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Sense of place: Perceptions of permanent and temporary residents in Croatia

Abstract

We analyze various aspects of the "sense of place" concept in the littoral municipality of Okrug on the island of Čiovo near Trogir. The basis of our research is the difference in perceptions between permanent and temporary residents upon which we draw conclusions and policy implications. The research is embedded into a wider literature and policy discussion on ecosystem services, second homes and counter-urbanization process in Croatia in particular. Our results show that the "sense of place" construct consists of multiple sub-concepts, which, in turn, have multiple factors. Also, the difference in perception of various sub-concepts of the "sense of place" between permanent and temporary residents has been found. The research confirmed the differences in place attachment and place dependence between permanent and temporary residents. Furthermore, a statistically significant difference in the numbers of second-home owners, who rate themselves as natives and newcomers has been confirmed thus suggesting that place rootedness sub-concept may influence the perception of the "sense of place". The overall results have implications for theoretical debate on the "sense of place" and inform range of domestic policy makers in spatial planning, tourism and regional development.

Key words: sense of place; ecosystem services; second homes; place attachment; place dependence; place rootedness; temporary and permanent residents; Croatia

Introduction and research context

The "sense of place" is a multidimensional construct (Shamai & Ilatov, 2005) used to explain the relationship between places and people in different contexts. Also, the "sense of place" is a dimension of a larger concept of ecosystem services that became highly visible when the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (2005) was structured explicitly around that concept (Fisher et al., 2008). Since the release of Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (2005), the concept of ecosystem services has been widely discussed through various academic perspectives (Ruhl & Salzman, 2007; Craig, 2007; Fisher et al., 2008; Blanco Razzaque, 2009; Garcia-Llorente, 2011) and in different policy-oriented documents (Population Council, 2005; European Communities, 2008; TEEB, 2009, 2010; URS, 2013). Commonly, ecosystem services are divided into four specific types of services: supporting, regulating, provisioning and cultural services (Millennium Ecosystem Assessment, 2005; Liquete et al., 2016). Within this typology, the "sense of place" is considered as a cultural ecosystem service.

According to TEEB (2010, p. 19): "Cultural services include the non-material benefits people obtain from contact with ecosystems. They include aesthetic, spiritual, and psychological benefits." Other policy documents such as URS (2013) mention the "sense of place" in practically every "broad habitat" (URS, 2013, p. 11)¹ including urban, rural, coastal margins, and marine habitats. Thus, all habitats emanate some kind of cultural services, which can be labeled as the "sense of place." Since cultural

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services are embedded in territories where people chose to live, they are vital for understanding both: pull side of human proto-settlement choices and sedentary practices in particular "habitats," and push side of unforced human migrations (i.e. why some locations become more or less attractive in specific market circumstances). In this perspective, the "sense of place" is a concept relevant for all countries and territories in which peaceful social dynamics underpins the rise of prosperity or produces social and economic decay. When analyzed locally, the "sense of place" helps understand how local communities define attachment to the place and what meaning a certain place has for the community's collective spirit. On the global level, it helps to address better the problem of endangerment of cultural services in different places and circumstances by various types of human activities. Thus, the concept of the "sense of place" can be regarded as vital for the protection of cultural diversity worldwide.

Historically, natural resource industries such as mining, logging, and oil industries have been notorious for pollution of habitats and massive waste generation (May, 1999). Therefore, it is acceptable to suggest natural resource industries have, in general, been hostile to the "sense of place" in many locations in industrialized world. This is partly the reason for the rise of the phenomenon of secondary residence as it was historically strongly related to the beautiful environments and aesthetic, spiritual and recreational benefits that owners want to experience in pristine environments (Krippendorf, 1975; Hall & Muller, 2004). Also, the phenomenon of secondary residences was usually associated with the quest for an alternative universe and other more authentic life thus adding to the recreational, psychological, and cognitive dimensions of social dynamics underpinning the phenomenon (Urbain, 2002; Boyer, 2008). Furthermore, it is rational to assume that pristine environments where people built/bought/owned secondary residences were perceived by people living in industrialized societies as having preserved the appealing "sense of place," the quest for which was a primary reason for strong counter urbanization vector in highly industrialized and urbanized societies of the 20th century (Halfacree, 2012). The promotion of cities and the affluence and mobility of modern city dwellers are continuing to be key factors that drive demand for second homes in beautiful environments especially maritime ones (Paris, 2011; Roca, 2013). Therefore, *ceteris paribus*, counter-urbanization dynamics is not going to diminish in the near future.

Countries of the Northern Mediterranean such as Portugal, Spain, France, Monaco, and Italy have been known for a long history of second-home ownership. Also, in the 20th century, those countries have become popular destinations for a wide range of second-home ownership typologies and counter-urbanization practices (Roca, 2013). As a result, the aforementioned countries have recorded various benefits from (mostly coastal) second-home ownership labeled as positive externalities (Chanut, 1977; Buhot, 2008; Claval, 2013). However, by the end of the 20th century, a range of negative externalities related to various socio-spatial dimensions of the phenomenon of second-home ownership have been evidenced to stem from permissive planning (Claval, 2013) and unregulated and massive presence in beautiful environments and sites that tourists go to experience (May, 199, p. 57).

What is historically relevant for second-home ownership patterns and the push-and-pull dynamics in the North Mediterranean countries is, *mutatis mutandis*, relevant for historical patterns of second-home ownership and counter-urbanization dynamics in Croatia (Rogić, Mišetić & Zimmerman, 2006; Opačić, 2008). However, it should be noted that, contrary to the core EU countries, where dynamic counter-urbanization started already in the mid-20th century, in Croatia a massive counter-urbanization vector occurred much later, at the beginning of the 21st century (Miletić, 2011). Also, in Croatia, a counter-urbanization process occurred within the context of strong historical polarization of regional development, which is why negative effects of massive popular and spatially permissive counter-urbanization process swiftly became highly visible in the littoral parts of Croatia: "The polarization

of regional development intensified in the socialist period with strong industrialization and littoralization, transforming some areas into suburban zones, others into over-built tourist settlements, and some into peripheral and marginal areas. The Homeland War (1991–1995) and the transition into a market economy were among the last very influential elements of spatial and regional transformation of the country" (Lukić, 2013, p. 362).

