Biograd na Moru', in Hannes Grandits and Karin Taylor (eds), *Yugoslavia's Sunny Side. A History of Tourism in Socialism* (1950s to 1980s), Budapest: Central European UP, 2010, pp. 241–78.

3 For more details, see Norbert Mappes-Niediek, *Kroatien. Das Land hinter der Adria-Kulisse*, Berlin: Ch. Links, 2009, pp. 102–13.

4 The Atlas agency in Dubrovnik, a successor to Putnik (the former state travel agency steered by Belgrade), is a perfect example of this. Atlas became an independent company in the course of the general decentralization process of 1964, then bought up the capacities of other 'socialized companies' and went on to become a renowned international market player.

5 For more details, see Peter Jordan, 'The Impact of Foreign and Indigenous Capital in Rebuilding Croatia's Tourism Industry', in David Turnock (ed.), *Foreign Direct Investment and Regional Development in East Central Europe and the Former Soviet Union*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005, pp. 243–66, here p. 243, 256.

Social ownership—from success story to stumbling block

Yugoslavia was a socialist country, but the centrally planned economy did not predominate. When European mass tourism began in the 1960s, the system under development there was a combination of a social market economy and workers' self-management. The socialist feature of this system—hammered out on paper in 1950, but established at the institutional level only gradually[4]—was the absence of private ownership of the means of production or, in the case of tourism, of the means of reproduction. The competition between economic players was similar to that under capitalism, but not so deregulated as to end in bankruptcy and mass redundancy. The Communist Party under Tito's leadership strove to limit competition by pursuing social objectives, such as full employment and social equality. Further brakes on competition were the Communist Party's monopoly on recruitment—largely of personnel who were themselves Party members—and, first and foremost, the fact that banks had been nationalized. Democratically elected managers could apply solely to nationalized banks for the credit necessary to expand an enterprise. Their success therefore depended on staying in favour with the banks and policymakers, as well as with the employees in a position to vote them out of office.[5]

Yugoslavia was a socialist country, and large enterprises could therefore not be privately run. Given that competition between companies owned by one and the same person is patently absurd, the Party under Tito came up with a third category of ownership. In addition to the categories of 'nationalized' property and 'private' property, such as existed in Yugoslavia already, they came up with 'socialized property'. What this concept strictly implied in judicial terms was never clarified; the term 'socialized' denotes neither a legal entity nor a legal person. In practice, such companies operated with a certain degree of autonomy under elected management. The managers therefore wielded considerable power. Party politicians had little leverage with which to oust unwelcome or over-powerful managers. They therefore mostly took judicial recourse, using corruption charges to rid themselves of those who had fallen from grace. Many a bad habit common in present-day ex-Yugoslavia is modelled on this well-rehearsed spiel.

Zagreb, took with him a part of the military budget—a deed for which he was finally sentenced, in early 2010, to seven years in a Zagreb prison.

The first mysterious sales followed shortly on the heels of the Hypo Alpe-Adria's arrival on the Croatian market. In December 2000, the elected council of the rural community of Vodnjan sold 374,000 m^2 of unspoilt Mediterranean coastline to a hitherto unknown company, at the bargain rate of 5.12 EUR per m^2. The Hypo Alpe-Adria financed the transaction—only the first in a long string of deals with obscure investors. The chairwoman of the board of the real estate company was the local Hypo manager. The company was registered in the names of a Klagenfurt-based lawyer, previously unheard of in the world of real estate, and a Viennese real estate speculator, former financial consultant to Haider's radical right-wing Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ), and an FPÖ Member of Parliament at the time of the Vodnjan deal. The purchase of an equally choice yet twice as large strip of the country followed a few months later, this time for the paltry price of 7.35 EUR per m^2.

Before the ink on the contract was dry, the council voted to classify the hastily sold nature reserve as a perfect place for tourism development. The land there, dubbed 'Brioni Riviera' for marketing purposes, rose in value by 200 percent overnight. The buyers did not even blush. Chatting to the local paper *Glas Istre*, Wolfgang Kulterer, then still a director of Hypo, said revision of the land's status had been promised, prior to the sale. Haider's colleague Stevo Žufić, in the meantime president of the regional parliament, became director of one of the two companies. With Austrian support, a prince had at last been found for Istria: not a handsome prince, it is true, but a wily and powerful one.

