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# The Ideology and Symbolism of Socialism in the Tourist Architecture of Montenegro

Ideologia i symbolika socjalistyczna w architekturze turystycznej Czarnogóry

#### Abstract

This topic focuses on the analysis of the symbolism of socialism in the tourist architecture of Montenegro in the second half of the 20th century. The research includes a multi-layered analysis of the emergence and development of tourist architecture in the area of the Montenegrin coast in the specific socio-political context of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The period to which the research refers is the time with a particular ideological message of socialism, not only as a unique political system but as a way of life with the dominant idea of social equality of all citizens and the period of the appearance of mass tourism and social tourism. This social phenomenon led to the construction of tourist facilities intended for the rest and recreation of workers, youth, and children. The study presents how entire complexes of tourist buildings and numerous tourist settlements were built in an undeveloped area, changing the natural landscape and image of the Montenegrin and Yugoslav Adriatic coast. This research shows how the symbolism of socialism was implemented in the architectural and urban concepts of tourist architecture through various spatial and functional relationships that propagated the idea of this period and created the identity of the researched area.

**Keywords:** Adriatic sea, ideology, Montenegro, tourist architecture, symbolism, socialism, Yugoslavia

### **Abstrakt**

Artykuł ten skupia się na analizie symboliki socjalizmu w architekturze turystycznej Czarnogóry w drugiej połowie XX wieku. Badanie obejmuje wielowarstwową analizę powstawania i rozwoju architektury turystycznej na obszarze czarnogórskiego wybrzeża w specyficznym kontekście społeczno-politycznym byłej Socjalistycznej Federacyjnej Republiki Jugosławii. Okres, do którego odnosi się badanie, to czas o szczególnym ideologicznym przekazie socjalizmu, nie tylko jako unikalnego systemu politycznego, ale także jako sposobu życia z dominującą ideą społecznej równości wszystkich obywateli; to również okres pojawienia się turystyki masowej i turystyki socjalnej. Opisywane zjawisko społeczne doprowadziło do budowy obiektów turystycznych przeznaczonych na wypoczynek i rekreację pracowników, młodzieży oraz dzieci. Studium prezentuje, jak w niezagospodarowanej przestrzeni powstały całe kompleksy budynków turystycznych oraz liczne osiedla turystyczne, zmieniające naturalny krajobraz i obraz czarnogórskiego oraz jugosłowiańskiego wybrzeża Adriatyku. Badanie to pokazuje, jak symboliki socjalizmu był wdrażany w architektoniczne i urbanistyczne koncepcje architektury turystycznej poprzez różnorodne relacje przestrzenne i funkcjonalne, które propagowały ideę tego okresu i kształtowały tożsamość badanego obszaru.

**Słowa klucze:** Morze Adriatyckie, ideologia, Czarnogóra, architektura turystyczna, symbolizm, socjalizm, Jugosławia

### Introduction

Tourism had a predominantly social character in the first decades after the Second World War in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which included the Republic of Montenegro. Economic development and strategic policy at that time were oriented toward tourism development. In the second half of the 20th century, the number of tourists constantly increased from year to year. This situation led to tourism becoming one of the most important socio-economic activities in Yugoslavia at the time. Such a situation, as well as the suitable geographical, morphological, and climatic conditions, formed the basis for planning larger tourist regions and the increasingly frequent construction of tourist facilities. The general development of tourism had the role of a significant factor in social and economic development. During the socialist period in Yugoslavia, the industry was developing, and many state enterprises were opened when the socialist working class emerged. Following the example of English and Soviet tourism strategies, which focused on the middle class and the working class, Yugoslavia introduced social tourism as an important part of the policy for a pleasant life in 1946 and considered it an initiator of modernization<sup>1</sup>.