Such circumstances created a situation in which a growing number of settlements transformed from rural to semi-urban settlements (CSB, 2011), particularly in littoral Croatia, because of an intense counter urbanization vector. Indeed, the national census published in 2011 revealed that the number of second homes/apartments increased for approximately 250,000 units in 2001 – 2011 period thus encompassing 20% of national housing fund (Miletić, 2011). This raised a public concern over the unsustainable character of the process (Poljanec-Borić, 2013) by suggesting that permissive spatial policies in littoral Croatia strongly intensify already strong historical regional polarization linked to the decline of agricultural production in Croatia and the effects of the Homeland War, which both had strongest negative consequences in continental Croatia, especially in the Slavonian region. Also, the very process of counter-urbanization started to generate other types of structural problems such as fast conversion of agricultural land into building areas and skyrocketing of real estate prices in most attractive spots on the Croatian coast (Opačić, 2011). Unregulated counter-urbanization fostered urban and rural sprawl on the Croatian coast and islands and raised public concern for the competitiveness of Croatian tourist destinations, which are in fierce competition with other North Mediterranean EU countries due to the globalization.

Croatia adopted a new Strategy of Tourism Development until 2020 (Official Gazette, 55/2013), prior to joining EU on July 1, 2013. The mentioned strategy declared that tourism policies should, to the greater degree, take into consideration the "sense of place" and sustainability in further tourism development until 2020. This was understood as a sign of concern over destruction of cultural ecosystem services in the littoral parts of Croatia and as a call for regulation of spatial policies and promotion of sustainable development of tourism. In this policy context, a rather large project devoted to second homes and the social sustainability of local communities has been financed by National Scientific Croatian Fund as of 2014.²

The whole project was designed in a way to empirically investigate the second-home phenomenon in three settlements with steep increase of the number of second homes in the 2001 – 2011 period and a high proportion of second homes in the total number of housing units. Out of three chosen sites, two are on the Adriatic coast and one is in the Continental Croatia, in Slavonia, on the shores of Danube River. Within the mentioned project, one of the tasks looks at the perception of "sense of place" by permanent and temporary residents in settlements with high number of second homes/apartments in Croatia. Each chosen research site has different socio-spatial features and different time sequences of counter urbanization. The results discussed below stem from empirical research undertaken in 2016, in the first selected site, a littoral municipality of Okrug on the island of Čiovo near Trogir, a UNESCO-protected site. The chosen site is characterized by extensive sprawl. Originally the settlement was located on the top of the hill. However, over time, the construction of houses sprawled toward the littoral part of municipality now primarily used for second-home residences/apartments while permanent residences are scattered in the space within and around original settlement and also along the coast.

Indeed, when looking at the map of the settlement, which has now largely overcome its original administrative limits, it is rational to hypothesize that such punctual and unregulated spatial configuration of the settlement could compromise the key driving force of counter-urbanization, i.e. the quest of

aesthetic and recreational benefits (Krippendorf, 1975), alternative universe and more authentic life (Urbain, 2002; Boyer, 2008). This would certainly undermine local economy now heavily dependent on the services provided to the seasonal demand generated by second-home owners and tourists residing in their as well as locally owned houses.

In order to find out what actually represents the "sense of place" in such an environment it was crucial to find out how do temporary and permanent residents perceive the "sense of place" in a chosen research site and what are the differences in perception between various groups, which share the same "space/place?" It has been assessed that answers to those questions will help better understand modern perception of the "sense of place" and inform future spatial policies in littoral Croatia where (counter)-urbanization pressure constantly rises. Thus, the specific aims of this part of the research are to identify the factors that create the "sense of place" in this particular territorial assemblage (Sassen, 2008) and to find out whether there are differences in perception of the "sense of place" between permanent and temporary residents in this very site.

After the introduction, the second part discusses different perspectives in which the "sense of place concept" has been used in related literature and this research. The research setting and methodology are explained in the third part. The fourth part discusses results and final part concludes by suggesting some policy implications and pointing out to the limitations of the research.

The "sense of place" concept in perspective

The "sense of place" concept has been explored in a wide variety of literatures, but in this research we are predominantly interested in the way the concept is understood in the context of human geography, environmental psychology, and sociology because those disciplines can provide relevant and immediate answers for policy purposes. Large and growing body of literature on second (holiday) homes nests research on "sense of place" and the two literatures are closely related. Tourism and leisure spaces add meaning to life through identity formation and connecting with the place (Williams & Hall, 2000). Tourists are looking for escape from modernity in natural, authentic and simple life so that their identity formation can be closely related to either engaging in ownership of second homes or in pursue of tourism activities. Holiday home is therefore seen as connecting the ordinary and the extraordinary life, home and away.

Literature on second homes has a long history of research (Ragatz, 1970; Shucksmith, 1983; Jaakson, 1986) but has mostly stayed dormant until deliberate and planned use of second homes became an economic development tool in late 1990s (Hall & Müller, 2004). Research focus has been on the economic, social, demographic and environmental impacts of second homes on the local community (Casado-Diaz, 1999) more than on the owners of holiday homes. Defining the concept of second home is not straightforward and goes only with difficulties. However, literature understands second home as an urban rural continuum, housing tourism continuum, work and leisure continuum, work retirement continuum (Coppock, 1977) or more broadly as a space for recreational tourism (Salletmaier, 1993). Motives for second home ownership are recognized as a striving towards modernity, identity management and having contrast to everyday life and status (Kaltenborn, 1998). Müller (2004) points to the "notion of rurality" where identification with local community, family or place as a response to globalization pressures plays an important motive for second home ownership. The holiday home serves as a path to experiences that are not present in everyday life (Hall & Müller, 2004) and leads to the inversion of it where tourist places and surrounding nature shape new form of authenticity that is distinctly different and separated from an ordinary life.