Following its sale to the German Bayerische Landesbank (Bayern LB) in spring 2007, the Hypo Alpe-Adria became a victim of its dubious business deals in Croatia. Projects initiated by local real estate sharks —the Skiper residence in Savudrija, for example, on the Slovenian border—have now ground to a halt. Investors have proved too weak to withstand the recent crisis, dwindling tourist numbers and, above all, stagnation on the apartments market. Fortunately, the Hypo adventure on the Adriatic coast has left behind only a limited number of ruins. Some of them already went to the bank—to balance unpaid loans—and more will probably follow. Nowadays, barely anyone believes that the battered bastion of credit is in a position to invest wisely and create a blossoming landscape.

The last property reserves

The Zagreb office of the international consultants Horwath HTL, seat of the greatest tourism development expertise in the region, is likewise disillusioned: now, nobody reckons with a knight in shining armour. Director Miroslav Dragičević recommends that a state development fund be set up, in order to at least develop the few remaining military properties with a measure of vision and strategic foresight, even though failure to prevent privatization of the tourism sector has already wrought widespread and irreparable damage.

The Croatian Ministry of Defence does in fact still have as many as twenty-eight large and valuable properties at its disposal. These previously belonged to the Yugoslav National Army, which used them both for military purposes and as holiday resorts solely for army personnel and its families. The government has estimated the value of these properties, twenty-six of which are on the coast or on islands, at circa three billion Kuna (412 million EUR). Most of them are situated near the fortified town of Pula or on the island of Vis, formerly a restricted zone. However, disputed property rights often delay the privatization process. After World War II, there was no tourism and such properties were therefore of little immediate value. The army often simply requisitioned them. A further hindrance to investment on Župa Dubrovačka, a former military site near Dubrovnik, is the existence of three derelict hotels, the Kupari, the Gorićina and the Pelegrin. [→ 226] Investors can be found for many objects, and ideas for others are plentiful. Yet no comprehensive master plan exists.

In any case, setting up a fund to develop former military sites is highly unlikely to fulfil the fairy-tale promise, that a spectacular kiss might save the enchanted castle. Yet Sleeping Beauty has not aged during her long years of slumber: her beauty is there still, to be enjoyed by all. Dragičević has therefore pinned his hopes not only on the fund, but also on solvent German pensioners who may choose to settle permanently on the islands and the coast, Mallorca-style, persuade their children and grandchildren to join them there for holidays, and ultimately spend all their savings in his pensioners' paradise. That would be a novel yet fitting end for the fairy tale. For when they die, they magically grow back again, and live forever and ever.

Hotel Marjan, Split

Built in 1963, the original Hotel Marjan was an integral part of a radical urban development scheme drawn up in 1959 by a team of architects: Fabijan Barišić, Srđan Baldasar, Branko Kalajdžić, Berislav Kalogjera, Petar Mudnić, Lovro Perković, Budimir Pervan and Neven Šegvić. Their proposal was to set along the entire length of the harbour's western pier a long, low slab, the indented sections of which would contain individual atria bordered on one side by a shell and on the other, by a striking high-rise cube. The proposal was remarkably reminiscent of the structure of the Hotel Hilton International in Teheran, designed by Heydar Ghiai-Chamlou and opened in 1963; and the Teheran hotel, for its part, appears to have been inspired by Oscar Niemeyer's design for the National Congress in Brasília (1958–60).

In the case of the Marjan, however, existing buildings had to be taken into account, so the horizontal slab was shortened and the shell structure completely abandoned. Nonetheless, the combination of a horizontal slab containing backstage, service and communication zones and the 11-storey guestroom cube floating above it amounted at the time to state-of-the-art urban hotel architecture. The Marjan looked indisputably like a Hilton International—and immediately became the number one choice in central Dalmatia for international celebrities, such as Sophia Loren, Orson Welles, Albert of Monaco, etc., and remained so throughout the socialist era.

From 1991/92, the Hotel Marjan was requisitioned as emergency accommodation for war refugees. It was later minimally refurbished and run as a much less glamorous 3-star operation. Guests at the time stayed in nearby ancillary buildings. Rooms in the cube have remained vacant since the war.

shortened, the striking concrete slabs were cut back and smoothed down, and the pool and beach bar complex was extended considerably towards the shoreline. Above the fluid communication zone that previously rose barely above the cliff face, there now squats a massive, 2-storey structure: a covered atrium, containing a spacious hall open to the coast road and punctuated on its seaside elevation by a central stairwell encased in a monumental glazed cube. Sadly, this combination destroys the subtle proportions and harmonious restraint of the original development. The new extensions accommodate a diverse spatial program, including additional suites, various themed restaurants, bars, a casino, conference rooms, and extensive spa and wellness facilities; thus, whether seen from the sea or from the road, the hotel's 5-star status can never be overlooked. In contrast to the palatial design proposals submitted by other architects, this solution does at least draw on an explicitly modern design idiom. (MZ)