The more significant development of tourist activity in the second half of the 20th century was conditioned by the general economic development from the 1950s to 1965 when a greater number of tourist accommodation facilities appeared. In the period from 1966 to 1970, tourism became one of the main directions of economic development, when foreign tourist activities increased until 1975. In the 1970s, domestic tourists mostly used private accommodations, workers' and youth holiday resorts, and holiday summer camps, accounting for 81.2% of the total overnight stays. Hotels and other forms of accommodation accounted for only 18.8% of overnight stays in this first period<sup>2</sup>.

New tourist functions have conditioned the development of large-scale tourist activities that have initiated changes in the social and spatial senses. In the socialist period, the Yugoslav coast enabled free access to all types of indoor and outdoor public spaces in the tourist complexes, which had a public character, and all residents were able to use the tourist infrastructure for everyday use. The goal of the mass tourism development policy was that unique spaces were not only the privilege of some tourists but of all citizens and visitors. With tourism development, the tourism functions also changed due to the emergence of mass tourism and democracy. The following factors played an important role in the development of *mass tourism*: the increase in the standard of living; social reforms – shorter working hours, paid vacations, collectively organized vacations, etc.; various forms of accommodation – summer camps, resorts, holiday centers, etc.<sup>3</sup>

The new tourist functions conditioned the development of large-scale tourist activities that have initiated changes in the social and spatial senses. Tourist activities and movements created conditions for the formation of a new *socialist working class*. The rest from work in factories and state enterprises and travel in workers' free time were the standard of living. The way of life of the working class in socialist Yugoslavia was

Nebojša Antešević, "Regionalizam u modernizmu vs. turizam u socijalizmu: Rasprava o uticajima regionalizma na arhitekturu modernih turističkih objekata Jugoslavije druge polovine 20. veka", in *Umetnost i njena uloga u istoriji: između trajnosti i prolaznih – izama*, ed. by Zoran Jovanović, Oliver Tošković, Jasmina Petrović, Vladan Virijević (Kosovska Mitrovica: Filozofski fakultet u Prištini, 2014), 495.

<sup>2</sup> Mirko Dokić, *Turistička valorizacija užeg gravitacionog područja pruge Beograd-Bar* (Beograd: Institut ekonomskih nauka, 1978), 31.

<sup>3</sup> Ante Marinović-Uzelac, *Prostorno planiranje I-II* (Zagreb: Zavod za urbanizam Arhitektonskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2000), 517–518.

based on the division of time for work and recreation. For the first time, free time gained importance within the framework of socialist workers' organizations, and there were the possibilities of better use of the free time of the working class. The idea of social equality was the basic idea of the socialist society, and it tried to emphasize the importance of the collective and the community in all spheres of society. Demographic and social changes occurred, which also affected the habits and purpose of travel. Thus, the passive vacation changed into an active form of vacation that included physical activity and recreation4. At this time, the expansion of mass tourism in the socialist framework can be pointed out as a special form of socialist tourism. Socialist tourism was based on the principles of creating comfortable living conditions for the working class in order to achieve a better, healthier and more developed society and social harmony. The ideology of equality of socialism was founded precisely in the field of tourism, and it served for the emancipation of Yugoslav society and the integration of Yugoslav identity<sup>5</sup>.

The symbolism of socialism was reflected in the architectural and urban concepts of tourist facilities on the eastern Adriatic coast. In the second half of the 20th century, tourist zones and settlements were built along the Yugoslav coast, creating agglomerations exclusively for tourist purposes with a dominant socialist character.

# Tourist architecture under the influence of socialism in Montenegro

Tourist architecture was part of the general tourist offer. In the beginning, tourism architecture had a distinct social expression and social framework of development. Initially, under the influence of the development of socialist structures, the conception and architectural design of tourist facilities were strictly functionalist. In later periods, in the 1970s and 1980s, they were freed from numerous restrictions and standardizations in architectural conceptions. In the first post-war years, while tourism had a distinct social character, there were limitations in architectural conception due to economic and social conditions. The analysis of tourist facilities in the period of socialism in Montenegro shows that

<sup>4</sup> Marinović-Uzelac, Prostorno planiranje I-II, 526-527.