Taken that second home owners are somewhere between tourist and local community spheres, they must be analysed within the complex and interrelated matrix of social, economic and environmental elements. Second homes fall into the interface of multiple public policy domains like leisure, planning and housing and therefore require an examination that takes into account residents, their interactions with neighbours and local surroundings (Gallent, Mace & Tewdwr-Jones, 2005). Negative dynamics related to holiday housing have been observed (Hall & Müller, 2004) and policy should act as a correction mechanism when necessary, especially in terms of preventing displacement of traditional permanent population and strengthening opportunities for inward migration (Gallent, Mace & Tewdwr-Jones, 2003). Frictions related to second home ownership and local communities are usually due to different social and economic backgrounds of second home owners (Gallent, Mace & Tewdwr-Jones, 2004), loss of cultural identity, seasonality, environmental pressures, changes of the local housing market so policy should address these issues by offering a democratic platform for local decision making and governance. Policies directed towards participation of the second home owners in the local community could serve as buffers that cause stronger feelings of responsibility and better integration. Second home policies should therefore enhance local community through improvements of social networks, improving knowledge and bringing new ideas.

It seems that home owners develop a deep personal relationship with and within the area, which constitutes their sense of emotional security and self-identity so that "sense of place" acts as an important element for understanding the second home phenomenon. This is especially evident in the context of plurality of definitions and overlaps between the two literatures. The literature suggests that the "sense of place" is a concept that encompasses a number of sub-concepts. The complexity of "sense of place" concept thus creates difficulties in delineating this concept clearly and makes its meaning dependent on a specific analytical perspective and research purpose. It is therefore useful to describe how different authors define the "sense of place" and its constituting sub-concepts and what are the theoretical foundations of what we found to be relevant for our investigation.

Tuan (1974) uses term "topophilia" to denote feelings of belonging to a certain place and identities people develop around it. Altman and Low (1992) popularized the concept of "place attachment" that defines the place not only through physical characteristics but cultural factors as well. *Genius loci*, or spirit of the place, were used to describe a special character some place has due to its meaning (Norberg-Schultz, 1991; Jiven & Larkam, 2003). Biophilia is mainly a biological term that describes feelings that people have for natural environment and characteristics of natural world. Ingold (2000) uses term "dwelling" to characterize home places that people feel attached to and in relation to which they develop their identities. Closely related is also the term "rootedness" that describes deep feelings of belonging to a place. "Place identity" has been mostly used in psychology literature to describe how certain places or aspects of places determine who one person is. A closely related term, "belonging," is used predominantly in sociological literature to describe emotions and feelings that people have for other people or the places they live and share common cultural traits. More modern "sense of place" definitions tend to include a multitude of factors and allow for plurality of dimensions of the concept. Stedman (2002) defines the "sense of place" as a concept that consists of cognitive, affective and conative dimensions and believes this offers a better workhorse model than any other (narrower) definitions. However, Kyle, Jun, and Absher (2013) criticize that definition by claiming that Stedman's factors mutually overlap and carry different importance. They stress the cognitive factor as a most salient one. The strong theoretical foundations of the "sense of place" concept are missing (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001) so more empirical work is advocated to support further development of the theory. Even though there seems to be a significant amount of conceptual, analytical, and methodological

plurality in the "sense of place" research, it is obvious that some sub-concepts such as place attachment, place dependence, place belonging, and place rootedness are densely present in the academic debate.

Place attachment denotes the emotional relation between people and places at an individual, social, and community level. On the individual level it describes feelings that individuals develop with their local environment. The social level refers to the social engagement that people have with their living environment. The community level describes the collective sentiment that people might feel when they reside in a particular place. The place attachment approach characterizes places in terms of characteristics like emotions, cognition, practice, action, social action, and temporal aspects (Altman & Low, 1992). These aspects co-exist simultaneously and usually overlap in what is forming the spirit of the place (Jorgenson & Stedman, 2011) and in that "sense of place" is determined through its physical as well as intangible factors. Place attachment also reflects the devotion that people feel to some places and the extent to which environments can be protective of individuals. It has been used to explore the socio-spatial context where the "sense of place" is developed so that it incorporates the physical environment, people, institutions and way of life (Manzo, 2008).

Some authors (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2006; Lewicka, 2005) analyzed the *feelings of attachment* to a certain place in the childhood or other formative periods. The results show that positive experiences in these phases of personal development can promote feelings of place attachment. Ryan (2005) shows how different types of attachment are possible, for example place specific attachment or conceptual attachment. Conceptual attachment is, for example, found to influence people's motives to move and change places. Lewicka (2010) characterizes different types of attachment and non-attachment where he points to the role of rootedness in forming feelings of attachment. Other authors (Brown & Raymond, 2007) find that physical characteristics of place like natural environment influence feelings of attachment. This is in contrast to Kaltenborn and Bjerke (2002) that consider the place attachment as dominantly socially constructed and formed through personal experience. Due to the changing nature of places, the variation of the feeling of attachment has also been recognized where Burley (2007) points that this might cause different aspects of attachment to be important at different time.

The *place identity* has also been recognized as one of important components of the "sense of place" because place has an important role in the development of self and identity (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996). Place identity denotes personal, social or/and community values that people attach to places, where the emphasis is not on the spatial or physical constituents of the place, but rather on the way in which places reflect a fundamental aspect of the self. The dynamic nature of place identity has been emphasized, where Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) consider the process of place based identity creation occurring through constant re-interpretation and reflection on the place. Therefore, place can be changed and re-adopted throughout that process in the way that it gives a different meaning to self.