Valamar Lacroma Babin Kuk, Dubrovnik

From 1969 onwards, in the framework of the UN-funded Jadranski projekti development scheme for the Adriatic Coast, several concrete urban planning schemes were devised also for Babin Kuk, a peninsula to the northwest of Dubrovnik. Had the international planning team led by SWECO and Associates had its way, the largest and most densely built resort on the entire Adriatic coast would have taken shape there. The concept was to cast across the whole peninsula a strictly structuralist and metabolist urban fabric, composed of huge, canopied connecting axes and gigantic terraced buildings in exposed concrete. This development would have encompassed the entire peninsula as well as the mountain range, up to the summit of its highest peaks. It was even planned to install a cable car system to link up the peninsula's various levels. [→ 175]

However, the financial resources and political will to realize the whole scheme were not forthcoming. A renowned American office with an international portfolio was commissioned nonetheless: Edward Durell Stone Associates had a strong track record in high-profile state projects in India, Pakistan and Puerto Rico, and also built hotels in the Caribbean. The choice was a gesture of goodwill towards the US-American development bank co-funding the project, and equally a means of showing off to the world the cosmopolitanism of Tito's Third Way. It also put Dubrovnik on the map in the United States, as a novel tourist destination.

Valamar Lacroma Babin Kuk, Dubrovnik

Architects: Edward Durell Stone Associates (USA), 1976
Modernization: Valamar, architect: Boris Podrecca (A), 2005–09

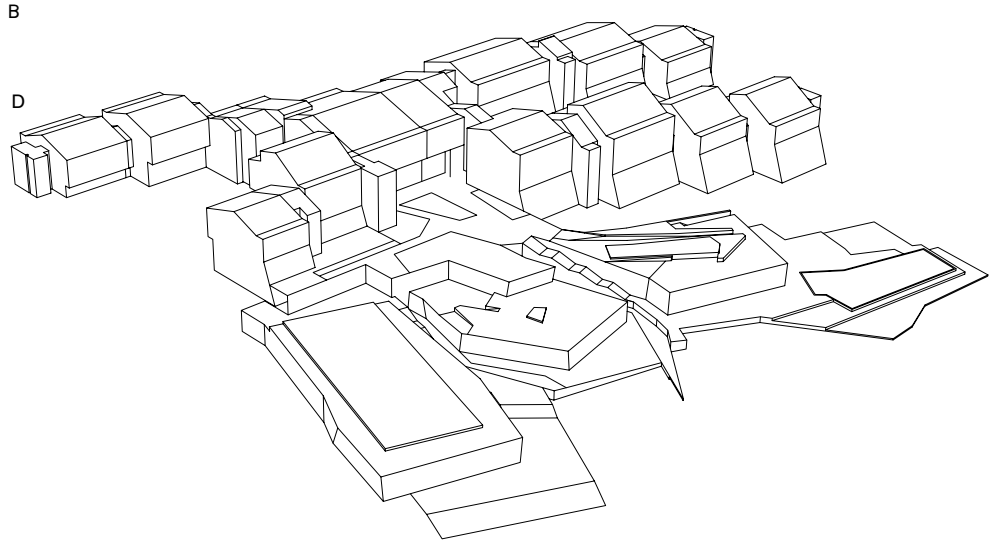
A View of the entire Babin Kuk resort.
B The redesigned forecourt and new cladding of the original guestroom sections.
C The 'cliffs and canyons' of the new volumes reference the local landscape. Photos: Miran Kambič, 2009.
D Sketch of the renovated original structures, with the arrhythmically situated new volumes in the foreground. Isometric drawing: Atelier Podrecca.

A

B

C

D



Falkensteiner Hotels & Residences Punta Skala, Zadar

On the Punta Skala peninsula near Petrčane, 15 km to the north of Zadar city centre and directly in the approach path of the Zadar-Zaton military airport, a 1,500-bed tourism development was completed in 1972: a 260-room hotel comprised of four groups of atrium-style, 3-storey structures, whose guestroom sections on slender piles seemed to float above the communal areas, and a holiday settlement composed of stand-alone, semi-detached properties, the planned expansion of which foresaw accommodation for a further 1,000 guests.