Nebojša Antešević, "Socijalistički estetizam u turističkoj arhitekturi Jugoslavije (1960-1980)", in Arhitektura i urbanizam posle Drugog svetskog rata: zaštita kao proces ili model, VII conference (Beograd: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture grada Beograda, 2015), 186.

the basic types of tourist facilities were mainly workers', children's, and youth holiday resorts and summer camps, also hotels and other tourist facilities.

The most intensive tourist developments on the Montenegrin part of the Adriatic coast were in the area of the Riviera of Budva and then the Riviera of Ulcinj, from the central and southern part of the Montenegrin coast. As special and very significant in the symbolic and functional sense, the special type of tourist facilities of a social character were holiday resorts intended for the stay of workers companies and social organizations, and their families. The tourist facilities, such as lowercategory hotels, workers' holiday resorts, holiday centers for children and youth, and summer camps, were built for mass use. Many of the state holiday resorts were built in Budva, on Bečići Beach, and holiday centers for children and youth also existed in Sutomore and on Velika Beach in Ulcinj. Areas intended for tourism development, which were located at greater distances from towns on the attractive parts of the coast for tourist construction, were often used for organizing camps and motorhomes. This type of tourist accommodation included staying in caravans and tents in natural, undeveloped environments near the beach. Some camps were created on the distant beaches Jaz and Buljarica in Budva, Čanj in Bar and Velika Beach in Ulcinj, which had no tourist or residential structures (Figure 1).

Fig. 1. Tourist complex and summer camp in Čanj – Bar Municipality, from the 1970s.



Source: Tourist postcard, private archive

In the early tourist architecture on the Montenegrin coast, the use of international and functionalist architecture was represented, characterized by the application of cubic forms and the use of typed elements, with a lower level of content and equipment than in higher category hotels. The first modern tourist facilities were mostly of modest contents and simple reduced structures, with strictly functional solutions in the

form of large cubic volumes. They were conceived in the form of pavilion systems, cubes, and horizontal tracts placed along the coast, with extremely strict and geometrized shapes and simple dimensions and volumes, without a direct connection to the coastal environment. The architectural design developed most often in the direction of brutalism, with the use of natural concrete and local stone materials on the facades, as well as the simple white facades and big glass openings.

In the later development of the tourist facilities' architectural design, in addition to satisfying the basic functional requirements of tourists for rest and relaxation, adequate architectural design was used in accordance with the terrain morphology and other natural conditions. After the application of simple architectural forms and volumes of modernism, more complex architectural concepts began to appear in the 1970s. There were more modern hotel complexes with richer and more complex functions, various architectural compositions, and urban conceptions.

In 1979 a great earthquake hit the Montenegrin coast. The earthquake magnitude in the epicentral zone was IX on the MCS scale or 7.0 on the Richter scale. The epicentral area of the earthquake was located in the Adriatic Sea, between Ulcinj and Bar, about 15 kilometers off the coast and at a depth of about 30 kilometers. The earthquake destroyed 80% of tourist facilities on the Montenegrin coast. At that time, a large number of buildings with different purposes were demolished and damaged, which completely changed the image of that part of the coast. After that natural disaster, numerous tourist settlements and objects of contemporary architectural expression were built with urban-architectural concepts better adapted to the Mediterranean natural environment.

### Workers' and children's holiday resorts – Tourist facilities as a symbol of the ideology of socialism

Social tourism as mass tourism was primarily reflected in the organization and construction of holiday resorts and centres for workers, youth and children. The ideology of unity and togetherness of the socialist

<sup>6</sup> The great earthquake hit the Montenegrin coast on April 15, 1979. In this earthquake, 101 people lost their lives in Montenegro and 35 in Albania, while around 1,700 people were injured. In this earthquake, 250 inhabited places were damaged. The basic tourist accommodation capacities of 2,210 hotel beds were completely destroyed. Gordana Rovčanin-Premović, Miroslav Doderović, "Obnova i revitalizacija spomenika kulture na Crnogorskom primorju oštećenih u potresu 1979. godine", *Prostor*, 28/60 (2020): 414.