The "sense of place" literature has also worked with the concept of *place dependence* to describe what people need from their (local) places of living. "Place dependence" was used in sociology and resource management literature to describe characteristics of the place people need for their survival or leisure activities. There are many different definitions of what this concept entails but the most general one refers to the desire or need that people have for using some place or place-related resources. Place dependence can be broadly defined as the potential a setting carries for purpose and activity needs. This aspect of the "sense of place" focuses on supportive environments and dependencies that an individual or a group has towards fulfilling various domains of their life. That view dominantly perceives individuals as a goal oriented in the way that they are rationally optimizing the qualities of a place and the relative quality of comparable alternatives. Place dependence, in that sense, has been used to

characterize the rational decision-making about migrations and suggests that what people choose is largely a rational evaluation of the qualities that an environment can offer. More from psychological side, the literature (Vaske & Cobrin, 2001; Szerszynski, 2006) points to the positive attitude towards a specific place people might develop when they have good resources on their disposal. On the other side, people that didn't have access to resources or infrastructure of some place showed less amount of relation to the place and less place dependency. The results also show that the experience of other places is important for people's feelings about living in some place. People that were born in some place and don't have the option to leave tend to develop different "sense of place" dependency than people that chose their place of living consciously. *Place dependence* has also been used in sociology to denote the lack of choices to leave some place for whatever reason (Lewicka, 2005).

"Sense of place" is gaining ever more importance in spatial planning discussions (Hague & Jenkins, 2005). Patterson and Williams (2005) and Shamai and Ilatov (2005) emphasise the importance of place experience which reinforces the concept of "space" rather than "place" and calls for rethinking spatial planning and design. This view supports a perspective of the "place" in which every site is unique in terms of character, spirit and identity so planning and design policies should account for a specific site context in order to maximize the experience of the place. The theory of spatial planning recognizes the importance of experiencing environment (Tuan, 1976; Relph, 1976) when thinking about planning and design and is therefore sensitive towards the site context. Spatial planning can have significant contribution on improving and developing the "sense of place" due to its capacity to create feelings and meanings that form place identity. Pluralist approach, dialogue and interdisciplinary research are therefore advocated (Patterson & Williams, 2005) when trying to integrate place into planning of spaces. Especially important when planning local sites is to respect symbolic meanings that local communities attach to the place they live in. Spatial planning should therefore take into account tangible as well as intangible effects that site transformations can have on the formation of place identity. The spatial planning policy challenge related to the second home phenomenon is in balancing between preservation, space protection and counter-urbanization dynamics so that key spatial factors could be retained despite counter-urbanization pressures.

Research methodology

The aim of the study

Taken into account the complexity of the concept discussed previously, our research hypothesizes that the "sense of place" should be strongly determined by conceptual *attachment* to the maritime habitat, by *dependence* on available resources and by place *rootedness*. We hypothesized that three sub-concepts of the "sense of place" might explain some reasons for which temporary residents decide to opt for secondary home in a certain place and why permanent residents feel attached to the place, as well as what makes them *rooted* to the place. In line with aforementioned theoretical framework we formulated several research questions, which we decided to empirically investigate and those were: a) which attributes and particular resources/services determine the "place attachment" and "place dependence" as relevant sub-concepts of the "sense of place" for two distinct groups of respondents (permanent and temporary inhabitants); b) is there a statistically significant difference in attributes and resources that permanent and temporary residents perceive as determinants of their respective "sense of place;" c) do family bonds influence place attachment feelings within secondary home owners group of respondents?

We believe answers to these questions will be instrumental not only for further research, which will be practically carried out on additional two locations in Croatia, but will also be immediately instrumental for spatial planning policies in littoral Croatia.

Research setting and hypotheses

The data was collected in the Okrug Municipality, located on the western part of the island Čiovo, which is connected by bridge to the UNESCO-protected site of Trogir in the greater Split area. The Okrug municipality comprises two settlements: Okrug Donji and Okrug Gornji. As mentioned earlier the research was conducted in Okrug Gornji. This site was chosen for three reasons: a) Okrug Gornji is a semi-urban community³ with 3,349 permanent residents with whom second home owners share space; b) the number of the housing units doubled in the past 10 years (from 2,863 in 2001 to 6,480 in 2011) of which 2,047 housing units currently serve as second homes and; c) the spatio-physical features of site are characterized by the sprawl as both permanent and temporary residence are built without order in and around the original settlement.

Data was collected through face-to-face interviews, from the end of March to the end of June, 2016, on 203 natives (105 female and 97 male, $M_{age} = 57.10$, $SD = 15.17$) that have a permanent address in Okrug Gornji and 211 (98 female and 112 male, $M_{age} = 56.10$, $SD = 12.16$) second-home owners, who are occasionally in their second home in Okrug Gornji. The sampling frame was the State Geodetic Administration's data on the list of houses, and the sample was a three-stage (on the levels of house addresses, households and individuals) stratified random sample.

Drawing on research questions mentioned earlier, three hypotheses were formulated to be tested through empirical research.

H1: The "sense of place" is a multidimensional construct.

H2: There is a difference in perception of the "sense of place" between permanent (locals) and temporary residents (second-home owners).

H3: There is a difference in local family bonds between temporary residents (second-home owners), who rate themselves as natives and those who rate themselves as newcomers (one question assessing their orientation).

The first hypothesis was tested by asking respondents to evaluate the extent to which 10 attributes previously found by Jarratt (2016, p. 360) to create the "sense of place" in a maritime destination influence their "place attachment" to Okrug Gornji. Those attributes were: view of the sea; air, scents and sounds; the beach; the walking trail; sea; natural surroundings of the place; traditional architectural heritage; the building they own there together with its micro location; leisure places; squares/public spaces; and cafés. The aforementioned attributes were evaluated on a 5-point Likert scale (ranging from 1 = *not at all* to 5 = *to a large extent*). Also, in line with our assumption that the "sense of place" in a maritime destination has to be influenced by specific dimensions of "place dependence," the factor structure of satisfaction with availability of 18 different resources, both during and after the season has been examined. In order to gain more informed insight into the multidimensionality of that particular sub-concept the satisfaction with availability of these resources was evaluated on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 = *not at all* to 5 = *to a large extent*.

The second hypothesis was tested by looking at the difference in perception of importance of attributes/resources/services that permanent and temporary residents perceive as important for their respective "sense of place." Therefore, we analyzed: a) evaluations of specific attributes that permanent and

temporary residents perceive as important for the "sense of place" in Okrug Gornji; b) satisfaction with specific items that create place dependence in Okrug Gornji. Both dimensions of the "sense of place" were examined by evaluation on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = *not at all* to 5 = *to a large extent*.