The investor was Iadera, a subsidiary of a major shipping company in Zadar. Planning and execution were entrusted to the Soko Metalworks in Mostar, renowned in ex-Yugoslavia as the leading manufacturer of combat aircraft. Buildings for the entire resort designed by Šemsudin Serdarević and Zijad Demirović—Bosnian architects in the Metalworks' in-house planning department—accordingly turned out to be lightweight, modular systems of steel skeletons and prefab wall and ceiling elements. As soon as the hotel was finished it was leased, however, to the top German operator in nudist holidays, Otto Böcher Tourist Union (Oböna) from Bad Nauheim, which subsequently let all the semi-detached properties located within the nudist community, and sold the rest to private buyers. Until the war broke out, Punta Skala was regarded internationally as one of the top Mediterranean nudist resorts.

After 1991, Punta Skala was used for several years as a refugee camp and then eventually demolished on account of structural defects. Together with its Croatian joint venture partner, the Vienna-based Falkensteiner Michaeler Tourism Group (FMTG) invested 160 million EUR in order to develop an entirely new concept attuned to the new market mechanisms: following a limited architectural competition, the commission for the master plan as well as for the design of all the buildings—a brief so comprehensive as to astound even the winning architect—went to the Viennese Boris Podrecca. Responsibility for interior design was entrusted to star designer Matteo Thun and his associates Beate Mitterhofer and Gretchen Alexander.

In the tradition of modernist socialist resorts, varied structures were set at a comfortable distance from one another within the 29.6 hectares of parkland: the 4-star Falkensteiner Family Hotel Diadora —252 so-called family suites in a U-shaped building that both physically encompasses a child-friendly AquaWorld and effectively contains all the noise emitted from it—opened in 2009 along with the adjacent

Falkensteiner Hotels & Residences Punta Skala, Zadar

Architects: Šemsudin Serdarević, Zijad Demirović, 1972
Modernization: Falkensteiner Michaeler Tourism Group, architect: Boris Podrecca, 2006–11

A Punta Skala in 1972: an atrium-style hotel structure and apartments, realized throughout in prefab panels and steel.

B Aerial view of the entire new resort, comprising several hotels and individually owned 'serviced residences':
1 The family hotel with 'AquaWorld'
2 Serviced apartments for sale
3 5-star Hotel Iadera with Conference Centre and Spa
4 'Village' of second homes for sale
Rendering: Atelier Podrecca 2006.

C Sea view from the 5-star Hotel Iadera opened in 2011. Photo: Miran Kambič 2011.

A

B

C

Haludovo Resort,
Malinska, Krk Island

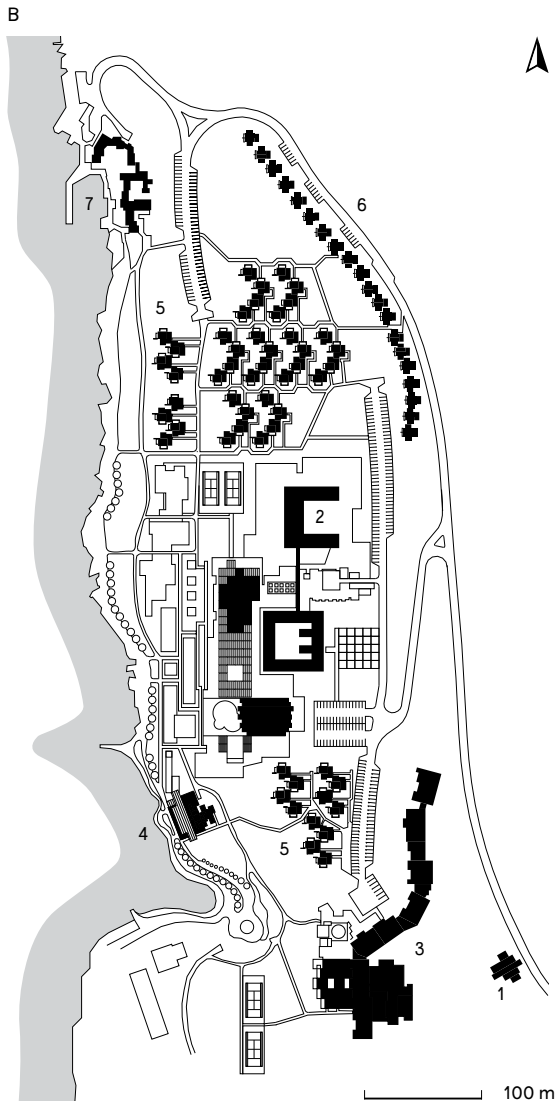
Architect: Boris Magaš, 1971 / 72

A A juxtaposition of styles: The 'Fishermen's Village' and the pool in front of the Hotel Palace at the heart of the resort upon completion. Photos: Boris Magaš, 1972.