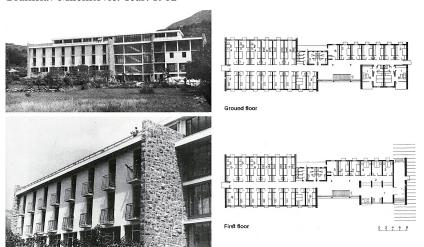
system was implemented in common workers' tourist complexes and resorts. As a type of architectural building financed and built by the state and the social and political system of the time, it had to meet functional requirements. In an architectural conceptual sense, building structures and volumes were created in the form of horizontal grouping, where accommodation units are grouped in tracts of long length and low floors. Such tracts appeared not only in the form of a single tourist facility but also in larger and more complex resorts and other pavilion construction systems. These were mostly closed types of tourist buildings in relation to the natural landscape and, as such, represented a reflection of the way of architectural design and construction of a certain time. These types of tourist facilities had compact structures, highlighted mainly by horizontal and sometimes vertical cubes, with typical openings and terraces, without achieving a more intense connection with the environment. Most often, they were conceived and built in the form of a linear structure, which was mostly flat and followed the coastline or local road.

At the beginning of the 1960s, the concept of a horizontal compact and flat building tract began to be actively applied on the Montenegrin coast. The first example of such a spatial-functional type, and at the same time one of the first post-war modernist tourist facilities built under the influence of socialism, was the worker's holiday resort of "Željezara Nikšić" in Bečići near Budva (Figure 2). The concept of the resort consisted of two compositionally different buildings: an accommodation tract and a wide and lower floor restaurant building. The capacity of the resort was 160-200 beds7. The accommodation building was designed in the form of a compact horizontal tract that paralleled the local Budva-Sveti Stefan road (at the site where the Jadranska cesta was built later on) and was also placed parallel to the Bečići Beach. The accommodation tract was a compact structure with a recessed top floor, and it had three floors with guest rooms, hotel administration, and other accompanying facilities. In the accommodation facility, the central position was occupied by the staircase, the central corridor around which the rooms were placed on the left and right sides, facing north and south. The accommodation units were unified as double, triple, or quadruple rooms with a shared bathroom. The design of the resort was advanced and modern for the time it was built, with the use of clean white facades, authentic local stone elements, and glass in the communications and staircases. Each room

<sup>7 &</sup>quot;Odmaralište u Bečićima", Arhitektura urbanizam: časopis za arhitekturu, urbanizam, primenjenu umetnost i industrijsko oblikovanje, 4(22/23) (1963): 41.

had access to a small terrace which represented a special architectural design element.

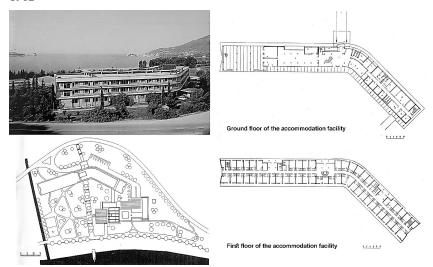
Fig. 2. Workers' holiday resort of "Željezara Nikšić" in Bečići, Budva. Architect: Branislav Milenković. Year: 1962



Source: "Odmaralište u Bečićima", 41-42

In the same period, from the 1960s, the architectural concept of tourist buildings with a curved horizontal tract and a similar functional structure was built. This way of conceiving was created mainly under the conditions of a natural context following the coastline or terrain isohypse or with a tendency to place the building structure parallel to access roads or following the coastline. Already at the very beginning of this period, in 1962, a building with a horizontally curved tract was built on Slovenska Beach - worker's holiday resort "ZEPS" ("Community of Electrical Enterprises of Serbia") (Figure 3). The accommodation building has an elongated bent form and was designed to parallel the former Budva-Petrovac local road, which passed directly from the north side of the location. Due to these spatial conditions, the horizontal accommodation tract is slightly bent towards the beach. The resort contains a restaurant with accompanying facilities as a ground floor facility and a separate facility with accommodation units. The entrance hall was placed in the central part of the ground floor of the accommodation building; on the left were social rooms, and on the right were the administration, laundry, and other utility rooms. The first and second floors were typically organized with guest rooms, which were mostly triple rooms<sup>8</sup>.