The third hypothesis was tested by exploring the differences in self-reported family relations on the island of Čiovo (where participants noted whether they were born on the island, have parents that were born on the island, have partner from the island, or no family relations on the island).

Results and discussion

For exploring the multidimensionality and differences in evaluation and perception of sub-concepts that according to our assumption co-create the "sense of place," we used the factor analysis to look at multidimensionality and *t*-tests for exploring the possible differences between permanent and temporary residents regarding "place attachment," "place dependence" and place rootedness.

Explorative factor analysis was conducted on participants' evaluations of the 10 attributes that co-create the "sense of place" in a maritime destination, separately on subsamples of permanent and temporary residents. As the factor analysis on both subsamples yielded identical factor solutions, Table 1 shows the factor solution of principal component analysis, Varimax rotation method with Kaiser normalization that converged in three iterations on the whole sample. The two extracted factors (with Eigenvalues larger than 1) explained 63% of the variance of the "sense of place". Robustness of the results was also checked with parallel analysis.⁴

Table 1
Factor loadings of the attributes that create the "sense of place" in Okrug Gornji

	F1	F2
View of the sea; air, scents and sounds	0.83	0.12
The beach	0.81	0.12
The walking trail	0.81	0.16
Sea	0.79	0.13
Natural surroundings of the place	0.79	0.10
Traditional architectural heritage	0.58	0.26
The building I own there together with its micro location	0.52	0.10
Leisure places	0.13	0.92
Squares/public spaces	0.17	0.92
Cafés	0.16	0.76

Note: Factor loadings over .50 appear in bold.

Two distinct factors that could be labeled as "*maritime socio-cultural habitat*" (F1) and "*Mediterranean way of life*" (F2) are highly and/or intensely saturated with respective items (all factor loadings are above 0.50). Thus, the multidimensionality of the "sense of place" was corroborated. It seems that a conjecture of micro locations, which feature maritime socio-cultural habitat together with Mediterranean lifestyle oriented toward public life in squares and public spaces scattered with cafes, are constituent parts of the "sense of place" in a semi-urban community such as Okrug Gornji.

Further we explored the factor structure of satisfaction with availability of 18 different resources during and after the season. Again, as the factor analyses on both subsamples (temporary and permanent residents) yielded with identical factor solutions, factor analyses were conducted on the whole sample. In line with parallel analysis, the principal component analysis with Varimax rotation method with

Kaiser normalization showed a four-factor structure that explains 62% of the satisfaction with available resources during the season and 67% of variance satisfaction with available resources after the season.

The factors are labeled as basic needs (i.e. personal services, house maintenance services, shops, restaurants, cafes, health services, and public transportation), cultural and sports' needs (i.e. sports clubs, sports events, libraries, cultural events, and specialized shops), emergency (i.e. police, fireman, and ambulance), and the factor loaded with availability of the high speed internet.

Table 2
Factor loadings of the satisfaction with available resources during and after the season

	During the season				After the season			
	Basic needs (F1)	Cultural and sports' needs (F2)	Emergency needs (F3)	High speed internet (F4)	Basic needs (F1)	Cultural and sports' needs (F2)	Emergency needs (F3)	High speed internet (F4)
Personal services (i.e. hairdresser, beauty salons)	0.81	0.03	0.10	0.09	0.84	0.10	0.15	0.09
Household maintenance services (i.e. plumbing, electrician)	0.77	0.05	0.19	0.06	0.79	0.06	0.24	0.08
Grocery stores	0.76	-0.04	0.13	-0.12	0.80	0.06	0.13	0.02
Restaurants	0.70	0.15	0.17	-0.08	0.55	0.41	0.07	-0.41
Cafés	0.67	0.11	0.14	0.02	0.69	0.37	0.02	-0.16
Health services	0.65	0.03	0.28	0.07	0.64	-0.07	0.35	0.06
Public transportation services	0.58	0.22	0.17	-0.18	0.56	0.35	0.12	-0.09
Market	0.46	0.14	0.09	-0.73	0.34	0.38	0.00	-0.58
Holy masses	0.38	-0.17	0.35	0.29	0.35	-0.08	0.38	0.34
Sport events (matches)	0.03	0.82	0.15	0.11	0.12	0.88	0.05	-0.05
Sports and recreational clubs	0.00	0.83	0.13	-0.06	0.19	0.86	0.02	-0.11
Library	-0.11	0.71	-0.04	-0.11	-0.10	0.73	-0.05	0.23
Cultural events (i.e. concerts, exhibitions)	0.34	0.61	-0.02	0.20	0.14	0.73	0.08	-0.25
Specialized shops	0.28	0.59	-0.10	0.12	0.27	0.57	-0.08	0.34
Ambulance	0.30	0.06	0.88	-0.03	0.18	0.03	0.93	0.01
Police	0.23	0.04	0.90	-0.05	0.18	0.03	0.93	0.01
Fireman	0.23	0.05	0.89	0.01	0.20	0.04	0.92	0.02
High speed Internet	0.14	0.36	0.03	0.79	0.14	0.17	0.13	0.83