B Site plan of the entire Haludovo resort in 2012.

1 Reception; Gateman's lodge (vacant; last used as an architects' site office)
2 Hotel Palace, Category A, with both an indoor and outdoor pool (vacant ruin)
3 Hotel Tamaris, Category B (demolished)
4 Beach bar and restaurant (vacant ruin)
5 Bungalows, each with its own atrium (vacant ruins)
6 Terraced 2-storey apartment houses (renovated and in use)
7 Fishing port with restaurant and pier (renovated and in use)

B



A

commercial viability. Adris accordingly affords itself the curatorial services of a graphic designer who first earned her professional stripes in Italy and now, since the Lone Maistra opened in 2011, has the job of ensuring that guests and personnel alike respect the hotel's special design concept. (MZ)

Haludovo Resort, Malinska, Krk Island

After Boris Magaš had been awarded one of Yugoslavia's most prestigious architecture prizes for his first major tourism project, the Solaris hotel complex in Šibenik (1967 / 68), Brodokomerc of Rijeka commissioned an entire resort for a bay to the north of Malinska, on the island of Krk—and, so the architect claims, left the design entirely up to him.

Malinska was ideally situated, close the new airport of Rijeka and to the planned bridge to the mainland, but it was neither a Venetian pearl of a peninsula town nor a picturesque fishermen's port, and therefore no guarantee of pleasant views or of opportunities for extensive sightseeing and leisure. The architect therefore chose to create an extensive landscaped park and meld within it such a broad range of building types—including classic civic references, such as a harbour, fortress walls, palaces and suburbs—as to create a persuasively urban ensemble. The multi-storey blocks of the Hotel Tamaris and a line of 2-storey terraced apartment houses along the resort's inland limits serve to shield it from its surroundings. Before them, more or less dense clusters of holiday bungalows, each with its own atrium, are dotted about the broad swathe of pine forest. The quaint mini-marina set up on the shore in the style of a small Mediterranean fishing port, complete with pier but framed in this case by postmodern structures, offers mooring and an additional gastronomy zone. The heart of the resort—the Hotel Palace—is a large-scale architectural complex that originally encompassed guestroom and foyer sections, restaurants, cafes, a club, bowling alleys, and generously sized indoor and outdoor pools.

As at the Solaris complex, architect Boris Magaš proved himself to be a virtuoso of gigantic volumes: the staggered heights and offset ground plans of almost all the construction elements create a flowing space virtually without scale, whose appeal is further enhanced by the fine horizontal slats on the façades, the characteristic, slightly offset U-shaped concrete shells, the gigantic pergolas enclosing the buildings and interstices, and the elaborately landscaped setting.

nothing ever transpired. On the contrary, the building has since been stripped of almost all it ever had of any value, and stands today as a crestfallen monument to late modern holiday architecture and its own bizarre history—so it is no surprise to come across numerous dramatic photos of the ruins in the relevant internet forums.

In the gateman's lodge, one can still find signs of aspirations to revamp it as an architects' office, but that was as far as redevelopment went. The Hotel Tamaris has been completely demolished, the little terraced apartment houses are vacant and the derelict Hotel Palace has had to be declared unsafe and off limits. Nature has long since reclaimed the tennis courts. The only parts of the resort refurbished and back in use are the holiday apartments and the fishermen's village, Ribarsko Selo, where rooms are let without much need of advertising. Ara Abramian himself arrives at least once a year, to spend holidays with his clan on the margins of the ghost resort —in the postmodern imitation of a small Mediterranean fishing port, which served in the 1970s as a photo-shoot backdrop for celebrities and Penthouse Pets, posing on expensive speedboats. Nevertheless, enjoying a view of the artificial pine forest while taking a dip in the bay, or sitting on the pier, or in a restaurant on the port is as popular as ever with the locals, the day-trippers from Rijeka and the people renting one of Malinska's numerous holiday apartments. For despite privatization, the littoral here and throughout all Croatia remains public property—access to the sea is guaranteed. (MZ)

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