Fig. 3. Workers' holiday resort "ZEPS" ("Community of Electrical Enterprises of Serbia") in Bečići, Budva. Architect: Radoslav Kostić, Milenko Stefanović. Year: 1962



Source: "Odmaralište «Zajednice elektro-privrednih preduzeća Srbije» u Budvi", 37–40

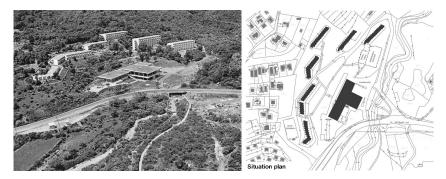
The accommodation tract has a linear, compact, and slightly curved structure. Horizontal elements dominate the facades, with continuous terraces and canopies. The worker's holiday resort is characterized by the distinct functionality of its contents: unified accommodation units, halls, and communications, the compactness, and the simplicity of the design expression.

From the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, freer and more open urban and architectural concepts of tourist facilities appeared under the influence of local contextual conditions. After the use of, until then, mostly simple geometrized compact structures and volumes, concepts of more complex and segmented architectural compositions began to appear. It was often in the sense of completely separating the big compact building structure into separate tracts and pavilions, which

<sup>8 &</sup>quot;Odmaralište «Zajednice elektro-privrednih preduzeća Srbije» u Budvi", *Arhitektura urbanizam: časopis za arhitekturu, urbanizam, primenjenu umetnost i industrijsko oblikovanje,* 4(22/23) (1963): 37.

resulted in forming group structures. This kind of conceptual approach was mainly applied to additional accommodation buildings or separate pavilion tracts on steep terrain along the sea coast. The concept is also used in tourist facilities of a socialist character – workers' and children's holiday resorts. On the hill above *Bečići Beach* in Budva, on the northern side of the Adriatic road, a pavilion system of the holiday resort "The International Youth Center" that follows the slope of the terrain was built (Figure 4). "The International Youth Center" was organized as a pavilion system containing seven accommodation buildings with a central building – the reception area and a restaurant with accompanying social and catering facilities. The central facility was built as a separate building with a more compact structure, with large glass surfaces and spacious terraces. Other buildings are intended exclusively for accommodation capacities consisting of double and triple rooms.

Fig. 4. "The International Youth Center in Bečići", Budva. Year: 1972



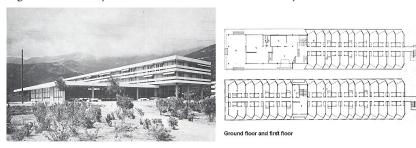
Source: Tourist postcard, excerpt of the Digital cadastral plan of Budva

The accommodation pavilions are placed along the isohypses of the hill and follow the slope of the terrain, which descends towards the southeast. The rooms were conceived as modular units, organized individually or grouped by two or by several, forming moving structures following the slope of the terrain. The rooms have opening terraces with panoramic sea views. This concept of sliding segments and units with the rhythmic repetition of terraces and openings in the rooms contributes to the dynamics of the architectural composition. The segmented architectural structures following the slope of the terrain have fully adapted to the surrounding terrain and the natural Mediterranean environment.

## The architecture of hotel facilities from the period of socialism

The application of architectural functionalist concepts with typical accommodation units was also represented in hotel facilities on the Montenegrin coast, especially since the 1960s. The architectural concept of the horizontal flat tract and reduced volume was represented mainly in hotel complexes and pavilion systems. At the end of the 1960s, one such hotel complex with five hotels was built on *Slovenska Beach*, with its dominant horizontal structures placed in two rows along the coast. The southern row of buildings of the "Slavija" hotel was organized as a pavilion system consisting of three horizontal flat building tracts, which were placed at an angle of 60 degrees in relation to the beach, enabling views from the accommodation units to the sea (Figure 5)9. Next to the hotel "Slavija", two other hotels of this hotel complex were also built in the form of a flat horizontal tract structure.