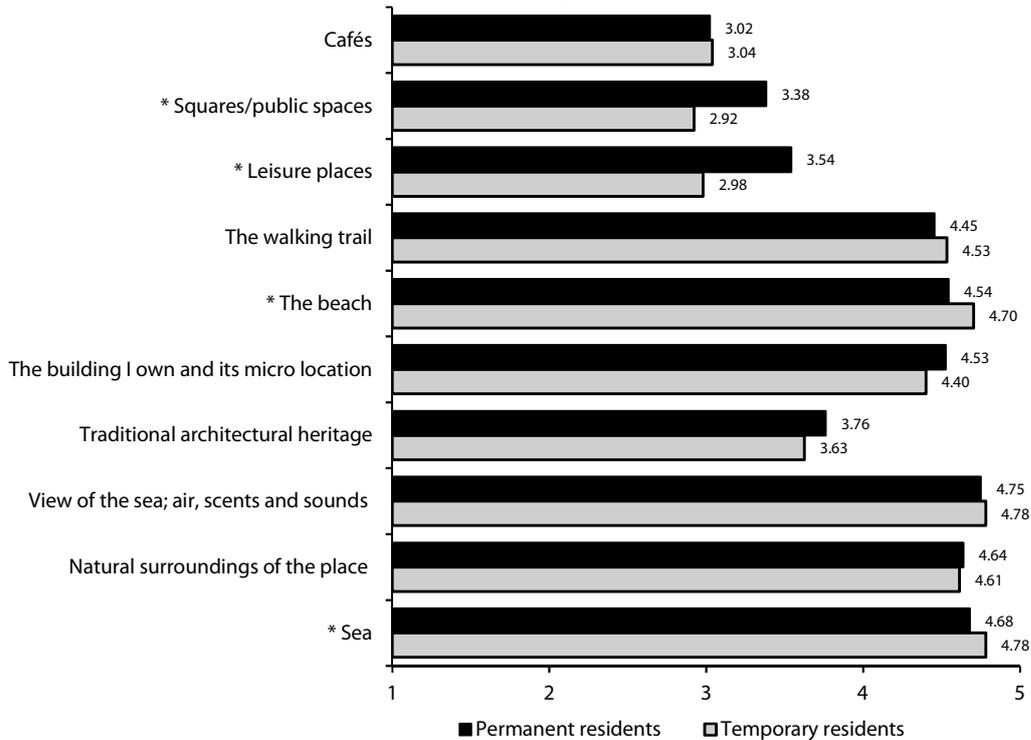
Note: Factor loadings of items loading on the respective factors appear in bold.

As shown in Table 2, factor loadings of satisfaction with available resources as a component of the "sense of place" are similarly saturated during and after the season. Additional analyses of the congruence of factor structures show that factors basic needs (F1), emergency needs (F3) high speed internet are identical (Tucker's congruence coefficients were above .95), while there is a differences in factor structure in factor cultural and sports' needs (F2) before and after the season. Thus, it is suggested that factor structure of the value chain could be different depending on seasonality. However, given that we were looking at multidimensionality of the "sense of place" through sub-concept of place dependency, it can be concluded that our hypothesis was corroborated on this sub-construct as well.

As cooperation between temporary and permanent residents is an important element of social cohesion, an insight into possible differences in perception of the "sense of place" is of further interest.

Figure 1

Perceived importance of specific items that can influence the "sense of place" in permanent and temporary residents (* statistically significant difference)



As shown in Figure 1 there is a difference in the way in which respondents rate the importance of specific attributes of the "sense of place" in Okrug Gornji. Beach, view of the sea, air, scents and sounds, together with sea and natural surroundings of the place are by far the most important attributes for the "sense of place" in Okrug Gornji for both groups of respondents. However, there is a statistically significant difference in how much temporary and permanent residents rate place attachment as a sub-concept of the "sense of place" ($t(411) = 7.42, p < 0.001$). Namely, permanent residents rate their "place attachment" to Okrug Gornji (on a scale from 1 = *not at all* to 5 = *extremely*) higher ($M = 4.44$) than temporary residents ($M = 3.91$). Also, permanent and temporary residents perceive the importance of various attributes of the "sense of place" differently, as there is a statistically significant difference in their assessments. Permanent residents perceive public ($M = 3.54$ compared to $M = 2.98$; $t(399) = 4.08, p < 0.001$) and leisure places for their "sense of place" as more important ($M = 3.38$ compared to $M = 2.92$; $t(399) = -2.54, p < 0.001$), while temporary residents perceive sea and the beach as more important for their "sense of place" than permanent residents ($M = 4.70$ compared to $M = 4.54$; $t(399) = 3.57, p < 0.05$) (Figure 1). Thus, it is obvious that permanent residents care more for traditional public spaces and gregarious character of Mediterranean living than temporary residents who derive the "sense of place" from the appreciation of the beach and sea dimension of environment in Okrug Gornji.

Figure 2

Satisfaction with available resources during the season; permanent vs. temporary residents
 (* statistically significant difference)