Fig. 5. Hotel "Slavija" in Budva. Architect: Milan Korolija. Year: 1965



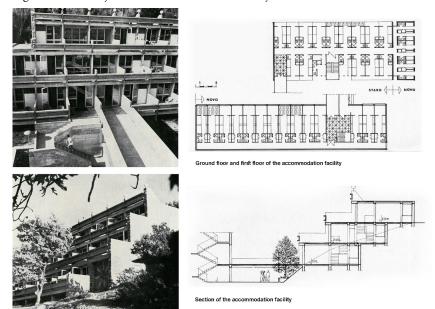
Source: "Hotel «Slavija» u Budvi", 53-55

The architecture of hotels on the Montenegrin coast is also characterized by some concepts that had to adapt to the conditions of the steep coastal terrain. There are examples of hotels with accommodation pavilions placed along the isohypses of the terrain, following its slope. Such an example is the hotel "Rivijera" in Petrovac (Figure 6). It is located on level ground that slopes down to the beach on the northwestern side of the small bay. The hotel was built next to the existing older holiday resort, and it is connected to the older building by communications on the ground floor and with a pedestrian walkway in the courtyard area. The first phase was the adaptation of the existing holiday resort building

<sup>9 &</sup>quot;Hotel «Slavija» u Budvi", Arhitektura urbanizam: časopis za arhitekturu, urbanizam, primenjenu umetnost i industrijsko oblikovanje, 6(33/34) (1965): 54.

into a hotel, and in the second phase, a new hotel was built next to and above the existing building<sup>10</sup>.

Fig. 6. Hotel "Rivijera", Petrovac. Architect: Mihajlo Mitrović. Year: 1968



Source: "Hotel «Rivijera» u Petrovcu na moru", 64-65

The converted holiday resort was designed in the form of a horizontal tract with a central corridor and accommodation units oriented on both sides. In the second phase, an accommodation building of three floors was built, which were placed in steps following the fall of the sloping terrain. This phase of construction was designed in the form of a terraced structure with rooms oriented on one side. The concept of the newer hotel is based on adequate adaptation to the terrain and the natural surrounding landscape. The composition of the hotel is dominated by the use of horizontal elements on the facades, which emphasize a terraced moving hotel structure in accordance with the slope of the terrain. Traditional and contemporary materials were used for the hotel facades – concrete and crushed stone, making the hotel well-adapted to

<sup>10 &</sup>quot;Hotel «Rivijera» u Petrovcu na moru", Arhitektura urbanizam: časopis za arhitekturu, urbanizam, primenjenu umetnost i industrijsko oblikovanje, 10/60 (1969): 64.

the ambient values of the context<sup>11</sup>. In addition to the noticeable socialist design approach of strictly functionalist principles, it can be pointed out that traditional coastal architecture has been interpreted in modern conditions at this hotel.

Hotels built from the 1970s and later on the Montenegrin Riviera had more complex and free architectural and urban conceptions, which were characterized by different variations in terms of composition and volume. Instead of individual simple horizontal building structures, more complex tourist settlements, and resorts were created. The free grouping of hotel facilities represents the principle of placing functional zones or individual facilities according to the conditions of the location and depending on its characteristics, terrain morphology, and sea views. According to this conception, urban-architectural complexes are most often conceived along with free and undeveloped beaches. Some tourist settlements were built in such locations: the hotel tourist complex in Bečići and the tourist village "Slovenska Plaža" in Budva (Figures 7 and 8).