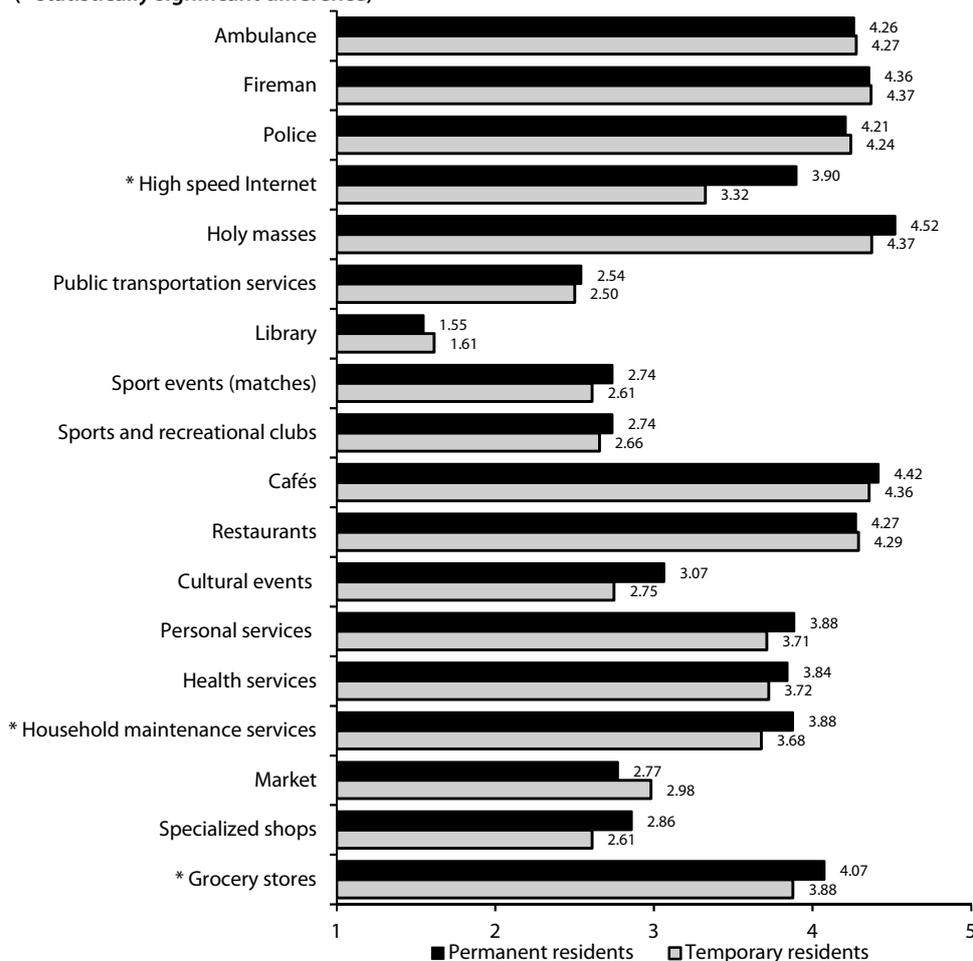


Figure 2 shows the level to which respondents are satisfied with various resources/services provided in Okrug Gornji during the season. Obviously, they are rather satisfied with regular public services such as ambulance, fireman, and police. Also, they are rather satisfied with spiritual services (i.e. Holy Mass) and with restaurants, cafes, and grocery stores. On the other hand, they are rather unsatisfied with market and specialized shops and really unsatisfied with library service. Moreover, there is a statistically significant difference in satisfaction with available resources during season between permanent and temporary residents in assessing the availability of: specialized shops ($M = 2.86$ compared to $M = 2.61$; $t(407) = 2.21$, $p < 0.05$); household maintenance services ($M = 3.88$ compared to $M = 3.68$; $t(409) = 2.10$, $p < 0.05$); cultural events ($M = 3.07$ compared to $M = 2.75$; $t(409) = 2.85$, $p < 0.01$); and high speed internet ($M = 3.90$ compared to $M = 3.32$; $t(396.52) = 4.35$, $p < 0.001$). Permanent residents express higher satisfaction with availability of those resources/services than temporary residents⁵ (cf. Figure 2).

Figure 3
Satisfaction with available resources after the season; permanent vs. temporary residents
(* statistically significant difference)

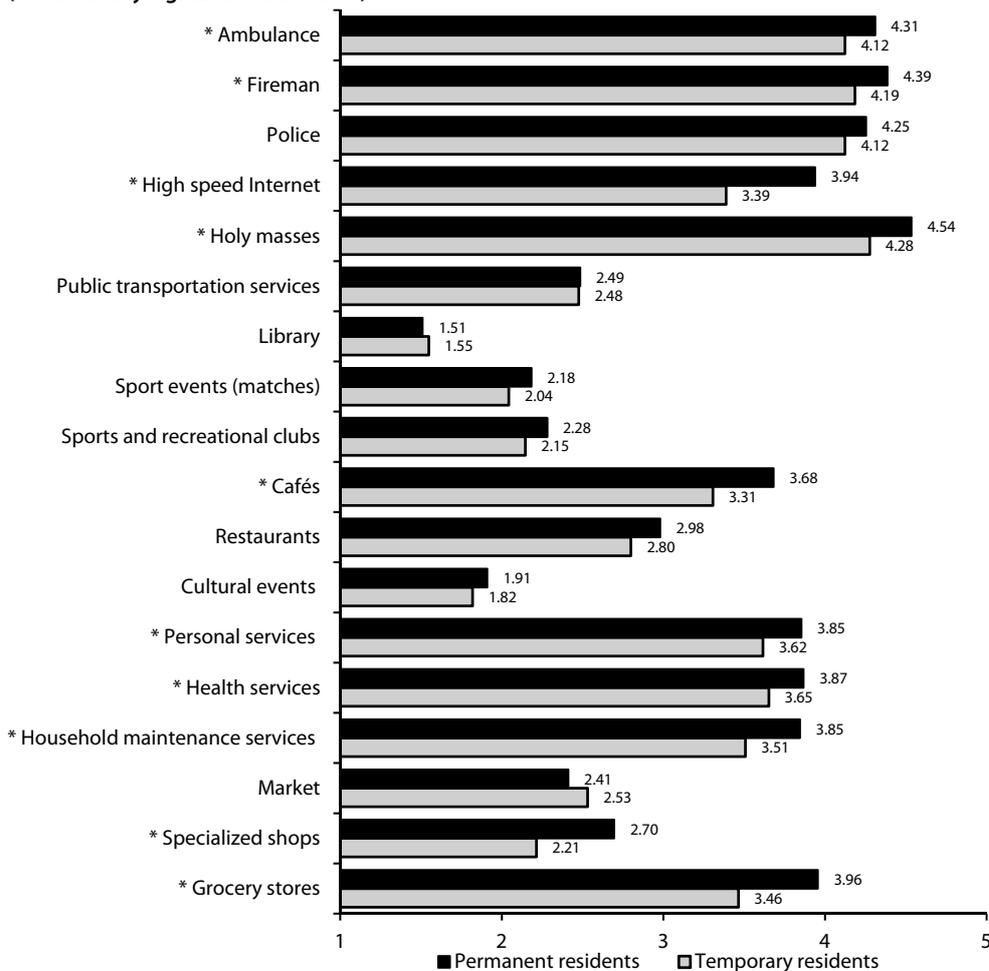


Figure 3 shows a difference in satisfaction between permanent and temporary residents with available resources after the season. Overall level of satisfaction is lower than in season as most of the items have lower general ratings.⁶ Furthermore, there is a statistically significant difference between permanent and temporary residents in satisfaction with resources/services such as: ambulance ($M = 4.31$ compared to $M = 4.12$; $t(393.48) = 2.21$, $p < 0.05$); firemen ($M = 4.39$ compared to $M = 4.19$; $t(410) = 2.48$, $p < 0.05$); high speed internet ($M = 3.94$ compared to $M = 3.39$; $t(391.75) = 4.19$, $p < 0.001$); holy masses ($M = 4.54$ compared to $M = 4.28$; $t(404) = 3.47$, $p < 0.001$); cafes ($M = 3.68$ compared to $M = 3.31$; $t(405) = 2.90$, $p < 0.01$); personal services ($M = 3.85$ compared to $M = 3.62$; $t(407) = 2.27$, $p < 0.05$); health services ($M = 3.87$ compared to $M = 3.65$; $t(390.91) = 2.17$, $p < 0.05$); household maintenance services ($M = 3.85$ compared to $M = 3.51$; $t(409) = 3.20$, $p < 0.001$); specialized shops ($M = 2.70$ compared to $M = 2.21$; $t(405) = 4.23$, $p < 0.001$); and grocery stores ($M = 3.96$ compared to $M = 3.46$; $t(408.59) = 4.34$, $p < 0.001$), as permanent residents are much more satisfied with mentioned resources/services than temporary ones. Indeed this shows that a different level of communal/social aspirations is generated by two groups of residents, which might be a source of conflict if the difference in (un)satisfaction raises.

In order to find the information that could be useful in managing social sustainability of a community in the future, it is of interest to find out whether "place rootedness" plays a role in "place attachment" by looking at family bonds of temporary residents.

Table 3

Differences in family bonds with the island between temporary residents (second-home owners), who rate themselves as natives and newcomers

	Native	Newcomer	Total
Born on the island	14	0	14
Parents born on the island	15	5	20
Partner from the island	9	9	18
No family relations	48	90	138
Something else	1	1	2
Total	87	105	192

Table 3 shows a variety of possibilities to express a temporary resident's family attachment to the Okrug Gornji. It is evident that from all groups of respondents there is a statistically significant difference between the number of temporary residents who rate themselves as natives and those who rate themselves as newcomers regarding family bonds with the island ($\chi^2(4, N = 192) = 30.62, p < 0.001$). The majority of those who consider themselves newcomers have no family relations on the island. Clearly the native "status" is linked with familial bonds to the place while newcomer status is characterized by the lack of any type of family bonds with the island of Čiovo, where municipality of Okrug Gornji is situated. Moreover, there is a statistically significant difference in place attachment between temporary residents that rate themselves as natives and those who rate themselves as newcomers ($t(275.66) = 12.49, p < 0.001$), in a way that natives ($M = 4.51$) rate their feelings of attachment to Okrug Gornji higher than newcomers ($M = 3.65$). Obviously, family bonds with the island affect second-home owners in a way that they consider themselves "natives" even though they are *per definitionem* temporary residents. Therefore, it can be further hypothesized that in matters of spatial planning second-home owners, who consider themselves as natives, could couple their collective decisions more with permanent residents than with newcomers as they would probably have more profiled "sense of place" than newcomers.

Conclusion

The results presented in this study have corroborated all research hypotheses. The multidimensionality of the "sense of place" concept has been confirmed as two distinct factors "*maritime socio-cultural habitat*" and "*Mediterranean way of life*" were found to be constitutive elements of the "sense of place" in Okrug Gornji. Moreover, the results showed that there is a statistically significant difference in perception of the "sense of place" between permanent and temporary residents, as permanent residents evaluate the "*Mediterranean way of life*" as being more important for their "sense of place". On the other hand, temporary residents perceive some attributes of "*maritime socio-cultural habitat*" as being more important for their respective "sense of place". Also, it has been established that permanent residents are more satisfied with public resources/services both during and after the season.

Furthermore, the difference in satisfaction with number of items between permanent and temporary residents, points to the fact that permanent residents are in general more satisfied than temporary ones with the provision of resources/services available after the season. This might imply that permanent residents in Okrug Gornji in general do not have same aspirations for services of resources as temporary ones. Finally, the results have shown that place rootedness influences the feelings of attachment.

The research findings could be instrumental to all spatial planning policies seeking to bring coherence to modern semi-urban settlements that came into existence due to the intense counter-urbanization vector that has dominated the spatial dynamics for past twenty years in littoral parts of Croatia. According to our findings the spatial planning policies should support urban design that revolves around public access and squares. More generally, preservation of the air quality scents and sounds quality, view of the sea, provision of public spaces, etc., are of vital importance for safeguarding the "sense of place." The temporary residents might act as community catalysts when issues related to the quality of living are raised as they have greater aspirations with regard to supply of resources/services. On the other side, a number of services were rated poorly by permanent as well as temporary residents. These poorly rated aspects of "place dependence" could serve as a cooperation platform that would lead towards a harmonious life of these two groups.

Finally, some limitations of the research should be pointed out. The "sense of place" topic has been approached within this research in a rather constrained way. Namely, the wider research project (Miletić, 2014) aimed primarily at capturing the second-home phenomenon through the perspective of social sustainability of local communities in Croatia. Thus, our analytical "space" was limited to only few questions in the questionnaire. Within the mentioned research context it should be pointed out that the "sense of place" was exclusively regarded as a positive phenomenon. However, it can also include negative feelings (Shamai & Ilatov, 2005). Future research should therefore aspire to broaden the instrument and analyze negative feelings as well.

Notes:

¹ The UK National Ecosystem Assessment (UK NEA) released in 2011 was the first analysis of the UK's natural environment in terms of the benefits it provides to society and continuous economic prosperity.

² The project is entitled "Second homes and social sustainability of local communities" and the principal researcher is Geran – Marko Miletić from Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar in Zagreb.

³ We use the term semi-urban to describe a community that has lost its' rural qualities but not yet acquired urban profile (Cf. CBS, 2011).

⁴ Parallel analysis (Horn, 1965) is one of the methods for determining the number of factors to retain in factor analysis.

⁵ Cr. Figure 2 "Satisfaction with available resources during the season in permanent and temporary residents (* statistically significant difference)"

⁶ The difference in satisfaction with all of the available resources is statistically significant; it is higher during the season than after the season in both respondents' subgroups (permanent and temporary residents), with the exception of satisfaction with availability of library, that has the lowest ratings regardless of seasonality.

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