Fig. 7. Hotel complex in Bečići, BudvaFig. 8. Tourist village "Slovenska plaža", Budva



Source: excerpts of the Digital cadastral plan of Budva

Since the early 1970s, more intensive construction of hotel facilities has begun on *Bečići Beach*. The group of hotels was built on the narrow coastal area below the Adriatic road at the beginning of *Bečići Beach*. These were hotels with a more complex and rich architectural expression, with segmented structures, cubes, and volumes. According to this principle of architectural and urban conception, a group of hotels was

<sup>11 &</sup>quot;Hotel «Rivijera» – Petrovac na moru", in *Izgradnja turističkih objekata u Jugoslaviji – knjiga II* (Dubrovnik: Jugoslovenski građevinski centar, 1975).

formed, which consisted of: the hotel complex "Bellevue" with 3 buildings, the hotel "Montenegro", the "Garni hotel", the hotel "Mediteran", holiday resort "Beograd" and the hotel "Splendid" with an annex.

Another significant example of a grouped complex structure, built in the 1980s, is the tourist village "Slovenska plaža", built on the site of a hotel complex that was destroyed in the 1979 earthquake. The tourist village consists of smaller houses with apartments, as well as segmented physical hotel structures. A spatial contextual framework for the organization of the tourist village was the close position of the old town of Budva. The urban matrix of the historical town influenced the formation of more compositionally complex structures in the immediate environment. By analyzing urban matrices and architectural structures, it is possible to recognize the influence of local vernacular architecture on the conception of the tourist village<sup>12</sup>. In a conceptual sense, the tourist village is associated with the traditional urban and architectural structures of the Montenegrin coastal area.

### Conclusion

The period of socialism had a great impact on all spheres of social life in the Republic of Montenegro and also in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. It was a special political and social framework for the appearance of mass tourism and social tourism. That period of a *socialist working class* was a distinctive way of life with the dominant idea of social equality, unity, and togetherness among all citizens. The way of life of the working class in the socialist period was based on the possibilities of better use of free time for the working class, which had time for work and recreation. Tourism became a very important socio-economic activity in Montenegro at the time. The suitable geographical, morphological, and climatic conditions of this part of the Adriatic coast formed a good basis for planning tourist regions and complexes. In the socialist period, the tourist complexes had a public character, and all residents were able to use the tourist infrastructure. Open tourist spaces were not only intended for some tourists but for all visitors.

This study shows how socialist complexes of tourist resorts and tourist settlements were created in an undeveloped coastal area. Considering that

<sup>12</sup> Gordana Rovčanin Premović and Zlatko Karač, "Arhitektura i kontekst u konceptu turističkog naselja «Slovenska plaža» u Budvi", *Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia*, 31(4) (2021): 649.

the period of socialist construction of tourist facilities was very intensive immediately after the Second World War, it can be pointed out that such construction intervention has significantly changed the natural landscape and image of the Montenegrin coast. The idea of socialism under social conditions led to the construction of tourist facilities intended for the rest and recreation of workers, youth, and children. In the first post-war years, tourism had a social character with limitations in architectural and urban conception. Under the socialistic influence, the architectural and urban design of tourist facilities were strictly functionalist and simple, with a lower level of content and equipment. The basic types of tourist facilities were mainly workers', children's, and youth holiday resorts, summer camps, and other tourist facilities. In later periods, from the 1970s and especially in the 1980s, architectural conceptions were freed from standardization and strict principles. At that time, architectural conceptions were used in accordance with the morphology of the terrain and landscape conditions. Analyzing the Montenegrin spatial context, there are two phases of the development of tourist architecture. The year of the major earthquake of 1979 can be considered a turning point between older socialist functionalist interventions and newer architectural principles well adapted to the natural environment. After that natural disaster, architectural and urban concepts better adapted to the Mediterranean's natural environment appeared.

This research shows how the symbolism of socialism was implemented in the architectural and urban concepts of tourist architecture on the Montenegrin coast through different spatial and functional relationships. These architectural principles propagated the idea of socialism and generated the identity of the research area.

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